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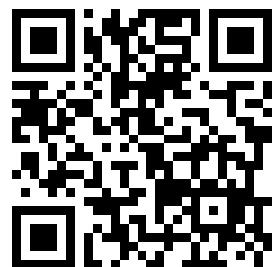
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

The returning season engages us to take a momentary retrospect, and a cursory glance at our present position.

During the past year we have seen with regret the formation and partial execution by the British Government of an extended plan for transporting labourers from Africa and the East to the West India colonies; but we have to record with satisfaction the stand taken by the Government, against those provisions of the colonial ordinances by which the pecuniary burden inseparable from the importation of labourers would have been thrown on the population at large. And we are not altogether without hope, that the experimental proof furnished to the Government of the inefficacy in practice of the most skilfully devised regulations for securing the freedom of emigration, and the aggravated mischiefs which are resulting from the vast amount of emigration to Mauritius, may induce an alteration of their course.

At home we have witnessed with high satisfaction the introduction into British legislation of a principle of fiscal regulation favouring the produce of free labour, from the practical operation of which we feel warranted in anticipating the happiest effects.

The last year exhibits two new features of an encouraging kind in France. On the one hand we have witnessed the origination of a monthly publication, the *French Abolitionist*, devoted to the cause of emancipation, and adapted to enlighten and interest the public mind. On the other we have seen the public mind itself for the first time roused to action. The presentation to the Chamber of Deputies of petitions, both numerously and respectably signed by the inhabitants of Paris and Lyons, calling for the immediate and complete emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies, which took place in the spring of last year, constitutes a new epoch in the history of anti-slavery effort in France; and the commencement, as we hope, of a series of efforts which cannot but be crowned with ultimate success. The debate which ensued on these petitions witnessed the consecration to this great cause of some of the most distinguished talents in that kingdom.

In Holland an effort to advance the work of emancipation has been made by the publication of a periodical, entitled *Contributions to a Knowledge of the Dutch and Foreign Colonies*, from the influence of which much good may be expected. And we have some reason to believe that, although no overt measure has yet been taken on the subject, the Government is seriously directing its attention to the extinction of slavery in the Dutch colonies.

Of Sweden, happily, more than this can be said. King Oscar, setting the first example on the part of the crowned heads of Europe, of an act so noble, has sent to the assembled States of that country an intimation of his desire to emancipate the slaves under his dominion; and it may be hoped that ways will shortly be found to overcome the practical difficulties of the question.

In Denmark, during the past year, an Anti-Slavery Committee has been formed, consisting of highly influential and respectable men. This body have already presented a petition to the assembled States, for the early abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies. This petition has, with the full consent of the Government, been referred to a committee, whose report upon it is expected with interest.

Of Spain we have as usual to speak in terms of regret. It is true that, at the present moment, there is before the Cortes of that country a proposition for annexing new penalties to the prosecution of the slave-trade; but experience forbids us to hope that such a law, if passed, would prove anything else than a dead letter.

In Portugal the same enlightened and patriotic men who in the preceding year brought forward the question of emancipation in the eastern possessions of that country, have during the past year renewed the discussion of it; thus doing themselves honour, and authorising an anticipation of success at no distant period.

The progress of the cause in the United States, we rejoice to say, is beyond question. The recent presidential election has called into vigorous action the body of abolitionists now known as the Liberty party, and has exhibited most cheering increase in their numbers and influence. Acquiring the respect of both the great parties in the Union, it is not too much to expect that the balance of power may ere long be in their hands.

Another cheering indication in the United States is the progress of anti-slavery sentiment in ecclesiastical bodies. Very important proceedings have taken place, in relation to slavery, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Presbyterian, and several other communions; all of them making it evident that the consciences of religious professors are extensively touched by the appeals which have been made to them, and warranting the assurance that the leaven will rapidly leaven the whole lump.

It is an additional ground of encouragement, that, after many battles (not fought in vain), the Legislature of the United States is

at length open to the discussion of the great question of slavery; the rule of Congress which required petitions all anti-slavery to be laid on the table, commonly called the gag rule, having, among the earliest acts of the present session, been rescinded. It cannot be doubted that the friends of freedom will avail themselves of the open door thus set before them.

We can scarcely think it less than favourable to the anti-slavery cause in the United States, that the pro-slavery party have pursued with so much acrimony the system of vexatious prosecution and revengeful punishment, on the charge of aiding slaves to escape; since these proceedings must tend to awaken universal disgust, and to combine humane persons of all parties in opposition to a system requiring for its support such detestable measures.

On the whole, the anti-slavery cause wears, we think, a favourable aspect. The work to which we apply ourselves, indeed, is vast, and the opposing influences we have to encounter are both powerful and obstinate. Better elements, however, are in effective operation; and slavery is everywhere, by the deplorable mischiefs which it produces, aiding their progress. No slave colony is prosperous or contented. We are confident that none can be so; and we believe that, in the end, emancipation will be accepted as the best and only remedy for the many ills inseparably adjunct to the institution of slavery.

DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Philadelphia, Nov. 19th, 1844.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—On behalf of the American Free Produce Association, I transmit to you the accompanying Address to the Abolitionists of Great Britain, respectfully requesting its publication in your paper. The zeal and devotedness of British abolitionists lead us to hope that the subject of abstinence from the purchase and use of the produce of slave labour will soon occupy their attention more extensively than it has heretofore done, and that they will perceive that this is a duty appertaining, not to Government merely or chiefly, but one obligatory on each individual. As far as our own experience and observation furnish evidence on this subject, it is that, calm and careful and thorough examination of it leads, almost universally, to a conviction that every individual abolitionist is bound, by his own principles, to abstain from the use and purchase of the fruits of the unrequited toil of the slave—those fruits being, as he well knows, fruits of robbery and blood. To this conclusion we trust our Transatlantic friends will come; and, by a consistent practice, “wash their hands in innocence” of the sin of participating in the guilt of slaveholding, a sin in which they, with their American brethren, are at present involved. While seeking to impress this truth upon the hearts of abolitionists at home, we feel constrained to call upon our brethren abroad, who, with us, are labouring for the slave’s redemption, to examine a subject so important as that here presented to their attention. We trust that our appeal, urged with affection and respect, will not be in vain; and that, from thousands of British hearts, a response will come back to us which will send gladness to the heart of the slave, and dismay to his haughty oppressor.

Wishing success to your righteous efforts for the redemption of the world from the bondage of sin,

I am, respectfully, your friend and fellow-labourer,

MARY GREGG,

Cor. Sec. of the Am. F. P. Ass.

ADDRESS TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Respected Friends and Fellow-Labourers,—Every progressive step of the anti-slavery cause in Europe is hailed with exulting joy by those in the Western world, who, with you, are waging war against the hosts of oppression. Often have their hearts been cheered and their hands strengthened by the evidences of your fidelity, or the tokens of your success, and from you do they confidently expect yet nobler efforts and sacrifices in the cause of universal liberty. Your recent efforts to prevent an extension of the traffic in the blood-stained productions of slave labour could not but be deeply interesting to that portion of American abolitionists who have for several years past devoted themselves to the dissemination of the doctrine, that such a traffic and the use of such productions are wrong. So deep was the apathy of most of the friends of the slave in this country toward this wrong, so general their participation in it, and so obvious to some the duty of a counter-operation in favour of free labour, that it was deemed necessary in the year 1838 to organize the “American Free Produce Association,” for the purpose of arousing those friends to a sense of their guilt and duty, and also to furnish a supply, as far as practicable, of substitutes for the articles produced by injustice and violence. This society, now in session, addresses you.

We heartily rejoice in the evidence furnished us, that many of you clearly perceive that as it is wrong to make men slaves, and rob them of their labour and its fruits, so it is also wrong to furnish your markets with the fruits of such dishonestly obtained labour. We rejoice in the hope that others of you who do not acknowledge this doctrine in its fullest extent are yet approaching it, seeing they admit its obligation in particular instances. You have united in asking, and have succeeded in obtaining from your Government, such fiscal discriminations, regarding the admission into your ports from foreign countries of free and slave-grown sugars, as will materially encourage the cultivation of the one and discourage that of the other, and thus the systems of labour to which they respectively belong. Permit us affectionately to inquire of you, are you not, by the principles you have so zealously and eloquently urged in defence of this measure, individually bound to abstain from the purchase and use of this and other products of the slave's coerced and unrequited toil? If, as the petition of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the House of Commons wisely and truly declares, to afford "facilities for introducing into the British market the produce of slave labour would incalculably aggravate the miseries of the slaves and supply a fearful stimulus to the slave-trade," can he be guiltless of his brother's blood, who offers to the planter *the only inducement for the supply of such produce, viz., THE PURCHASE OF IT?* If, as the organ of that Society tells us, "you will not give to the people of England cheap sugar, if the cheapness of that sugar is to be secured by the shedding of the blood of the negro," will you wear the cotton which is also deeply dyed with his blood? Do you not endorse the sentiment of your noble O'Connell, that murder is the "necessary consequence of the production of sugar by negro slave labour," and you want not sugar obtained by murder? The American cotton plantations bear fearful testimony that such a consequence belongs to the production of cotton by such labour. Will you, then, purchase and wear cotton procured by the murder of your fellow-men? Do you ask, "Ought we, in order to provide the freeman somewhat more abundantly with sugar, to hire the slaveholder to drive his slave to death?" The indignant answer rises quickly to your lips—let Brazil and Cuba and the world hear it; then pause and see if you are not clothed in robes the price of which hired the slaveholder to drive his slave to death! It will, perhaps, be said, that it would be impossible for you to obtain similar action of your Government respecting the other productions of slave labour which it has exerted relative to sugar. We do not appeal to you to cast the whole responsibility of this matter on the Government—we entreat of you individual fidelity to the slave. We ask you to make clean your own hands, then may they consistently bear your memorials to the throne, and to Parliament. To this principle, the duty of individual abstinence, you owe much of what you have already accomplished for the slave. During the memorable struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade by Clarkson and his coadjutors, at a period when a large vote of the House of Commons for a season defeated their project and disappointed their hopes, three hundred thousand British abolitionists resorted to abstinence from the use of West India sugar. The next year the vote in favour of the abolition of the foreign slave-trade was carried in the House. The memorable appeal of Elizabeth Heyrick, which, by its influence on the mind of Wilberforce, was a powerful instrument in originating the efforts which resulted in the abolition of British West India slavery, is an argument based upon this principle. It aroused a sense of individual responsibility, by convicting of individual guilt. The writer assumed the same position that we maintain. She says, "The West India planter and the people of this country stand in the same moral relation to each other, as the thief and the receiver of stolen goods. The planter refuses to set his wretched captive at liberty; treats him as a beast of burden; compels his reluctant, unrenumerated labour under the lash of the cart-whip. Why? Because we furnish the stimulant to all this injustice, rapacity, and cruelty, BY PURCHASING ITS PRODUCE. Heretofore, it may have been thoughtlessly and unconsciously; but now this palliative is removed; the veil of ignorance is rent aside; the whole nation must now divide itself into the *active supporters* and *active opposers* of slavery; there is no longer any ground for a neutral party to stand upon."

Had that noble testimony against the guilt of slavery, borne by British abolitionists in 1791, been faithfully continued at that time when American cotton was just entering your market, what had been the probable result? We cannot contemplate it without deep emotion, as we look over our country, and see thousands of our fellow-beings, raised for the market, sold, and worked to death, for the cotton trade. And what would have been the result of such an influence on the American slave trade? for America has a traffic in slaves existing, not as one of your advocates in Parliament has said, "IN THEORY," "nothing like the African slave-trade," but in terrible reality, and closely allied in character to that accursed traffic—which the civilized world has long since branded PIRACY. You are well aware of this. And what a blessed boon might it have borne to British India, crushed and blighted by tyranny, had the anti-slavery voice of England, then, and constantly since, demanded cotton honestly and justly obtained.

We can but suggest these considerations to you, dear friends; it is for you to pursue them. Upon your fidelity, in this respect, may depend the continuance of that moral impression now made upon the commercial policy of the British nation. Shall that impression be erased?—or shall it be deepened and extended? We anxiously look for the answer, which will be furnished by your personal consistency with the arguments you have given your countrymen, for the

necessity of their abstinence from cheap slave-grown sugar. "A word to the wise is sufficient." You are not of those who dare not adopt a righteous principle until they perceive all the consequences of its application. We trust that the objection based upon the impracticability of entire abstinence, will not be heard among you so frequently as it is amongst us, or the doubting question, "What can we do?" Your motto and ours is, "DO JUSTLY!" And cannot abolitionists perceive that justice requires that they shall not receive from the oppressor the fruits of his successful robbery, and give him in return money to purchase the whip and fetter, and all the appliances of power, which enable him to continue that robbery? Our responsibility is limited by our power of doing, but subject to this limitation: our position, as moral agents, demands of us—though our numerical importance for the accomplishment of great purposes be as nothing—the complete fulfilment of the dictates of ever-consistent truth. May you and we not be found among that class of philanthropists well described by Lord Brougham, as those who "offer men gold to continue the slave-trade, and preach them a sermon to give it up."

Hoping that you will receive in kindness our expostulation, dictated by fraternal feelings toward yourselves and the suffering slave, we remain

Your co-labourers in the cause of Justice and Humanity,
ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, President.

SARAH PUGH, Rec. Sec.
MARY GREW, Cor. Sec.

DENMARK—PROCEEDINGS IN THE STATES.

Motion for the Abolition of Negro Slavery in the Danish West Indian Islands.

In the first Assembly of the Røeskilde States, in 1835, the late Count Holstein, whose noble character and lively feeling for the rights of humanity are generally acknowledged, brought forward a motion to petition his Majesty for the entire emancipation of the negro slaves in the Danish West Indian Islands.

He withdrew his motion, because he was informed that the Government had already commenced measures for defining more exactly the legal relations between the slaves and their owners. Now that nine years have elapsed, and that the efforts of the Government in this direction have, for the present at least, attained a final result, we venture to direct anew the attention of the Assembly to this object. We take this step because it is our firm conviction that the continuance of negro slavery is as repugnant to Christianity and the natural rights of humanity, as it is dangerous to the West Indian colonies, and detrimental to, and unworthy of, the mother country.

The reason why we in particular, among so many who share this conviction, should on this occasion come forward, is owing to an application having been made to us to exert our efforts towards the abolition of slavery. This application was addressed to us by Mr. Alexander, a native of England, a missionary and active member of that Society, which, with rare zeal and unwearied self-devotion, has laboured to put down slavery and the slave-trade, and whose labours have already borne such happy fruits.

In the present age we need not demonstrate to an enlightened Assembly, that the possession by one man of the right of property over another and over his offspring is a relation as unnatural as it is unrighteous and unchristian; for this is a proposition which has now obtained universal assent among civilized nations. We no longer believe that a certain colour of the skin, or a certain shape of the head, can deprive a human being of his natural liberty. We no longer listen to the idle talk that the condition of the negro slave is superior to that of the day-labourer of Europe, for we know that the emancipated negro will not return to slavery—nay, that he will not even work in company with his *unfree* brother. We admit that it is not only *bodily* sufferings and a curtailed life to which the slave is exposed, but that slavery also debases the *soul*; that the slave becomes more or less degraded to the level of the brute creation. Finally, we are compelled to admit that slavery also exercises a baneful influence on the whites.

This antagonism of slavery to Christianity and to morality makes it a duty incumbent on us to abolish the same;—a duty whose fulfilment the State has no more right to stave off for reasons of convenience, than the individual has a right to postpone his own moral improvement to a more convenient time and season.

Fortunate it is, meanwhile, that not only religion and morality enjoin the abolition of this disgraceful institution, *policy* also issues the command in accents of continually increasing energy. Now that slavery has been abolished in all the English islands, it were folly to suppose that its existence can be maintained in the other islands; and the violent outbreaks which have already taken place, especially in Cuba, where nothing but the most terrible measures have been able to suppress them for a moment, sufficiently indicate what we must be prepared to expect. It were, in truth, to mistake human nature, were we to suppose that the negroes will continue peaceably to toil for their masters when they daily hear that the rights of such masters are no longer held good in the neighbouring countries.

Even if we suppose that formal insurrections might be prevented, still the fears of the planters will by degrees compel them to connive at laziness or immorality among the negroes to such a degree as will make it impossible for them to calculate with any certainty on getting their field labour executed. The uncertainty which pre-

vails as to when, and under what conditions, emancipation will take place—an event which the planters themselves now look upon as inevitable, and, under certain conditions, desirable—hinders them from making improvements on their properties, while it at the same time depreciates their value. If an emancipation is finally to be brought about by an insurrection of the slaves, or by their refusing to work, it will not be possible to effect it under such favourable circumstances as would be the case were it voluntarily offered to the slaves.

We duly appreciate the intention on which the Government regulations have been based, particularly as regards the ordinance of 1st May, 1840, and rescript of 18th Feb., 1843, and we rejoice at the happy consequences which these regulations will have for individuals; but we feel completely convinced, not only that they are utterly inadequate to the attainment of their object, but that, to a great degree, they will even counteract it. These regulations confer on the slave the right of disposing of what little he may possibly acquire, and of thereby purchasing his liberty; they protect him against the grossest acts of maltreatment; they attempt to secure for the young a certain degree of instruction, which, however, after their eighth year becomes very scanty; by abolishing the Sunday markets, they give the negroes an opportunity of attending church and school; finally, they make Saturday a holiday, in order that the negroes may have it in their power to earn something for themselves. But to this indulgence there is annexed the stipulation, that the master, under certain conditions, may deprive them of this holiday, as a punishment for offences committed.

From the royal rescript of May 1st, 1840, which was despatched to the Governor-General along with the ordinance issued at the same time, it is evident that it was his Majesty's paternal intention, in making Saturday a holiday, to put it into the power of the negro to accumulate, by means of his own assiduity and industry, as much as would enable him to purchase his liberty, whereby in this way emancipation might by slow degrees have been accomplished. But now that the Governor-General, in lieu of the proposals to the planters enjoined in his Majesty's rescript, has substituted other proposals, which have in the main been adopted, it follows from the whole of the transactions that this plan of partial emancipation has, in fact, been entirely abandoned. It has been justly remarked by the planters, that, in the case of a general and sudden emancipation, the consequence would be, that the emancipated negroes would be obliged to undertake field labour for the payment of wages; but, in the case of a partial emancipation, it is only the most vigorous and superior negroes that can acquire their freedom, and the planters have consequently to retain the weaker and more inferior, without being able to fill up their deficient number with free labourers, it being a well-known fact that no free negro will perform labour along with slaves, because labour is the badge of slavery. Some of the planters complained during the discussions that even now too many manumissions take place; in reply to which remark the Governor stated that only 33 are manumitted annually. But these planters themselves had at the same time taken for granted that the new regulations would not much increase the number of manumissions. Neither is there any reason to expect that they will do so; for although the negroes have got the Saturday free (excepting in as far as concerns work of necessity for the master, and cases of transgression), still they have in a great measure lost Sunday as a work-day, since they may not hire out their labour on that day, and may not work for themselves during the interval between 9 and 2.

The beneficial result expected from the new regulations consists therefore in this, that by means of the measures adopted in pursuance of them, hopes are entertained of promoting the intellectual and moral development of the slaves, and thus fitting them for being emancipated at some indefinite future period. It would be all right to expect such results, did not the very nature of slavery counteract all such development. The want of regular marriages and of the domestic circle are among the worst features in the condition of slaves; but how shall we instil into the slave a sense of these blessings, if it depends on the will of the master whether husband and wife are to live together, and whether the children are to remain inmates with them? How is the husband to assume the character of the head of a family, if it is another who supports the family and rules over it? And how are the father and the mother to retain the respect of their children if, in the presence of the latter, a slave-driver may flog them with a rope's end, even allowing that the said rope's end does not deviate from the standard measure? How shall we effect the intellectual development of the slave, when the acquisition of knowledge enables him more clearly to comprehend his unnatural position, and makes him feel more severely its hardship? How shall we teach him self-respect, when everything around him testifies that, like the live stock, he is the property of another? How shall we teach him Christianity, if we must suppress or adulterate that maxim of Christianity, that we must not do to others what we would not have them do to us?

In truth, slavery and the intellectual, moral, and religious development of the slaves are ideas so diametrically opposite, that we need not be surprised if, with very few exceptions, slave owners have at all times been opposers of the education of slaves, even of their religious education; unless in so far as they might therein think they discerned a means of enforcing subjection. Now, in the face of such an opposition, based as it is in the nature of things, the efforts of Government—howsoever well meant they may be—cannot effect anything great.

But, it has been urged by way of objection, it is dangerous all at

once to confer freedom on human beings who are so rude, so immoral, and so devoid of all religion; nay, freedom will not even be of any advantage to them, so long as they are not fitted to avail themselves of it. But, even allowing that the present generation of slaves are as rude and as morally corrupt as they are represented to be (and in giving such representations a severe censure is pronounced on the whites who have reduced them to this situation), still this objection cannot hold good against generations yet unborn, who cannot have rendered themselves unworthy of emancipation. The fear that the negroes on the occasion of a general emancipation would overpower, massacre, and plunder the whites,—a fear that was at one time very general—has now been proved to be entirely groundless, seeing that in the English colonies several hundred thousand slaves were emancipated by a general measure without any such consequences having taken place; nay, there now exists so great a degree of tranquillity that in several of the English islands the military garrisons have been reduced, whereas in Cuba it is only by a system of terror that public security can be maintained. In like manner, the fear that the manumitted slaves would become addicted to idleness and vagrancy has on the whole proved to be without foundation. On the contrary, it has been proved that the negroes have a taste for acquiring not only the necessities of life, but also its luxuries and comforts; in evidence of which the great increase of imported articles furnishes a striking proof. They have shown no disinclination to work for reasonable wages, and the planters have been able to procure labourers, except in places where the negroes had an opportunity of becoming proprietors, which, like other people, they preferred to being day labourers. Since the emancipation, marriages have increased in a considerable degree. These evidences of the results of emancipation are deduced from a period of six years, and, in some cases, even of ten years.

That the people should first be matured for freedom before it was given to them, and that freedom, when abruptly conferred on the thrall, would only render him unhappy, was what was also asserted when bondage and villainage were abolished in this country. But experience has refuted this opinion. It is obvious that freedom, to a certain extent at least, must be given before it can be enjoyed. A child will not learn to walk by being continually held in leading strings.

Besides, a general and simultaneous emancipation does not, surely, by any means prevent the adopting precautionary measures tending to guard against abuses of the freedom so conferred. The negotiations with the planters of the Danish West Indian islands show that they will gladly assent to a general emancipation, on condition that the State compensates them for the value of the slaves; from which it is evident that they are not so much in earnest about the dangers which, it is asserted, are connected with emancipation, or the evils which will thereby be entailed on the negroes themselves.

But, it is further objected, the planters will be utterly ruined, and consequently the whole colony. The negroes will either peremptorily refuse to work, or will only work for such wages as the planters are unable to pay. Our state is not like the English Government; it has not the means of allowing the planters money equivalent for the value of their slaves.

Here also we have experience in our favour. In some islands, for example in Jamaica, where the negroes could betake themselves to the hilly country or to other uncultivated districts, or where they had an opportunity of acquiring property, many refused to work, or asked an exorbitant hire. In such places the planters could not prosecute their business to the same extent as formerly, and the production of sugar was diminished. In other places, where the negroes immediately after the emancipation had flocked to the towns, and thereby reduced the planters to a state of temporary embarrassment, they subsequently felt the necessity of earning a livelihood, and have since voluntarily returned. In some places, finally, for example in Antigua, (whose situation greatly resembles the Danish islands, and particularly St. Croix, where there is no uncultivated land), emancipation—so far from proving detrimental to the planters—has, on the contrary, benefited them, inasmuch as production has increased and the price of property risen. We cannot admit that the planters, in the event of a general emancipation, are entitled to demand from the state the full value of the slaves in compensation. The rules which in other cases obtain in respect to property ceded for the benefit of the state, cannot be held valid in the case of a species of property which is at variance with the rights of humanity. But we at the same time admit, that it is no more than fair and equitable that the planters get compensated for the loss which they may *really be found to sustain*. We do not believe that the real loss will be great, particularly when we reflect on the local circumstances, which lead us to infer results pretty similar to those evinced at Antigua, and moreover when we bear in mind that Danish West Indian sugar would in that case enjoy in England the advantages which the new customs law confers on sugar the produce of free labour.

In case, however, it should appear, after a careful investigation, that compensation is indispensable, several circumstances may be pointed out which will facilitate this operation. The Government is itself the proprietor of not a few plantations; it holds mortgages on many others; the reduction of the military force will be accompanied by a retrenchment in the expenditure, and similar retrenchments will doubtless be able to be effected in several branches of administration.

We are not prepared to submit any specific plan as to the precise time when emancipation should take place, according to what rules the loss of the planters is to be estimated, by what

means the entire compensation sum is to be raised, nor in what manner the reciprocal relations ought to be settled when emancipation is effected. For these purposes there will be required many data, which scarcely any other body than the Government itself is able to procure. But, in regard to the doubts entertained as to the possibility of devising means for securing to the planters a supply of labour, and to the negroes house-shelter and work, and to the public a guarantee against vagrancy and exorbitant poor-rates, we may here, besides referring to the experience above quoted, make this additional remark by way of example, that, among other ways, such a guarantee might be obtained if the reciprocal relations were so settled that the planters make over to the negroes their huts and small lots of ground, either as their property or in lease for life or a term of years, on condition that they again become bound for a certain number of work days in the sugar field or sugar mill. We subjoin a few notices which may be of use, both in the way of elucidation and as a clue in the discussion of this matter.

It is in a country where bondage and villainage were abolished without any violent changes, a country which, as Sir Robert Peel recently remarked in public, was the first to furnish the example and indicate the mode of abolishing the detestable slave-trade—it is to the deputies chosen by the people of such a country that we now submit our proposal to petition the King of that country to effectuate with all possible speed the entire abolition of negro slavery in the Danish West Indian islands.

C. N. DAVID, Professor and Councillor.
GRUNDtvig, Parish Priest.
D. G. MONRAD, Mag. Artium.
RAFFARD, Pastor.
SCHOUW, Professor.

Copenhagen, 20th Oct., 1844.

[Translated from the Danish motion, which was read in the Assembly of the States of Roeskilde, on the 31st October, 1844, by Professor David, one of the Deputies chosen by the citizens of Copenhagen.]

NOTICES.

The proceedings in the Spanish Cortes are in type, but the article is crowded out, and must appear in our next number.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

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All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 8, 1845.

THE American papers which have arrived since our last have brought much interesting intelligence, a digest of which will be found under its proper head. From the President's message it appears that the Government of the United States is vehemently bent on effecting the annexation of Texas, a purpose for the promotion of which it has been employing its diplomacy during the recess, to pick a quarrel with Mexico on the one hand, and to detach France from England on the other. We cannot find appropriate place in our columns for the voluminous documents which have crept into light from the President's bag; but we must say that, in our judgment, American diplomacy appears in them to great disadvantage. As between Mr. Shannon, the United States' minister to Mexico, and M. Rejon, the Mexican secretary of state, we think that truth clearly lies on the side of M. Rejon, and that Mr. Shannon is in all respects in the wrong. A crisis, however, has been created, which, in all probability, was the thing desired and intended. What may come out of it none can tell. The letter of Mr. Calhoun to Mr. King, the minister of the United States at Paris, is, we suppose, the most elaborate treatment of the subject of British policy in relation to the slave-trade which has ever seen the light. It is written upon the assumption that France might be disposed to join England in attempting to defeat the American scheme of annexation, and is intended to detach her from this assumed combination. The entire letter is made up of false assumptions, false statements, and false morals. Mr. Calhoun sets it down that England had no motive in abolishing slavery in her own colonies but a commercial one—thinking that free labour would pay better than slave labour; and that she has no motive in wishing to abolish slavery in other countries but a commercial one—a desire to make the plantations of all as unfruitful as her own. These assumptions are both ridiculously false, and could proceed only from a man whose heart is callous to every humane sentiment. As a mere matter of fact, Mr. Calhoun ought to know that the abolition of slavery was never willingly taken up by the British Government, but was forced upon them by public opinion, and by the opinion, not of the mercantile, but of the moral and religious portion of the community, an element by which it may be truly said that the impulse has been, and still must be, maintained. Mr. Calhoun goes on to say, that British emancipation is in all respects a failure, and that

England has injured her colonies without improving the condition of the slaves. It is difficult for us to think that the writer believed this when he penned it. Whatever he may think, or wish to think, of the deterioration of our colonial interests, the vast improvement in the physical condition of the negroes is surely beyond question, even in the United States. It is probable, however, that Mr. Calhoun's eyes are blinded by the hardness of his heart. He treats the whole subject of slavery as though it consisted exclusively of commercial elements. He has no idea of the slave as a man, or as possessing any faculties of an intellectual, social, or moral nature. He thinks of him merely as a machine, or an instrument for labour; and when he has proved, as he conceives, that the liberation of the slaves is incompatible with growing so much cotton, coffee, and sugar, or with growing it so cheap, he finds the whole argument at an end. He affirms forthwith that England has committed a great mistake, and concludes that France, and all enlightened nations, will concur in perpetuating the system of slavery for ever. Aye, for ever! for there is not a single reference throughout the whole of this laboured state-paper to the emancipation of the slaves at any moment, or in any manner. It is the most undisguised and audacious vindication of slavery itself that we ever read, and must exhibit the statesman who has penned it to the wonder and detestation of the world. "A meaner or more disgraceful document," says the *Morning Chronicle*, "never came from the pen of a statesman. But at least it has the merit of being frank, and it puts the question of Texas on the one, plain, avowed ground of *slavery or no slavery*. The plea for annexation is not an unsettled frontier, Mexican provocation, sympathy for American emigrants, the utility or glory of territorial aggrandizement. No. The argument of Mr. Calhoun is, that a region without slaves, or forbidding slavery, on the southern frontier of the United States, cannot exist, for either it must overcome and banish slavery even from the States, or be overcome and overrun by their slave system. This argument is just as good for conquering Mexico, as for annexing Texas. It declares, loudly and boldly, that slavery must continue and must pervade the whole south of North America, and why not the whole of South America too? There is no end to Mr. Calhoun's annexation; it must embrace the world."

The efforts which have thus been made during the recess are likely to be zealously seconded now Congress has assembled. Already joint resolutions of the two Houses have been proposed, and Mr. Benton has re-introduced his bill for the annexation of Texas into the senate. We shall look for further intelligence, therefore, with much interest. The very commencement of this session has been signalized by the rescinding of what is commonly known as the gag-rule, without discussion, by a majority of 28.

With respect to other matters, we have taken from the *New York Evangelist*, of Dec. 5, a hurried announcement of the conviction of Mr. Torrey, at Baltimore. The details, which we have given elsewhere, will be found deeply interesting. This result was by no means unexpected. In a letter, written just before his trial, we find Mr. Torrey saying, "So strong is the web of perjury around me, that I have no real hope of acquittal." We trust the state of mind expressed in the following sentences, taken from the same letter, may be mercifully preserved to him:—

"Am I happy? Yes, on the whole. These ten days my dear wife has cheered my poor cell with her smiles, for she will not let me see her shed any tears, lest it make me unhappy; nor will she speak save cheerfully. 'The woman is the glory of the man.' But, in prospect of being shut out from all the world, from all society, I am not unhappy, for the presence and Spirit of our blessed Saviour are not withheld from me. The most painful emotions I feel in regard to it are, that I am to be condemned to a useless existence: no activity for the good of others or my own. I shall be thirty-one years old the day after the morrow, the 21st. The most useful part of life I must spend in prison. But God did not need me in his service in freedom, and therefore it is I am in prison."

As for Captain Walker, "the tender mercies of the wicked" have alighted upon him with a vengeance. The fullest details of this enormity yet received will be found in another column. The sum is that he has been convicted, and sentenced to a most barbarous punishment, which has already been in part inflicted. Our blood boils as we contemplate this outrage upon humanity. Yet it is well, perhaps, that the spirit of slavery should show itself in all its malignity, that it may at length array against itself, and the system it so diabolically animates, the hostility of the whole civilized world.

We notice, finally, a rather serious quarrel which seems to be getting up between the states of Massachusetts and South Carolina. Our readers will find the details of it in the proper place. Massachusetts is not quite the state, we should suppose, to be bearded with impunity by the forcible expulsion of its diplomatic agent.

A WEST INDIA mail was delivered on Monday, but it brings no news of importance. We are happy to find that two fresh anti-slavery societies have been formed in British Guiana, further particulars of which in our next. We thank the editor of the *Congregational Record* for his advice. It may amuse our English friends to know in what points we fail to please him. We do not often enough answer the *Guiana Times*, and we are not severe enough on the free-trade abolitionists! Of the style in which he would have us address the last-named persons he gives us the follow-

ing example, the quotation of which, perhaps, he will accept, instead of, we fear, an unsuccessful attempt of our own :—

" It is nothing to them that the liberties of men are trampled under foot ; that wholesale murders are committed on beings of swarthier complexion than their own ; that monsters in human form, fiends incarnate, lacerate and torture to agonies excruciating and insufferable even to death ; so that they might luxuriate in the ' stolen sweets' of the cruel, ill-gotten, and murderous gain ! The British poor are their pretence : but care they ought for the poor ? As much as did Judas when he, though among the apostles, from petulance, selfishness, and love of dishonest gain, sold the poor man's chiefest friend to injustice, insult, cruelty, and death ! "

We notice the capture of some escaped slaves from Martinique by a French vessel of war, which afterwards carried them into a British port. Were they not then entitled to their freedom ? And should not this have been intimated by the British authorities ?

The Guiana Royal Gazette, of the 14th of November, has a long article of complaint against the "anti-slavery party at home" for inconsistency. We are, according to it, "singularly inconsistent;" and we are so, "either from ignorance, or from perverseness and obstinacy." It is kind to allow us this alternative. For our contemporary, we must say that, in one point, there is no ground at all for imputing perverseness to him ; he is clearly ignorant, and nothing else. "The last plan of the anti-slavery body," says he, "of which we have heard, in opposition to the British West Indies, is the colonization of Africa." We beg to inform him that this is no plan of the anti-slavery body at all, and that he must not in such matters believe all that he hears. Our great offence is, that we have not fallen in with the scheme of wholesale immigration to the West Indies ; that is to say, with what would have been, and still threatens to be, a second slave-trade. For this manifestation of our consistency the West Indians ought really to be very thankful ; for, if it had not been for some salutary checks of this sort, British Guiana, and other parts of the West Indies, might have been by this time deluged, like Mauritius, with immigrants, debt, and despair.

We put in our last a strong case against those English gentlemen who are proprietors of estates, and consequently slaveholders, in Surinam. We find, however, that the case is really much stronger than we put it. Of the 921 estates enumerated in the Surinam Almanack, fully five hundred, or more than one-half, have been suffered to go out of cultivation. The estates actually under culture are believed not to exceed 400 ; so that more than one-sixth of the whole agricultural property of Surinam may be said to be in English hands. With how much effect might the immense influence thus arising be employed for the abolition of slavery in that colony ! And what a disgrace is its perpetuation there on the British name !

It is rumoured in the city that Lord Stanley has given permission to the Mauritians to resort for labourers to the eastern coast of Africa. We scarcely know how to give credit to this rumour, which comes, however, from a source, but too likely to be well informed.

The temerity of the American and British abolitionists in meddling with one of the great champions of the Free Church of Scotland, has opened the vials of wrath which seem to be kept in readiness for any suitable occasion by the mouth-piece of that body. In a second article on the slavery question, as brought up by Dr. Chalmers's letter to Dr. Smyth, the *Witness* pours out its indignation upon the unfortunate abolitionists of America without measure. "They are," we are told, "unluckily, not merely negro emancipationists, but universal emancipationists." They "go for the rights of women ;" and with their acknowledged zeal and devotedness "there mingles (our contemporary assures us) so much heresy, false principle, and nonsense, that it seems most difficult, if not impossible, for truly Christian men to make common cause with them." In all this, as in a former article, our contemporary grossly blunders. No doubt he speaks the truth to the best of his knowledge ; but he does not then know that the persons to whom he refers in terms of such unmeasured, and, we must say, unjustifiable vituperation, constitute but one—we might say but a small—section of the abolitionists in the United States. The great body of the abolitionists in that country are as free from the heresies he denounces as the *Witness* itself, their repudiation of them being the very ground of a separation, and of the formation of a new society. The ribaldry which follows, consequently, and which our contemporary ought to have had too much respect for himself to have put upon paper in any circumstances, is altogether irrelevant to them. The ignorance of this writer appears in another point. He proceeds to blame the abolitionists of the United States for the election of Mr. Polk, as occasioned by the withholding of their votes from Mr. Clay. Now, this was not done by the abolitionists generally, but only by a section of them, and this not the same section which holds the alleged heresies, the liberty party being warmly denounced by the woman's rights party. It does not seem that the editor of the *Witness* knows anything of the distinction between these two parties of American abolitionists ; and we dare say he does not know by which of them the letter to the American deputation was written, or to which of them Lewis Tappan belongs. His information is too small for his calling. He has read Miss Martineau's article in the *Westminster Review*, and the last

number of the *North British* ; but he has not a general acquaintance with facts, and he has read the pro-slavery resolutions of the South Carolina and Charleston Presbyteries only in the letter of Messrs. Cruickshank and Dunlop. His attempts at abusive merriment sit on him like a broad laugh on the face of a clown. It is rather by his want of information than by his want of humanity that we account for his singular choice of an object of vituperation. The abolitionists of the United States—a body comprehending some of the best and noblest of men—are, with whatever infirmities may attach to some among them, devoted to the pursuit of an object eminently just, benevolent, and noble ; and those who partially disapprove them, might find many grounds for casting over their weaknesses the mantle of charity. Not so, however, the writer before us. He permits no concealments, and makes no allowances. He drags out every foible to the light of day, and denounces every error in the severest terms. He does his utmost to destroy their character, and to alienate from them the good and the virtuous in every land. He keeps his candour for men of a different stamp. His pet friends are the slaveholders, and, *par eminence*, the slaveholding professors of Christianity. Of their deeds of robbery and blood he says not a word. Against their injustice and cruelty he utters no burning sarcasms. No ! They are Christian brethren, "*not unworthy*" of fellowship with him. It is the abolitionists who are "smitten with madness," and with whom it is impossible for Christians to combine. We think this exhibition must be extremely humbling to the friends of the Free Church, not only in Scotland, but in every part of the world. And it is as gratuitous as it is disgraceful, since the idea cannot be entertained for a moment that Dr. Chalmers, for whose opinion two countries (if not a larger part of the world) will wait with interest, will be guided by the lucubrations of a newspaper—least of all by such lucubrations as these.

MR. PRESIDENT LAIDLAW, acting Governor of the island of Dominica, has descended into the arena of controversy, and undertaken to have a tilt with us. We must do him the justice to commend his exemplary fairness in this matter, since he prints (the *Colonial Gazette* is his organ) the whole of our leading article of the 18th of Sept. last, and replies to it paragraph by paragraph. The principal corrections he makes in our statements are these :

It is not the case that the sentence of the five men was commuted to five years' hard labour—two only are for that period, the other three for only three years ; the day was not fixed for their execution, nor was it my intention to execute them. I wrote to the Governor-in-chief, stating that I considered the case of Jean Philip Motard was a sufficient example.

It is false that any obnoxious rate of rent was proposed, or that there was a strike upon two estates for three months. A system of rent-charge has existed since the freedom of the people ; and their having houses and grounds as part and parcel of their agreement for giving their labour to the estate at a low rate of wages, is nothing but a remnant of the slave code, which I have often tried to put an end to by establishing a regular rate of rent for both. This would have been done at Londonderry, Melville-hall, and elsewhere, but for the meddling of a Methodist preacher, who was consulted by some of the people, and who stepped out of his non-interference capacity to tell them that there was no law for a rent-charge. The people took fire at the expression "no law," and showed resistance to the plan. What was the consequence ? The idea was at once given up, and instead of their having possession of a house and a piece of ground on those terms that would enable them to spurn me as a trespasser if I intruded upon them, they are now, as they were before, at the mercy of myself and manager, and can be deprived, without any reason being assigned, of house and home at a moment's notice ; and if they do not work regularly for the estate I may sue them at the petty sessions for a rate of rent doubling or trebling the amount of their wages, as will be seen by the inclosed decision, marked A. My plan was to increase the wages in an equal ratio with the rent-charge that I then proposed, and I maintain that the negro can never feel himself an independent freeman so long as he holds his house on sufferance ; nor will he ever settle down into those habits of steady industry that is indispensable for his own good and the well-being of the estate and country at large, until he is placed on a rent system.

The Crown lands alluded to, are that strip of land all round the coast denominated the Queen's Three Chains, and which belongs to the contiguous proprietor until required by her Majesty for "forts and batteries." It became a practice under Governors, in better days than these, to grant licenses of temporary occupancy to parties, on payment of certain fees, ranging from 35*l.* to 40*l.* sterling, and often a douceur to his Excellency of ten or fifteen doubloons ; and which were, until the administration of the Government by the late Sir William Nicolay, a source of considerable emolument to the Governor and his private secretary. He, however (on a case before the Privy Council), conceded the right of the contiguous proprietor. Since the abrogation of the apprenticeship, squatters, to the number of 500 and upwards, have taken possession of this strip of land in various places ; and who are, without exception, the most worthless and most immoral set of blackguards in the whole country, and are, by Lord Stanley's orders, to be ejected. All those who have portions of this land under license of temporary occupancy, as above stated, are now to get leases on a peppercorn rent for their lives, with power to alienate during that period ; after which the land will be restored to the contiguous estate. The fees that have been established for these advantageous and authorized leases amount to 10*s.*, instead of 35*l.* for a license that was not legal and not worth 1*s.*

These corrections, it will be seen, relate chiefly to matters personal to Mr. Laidlaw, and anterior to the time of the disturbance. In relation to the facts of the outbreak itself we do not see that his account, by which he endeavours to defend himself from the charge of precipitancy, materially differs from that which has already been

before the public. Upon all other points his paper has more the appearance of a confession than a reply, his remarks leaving ours substantially unnoticed. Thus to one paragraph his whole answer is that Sir Charles Fitzroy was in Dominica, not forty-eight hours, but ninety-six; and to another, that it is not true that *four* islands are under the government of planter presidents. If, as seems fairly to be inferred, the other allegations in these paragraphs are true by his own admission, the case remains a very serious one, and Mr. Laidlaw's attempted defence becomes his heaviest condemnation. We should think, indeed, that he must have felt himself seriously embarrassed, before he could have consented so gravely to injure his own cause as by the following notice of the affidavit brought forward by Mr. Leathem.—

Affidavits are easily procured anywhere; and, if a confederate in villainy is not at hand, that is no hinderance. Mr. Charles Leathem, the procurer in this case of an anonymous affidavit, is quite capable of getting a poor ignorant negro to censure the appointment by her Majesty of a representative or any one else so long as he can manage to inflict a blow upon the suffering West Indies.

This (and we are sorry to say there is more and worse in the same style,) is sadly out of keeping with Mr. Laidlaw's position as Governor of the island, and goes far towards substantiating all that has been said of his unfitness for that office. Those who have spoken severely of his conduct may be bad men; but what can be thought either of the temper or the discretion of a person discharging the highest functions of Government, who can publish in newspapers loose charges against persons under his administration, which, if not made subjects of judicial inquiry, ought never to be mentioned at all; can stigmatise one as guilty of "the most revolting acts of brutality," and say of another, "he pretends to be the friend of the coloured people, while he would sell the whole race of them if it would put 10*l.* in his pocket"? This is in the very worst style of West Indian scurrility; and, if Mr. Laidlaw be a sample of planter-presidents, his exhibition of himself gives ten-fold emphasis to the entreaty which we have repeatedly addressed to Lord Stanley, that he will no longer place the interests of the British colonies in their hands.

We cannot conclude our remarks on Mr. Laidlaw's letter, without noticing the sort of affidavit of the attorney-general which is appended to it. The design of this document is to justify the execution, by blackening the character, of Jean Philip Motard. No doubt it expresses Mr. Lloyd's opinion; but what is the worth of Mr. Lloyd's opinion in such a case? Motard has been upon his trial, and everything that could have been proved against him ought to have been put in evidence then. It is in our opinion unfair and unwarrantable, first to hang a man on insufficient evidence, and then to get a lawyer to swear that he was hung for satisfactory reasons.

In the *Colonial Gazette*, of Saturday last, a writer who signs himself C. W. Short, and dates from Queen-square, enters directly upon the consideration of "the Anti-Slavery Society's objections to West India immigration." We have no fault to find with the tone of this article; but are pleased rather with the opportunity of congratulating our contemporary on the appearance in his columns of a style of writing so dispassionate and free from asperity.

Mr. Short treats the assumed objections of the Anti-Slavery Society as referring to two points; Immigration, and Contracts entered into out of the colonies.

With respect to Immigration he says, "the fears of the Anti-Slavery Society may be summed up in a few words;—if an unrestricted importation of Africans, Coolies, and others, be permitted, the present labouring class may be swamped." And out of this single element, which he works into three different shapes, he forms every objection to immigration which he supposes the Anti-Slavery Society to entertain. We are bound to suppose that Mr. Short has written to the best of his knowledge; but we deem it unfortunate when the discussion of a subject is taken up by a writer, however well-intentioned, who does not possess a competent knowledge of it. In the present instance the views of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—we suppose this is the body referred to—are entirely misapprehended, and the remarks made fall altogether pointless. We have only to inform Mr. Short, that the Committee entertain no objection to the voluntary migration of the human kind at all, whatever be the region from which, the region to which, or the numbers in which, that migration may be effected. In this general proposition is comprehended the subordinate one, that they are not opposed to the immigration of labourers into the West Indies on account of its supposed effects on the condition of the existing peasantry. This is an entire answer to this part of his paper, and will relieve us from the necessity of going into detail. We may add, however, that the Committee are opposed to the scheme of West India immigration so loudly clamoured for, and now in progress, not because it is immigration, but because it is a forced and unnatural immigration. This sudden and immense demand for human beings sets at work multitudes of men-hunters and kidnappers, and causes the assiduous circulation of the most flagrant misrepresentations for the purpose of temptation and deception. It causes men to be decoyed from their families under false pretences, and brings them into circumstances in which, when they discover the frauds which have been practised upon them, the power of free agency is taken from them, and they have no alternative but either to submit to their coerced servitude, or to put a violent end, as not a few of

them have done, to an existence rendered so wretched. It causes multitudes of families to be abandoned, and wives and children—for the West Indians take chiefly the men—to be left destitute of their proper support, and consigned, with the precarious relief of casual charity, to actual starvation. It creates abuses in the shipment and transportation of the emigrants, arising at one period to a height which demanded of the Indian government an abrupt and instantaneous termination of the system, and at the present hour prevailing to a fearful extent, in the teeth of Lord Stanley's best efforts to the contrary. It tends to people the colonies with a vast majority of men as compared with women; an issue of which the island of Mauritius presents at this moment a hideous example, deluged as it is, from this cause, with sensual vices too frightful to be named. These are some of the objections entertained by the Committee to the present scheme of immigration to the British colonies, of which it is fair to presume Mr. Short says nothing because he knew nothing. In stating them, however, they state nothing new. On the contrary, they have done everything in their power to make them known to the Government, to the West Indians, and the world. Will Mr. Short permit us especially to recommend to his perusal the memorial of the Committee to Sir Robert Peel, which he will find in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of the 11th of December?

As to contracts for labour, Mr. Short states the objection of the Committee to them correctly, but we think he does not answer it effectually. We are ready to admit that contracts for labour antecedently to emigration might be advantageous, if there could be guarantees for their being honestly made, and cordially fulfilled. There can be no guarantee, however, for either of these things; and in point of fact the opportunity has already been taken for such wholesale and atrocious frauds, that no alternative has been left to the Government but to put a stop to the system altogether, as was done by Lord Glenelg's Order in Council of September, 1838. If honest men suffer by this measure, they must throw the blame of it where it is due.

We have nothing to do with Mr. Short's "conclusion," except the first item. The West Indians want, he says, free access to all parts of the world for the purpose of obtaining labourers. In other words, they want leave to create in every country a market for men, to spread Indian cramps and duffadars over the whole earth, and to glut with gold the bloodstained warriors and kidnappers of Africa. This is what they want; and Lord Stanley unkindly confines them to spots which are within the British dominions! He is, perhaps, a cruel man; but we confess that we think he has already extended the immigration licenses much too far.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the London Gazette, Friday, December 27, 1844.

Admiralty, December 27.

THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY HAVE RECEIVED FROM COMMANDOR JONES, THE SENIOR OFFICER OF HER MAJESTY'S SQUADRON ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA, A LETTER, ENCLOSED ONE FROM COMMANDER SCOTT, OF THE *HYACINTH*, WHICH THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY:

"*Her Majesty's Ship Hyacinth, Aug. 13, 1844.*

"Sir,—I have the honour to request that you will be pleased to bring under the favourable notice of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following account of the gallant and dashing behaviour of the officer belonging to the ship named in the margin (Mr. John Francis Tottenham, mate), which will, I hope, obtain for him that promotion he is, in every respect, most worthy of. On the 12th of August, in or about latitude 15° south, longitude 11° 30' east, when off Fish Bay, I sent Mr. Tottenham, in a four-oared gig with one spare hand, to communicate with the Portuguese governor.

"The weather became thick, and he missed his port, but knowing that this ship was working along the coast, anchored for the night, and pulled to the southward. On the morning of the 13th he discovered a brig at anchor, without colours, and saw her slip and make sail, on which he gave chase; being to windward, and the breeze light, he was enabled to approach her weather beam, and fire a musket a-head to induce her to heave-to and show her colours; this and a second were disregarded, but a port was opened and a gun run out and brought to bear on the boat, which caused the officer to pull into her wake, when part of the crew of the brig commenced firing musketry, while the others got the gun on the poop, and pointed it at the boat. Mr. Tottenham now commenced firing as fast as the spare hand could load for him, being just able to keep way with the brig; having hit four of the men on board, they left the gun, and, after firing muskets for twenty minutes, finding they were unable to weather the land or tack, without being boarded by the boat, they ran the brig on shore, and abandoned her to the number of eighteen, including three wounded men, leaving another mortally wounded (since dead) on board.

"In the course of the afternoon the brig was discovered on shore from the mast head of this ship, which stood in and anchored, and hove her off, when she proved to be of 200 tons, without papers, a Brazilian ensign in the cabin, fully equipped for conveying about 1,000 slaves, two guns of four pounds calibre loaded, a barrel of powder, and quantity of langridge shot, a number of muskets, swords, and bayonets on the deck. Almost every bullet expended in the gig was traced by me to the gun-carriage, or its immediate vicinity on the poop; and I trust that the coolness, decision, and gallantry displayed by Mr. Tottenham on this occasion may obtain for him the rank of lieutenant, for which he passed in 1841.

"I have the honour, &c.,

F. SCOTT, Commander.

"To Captain Jones, Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Ships and Vessels, West Coast of Africa."

And the commodore has also informed them of the capture, by her Majesty's ship *Ferret*, on the 28th of September last, of a schooner, without colours or papers, but supposed to be the Brazilian schooner *Adventura*, with 400 slaves on board; of the destruction of the Brazilian slave brigantine *Piedale*, completely equipped for the Slave-trade, by her Majesty's sloop *Albatross*; and of the capture of the Spanish slave brigantine *Andaz*, completely equipped for the slave-trade, on the 25th of September last, by her Majesty's steam sloop *Prometheus*; of the capture of the Spanish slave schooner *Concepcion*, on the 23rd of September last, by her Majesty's steam sloop *Growler*; of the detention, on the 30th of August last, of a brigantine, name unknown, completely fitted for the slave-trade, by her Majesty's sloop *Star*; of the detention of a Brazilian felucca, called *Il Grande Poder de Dios*, bound to Bahia, with forty slaves on board, by her Majesty's sloop *Wasp*; of the capture of a schooner, fully equipped for the slave-trade, supposed to be the *Virginia* or *Alerio*, but without papers of any kind, by her Majesty's steam ship *Penelope*, which ship had also driven on shore and destroyed a smaller schooner, of about 40 tons, equipped for the slave-trade, and probably Brazilian.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have promoted Mr. John Francis Tottenham, mate of the *Hyacinth*, to the rank of lieutenant.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—MEETING OF CONGRESS.—The President's message refers at great length to the question of Texas. We can find room for only the following extracts:—"Since your last session Mexico has threatened to renew the war, and has either made, or proposes to make, formidable preparations for invading Texas. She has issued decrees and proclamations, preparatory to the commencement of hostilities, full of threats revolting to humanity; and which, if carried into effect, would arouse the attention of all Christendom. This new demonstration of feeling, there is too much reason to believe, has been produced in consequence of the negotiation of the late treaty of annexation with Texas. The Executive, therefore, could not be indifferent to such proceedings; and it felt it to be due, as well to itself as to the honour of the country, that a strong representation should be made to the Mexican Government upon the subject. The decision of the people and the States on this great and interesting subject has been decisively manifested. The question of annexation has been presented nakedly to their consideration. By the treaty itself, all collateral and incidental issues which were calculated to divide and distract the public councils were carefully avoided. These were left to the wisdom of the future to determine. It presented, I repeat, the isolated question of annexation; and in that form it has been submitted to the ordeal of public sentiment. A controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the States, have declared in favour of immediate annexation. Instructions have thus come up to both branches of Congress, from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the States that Texas shall be annexed to the Union promptly and immediately. Nothing has occurred since your last session to induce a doubt that the disposition of Texas remains unaltered. No intimation of an altered determination on the part of her Government and people has been furnished to the Executive. She still desires to throw herself under the protection of our laws, and to partake of the blessings of our federative system; while every American interest would seem to require it. The extension of our constwise and foreign trade, to an amount almost incalculable, the enlargement of the market for our manufactures, a constantly growing market for our agricultural productions—safety to our frontiers, and additional strength and stability to the Union—these are the results which would rapidly develop themselves upon the consummation of the measure of annexation. Nor do I apprehend any serious complaint from any other quarter; no sufficient ground exists for such complaint. We should interfere in no respect with the rights of any other nation. There cannot be gathered from the act any design on our part to do so with their possessions on this continent. We have interposed no impediments in the way of such acquisitions of territory, large and extensive as many of them are, as the leading powers of Europe have made, from time to time, in every part of the world. We seek no conquest made by war. No intrigue will have been resorted to, or arts of diplomacy essayed, to accomplish the annexation of Texas. Free and independent herself, she asks to be received into our Union. It is a question for our own decision whether she shall be received or not. The two Governments having already agreed, through their respective organs, on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be perfected and made binding on the two countries, when adopted in like manner by the Government of Texas."

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS ON ANNEXATION.—In the Senate, on the 3rd, Mr. M'Dufie introduced a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States. The resolution provides that the first eight articles of the treaty rejected by the Senate last session shall be the fundamental law of union between the United States and Texas, so soon as the supreme authorities of that republic shall agree to the same; and also, that whatever was stipulated to be done immediately, or at a fixed period after the ratification of the treaty compact, shall be done immediately, or in a like period after, the authorities of Texas shall have formally agreed to the resolution. It was referred to the committee on Foreign Relations. A similar joint resolution was also reported in the house. On the following day Mr. Benton introduced his bill of last session, providing for the re-annexation of Texas; and this was also referred to the committee on Foreign Relations. On the same day a resolution, calling upon the President, if not incompatible with the public interest, for copies of all correspondence between France and the American Minister at Paris, relative to the proposed annexation, was adopted.

MR. BENTON'S BILL.—The following is the bill submitted by Mr. Benton to the Senate, providing for a conditional annexation of Texas to the United States:—

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United

States of America in Congress assembled, that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is authorised and advised to open negotiations with Mexico and Texas, for the adjustment of boundaries, and the annexation of the latter to the United States, on the following bases, to wit:—

"1. The boundary of that annexed territory to be in the desert prairie west of the Nueces, and along the highlands and mountain heights which divide the waters of the Mississippi from the waters of the Rio del Norte, and to latitude 42 degrees north.

"2. The people of Texas, by a legislative act, or by any authentic act which shows the will of the majority, to express their assent to said annexation.

"3. A State, to be called 'the State of Texas,' with boundaries fixed by herself, and an extent not exceeding that of the largest State of the Union, to be admitted into the Union, by virtue of this act, on an equal footing with the original States.

"4. The remainder of the annexed territory to be held and disposed of by the United States, as one of their territories, and to be called 'the South-west Territory.'

"5. The existence of slavery to be for ever prohibited in the northern and north-western part of said territory, west of the tenth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, so as to divide, as equally as may be, the whole of the annexed country between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.

"6. The assent of Mexico to be obtained by treaty to such annexation and boundary, or to be dispensed with when the Congress of the United States may deem such assent to be unnecessary.

"7. Other details of the annexation to be adjusted by treaty, so far as the same may come within the scope of the treaty-making power."

The bill was read twice, and referred, on motion of Mr. Archer, to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE GAG.—In the proceedings of Congress you will notice a most extraordinary and unexpected change of opinion, since last session, in regard to Abolition petitions. The rule which prohibited their reception by the House has, on the motion of Mr. Adams, without debate, been repealed by a majority of twenty-eight votes. Petitions have accordingly been received, praying the abolition of the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, and referred to the committee on the district. I offer no opinion as to the cause which has tended to produce this change. Indeed I have not heard any assigned that was even plausible, except that the rule was a bad rule, and kept the House in a continued state of excitement, while its effect was to strengthen, rather than to weaken, the Abolition party. Indeed I have been unable to account for the pertinacity with which the South adhered to this rule, seeing that it gave great dissatisfaction to many of their best friends in the North, who were warmly opposed to the doctrine of Abolition, but firm supporters of right of petition.—*Correspondent of the Times*.

THE AFRICAN SQUADRON.—The report of the Secretary to the Navy contains the following:—"The operations of the squadron have, it is believed, exercised a favourable influence in preventing the slave-trade. With the provision of our law, denouncing it as piracy, and the presence of our own naval forces, with authority to visit all vessels under the American flag, it is not probable that our citizens will engage in this disgraceful and perilous traffic, or our flag be used by others to any great extent. If other Christian nations would inflict the same punishment on the offenders, it is not improbable that the trade would cease."

MASSACHUSETTS AND SOUTH CAROLINA.—A new source of discontent and collision has occurred between the States of Massachusetts and South Carolina. Some years ago, the State of South Carolina passed a law prohibiting free negroes from coming into the State, and subjecting them to pains and penalties for a violation of this law. On different occasions free blacks, employed as seamen, were brought into the State. They were immediately imprisoned, and kept in prison until the sailing of the vessel to which they belonged. Some of these men, it is alleged, were citizens of Massachusetts. Recently the Legislature of that State authorised the appointment of a Commissioner to proceed to South Carolina, and ascertain the precise state of the facts. A Mr. Hoar was selected to perform this duty. On his arrival he notified to the Governor of South Carolina the character of his mission, and that the object was to try the constitutionality of the State law in the Supreme Court of the United States. The Legislature of South Carolina being in session, the Governor transmitted to that body the communication of Mr. Hoar. Upon its receipt a bill was introduced, and passed in a few hours through all the forms of law, authorising the instantaneous expulsion of Mr. Hoar from the State; and he was, without delay, expelled as an incendiary. Rumour adds, that the presence of a young lady, his daughter, who was travelling with him, was his only protection from personal violence. The next step on the part of Massachusetts will be, it is said, an appeal to the courts of the United States.—*Correspondent of the Times*.

CONVICTION OF MR. TORREY.—We have only time to announce that the trial of the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, in Baltimore, has terminated in his conviction on each of the three indictments found against him. Our readers know that he was indicted for enticing and aiding three slaves, the property of William Heckroffe, of that city, to escape. He was defended by Nathaniel Cox and Reverdy Johnson, Esqs. He was brought into court *in irons*, in the presence of his young and beautiful wife, and her father, the Rev. Dr. Ide, of Medway, who went from Massachusetts to Baltimore to attend the trial. It is said the scene was most affecting, and multitudes who felt that Torrey had acted in a wholly unjustifiable manner, could not repress their sympathy for a woman placed in such trying circumstances. Reverdy Johnson is said to have made an eloquent plea on his behalf, and that too without fee or reward; but the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The counsel then moved in arrest of judgment, and for a new trial, but we presume there can be little ground for hope that he will escape long term in the penitentiary. It is said that a petition will be presented to the Executive for his pardon. But, if it prevails, it will hardly do him any good, as a requisition has been sent to the Governor by the Governor of Virginia, demanding him on similar charges.—*New York Evangelist*.

TRIAL AND SENTENCE OF CAPTAIN WALKER.—The following letter appears in the *Liberator*:

Escambia County, 11th Mo. 17th, 1844.

Henry W. Williams.—Respected Friend—Being under the impression that there are some persons in your section of the country who are anxious to learn the result of Jonathan Walker's trial at Pensacola, I hasten to inform you that it took place on the 14th, and terminated on the same day. Between 10 and 11, a. m., the prisoner was arraigned before the Court; but, not having any counsel, the judge appointed Benjamin D. Wright, a member of the bar, to defend him. The District Attorney, who was the prosecuting officer, presented to the Court four indictments against the prisoner; one for aiding and assisting, and one for enticing slaves to run away; and two for stealing slaves. The prisoner was put upon his trial, and found guilty of all four indictments by the jury, and a verdict rendered as follows:

1st. To be branded in the right hand with the letters S. S.

2nd. To stand in the pillory one hour.

3rd. To be imprisoned fifteen days.

4th. To pay a fine of 160 dollars.

Prisoner Walker was again remanded to gaol until the 16th, at 10, a. m., when he was again conducted to court, and the judge pronounced the sentence upon him, viz. To stand one hour in the pillory, (which was in front of the court-house,) and branded in the right-hand with the letters S. S.; after which, to be remanded to prison for fifteen days, and there to remain committed until the fine and cost of prosecution should be paid, which cost I have not been able to ascertain.

The first two specifications were executed, and prisoner Walker was again placed in gaol, to undergo the third, but was not put in irons, as before, greatly to his relief.

A few hours after he had been committed, the sheriff came and served three writs upon him, for trespass and damage, to the amount of 106,000 dollars, viz.:—Byrd C. Willis, 3,000 dollars; Robert C. Caldwell, 3,000 dollars; George Willis, 100,000 dollars! Upon each of these writs, the prisoner was summoned to appear at the May term, 1845, and answer, &c. The three abovenamed persons are the reputed owners of the slaves named in the indictments. Good order and quietness prevailed through all the proceedings, with one exception. When the prisoner had been in the pilory about half an hour, the aforesaid George Willis stepped to the prisoner, from the crowd of spectators, (who were very peacefully beholding the execution of the laws of Florida,) and snatched from his head a handkerchief which the deputy marshal had placed upon it to screen the prisoner's head from the violent heat of the sun which shone upon it, and took from his pocket two rotten eggs, and hurled them at the prisoner's head, which took effect. This excited a burst of indignation from many present. I was satisfactorily informed that he had been very solicitous among the boys, offering them a great price for some rotten eggs, and any person who would throw those he had at the prisoner; but he could not bribe, or find any one inhuman or vile enough to do the deed but himself. The prisoner remained silent throughout, except to the officers who had him in charge. He is in good spirits, and thinks that if it is for the best, he shall weather the storm by and by.

AN EYK-WITNESS.

CASE OF DELIA A. WEBSTER.—(From the *Vermonter*)—At a meeting of the citizens of Ferrisburgh, called for the purpose of considering the case of Delia A. Webster, of this town, who is now in confinement in the city jail of Lexington, Kentucky, on a charge of being concerned in enticing slaves to leave their masters, held on Wednesday evening, the 13th of November, 1844, the following resolution was adopted unanimously. Whereas reports are in circulation through the public prints, prejudicial to the character of D. A. Webster,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this meeting, for the purpose of ascertaining, through authentic sources, the facts in relation to the character and standing of the said D. A. Webster, embracing so much of her past history as may have any bearing upon her present circumstances.

The following were appointed said committee, to wit, Benjamin Ferris, Rowland T. Robinson, Cyrus Prindle, and Henry Rogers. The committee were authorised to publish this report, together with the foregoing proceedings of the meeting.

BENJAMIN FERRIS, Chairman.

Row'd T. ROBINSON, Secretary.

The committee appointed by the citizens of Ferrisburgh to inquire into the facts in relation to the character of Delia A. Webster, &c., made the following report.

We find, by reference to the family record, that Delia A. Webster is the daughter of Benajah and Esther Webster, and was born in the city of Vergennes, in the county of Addison and state of Vermont, December 17, 1817. The family having resided for many years in Vergennes, our nearest market town, and for the last thirteen years in Ferrisburgh, have long been well known to the committee as respectable citizens. It appears that at an early age Delia A., the subject of our present inquiry, united with the Congregational Church in Vergennes, and remained in full fellowship therewith up to the time of her leaving this part of the country for the south-west, being regarded as one of more than ordinary piety and conscientiousness. The committee are warranted in bearing testimony to her unblemished character; and they have the satisfaction to add, that in the various relations of life, both as a school teacher, and as a member of civil and religious society, her deportment has been such as to gain the esteem of a large circle of friends, who deeply sympathise with her in her present unhappy condition.

BENJAMIN FERRIS,
ROW'D T. ROBINSON,
CYRUS PRINDLE,
HENRY ROGERS,
Committee.

Ferrisburgh, Nov. 2, 1844.

SLAVES SET FREE.—A letter from Shawneetown, Illinois, dated Nov. 14, says—"In my last I informed you of the pending of a suit, in this county, for the recovery or (to use the language of the plaintiff's lawyer) 'the recapture' of sixty negroes, manumitted in this State seventeen years ago. Justice has triumphed; and the twenty-eight inmates of the county gaol are set free. The decision was received by the concourse attending the trial with loud applause."—*Free Labour Advocate.*

TEXAS.—The new president of Texas has issued the following important

"DECLARATION."

"In referring the termination of her difficulties with Mexico to the mediation of foreign friendly powers, Texas has given an earnest of her desire for peace.

"In anticipation of the failure of this mediation, she feels it her duty to declare to those powers, that if peace or a satisfactory armistice is not concluded before the annual meeting of Congress, in December next, or unless Mexico is informed by them, previous to that time, that she must confine herself to the west side of the Rio Grande, Texas will immediately assume an offensive attitude with all the means which she can command, and she will not feel restrained from the employment of auxiliary aid in the prosecution of the war. Her action will be an united action, and the limits of her enterprise will not be bounded by the Rio Grande or any other point. The region of Santa Fe will be one point from which her operations will progress. Texas can and will marshal an army sufficient to overcome the country dependent on that point.

"Should another marauding party of Mexican soldiery make a foray into Texas between this time and the next meeting of Congress, the President will feel himself constrained to assume this attitude from and after the period at which the foray may be made.

"In the treaties which the President has concluded with the Indian tribes, he has not sought to stimulate them to the massacre of the Mexicans; but, on the contrary, has endeavoured to inculcate a different course. Mexico has waged a savage war upon this country, and in her forays has associated with her regulars untutored savages.

"If the war is begun by Texas it will necessarily be a war of retaliation. The President has heretofore sought a pacific policy, under the most annoying circumstances; but if the war is necessarily begun he will use all his energies in sustaining it, and in insuring success to the Texian arms.

"The feeling of Texas is decidedly in favour of war. The President has deferred the measure thus long, with the hope that another resort to actual war would not be necessary, and that the mediation of the foreign friendly powers, to whom Texas had protested against the course of Mexico, would be successful. He yet indulges the hope that their interference may not fail.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
"Your obedient servant, "ANSON JONES."

MARTINIQUE.—**ESCAPE OF SLAVES.**—We have been informed that the French government schooner the *Doris*, which arrived in our harbour on the 10th instant, was despatched from Martinique, in pursuit of a canoe containing six slaves, who were endeavouring to escape from that island to seek in this that liberty which is still withheld from them in their own. After a long chase the schooner had nearly come up with the canoe, not far from the land of this island, we understand, when finding escape impossible, three of the six fugitives deliberately jumped overboard from the canoe, and drowned themselves, rather than again return to the land of slavery from which they had so recently fled. The other three were secured and taken on board, and when the *Doris* anchored in our harbour, these three unfortunate refugee slaves were on board of her.—*St. Lucia Independent Press.*

PORTUGAL.—A scandalous slave-trade has been discovered in Lisbon. Proprietors and others connected with the African colonies of Portugal, bring home from their possessions, systematically, a number (about twelve) of so called domestic servants, to whose personal attendance they are legally entitled, under the treaty of the 2nd of July, 1842, and immediately ship them off to Brazil, where they are sold as slaves at very high prices, as they arrive by these means in excellent condition, without being subjected to any of the horrors of the middle passage. Viscount Sa has called the attention of the peers to this subject, and the Duke of Terceira said it should be strictly inquired into by the government.—*New York Evangelist.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Dublin—Bewley, Joseph	5 0 0
Banbury Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	5 0 0	
Cheltenham Auxiliary	6 0 0	
Staines—Pope, Margaret	5 0 0	
Redruth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	2 2 0	
Evesham Ladies' ditto	2 2 0	

Per T. Boulton, (Collector.)

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Allen, Stafford.....	2 2 0	Morley, John	2 2 0
Ashurst, W. H.	1 1 0	Neathy, Joseph	2 2 0
Ball, William	2 2 0	Norton, William	1 1 0
Barrett, Richard	2 2 0	Norton, Thomas, jun... .	1 1 0
Bell, John	2 2 0	Palmer, Edward.....	1 1 0
Burchet, J.	1 1 0	Robinson, J. P.	1 1 0
Cash, William	1 1 0	Stacey, George.....	2 2 0
Clark, Jeremiah	1 1 0	Stacey, Rachael	2 2 0
Cooper, Joseph	2 2 0	Sterry, Joseph.....	2 2 0
Eaton, Mary	3 3 0	Sterry, Joseph, jun. ..	1 1 0
Everett, Ann	1 1 0	Sterry, Henry	3 3 0
Forster, Robert	1 1 0	Sterry, Richard	1 1 0
Jeffery, Russell	2 2 0	Tuckett, Henry	1 1 0
Hatchard, John	1 1 0	Warner, John	2 0 0
Lushington, Charles ...	1 1 0		

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXXXIV. VOL. VI.—No. 2.]

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TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS AND CHURCHES OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

THE Memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, respectfully sheweth: That this Society, originally formed for the more immediate object of urging on the British public the great criminality of slavery and the slave-trade, and the national guilt attaching to the direct or indirect support of that iniquitous system in the British colonies, has seen with satisfaction the fulfilment of its long-cherished desires, and the fruit, under God, they humbly venture to add, of the exertions of this and kindred associations, in the legal suppression of that crying iniquity throughout the whole extent of the British dominion.

That this Society, recognising the bond of common brotherhood among all the human species, and believing that God "hath made one of all blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth;" recognising, also, the duty to our neighbour, enjoined by the Divine law as binding us to interest ourselves in the cause of the oppressed everywhere, so as to seek by every legitimate method the mitigation of misery and the prevention of wrong, was re-established latterly on the comprehensive principle of an institution which should labour for the abolition of slavery, not in the colonies of the United Kingdom alone, but also in the remote east and west, or wherever we know that our fellow-creatures are still groaning under degrading and cruel bondage.

That the Society exceedingly regrets that it has felt itself necessitated to lift its voice against the system of slavery notoriously prevalent in the Southern States of the American Union,—a part of the world which by so many associations is endeared to us; and whose people, of common origin, common language, and common religion with ourselves, we feel no disposition rashly to arraign or condemn;—not a desire of interference in the institutions of another people, but a concern for laws and principles higher than all human and conventional jurisprudence, impels us, in a spirit superior, we trust, to all international jealousies, to strive with our brethren—not with carnal weapons, but the peaceful arms of remonstrance and fraternal admonition and reproof.

That it appears to this Society a grievous aggravation of the guilt of America, that the churches, in the Southern States especially, do either practically support the slavery existent in that community, or are its apologists; and continue silently tolerant of sentiments and usages so sadly at variance with their national and boasted love both of civil and religious freedom—sentiments and usages which deprive even believers in Christ, if only of sable colour, of the natural rights of human beings; and forbid the participation in the means of mental, and so far even of religious culture, to millions of fellow-men and brethren, made after the image of the great God, and endowed with capacities for intellectual improvement, which, by the very possession of them, bespeak the Creator's will that they should be cultivated by education even as others; and rendering cruelly dependent on the caprice of superiors, even the domestic relationships which the laws of nature and of revelation have made sacred.

That this Society is convinced that the time has more than come, when the churches of Britain are called upon to bestir themselves more than heretofore, in testifying to their Transatlantic brethren their sense of this great iniquity.

That it appears to this Society, that such a testimony is called for, as well by a regard to the interests of the churches of Britain themselves, and to save them from a participation in other men's sins and judgments; as by fraternal fidelity to the churches in question, situated indeed far remote, but professing to be members of the one great Christian republic, the Catholic Church—and so amenable, in a degree, at least, to the common sense of Christendom.

It appears to your memorialists, that to our churches on this side the Atlantic, God has entrusted, as a talent which they must account for, the weighty influence for good or evil, which their decided and combined testimony might exert over the opinions of their brethren in another country and hemisphere; and that it concerns them to ponder well the responsibility of any such direct fellowship with churches supporting or tolerating slavery, as may induce the belief abroad, that the guilt attaching to such a system is lightly esteemed by any of the British churches; or as may weaken the hands of the friends of Scripture freedom, who in America itself, are rousing themselves in the cause of the oppressed.

That this Society most respectfully but earnestly entreats individual Christians, ministers and churches, of every denomination, to consider if the Scripture rule of shunning intercourse with one calling himself a brother, who walketh disorderly and in sin, do not solemnly require it of the churches here as a duty to refuse intercommunion with such churches in America, as in their corporate capacity in any way sanction slavery, or receive to their fellowship such as

hold their fellow-men in bondage, or are engaged in the traffic in human beings—making of the very souls of men unhallowed gain, and abusing the influence which, in the permission of Providence, they have acquired over their fellow-creatures, to defraud them of rights and privileges which the Almighty has given to them alike; and to impose upon them conditions of existence which His revealed will denounces as oppressive; and which a Christian cannot, with sanction from the gospel, exact from "a man and a brother"—equally with himself the object of redemption by the same "precious blood;" of sanctification by "the same Spirit;" and an heir of that "crown of life which God hath promised to them that love him."

Signed, in name and by appointment of a Public Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, held in the City Hall, 18th October, 1844,

JAMES TURNER, Chairman.

THE LEAGUE ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

THERE is still a palpable unfairness and incivility in the articles in the *League* which relate to the question of slavery. It affords little aid to well-intended controversy to stigmatize the parties with whom you reason as "blind dupes," or to accuse them of using "sophistries" which "need only to be stated to be scouted by every honest mind." Or, if the use of such logic as this have any force at all, it must be as an argument that the party who thus calls his opponents knaves and fools is most likely in the wrong.

In the article in the *League* of the 4th instant, from which we have cited these expressions, we find the following examples of the unfairness of which we have spoken.

1. The writer confounds the existing Anti-Slavery Society—the British and Foreign—with the Anti-Slavery Societies of former periods. So, when referring to a period "forty years ago," he asks, "What efforts did the Anti-Slavery Society make then and since to encourage free labour, of which they talk so much now?" Is it needful to be repeated at this time of day, that at that period no Anti-Slavery Society existed; that the first Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1823; and that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed in the year 1839? Of course, the last-named society can be held responsible for nothing but consistency with its own principles, and the results of its own proceedings.

2. Referring to the practical coincidence of the course pursued by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the question of the sugar duties in 1840, with that taken by Lord Sandon and his party, the writer of the article before us affirms that the Anti-Slavery Society "formed an alliance with the monopolists;" a flagrant misrepresentation, surely, of a coincidence which was as purely accidental as any that ever happened. We thought, we confess, that, after a certain occurrence among the leaders of the League, no argument of this sort would be again employed against the Anti-Slavery Society. But, since it is otherwise, we must be permitted to call to remembrance, that, upon Mr Miles's motion for a further reduction in the sugar duties, Mr Cobden and Mr Bright voted with Sir Robert Peel, and for monopoly. To use the tactics of this writer, we should say that these gentlemen then "formed an alliance with the monopolists, and that an alliance more unholy or unnatural never was formed, or one where the objects sought by each were more dissimilar." And we should go on to ask, "Is it not surprising that the shrewd men of the Anti-corn-law League should so easily have become the blind dupes" of the landed aristocracy? If the writer before us thinks (as no doubt he does) that a valid defence can be set up for Messrs. Cobden and Bright, will he favour us by assigning a reason why the same defence will not avail for the Anti-Slavery Society?

3. There is unfairness couched under the studied appearance of candour, in marking with inverted commas, as though they were quotations, the alleged sentiments of "the Anti-Slavery Society," or "the anti-slavery organs." Whether these are really quotations from documents of any sort we cannot tell. It is not expressly asserted that they are so, and we do not recognize any of them. If they are quotations, the documents from which they are taken should be cited, that their authority may be weighed; if they are not, the marks of quotation should not be employed. In a controversy in which so much has appeared through the press, there is no excuse for being unacquainted with the express and literal terms in which the arguments have been adduced by the highest authorities on both sides.

4. In speaking of the admission of Brazilian (slave-grown) coffee for home consumption, and sugar for colonial and foreign export, the writer before us is guilty of a double unfairness. The one is verbal, and indicates a resort to one of the meanest artifices of controversy. "We may carry on any amount of trade in Brazilian sugar," says he, "provided not a particle of it finds its way into the

tea or coffee of the labouring classes of this country." And this he prints in italics, and finishes with a note of admiration; while he knows very well that the prohibition of any article from home consumption excludes it as much from the tables of the rich as of the poor. The phrase is evidently used *ad captandum*, and in a speech at Covent Garden we should not have been so much surprised at it; but in a grave piece of writing meant for reasoning and persuasion, it is sadly out of place, and the employment of it betokens a consciousness that the argument is inconclusive.

5. And so, indeed, it is. It is true that the prohibition of slave-grown sugar and the admission of slave-grown coffee,—that the admission of slave-grown sugar to the colonies and its exclusion from the home-market—it is true that these are inconsistencies on the part of the Government; but they are not inconsistencies on the part of the Anti-Slavery Society, since that Society have never given their sanction to these arrangements, but have, on the contrary, endeavoured to procure an alteration of them. An argument so feeble needed some collateral support.

6. There is unfairness, we think, in the manner in which the writer of the article before us endeavours to connect the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with the armed suppression of the slave-trade. Even admitting the fidelity of the picture he draws of the results of armed intervention—which, however, is in some points exaggerated, and by exaggeration untrue—it does not follow that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed for the purpose of opposing such intervention. It was actually formed for promoting the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade by pacific means, and may clearly be held to have fulfilled its object by the well-defined use of such means alone. To argue that "we are not justified in using *immoral* means" to put down the slave-trade, is to write as though the Anti-Slavery Society were the Peace Society, which it is not.

7. This writer does injustice to the case which he takes in hand, by representing the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society as directed immediately to the extinction of the slave-trade. The constitution of the Society will inform him that, according to one of its fundamental principles, there is no prospect of extinguishing the slave-trade but by the extinction of *slavery*; and, by an acquaintance with the proceedings of the Society, he would learn that all its energies have been directed to this end. All that he says, consequently, respecting armed intervention and treaties misses the mark.

8. His treatment of the question of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour is singularly meagre. Besides the argument from the "alliance with the monopolists," already disposed of, he finds but one thing to say; namely, that a stimulus applied to any department of the sugar-market will be felt by the whole. This very old and very obvious statement is his whole stock of proof. We repeat our oft-repeated reply to it, that the stimulus applied to slave-culture by fiscal regulations of the class in question will be less than that applied to free culture, and that it will be temporary, being only incidental to the fostering of a power by which slave-labour would speedily be discouraged and ultimately be destroyed. The argument from the temptation to perjury we take to have no particular application to the trade in slave-grown sugar. It is an argument against all restrictions on trade, of every kind.

9. An entire misstatement is made by this writer when he says, "It is attempted by the Anti-Slavery Society to show that it is forbidden on moral and religious principles to eat slave-grown sugar, and that 'the Government ought to legislate against their subjects receiving goods known to be stolen.'" Notwithstanding the inverted commas marking the latter part of this sentence, we ask when, or where? We know of no stress laid on any such ground, and, for ourselves, have distinctly disowned it. We have advocated fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour, simply on the ground of what we believe to be their adaptation to discourage slave-culture, and thus to promote the extinction of slavery.

10. We are told, in fine, that the Anti-Slavery Society are "unconsciously" (we acknowledge this courtesy) acting "on the indefensible principle of doing evil that good may come." If we ask what evil, the reply is that the Society encourage monopoly. Now we do not see the justice with which the maxim cited applies to the case in hand. The maxim that we ought not to do evil that good may come, properly applies, as we understand it, to *moral* evil, or sin, and this only; and it is rather straining the point, we think, to set down protective duties of all kinds and degrees in the catalogue of moral offences. They are not yet universally admitted to be mistakes in political economy. But, however this may be, the Anti-Slavery Society are the last persons in the world, with the single exception of the League itself, who can be fairly accused of upholding monopoly. They have petitioned parliament for the admission of all foreign produce on the same terms as that of British possessions, excepting only that which is slave-grown—an exception to which they are obviously impelled by no lingering attachment to monopoly, but a controlling sense of humanity. To some people it might appear that the Society had become out and out free traders, and we ourselves might have been simple enough to have expected, even from the stage at Covent Garden, some complimentary acknowledgment of our proficiency in the lessons there so sedulously inculcated. But no! In the sweet language of the writer we are now answering, this would be a "simple delusion." Until we can wring from our hearts the last drop of human feeling, and see unmoved the unrestrained horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, we must persevere in denouncing as upholders of monopoly.

11. We have replied to this article at greater length than its intrinsic merit deserves, both because we wish it to be apparent that

we give full consideration to all that can be urged on the important question to which it relates, and because we are unwilling that the mere reiteration of arguments already replied to, should have an undue influence on the public mind. For ourselves, we have no objection to well-conducted controversy, in relation to important questions, and we shall endeavour, in whatsoever part we may be called to take in it, both to do good and to get good. But we may be allowed to desire something different from what we have now had to deal with. The writer to whom we have now been replying, evidently does not understand the position and attitude of his subject. He writes as though the ground were altogether new, as perhaps to him it is; and brings forward the earliest commonplaces of the argument, without taking any notice of the manner in which they have been answered, and apparently without knowing that they have been answered at all. Before he writes again, let us (without offence) be permitted to counsel him to read what has already been written.

SPAIN—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CORTES.

At length the subject of the slave-trade has been taken up by the Spanish Government. On the 22nd of December Senor Martinez de la Rosa introduced a project of law in relation to it into the Cortes, by reading from the tribune the following preamble:—

To the Cortes,—In the treaty made by her Majesty with her august ally, her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the 28th day of June, 1835, a treaty which was merely the confirmation and completion of that made the 25th of September, 1817, intended to abolish the slave-trade, there occur the following words:—

"Art. 2. Her Majesty the Queen Regent, during the minority of her daughter, Donna Isabel II., binds herself to adopt, as soon as the ratifications of the present treaty shall have been effected, and afterwards from time to time, as required by necessity, the most efficient measures to prevent the subjects of her Catholic Majesty and her flag from being employed in any manner in the slave-trade: and her Catholic Majesty binds herself especially to promulgate throughout the whole of her dominions, and in two months subsequent to the exchange of ratifications, a penal law, which shall impose a severe chastisement on all those of her subjects who, under whatever pretext, shall take any part, however slight, in the traffic of slaves."

Her Majesty, desirous of carrying out the stipulations of the preceding article, gave orders to the Royal Council of Spain and the Indies to draw up a penal law against those who should be employed in that illicit commerce; and consequently that illustrious body hastened to perform the honourable duty imposed on them. The project of law passed to a special commission named by the Government from amongst the members of the legislative corps, who corresponded in a similar manner to the confidence reposed in them; and matters arrived at that point that the project of penal law they drew up passed to the Estamento de Proceres in the month of December, 1835.

The political disturbances which shortly after occurred, the civil war becoming each day more and more sanguinary, and the serious events which were following one upon the other so rapidly without allowing the Government a moment for repose or reprieve, necessarily turned their attention from a subject which, though grave, was not of the importance belonging to other matters more urgent. It is certain that, owing to these and other causes, the only result was the resumption of the said project of law when the Estamento ceased to exist, to whose examination and deliberation it had been submitted.

During the subsequent years the subject became, as it were, paralyzed. However, the time has now come to carry out that important work with the circumspection required by its very nature, but at the same time, with the decision and firmness by which the inconvenience and dangers of a prolonged delay shall be avoided. Though there should exist no more pressing motive to carry out the expressed stipulation of the treaty, yet the good faith and the honour of her Majesty's Government should be sufficient to recommend its completion; and still more so, as the completion of that duty, on the part of the Government, will afford more authority and weight to the measures it will have to pursue to uproot the slave-trade in our colonies, without disturbing the rights of property, or exposing that part of the possessions of the crown of Spain to insurrections or riots.

Even in the absence of any other motives, the above would have operated as a sufficient reason to decide her Majesty's Government to employ the most efficient means to put a stop to the slave-trade—a trade not only contrary to the precepts of religion and of morality—not only contrary to the commercial relations which it ought to be our aim to establish on the coast of Africa, but which if within a lesser or a greater period it be too much extended, may endanger the tranquillity, and even the very existence, of the rich possessions in favour of which it may appear to be promoted.

Many of the proprietors in our Antilles have already recognised and acknowledged that truth. The zealous authorities of those possessions have already recognised it; and the lamentable events which have taken place in the island of Cuba have tended to open the eyes of the most observant, and to augment their anxiety that all further motive should be removed for new perils and dangers. Reasons founded on morality, policy, conscience, and, it may be said, self-preservation, urge us to adopt the means we suggest; and our only duty now is, to examine and ponder well, in proposing the present measure, if the plan suggested by the Government be presented in the proper terms. It must be said in its favour, that it has not remained contented with the data already collected on the subject, nor has it considered as sufficient the projects of law framed in former periods, but it has collected a still more abundant mass of information, in order to enable it to carry out, with something like security, so difficult a work. For that purpose it has not failed to consult the Governors, Captains-General of Cuba and Puerto Rico, who have considered the reports of the principal authorities and the well-informed corporations; and it has ascertained the opinion of individuals who, from the

posts they have occupied in those countries, and from other peculiar circumstances, must be thoroughly versed in their necessities and desires.

After a long and careful examination, and balancing all these opinions, as to what appeared the most proper and the most adequate to obtain the objects desired, the Government has drawn up the projects of law which it now proposes.

The law itself is so clear and so simple, that, without doubting of the enlightenment of the Cortes, it could scarcely enter on its analysis. It will be sufficient merely to observe, that it has endeavoured to proportion the penalties to the gravity of the offence; which, without being so light as to tempt to the violation of the law, are not so excessively rigorous as, in case it be violated, may assure impunity to the offender.

It has endeavoured equally that the aforesaid penalties should reach all who may take any part in the illicit commerce; and in certain cases it has imposed pecuniary penalties as one of the best means of punishing a crime, the principal motive of which is the most sordid and the vilest interest.

It has also endeavoured as much as possible that the dispositions contained in the law should enter on the ground of common right; and, on the same principle, the mode and form of proceeding to the proofs and punishments of the crimes which are the object of the law are established, and in order that those who may have committed them shall be punished severely, in accordance with the legislation of the country, according to the very terms of the treaty already mentioned.

The Government has not thought it sufficient to punish those only who are employed or take a part in so immoral a traffic; it has, besides, imposed severe penalties on those authorities who shall be accomplices or participants in the crime, or who shall tolerate or permit it through negligence or want of care; and it decided on adopting such a step, in order to give to its intentions the most complete effect. Such are the principal reasons for proposing the present project of law, which, by order of her Majesty, and with the consent of the Council of Ministers, I have the honour to present for the approbation of the Cortes.

The project of law thus introduced is as follows:—

Section I.—Concerning the penalties incurred by those who may be employed, or may take a part in the illicit commerce of slaves.

Art. 1. The captains, supercargoes, pilots, and officers of vessels, seized with negroes on board by the cruisers authorised to exercise the right of visit, will be condemned to the punishment of eight years in a presidio when they have not offered resistance; to ten years if they have resisted, without having caused either death or serious wounds; and if death should ensue, or severe wounds be inflicted, they will suffer the punishment imposed for that class of crime by the laws.

2. The seamen and rest of the crew on board a vessel seized with negroes on board, shall suffer the penalty of four years' presidio, if no resistance be offered; six years if they resist, in addition to the other penalties to which they may be subject for the deaths, or injuries by wounds, that may have been occasioned by such resistance.

3. The captains, pilots, supercargoes, and officers of a vessel destined for the slave-trade, but on board of which no slaves are found, shall suffer the punishments undermentioned:—If the vessel be seized on the coast of Africa, in the actual purchase of slaves, six years' presidio; if the vessel be found on the high seas with direction to the coast, four years; and if the vessel be detained in the port before setting sail, two years.

4. The half of the punishments abovementioned to be inflicted on the seamen, and other persons belonging to the crew according to their respective cases.

5. The owners of vessels, the agents, the owners of the cargo, and all who have an interest in the expedition, to be condemned to as many years of banishment to more than fifty leagues from their home, as are imposed of imprisonment in a presidio on the captain of the vessel.

A fine will also be imposed, not less than 1,000 dollars, and which may be raised to 10,000, according to the gravity and the circumstances of the offence.

In case of insolvency, the punishment of deportation will be augmented, in the ratio of one year for every 1,000 dollars.

The only exemption allowed will be, in case it can be proved that they have not knowingly taken any part or share in the uses to which the captain and the crew have applied the ship in their illicit traffic.

6. In addition to the penalties mentioned in the foregoing article, the vessel and the whole of the effects found on board will be confiscated. The vessel itself will be broken to pieces, and the fragments will be sold in accordance with the treaty of 1835.

7. The offences committed in a ship against the African negroes who may be found on board will be visited with the punishment imposed by the common rights of nations on such offences.

8. In case of repetition the penalties abovementioned will be increased from one-third to one-half.

Section II.—Of the manner of proceeding in regard to offences which are the subject of the present law:—

9. The superior authorities, the ordinary tribunals, the judges and fiscals of her Majesty are empowered and obliged to proceed against all who are engaged in this illicit traffic, either *de officio* or by denunciation made in the proper legal form, and that as soon as they may have received information of an expedition of the kind referred to being in preparation, or that a cargo of slaves has been disembarked.

10. The authorities and *employés* residing in any place where a disembarkation may have been effected of negroes recently arrived from the coast of Africa, if convicted of connivance or complicity, by prosecution or otherwise, shall suffer the penalties imposed by the law on that class of offences. If it should be shown judicially that there is nothing more than negligence or want of care, and the fault be a light one, they shall be suspended from their employments for a space of two or four years; and if the offence be of a serious character, they shall be condemned to perpetual inability to hold any public office or employment whatever.

11. Should an Escribano authorise any writing, bill of sale, or any other document, in virtue of which a transfer is made, or an assignment effected, of any negro recently arrived from Africa, such Escribano shall be dismissed from his office.

12. The tribunals, or mixed commissions, to which allusion is made in the treaty of 1835, will communicate to the Governor, Captain-General of the respective island, in case of a ship being declared a good and law-

ful prize, the whole of the proceedings gone through, to the effect that the competent tribunals may be informed of the offence and be enabled to apply to the perpetrators the penalties indicated in the present law.

FRANCISCO MARTINEZ DE LA ROSA.

On the 4th instant the Senate met to discuss the bill relative to the suppression of the slave-trade, of which its committee had recommended the adoption. M. Barrio Ayuso, who spoke first, declared himself a strong partisan of the principle of the bill; but perceiving, he said, in the nation who prosecuted the extinction of that trade with most ardour, a spirit of private interest, and a desire to ruin the transatlantic possessions of Spain, he wished to be assured by some explanations from the cabinet before he gave it his sanction. M. Villodres said that, as member of the commission, he had confined himself to report on the bill, without entering into any political consideration. M. Olavarieta concurred in the opinions expressed by M. Ayuso; and protested that, unless England was summoned to withdraw the pontoon, or three-decker, permanently stationed in the harbour of Havanna, he would vote against the bill. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply, observed that the progress of the age required the extinction of that traffic; that the conclusion of a treaty to that effect was imperiously called for, and was in nowise derogatory to Spain; that it was similar to the conventions signed by Great Britain with France, Belgium, Holland, and other powers; that Spain had contracted an obligation to assist England in abolishing that traffic in 1817; and that it now remained to enact the penal measures necessary to arrive at that end, which was the object of the bill before the house. The Minister next presented some explanation relative to the slavery question and the establishment of the penal law, and assured the Assembly that the Government would carefully defend the honour and interests of the country. As regarded the pontoon, or three-decker, stationed at Havanna, M. Olavarieta, he said, might rest certain that it was with the consent of the Spanish Government, and that England would hasten to remove it when Spain should deem it expedient. A number of other senators afterwards took part in the discussion, and the eight first articles of the bill were adopted without any modification. On the 8th the bill was carried, almost unanimously:—for it 74, against it 1.

TRIAL OF THE REV. C. T. TORREY.

(From the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.)

Washington City, 12th month, 1844.

FRIENDS EDITORS,—I have just arrived here from Baltimore, where I attended the trial of Charles T. Torrey. Richardson, a man noted for slaveholding principles, is State's Attorney. The judges are said to be of a similar stamp. The jury could scarcely be anything else but an embittered set of men against an Abolitionist—large number of whom were challenged—very many confessed having expressed an opinion, and were excused. Reverdy Johnson, Galligher, and Cox were counsel for defendant. On the first day of the trial (the 29th) the court-house was crowded, and it remained to be so; the deepest anxiety was manifested, and in all parts of the city the subject was talked about. The wife of Torrey was present, but had not the consolation of the presence of any females but witnesses, except two or three Friends of my acquaintance, who accompanied me the first day. There was evidence of much timidity on the part of the Friends here in relation to this subject. I saw no one of them present except those I have alluded to.

The indictment charged Torrey with “enticing, persuading, and assisting” three slaves, the property of William Heckrotte, an innkeeper in Baltimore, to run away on the night of the 4th of June last. Their ages, seven, nineteen, and forty years respectively—the first, a boy, the other, two women. Heckrotte being called to the stand, said he had lost those slaves, and gave a description of their size, features, dress, &c. The old woman, as they called her, said he, had lost a tooth from the front of the upper jaw, on the right side. He said he had at no time made any promises to any one in case they would communicate to him anything from Torrey on the subject. [The State's Attorney, in a brief statement of what would be proven, spoke of the absence of this tooth as having been taken and retained by Heckrotte for a “certain purpose.”] Charles Heckrotte, son of the above, testified to having seen a man of Torrey's appearance one evening in the latter part of May talking with Judah, one of the slaves. The night was starlight. On cross-examination by defence, he said he was positive the prisoner was the man he saw talking with the servant at his father's gate. Said he picked him out immediately as the man, when called on at the magistrate's office.

Nicholas Woodward sworn. He kept a livery stable, had hired to Torrey near the 4th of June a Rockaway carriage and two dun horses.

George Rigidon testified to having seen the prisoner on the morning of the 7th of June, washing a pair of horses at a creek in Harford county, saw a carriage standing in the road. He believed he had seen the prisoner at his uncle's in 1832.

Robert Rigidon had also seen the traverser pass his blacksmith shop, in Harford county, on the morning of the 9th of June. He was driving a carriage, with three coloured persons in it, a boy and two women, the women were laughing, and he saw that one of them had lost a tooth in front, and on the right side.

On cross-examination this witness said the two women were riding on the back seat of the carriage, and the boy and Torrey on the front, that the curtains were down at the side, he was by the road-side, and the horses to the carriage passed in a slow trot, yet he could not be mistaken as to the missing tooth. He did not notice the teeth of the others. He did not recollect whether he had or had not said, in coming to Baltimore, that he came to help send this d—d rascal to the Penitentiary, but it was in a joke if he had said so. He complained that Johnson was “trying to catch him,” (entrapping him;) the latter replied, “No danger, if you only don't catch yourself.”

Several other witnesses then testified to having seen the carriage and horses pass in the direction of Peachbottom, near the time referred to, and to other circumstances. The Court then adjourned till next morning, the 30th, at ten o'clock.

One of the first witnesses this morning was a graduate of the Sing-Sing prison, in your State, and at present an inmate of the jail in Baltimore.

He was here called Southmayd, but said his true name was Thomas Hatch, and acknowledged to having gone by the name of Thomas B. Hatch, which was his name in the bill of indictment, under which he was convicted for horse-stealing, in New York—the counsel for defendant having possession of that document. It appeared also, that this witness had called himself Wilson. A question arose as to his competency to testify, but the Court decided that his general bad character had nothing to do with his veracity, and he proceeded with his story. He said he had been confined in the room with Torrey, together with six or seven other prisoners, that Torrey having more confidence in him than the rest of the prisoners, had told him he had taken three slaves from Heckrotte. He went on to give many other particulars which Torrey had disclosed to him in prison. He also said Torrey had declared he would take more slaves as soon as he could get out, and that he would murder the keepers of the jail, and also Heckrotte, if he ever got clear. He said he had taken no part in the plot to escape from jail, except to give Torrey his note for twenty dollars, to enable him (Torrey) to carry the plan into execution. He said no one had made him any promises to induce him to disclose these matters. He said the traverser had not made any confessions to any of the rest; could give no idea of the size of the room in which they were kept, nor had he ever said anything about the subject to any one till after they had failed to break jail. Had the plan succeeded, he intended to go out with the rest, but did not think it right to assist them.

On the part of the defendant, Captain Wise was sworn. He said he had known Southmayd about seven years—he had sailed in the ship with him two years. He was well acquainted with his general character, and he would not believe him under oath. He said he had no character for anything. He had never heard anything said about his veracity—not in those words; but he had heard other individuals say that they would not believe him under oath. He had no recollection of having heard him called a liar.

A warm controversy here arose on the question whether the incompetency of a witness was established by proving that his general character was bad, and that he could not be believed, or whether the proof must be direct as to his veracity. The Court decided that they had nothing to do with anything else, and must confine themselves strictly to the simple question of veracity! Reverdy Johnson here read authority on this subject, and had the case been any other than one in which "the peculiar institution" was to be protected, nothing appears to me more clear than that the testimony of the culprit, Southmayd, would have been rejected. The counsel on behalf of the State also appeared to search for authority, on his side, but produced none. So the testimony of that man still stood unimpeached as the crowded throng looked on and "grinned applause."

Gray, the magistrate before whom Torrey had his first trial, was then sworn. He said Charles Heckrotte stated before him that he could not be positive that he would know the man again whom he saw at his father's gate. Lawyer Cox testified to about the same thing respecting the boy's statement at the magistrate's office. Robert Gamble, who had been imprisoned a few hours for secreting a flag staff, (a political trick,) being sworn, testified he was in the room when the prisoners were attempting to break jail, that he saw Southmayd up in the window sawing off the bars. John Zell deposed that he heard some conversation at the prison between Heckrotte and Southmayd, during which the former promised to use his influence toward obtaining a pardon for the latter—he understood by the conversation that "there would be an arrangement made."

Wm. Heckrotte being again called on, acknowledged having offered to use his influence with the governor to obtain a pardon for Southmayd.

The testimony against Torrey, notwithstanding the many contradictory statements of interested witnesses, is strong, and in this community, under such a charge, his case is certainly one claiming the deepest sympathies of those having hearts to feel for the afflicted.

With respect, B. B. DAVIS.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Anti-Slavery Society, held the 30th December, 1844,

Mr. GEORGE RICHARDSON, in the Chair,

It was unanimously resolved,—

1st. That this Committee having read a copy of a letter addressed by Dr. Chalmers to Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, South Carolina, on the subject of American slavery, which letter this Committee is informed has obtained a wide circulation in America, desires to express its sincere regret that a person of the eminence and station of Dr. Chalmers in the Christian church should, by this letter, however undesignedly, have committed the rights and liberties of three millions of the human family, held in the chains of the most abject, foul, and diabolical slavery—driven back the cause of abolition indefinitely—and emboldened the American man-stealer in a sin against which "the voice of nature herself cries aloud."

Moved by JOHN FENWICK, Esq., and seconded by the Rev. JAS. PRINGLE.

2nd. That this Committee cherishes the hope that on Dr. Chalmers reviewing his opinions on this momentous subject, he will find abundant reason to alter them, and, by a bold avowal of the fact, counteract, as far as he can, the baneful influence of his most unguarded letter.

Moved by J. L. ANGAS, Esq., and seconded by W. BEAUMONT, Esq.

3rd. That this Committee looks with anxiety to the Free Church of Scotland "approving herself to be clear in this matter;" and that she will henceforth repudiate all slavery-stained contributions in aid of the glorious struggle on which she has embarked, and bear her solemn testimony against the slavery-corrupted churches of America.

Moved by JAMES FINLAY, Esq., and seconded by EDW. RICHARDSON, Esq.

4th. That the foregoing resolutions be advertised in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the *Witness*, and the *Soldier*; and *Newcastle Courant* and *Chronicle* newspapers; and that copies be forwarded by the Secretaries to Dr. Chalmers, and Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York.

Moved by JOHN FENWICK, Esq., and seconded by WILLIAM BEAUMONT, Esq.

• GEORGE RICHARDSON, *Chairman.*
MATTHEW FORSTER, } *Secretaries.*
for Self and Co., }

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The party inquired after by C. J. P., is a widow.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 22, 1845.

THE planters of British Guiana have found a mare's nest; and even his Excellency the Governor is a party to the brilliant and interesting discovery. A copy of a circular issued a few months ago by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and addressed to some hundred and twenty gentlemen throughout the West Indies, soliciting information respecting the state of the British colonies in that part of the world, and presenting the points on which they desire information in an extended series of questions—a copy of this circular has fallen into their hands! By what means this incendiary document has transpired, is to the present moment unknown; but the unfortunate individual whose copy has seen the light, is no other than George Ross, Esq., a stipendiary magistrate of the colony. To render the terrific missile harmless, the Governor, to whom it was conveyed as a great secret, immediately ordered it to be printed, and generally circulated; and, having reprimanded Mr. Ross for having made a more restricted use of it, he enjoined that gentleman to submit to his inspection the replies he intended to send to it. The whole colony is thrown into a state of intense excitement by this occurrence. "A copy of the questions," says the editor of the *Guiana Times*, with full-toned judicial dignity, "is lying before us." Now for our condemnation! How we tremble! "From frank, and veracious replies to them," proceeds this undeniable authority, "the colonists have nothing whatever to fear. For our own part, our packet summaries, years ago, published copious information about the several heads of enquiry." This is kind, and greatly relieving. Why, then, so much ado about nothing? Oh! but we are not yet come to the bottom of the affair! Only listen! "The case stands thus. Scoble is the agent of a party, some of the leaders of which recommend that our free-grown produce shall be exposed, in the markets of Great Britain, to open competition with the produce of slavery. In all human probability, he is a stipendiary of the Brazilian and Cuban planters. Zealously, at all events, does he serve their cause."

Astounding! our dear friend, and our old friend—the man whom we have been cherishing in our warmest affections, and making the confidant of our inmost thoughts, in so far at least as the matter of slavery is concerned—is "a stipendiary of the Brazilian and Cuban planters!" Out upon the wretch! the serpent! But stay! We see that he is charged also with being "the agent of a party, some of the leaders of which recommend that our [West Indian] free grown produce shall be exposed in the markets of Great Britain to open competition with the produce of slavery." Now this we know to be a mistake. The party of whom Mr. Scoble is the agent have set themselves in the strongest and most strenuous opposition to the measure named; and we can assert unhesitatingly that there is no greater or more irreconcilable enemy to it than Mr. Scoble himself. The one of these charges, therefore, being false, we may comfort ourselves with the hope that the other *may* be so too, and may venture to think that *perhaps* our old friend is not "a stipendiary of the Brazilian and Cuban planters." The imputation, however, is so grave, from such an authority, that we think we must scrupulously watch him, at least for a season.

But we are forgetting the circular, which must be mischievous, because the Society which has issued it is so mischievous. The *Guiana Times* says that it is "the English and Foreign Slavery Society;" and that "it put forth, in April last, with so feeble indications of disapproval, the project of allowing slave sugar to compete, without restriction, with free." Our contemporary adds, in a tone of sublime indignation the force of which we are unwilling to impair,—

"It is our belief that the cause of human freedom has nothing whatever to apprehend from the most minute examination of the effects of the experiment tried in the British colonies, if only protection against unjust competition with foreigners be secured them and you abstain from cursing them with your wanton and mischievous interference, you who seem to know nothing of what it is that the emancipated classes really stand in need of, and are prepared at a moment's notice to destroy every chance that they possess of becoming an honour and an ornament to the cause of freedom, as soon as three persons, dating their address from Bath, have been induced, probably by foreign gold, to issue their deceptive manifesto, which, report says, has been translated into the language of every country in which Africans are bought, chained, flogged, and, without jury, ay, without trial even, hanged or shot."

This hit is so marvellously home, that we could almost fancy ourselves "shot" when we had concluded the perusal of it. But, finding this is not absolutely the case, we take courage to breathe again, and to ask, What next? Where is the use of presses and

steamers, if the two sides of the world cannot become better acquainted with one another than this? Is it not strange that even the planters in the West Indies do not know by this time, that the resistance offered by the anti-slavery body in this country is the **only reason why** slave-grown sugar has been kept out of the British market until now, and the only hope that it will continue to be so? For ourselves, here we are, cudgelled on the one hand by the *League* for striving so hard to keep slave-sugar out, and tarred and feathered by the West Indians on the other for trying to bring it in! We can not deserve *both* these drubbings. One of our masters at least should be merciful.

But again we are forgetting the circular. Well, we are willing to abide by the character which the *Guiana Times* has given of it, that it asks for no improper information. And it has been sent to no improper persons. That it should be sent to *individuals* was the only way to get it answered at all. To none of them was it sent confidentially; so that in fact it has been shown to many planters, and actually answered by several. The Committee wish to have the queries answered by persons of all parties and opinions; and they will be truly rejoiced if the publication of the circular by his Excellency the Governor of British Guiana should promote this end. That the Committee wanted to know the present state of the West India colonies is true, and is a fact of which they do not know that they have any cause to be ashamed. Time was when documents containing information on this matter were annually laid on the tables of Parliament; but, this important and salutary practice having been dropped, there is now no means of obtaining information but private inquiry.

From the Jamaica papers we have given the latest intelligence. We are happy to learn from a Correspondent that the views and measures of the Earl of Elgin may be regarded as sincerely directed to the welfare of that island. Both the Trinidad and St. Lucia papers make some sharp comments on the immigration attitude and prospects of Jamaica. There are tenders in Trinidad to provide for only 1,800 Coolies, out of the 2,500 about to be sent there. The *Standard* appeals pitifully to "the wealthy planters," to "take up the odd 700."

THE American papers which have been received since our last supply many items of interesting intelligence, which will be found under the proper head. Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings are presenting to Congress many abolition memorials and petitions, much to the annoyance, as it would seem, of Southern men. The repeal of the gag-rule is said to have created a strong sensation among politicians of this class at Washington. Taking occasion by the correspondence between Mr. Shannon and Senor Rejou, President Tyler has sent a second message to Congress, not, as had been surmised, recommending warlike measures towards Mexico, but urging immediate measures for the annexation of Texas. Mr. Weller has introduced into the House of Representatives a new bill for this purpose, and resolutions to the same effect have been brought forward in great variety. The prevailing opinion, however, appears to be, that this scheme will fall through for the present session, and even the slaveholders themselves seem to think that the letter of Mr. Calhoun to Mr. King has injured rather than advanced it. The trial of the Rev. C. T. Torrey, of which an account will be found in another column, has issued, as was expected, in his conviction, and in his being sentenced to imprisonment in the Penitentiary for seven years and three months. Miss Webster, who, singularly enough, turns out to be a Colonizationist, and not an Abolitionist, has also been convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment in the Penitentiary for two years. We have as yet no account of the trial of Mr. Fairbank. From a perusal of the proceedings in these cases, as reported in the papers, it is evident to us that they have no regard to the real participation of the party in the alleged offence of aiding the escape of a slave; but that they are mere ebullitions of resentment when a slave happens to be missing, and that they are directed, in a manner at once reckless and ferocious, against any persons liable to a suspicion of abolitionism. Justice in these cases, even for the most innocent of parties, there is none. If seeming evidence is wanting, perjury supplies it; and, in default of all evidence, or in violation of all law, the frenzy of the mob demands conviction and punishment.

We have given from the papers the circumstances of Mr. Hoar's expulsion from Charleston; and we confess we agree with those who think that he did not do his duty.

The *Anti-Slavery Standard* states that the account of a conflict and murder in Ohio, on the part of some Kentuckians, "turns out to be a hoax."

In our last Number, we inserted a document addressed to the States of Denmark, praying for the abolition of slavery in the Danish West India islands. This document was signed by C. N. David, Professor and Councillor; Gruntvig, Parish-priest; D. G. Monrad, M.A.; Raffard, pastor; and Schouw, Professor; and read in the Assembly of the States of Roeskilde, on the 31st October, 1844, by Professor David, one of the deputies chosen by the citizens of Copenhagen.

We feel assured that the able arguments which have been thus addressed to the States assembled in the Danish capital have been read with lively interest and much satisfaction in the pages of the *Reporter*. We desire to render to the friends of the slave who have honourably distinguished themselves by this well-directed effort our sincere thanks.

In the commencement of this document, we read with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret the following passage:—"In the first Assembly of the Roeskilde States, in 1835, the late Count Holstein, whose noble character and lively feeling for the rights of humanity are generally acknowledged, brought forward a motion to petition his Majesty for the entire emancipation of the negro slaves in the Danish West Indian islands." We rejoice in learning for the first time that such a motion was nine years ago made by a Danish nobleman, and we are sorry that, by his death, the slaves in the colonies of Denmark are deprived of so valuable an advocate. It is no small consolation in contemplating this loss, to look to that little band of abolitionists in the Danish capital, who have resumed the work so nobly commenced by Count Holstein.

The loss sustained by the anti-slavery cause in Denmark in the death of this nobleman, reminded us forcibly of a similar loss experienced in past years in France, by the decease of the excellent Baron de Staél. We cherish the hope that persons no less distinguished by rank than those lamented noblemen will again be found to add to their titles of honour a far higher and more valuable distinction than the accidents of birth or station; but, whether this be the case or not, we rejoice in the assurance that an interest on behalf of the slave has been excited amongst a considerable number of persons possessing much influence from their talents and character, who will never cease from their labours until, in the words of the document before us, "the entire abolition of negro slavery" shall have been decreed.

The *Colonial Gazette* favours us with some notice, in its last number, of the Memorial of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Sir Robert Peel, which appeared in our columns on the 11th of December last. It is freely interlarded with the usual courtesies—"equivocation," "hypocrisy," "bad faith," &c.; and consists of two or three small criticisms, leaving the substance of the document untouched. This is one of the best proofs in the world that it is unassailable. As for our contemporary, we are quite sure that we cannot have his good word until we lend ourselves to the doings of Indian duffadars and African kidnappers. With respect to Mr. Clarkson, he is entirely misinformed. Although that venerable man is "too infirm to mix in general society," he is still in the vigorous use of his intellectual faculties, and perfectly in a condition to judge of all the documents transmitted to him for signature.

We are sorry to find in the *Cerneen* confirmation of the rumour which we mentioned in our last, that Lord Stanley has given permission to the Mauritians to resort to the east coast of Africa for immigrants. We hope to give more information on this astonishing matter in our next.

We have just received, from the Rev. J. Clarke, an account of an anti-slavery meeting recently held at Fernando Po, Western Africa. The proceedings we hope to give at considerable length in our next.

MR. FAIRBANK AND MISS WEBSTER.

From a letter from this estimable young lady, Miss Webster, which appears in the *Boston Chronicle*, we take the following narration:—

A Methodist clergyman, named Fairbank, a friend of mine from New York, was in this country on business; such as to render it important for him to see other ministers, members of the Conference, and frequently to ride into other counties. By request of Mrs. Glass, our landlady, I invited him what time he spent in the city to make a home with us, which invitation was accepted; not, however, without his paying in advance for his board. When the Sabbath came, after church bell rang, he was invited to preach in the first Presbyterian church in this city, of which I am a member. He did so, though without preparation, and was very much eulogised. Indeed, I have heard several citizens remark, that there was never before so good a sermon delivered in Lexington. Two weeks from that day morning, there were three valuable servants missing. A boy named Lewis, aged about twenty-six, with his wife and child. Handbills were immediately printed and issued in every direction. Runners were hastily despatched on every road, and three hundred dollars reward offered for their apprehension. The Sabbath and Monday were spent in vain. Not a trace could be found, not a breath heard of them, till at length they began to leave off caring for the property, and only cared to get hold of whoever it might be that had aided them. By the by, Northern and Eastern persons are always looked upon here with a jealous and suspicious eye; and on Monday evening, between six and seven o'clock, Mr. Fairbank was arrested on suspicion, and committed to gaol. Whether he said anything that gave them just ground for suspicion, I cannot say, but have good reason to believe he did not.

At eleven o'clock the same night, we were aroused by persons desiring to see all letters and papers in the possession of Miss Webster. I frankly and cheerfully delivered everything of the kind into their hands; and moreover, gave them my trunks for inspection, and offered them the key of my room. They, however, did not examine anything that night. But you know the maxim, "The more one has the more he wants;" and near midnight I was escorted to this room whence I have not egressed since that memorable hour. Next day I took the liberty to inquire on what authority I was arrested; and was answered, "You have been seen in the company of an Abolitionist." Oh! what a dark stain upon my character. My reputation was now down. My flourishing school scattered to the four winds—and I, not thrown upon the wide world, but rudely thrown into prison.

In the course of the day, (Tuesday) a letter was found among papers in my possession, addressed to me, written, as is supposed, by an Abolitionist. It is on account of this letter that I am retained in custody.

I tell my accusers that I defy them, "all powerful as they are," to find an individual in the State, old or young, black or white, bond or free, that will prove that he has or ever had, the remotest grounds for even suspecting me to be an Abolitionist. They will try their best, and I cannot say what they may accomplish; for it is my candid opinion, there are hundreds in this vicinity who would in the twinkling of an eye testify to anything, no matter what, for the sake of money, or if they thought perchance there was a possibility that, by their oaths, punishment might rest on the head of the Abolitionist.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—In the rural districts all appears to progress quietly and satisfactorily. Not only are there, no complaints, but the planters are looking forward to a comparatively abundant harvest, and fair returns for their trouble and outlay. Labour, we are informed, is wanted, and will be, to take off the canes now on the ground, as well as to enable those who desire to do so to extend their cultivation. Considerable uneasiness has, however, been occasioned by the declaration of Government, of its intention to reduce the duties on foreign sugar, and the measures in this respect which are to be submitted to Parliament are looked forward to with much anxiety and alarm.

In the Assembly the question of Immigration has engaged attention, and although the bill has not yet passed, we may mention what its provisions are likely, we might even say, certain to be.

1st. Twenty thousand pounds, the balance of thirty thousand voted last sessions for immigration purposes, are to be applied to the general purposes of immigration during the present year.

2nd. Thirty thousand pounds are to be placed at the disposal of the Governor to defray the expense of importing two thousand Coolies, authorized by the Government to be sent on from India.

3rd. Forty-five thousand pounds are also to be placed at the disposal of the Governor to meet the cost of importation of the additional three thousand Coolies applied for by the West Indian body in England, and should the resolution of the house not have reached the Government in time to enable it to countermand the order for their embarkation.

No person is to be permitted to employ a Coolie labourer unless he first enters into a bond to the Queen, to comply with all the rules and regulations respecting the employment and services of these people, which bond will be impressed with a 20s. stamp for each Coolie.

In other respects, the immigration act will remain as it is.

By this arrangement, the parties employing the two thousand Coolies, who are certain to arrive, will pay a sum of money equal to the interest at 5 per cent. upon the cost of their importation, and 500*l.* over. As the bond must be entered into by every person who employs a Coolie, this sum will increase in proportion to the number of persons employing these labourers during the five or more years they may remain here. This arrangement will also enable the Agent-General to trace the Coolies, and ascertain where and how they are employed.—*Morning Journal.*

ST. LUCIA.—THE CROP.—This year the sugar crop is the largest shipped from the colony since 1834, the last year of slave cultivation: and, if our planters had not been overtaken by the heavy rains in the month of June and July, which retarded their work in the manufacture of sugar, and compelled them to leave over a considerable quantity of canes, the result would have been much more favourable.—*Independent Press.*

TRINIDAD.—THE COMING COOLIES.—Under the directions of his Excellency the Governor, the Agent-General of Immigrants recently inserted an advertisement in the public papers, calling on all parties proposing to employ the Coolies about to be introduced here, to come forward with a statement of the number they were prepared to employ, and for whom they could provide suitable accommodation. The total applied for up to date amounts to only 1,800, and, we fear, unless some satisfactory assurance is given to his Excellency, that the other 700 will find employment and proper accommodation on their arrival, he will feel it his duty to desire the Secretary for the Colonies to curtail to a corresponding extent the number proposed to be sent out to Trinidad. Now there can be no doubt that 2,500 effective labourers could be introduced here, and active employment afforded them, without in the least interfering with our present labouring population; but we can well conceive that at the present moment of agricultural embarrassments, consequent on the partial failure of last year's crop, many of our planters, although they feel they will want the services of these people in crop time, are loath to go to the present expense attendant on providing proper accommodations for them; but we have planters who are not in embarrassed circumstances; and to them we appeal, for the honour of Trinidad, to make arrangements between them for taking up the surplus number, so that Trinidad may avoid the disgrace of being classed with Jamaica as a Coolie repudiator.—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—A petition to Parliament against the immigration loan and civil list ordinances has been forwarded from this colony, with 4,000 signatures, and many more persons would have signed it, but they dared not. The expression of opinion is stated by our correspondents to be extensively obstructed by intimidation.

MAURITIUS.—MARRIAGES.—It is with the greatest regret we observe that marriages are again subject to those difficulties and obstacles from which they had been exempted during some years. This is owing to the Procurur-General, who, under pretence of better adapting her Majesty's order in council of the 7th September, 1838, to the peculiar circumstances and condition of this colony, has seized the opportunity of

putting a few shillings into the capacious pockets of his well-beloved brother-in-law, at the expense of the artisan and labourer. Did the matter rest here we could pass it by; but when we see the awful extent of perjury that is thereby occasioned, we can but protest against it with all the energy of which we are capable. A man not born in the colony, nor possessing a certificate of his baptism, wishes to get married. In order to do so now, he must procure seven men, who very rarely know more about him than he chooses to tell them, who swear that he was born in such a place, and of such and such parents. What can be more monstrous than this?

The Legislative Council met on Monday (30th of September), the Governor in the chair, to discuss the ordinance respecting African emigration. It has been decided that the bounty for the introduction of male labourers shall be 5*l.* sterling a head, and for women 6*l.* 10*s.*; and that every vessel carrying immigrants shall be furnished with a license from the Governor. This last clause, proposed by the Colonial Secretary on the pretext of guarding the vessels engaged for this purpose from collisions with her Majesty's ships, was opposed by M. Barbe, on the ground of its conferring excessive powers on his Excellency. In the course of the discussion obstacles were continually arising from the state of ignorance in which we are as to the circumstances of the localities where labourers are to be introduced. Before passing this law an agent ought to have been sent to Africa, as is now proposed to be done.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—IN CONGRESS.—A memorial from respectable citizens in Pennsylvania, praying Congress to appropriate the public domain for the purchase and liberation of the slaves of the United States, was laid on the table of the House of Representatives on the 23rd ult., by ayes, 49; noes, 117.

The resolutions of Mr. Picken,—declaring that "the recent movement in the House of Representatives, in relation to the reception of petitions to abolish slavery, is calculated to endanger the peace of South Carolina, is a flagrant outrage upon their rights, and a decided step towards the subversion of their institutions; that on that subject South Carolina admits no legislative power in Congress; that such legislation will, in fact, be a dissolution of the federal compact; and that if there should be legislation on this subject by Congress, the Legislature of South Carolina be assembled to decide upon the manner in which to preserve and defend their ancient rights and liberties, which, it will be remembered, was unanimously adopted by the Senate of South Carolina," were, after a stormy debate, laid on the table and thus rejected, the Legislature shortly afterwards adjourning *sine die*.

AMERICAN POLITICS.—The Whigs lost Mr. Clay's election by the ambiguity and lukewarmness of his later declarations with regard to slavery, which disgusted the Abolitionists. And now Mr. Benton has come forward in the democratic party, as the fierce opponent of slavery, of Calhoun, and of immediate annexation. His plan is the creation or declaration of an increased number of anti-slavery states. Missouri, to which he belongs, is to set the example. It has already decreed a reform of its constitution, and delegates meet for this purpose in August next. The state is ripe and ready for declaring the abolition of slavery. Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware—perhaps Tennessee and North Carolina—are expected to follow the example. And then, according to Benton's plan, Texas might be annexed, as a class of future free states, maintaining the Mexican abolition of slavery.—*Morning Chronicle.*

SOUTHERN VIEWS ON ANNEXATION.—We find the following letter from Washington in the *Charleston Mercury*, a journal considered to express and receive the opinions of southern statesmen in Congress:—"Texas here is considered to be gone—gone—at least over to an extra session of Congress, if not to a much blacker place, so far as annexation is concerned. The correspondence of Mr. Shannon with Senor Rejom has awakened up amongst the democrats a great deal of Bentonian patriotism against your great and towering statesman; whilst the 'impossibility of continuing such a man at the head of the state department' is mournfully dwelt upon; and on the other hand, his powerful letter to Mr. King is seized upon as 'lending this government to the purposes of slavery'; and 'for the first time calling in the aid of kings to sustain this institution.' Under such auspices Texas must not be annexed to the Union. The 'stain' must be first wiped out; and in the final adjustment of the measure it must appear that it is not to aid slavery. Benton's Bill has 'some fairness in it'—(it places a tier of free states between Missouri and the Gulf.) But as to admitting Texas without stipulations for the north, it is out of the question. With such language in the mouths of democrats, you will perceive what will be the fate of Mr. Ingerson's position to annex Texas by a joint resolution to the Union on the terms of the treaty. If called up-to-morrow in the house, it would be laid on the table by a majority of from ten to twenty votes. Neither the whole of New Hampshire nor Maine (the firmest points of the north) will vote for it. Not more than four from New York, not more than four from Ohio. I have heard many members of Congress from the south speak on the subject, and they all agree that Texas is dead for this Congress. The southern men are indignant; but what matters their indignation, when operating upon northern phlegm, hardened by interest or cupidity? You of the south did not, I think, estimate the difficulties in your way on this great question, when Benton went off from the south, and by his traitorous proposition appealed to northern interests to support him. Northern men will find it difficult, if they were disposed to do it, to resist a proposition which is manifestly to their advantage. What, then, is to be done? You will not take Texas, shackled with new conditions dangerous to your peace. The north and west Whigs and democrats will not let you have it without them. The slavery question hops into the controversy, at the instigation of southern men. Thrust that out, and the whole north, of all parties, will be for admitting Texas into the Union; but with it, be assured you have the sympathies of neither party, whilst the late developments on the 21st rule, and the gracious reception and reference of abolition petitions, look very little like leaving Texas to the south, for her

disposition and control. It is now plain that the late Presidential election has neither 'settled' this nor any other question in your favour. The *Globe*, you will perceive, gives it up for this Congress."

MR. CALHOUN'S LETTER TO MR. KING.—View the subject under whatsoever aspect you please, the whole argument of Mr. Calhoun, concerning the interest and policy of Great Britain, is one of the wildest, most groundless, and, in some respects, the most puerile fiction that could be concocted in the brain of the veriest dreamer.—*Cincinnati Herald*.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN KENTUCKY.—There is a great deal of anti-slavery sentiment in this city, Louisville, much more than you would suppose. I know the real sentiments of most of our leading men, and I believe next year a decided step will be taken to amend the constitution of Kentucky, with a view to the extirpation of slavery. It is ruining us as a people, impoverishing us as a State, and poisoning our public and private morals, and I hope to see it destroyed even in Kentucky.—*Correspondent of the Democratic Freeman*.

THE AFRICAN SQUADRON.—The object of the American Government in sending out its armed vessels to the coast of Africa, is not to prevent the deportation of slaves from that country. The instructions of the American Government to its officers are, to make the maintenance of the honour of their country paramount to the professed object of the blockade—the extinction of slavery. The American Government is not dealing honestly with Great Britain in this matter. This is well understood in America, though it is denied by Sir Robert Peel.—*Emancipator*.

THE REPEAL OF THE GAG AND THE SOUTH.—The vote was strictly a Northern and a Southern vote; and I confess I feel deeply mortified and concerned. It will tend to inflame our Southern friends, and to produce, I fear, much mischief. It is thought by some that the movement covered a hidden purpose to strike down a certain Southern statesman, (Mr. Calhoun, of course,) by either throwing him in direct opposition to his State, and thus compel him to retire to private life, or otherwise doom him to a fixed minority in the whole country. Whether this be the object or not, I shall not stop to inquire. I look upon it with fearful forebodings, as indicating a want of sincerity and good faith, as well as good feelings on the part of our Northern friends. The result has produced profound sensation here.—*Washington Correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer*.

MR. HOAR'S MISSION TO SOUTH CAROLINA.—I am sorry to inform you that the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the agent of Massachusetts, for the assistance of imprisoned coloured seamen belonging to that State, *has been forcibly expelled from the city of Charleston*. Almost immediately on his arrival there, Mr. H. was informed that he would never be allowed to exercise his duties, and was requested at once to leave the city. I do not understand that any case had arisen requiring his action, but that this protest was in view of such a possibility. On his positive refusal to abandon the duties entrusted to him, he was told that if he would not withdraw he would be forced to do so. He replied, with some spirit, that force, of course, might be used, if they judged best—but by force only should he be removed from the post assigned to him—an attack on his life was merely a personal matter. At this juncture, the keeper of the hotel where he resided, refused him lodgings for any further time, and, in fact, turned him out of doors. Meanwhile there was ground to suppose that the mob of the city would attempt his life. He was, indeed, preserved from their hands only by a number of the more influential gentlemen of the city, who surrounded him, and compelled him to go on board the steam-boat for the North—escorting or guarding him thither that his life might not be sacrificed to the rage of the excited people. I do not understand whether any part of these proceedings were under the direction of the constituted authorities. They connived, however, evidently, at the whole matter.—*Washington Correspondent of the Boston Advertiser*.

THE LIBERTY VOTE.—When the Liberty Vote of New York and Ohio reached Kentucky last year, it put the slaveholders all aback. They began to see that you are in earnest; that hereafter you would control the elections; and in view of these facts began to speak of the abolitionists with more respect.—*Correspondent of the Democratic Freeman*.

THE AMERICAN FLAG AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—William Hall, Esq., in an address lately delivered at Trenton, said, that, in six months, thirty-five vessels under American colours had been brought into Rio Janeiro, with average cargoes of 500 slaves each, making in all 1,800.—*Cincinnati Herald*.

CASSIUS CLAY'S NEWSPAPER.—We learn that Mr. C. M. Clay is about establishing a paper in Louisville, Kentucky, for the advocacy of the emancipation of the coloured race.—*Christian Politician*.

TERROR AND OPPRESSION.—The Mayor of St. Louis has determined to enforce a clause of the city ordinances, which forbids negroes and mulattoes to hold any ball or religious meeting without a written permission from the Mayor.—*Free Labour Advocate*.

PROSPECTS OF THE CAUSE.—The great cause of human liberty advances irresistibly to its completion. Bad men may cry aloud—violence may prevail—many noble spirits may perish in the struggle—but a new fire burns in the bosoms of its worshippers, and man cannot extinguish it for ever. The late election in our union seem to favour the annexation of Texas and the forcible propagandism of slavery; and it was no doubt intended by the pro-slavery party that the election of Mr. James M. Polk, of Tennessee (president elect), should consummate these designs; but various and conflicting elements urged on the so-called democracy to concentrate all their votes, while upon the annexation of Texas there were reservations and protests. In fact, Mr. Polk is elected by a minority; Mr. Clay's votes, added to Mr. Birney's, making a majority of the voters of the union; so that I have yet hopes that Texas cannot be annexed to us. We feel here, some of us, the deep and damning dishonour that a war for the extension of slavery would stamp upon us among all nations; and our every effort will be exerted to avert the evil. God speed the right! I am sorry to say that our greatest stumbling-block is the recreancy of the southern churches, who are defending slavery from the Scriptures. I would that all Europe would keep up a continual and scattering fire of sarcasm and denunciation against such base prostitution of the Christian religion. Let it enter into the daily and periodical press—into the novels,

poems, and all other publications of Christendom, till we shall be ashamed to be slaveholders; and the church shall be cleared of the money-changers—of infamous traffic and hypocritical pretence.—*Our own Correspondent*.

HOW THE SOUTH WINCES!—**ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD.**—The *Republican* of yesterday morning cried, "Look to your slaves." It is, indeed, time that our citizens should open their eyes; but let their indignant search at once be directed after the slave corrupters, the scoundrel agents—resident or otherwise—who are among us. The *Republican* mentions two or three cases where parties have been made up for a "run," within a short time back—one of which, a few evenings since, was successful; and, yesterday morning Mr. James Bissell called upon us to instruct our sight with as cool a specimen of abolition insult as we have ever met with.

Some two months since, four slaves, belonging to Messrs. Bissell and Clayton, were spirited away from them. An agent went on as far as Chicago, and made every effort to trace the faint clue which had been afforded, but all in vain: the negroes were closely and securely hidden from inquiry. Yesterday morning he received, through the mail, the following precious document:

"Chicago, October 29, 1844.

"Dear Sir,—I have the satisfaction to inform you, that John and Lucy arrived safely here, *via* the underground railroad, and have left for Canada by steam. They love liberty, and are among friends. I communicate this information that you may be relieved of further expense in their behalf.

"Is it not your duty to dissolve your connection with slavery?

"Truly yours, &c.,

ANTI-SLAVERY.

"James Bissell, Esq."

This is a specimen of the humour indulged in, after a success, by the canting, skulking, skin-dried hirelings, in the employ of the Central Society—a hive of hornets, which is stinging the country into fever, if not frenzy. This is the species of *chuckle* enjoyed by these night-birds upon their infernal roosts; and let our citizens ask themselves if there be no evidence of at least one such existing in St. Louis? Let them keep their ears open, and they will hear it; let them keep their eyes open, and they will see it; or, let them shut both ears and eyes, and they may *smell* it!

We have headed our article with an offer of one thousand dollars reward; we might make it five thousand, and get it subscribed immediately, for the rending open of the foul nest and the *neck-wringing* of the brood which has darkly thriven amongst us. The "underground railroad" has been employed with considerable success, and its *conductors* don't exactly carry their badges on their hats, but they may find, when they least expect it, a wrong passenger on the track. One thousand dollars for the discovery of the *depot*!—*St. Louis Reveille*.

ABOLITION CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.—A proposition to hold an abolition convention at Washington on the 1st of March next has been started, the objects of which are stated thus:

"1. It will be to inquire minutely into the extent of slavery in the district of Columbia, and the territory of Florida.

"2. To get at facts relative to the sale and transfer of slaves, through the facilities furnished by the inter-state slave-trade under the protection of the flag of the United States, and to take measures for the abolition of said trade.

"3. To arrive, as far as may be practicable, at the amount of support which the Government indirectly furnishes to slavery by and through its diplomatic intercourse."—*Times Correspondent*.

PRESIDENT TYLER'S VISIT TO ENGLAND.—It is said that the President of the United States and his lady will visit this country in May next. The Rev. Mr. Wright, of Philadelphia, who is at present on a visit at Belfast, has addressed a letter to the Northern Whig, in which he speculates as to what sort of a reception will be given in this country to "this presidential man-stealer" whom he accuses not only of being a slaveholder and dealer, but of actually selling several of his own children.—*Liverpool Times*.

TEXAS.—The annual message of President Houston was sent to Congress on the 5th. Concerning the relations of the republic with Great Britain and France, the message speaks thus:

"The Governments of Great Britain and France still maintain towards us those sentiments of friendship and good feeling which have ever marked their intercourse with us, and which it should continue to be our studious care, by every proper manifestation on our part, to strengthen and reciprocate. There is no ground to suspect that the late agitation of international questions between this Republic and that of the United States has, in any degree, abated their desire for our continued prosperity and independence, or caused them to relax their good offices to bring about the speedy and honourable adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico. That they should evince anxiety for our separate existence and permanent independence as a nation is not only natural, but entirely commendable. They will never require of us, I am fully assured, any sacrifice of honour or interest; and if they did, we should be quite free, as I am certain we should be ready, to refuse it."

The following is the only passage referring to the recent negotiations with the United States:

"Our relations with the United States remain in the same condition as at the time of my last annual communication. We are still without any treaty stipulations between the two countries. Within the last two years all attempts at their establishment have been negatived by the ratifying power of that Government. That any effort for the same purpose will meet with better success, for some time to come, I am wholly unable to determine."

The message says, that, in all but the name, Texas is at peace with Mexico.

HAVTI.—AMICABLE DIVISION INTO TWO REPUBLICS.—By the arrival of the *Marian Gage*, at this port, from St. Domingo, we learn that the Spanish part of the island has been organized into a republic separate from the other, as "The Republic of Dominica." Its independence has been recognized by the Haitian government. Among the passengers in the *Marian* are Joseph Billin and Dr. Caumiaro, commis-

sioners from Dominica to the United States. They seek a recognition by our Government of their independence, and wish to negotiate a commercial treaty of the United States.—*American Paper.*

The Government has printed 12,000 copies of the Address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and sent them into every part of the Republic. It is everywhere received with the most entire satisfaction.

CUBA. SUGAR CROP.—By late accounts from Havana, we learn that the exports of sugar from Cuba, up to the end of July, were 702,647 boxes, against 511,400 for the same period last year. Of this quantity, 171,250 boxes have been shipped to the United States. The crop of sugar at present on the ground in Cuba is expected to be both deficient and late. The canes were reckoned fully six weeks behind hand.—*Jamaica Times.*

FRANCE.—M. Guizot has announced the formation of a mixed commission on the right of search. The *Times* intimates that it is to be composed of the Duke of Broglie and Dr. Lushington.

SPAIN.—LAW AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE.—You will be surprised to learn, or rather I should say you will not be surprised, that the most vigorous opposition that threatens the new penal law proposed in the Senate by Martinez de la Rosa for the carrying out the slave-trade treaty of 1835, comes from those who call themselves "Liberals," who are incessantly clamouring for freedom, and who are, day after day, uttering the most eloquent denunciations against despotism, tyranny, and oppression. It is well that the principle of constitutional freedom endures the same, no matter what may be the instruments appointed to work it out. But it is intolerable, I could even say disgusting, to hear men who talk so glibly and so fluently of the oppression under which they themselves groan, attempt to resist the effort now made to put a stop to the abominable traffic in human beings. The part of the following extract from the *Clamor Publica* which will perhaps strike you particularly is that where the writer affects to believe the thousand and one falsehoods repeated so often for the paltry purposes of faction, and to excite the evil passions of the ignorant or the simple, by the French opposition press, and as many times refuted. Do not suppose that the writer in the *Clamor* believes one word of what he says. His trade is opposition to the Government, and nothing more; unless, indeed, we may suppose that he and his friends have a direct personal interest in remaining the buyers and sellers of human flesh, whilst they are proclaiming themselves the apostles of freedom. Such apostles do more harm to the cause of national liberty than all the tyrants on the soil of Spain. The following is an extract from the article in question:—

Speaking of our colonies, we cannot omit the slavery question, which is so connected with their prosperity—a social, political, and international question—one, in fact, of humanity and justice. The Government, in strict observance of the treaties made with England in 1817 and 1835, has just submitted to the Senate a project of penal law against those who are employed in the traffic of negroes, and this requires some observations from us.

It is lamentable to think that a question of internal policy and arrangement, exclusively of a domestic nature, should have become an international one, and that Spain and its Government should be bound by a solemn pact to do what should be merely the spontaneous result of its own will, at the same time consulting the real interests of the colonies and of the mother country. It was easy to foresee that a treaty with a maritime nation so rich and so powerful as England, although in appearance the conditions of it be equal, must always redound to the exclusive benefit of the stronger country, and become, besides, the constant cause of contests and disputes humiliating to the Spanish dignity, of plots and intrigues, and maintain in the island a focus of discontent and disturbance which will pave the way for its entire separation from the mother country. It is not now our intention to recapitulate the proofs of our assertion; they are written in blood in the island of Cuba. Every one laments the imprudence of the Government at entering on a route so full of difficulties, and in which it will soon become more involved than it is desirable for the interests of the country or its own.

"The right of search produced consequences no less fatal to the commerce of Spain. The whole of the advantage has been for Great Britain, the whole of the annoyances and humiliations for us. Opinions have changed for the better after so many significant and eloquent events; and every nation, with the sole exception of England, that has been bound by such treaties, is now trying to get rid of them, and is struggling for the abolition of so vexatious a right, and which can be abused so easily. And if such things occur where France is concerned—France, the rival of the Queen of the seas—what will become of Spain—Spain prostrate, poor, and without a navy?

"We have no intention of advising a disregard to treaties, which the Government is bound to keep. But we desire, and we demand in the name of the independence and dignity of the Spanish nation, that the most efficacious means shall be adopted to release us from so shameful a guardianship, and free us from a yoke which is every day more hard and insupportable. An end must be put to that intervention which, under the pretext of treaties, England possesses on matters connected with our colonies; and we believe that to attain that point no sacrifice is too great.

"Perhaps we are mistaken, but the promulgation of the penal law was a favourable opportunity to obtain that object. To deprive Great Britain of the interference which she has claimed in our internal affairs, on the condition of destroying the dissolving action of the abolitionist societies established there, we might have gone even to the extreme of declaring the traffic in slaves piracy, and obtain, by a new treaty, the following conditions:—1. The abolition of the Mixed Commissions established on the coast of Africa and in the colonies. 2. That England recognise the right of the Spanish nation, and of its Government, to regulate the political and civil rights of its own subjects in both hemispheres. 3. That England abstain from interfering in the government and administration of our colonies under the pretext of slavery, and that it should never be mixed up with the mercantile transactions of both people.

"By a pact of such a nature, the social question of slavery in the island of Cuba might be terminated in a peaceful and honourable manner,

without the humiliating haste displayed by a foreign people who, under the cloak of philanthropic and humane ideas, conceal projects and views the most selfish and covetous."

That there are many persons interested in the opposition to the penal law there can be little doubt. But the late events that have occurred in Cuba, and the great danger the white population barely escaped from, have heartily frightened those who would be otherwise the greatest sticklers for the conservation of the disgusting traffic, but who are, at the same time, decided enemies to oppression, except, of course, in the case of the helpless African.

It is supposed that the matter will be brought on again to-morrow in the Senate, and the report laid on the table.

It may, however, be no harm to mention that there are suspicions abroad that a secret influence has been at work on the subject. It was believed, whether justly or not, that the French ambassador now and then interfered in the matter, though not for the purpose of advancing it.—*Times Correspondent.*

GERMANY.—Of 19,863 persons who emigrated from Germany in 1844, 496 went to Texas.

THE DUTCH INDIES.—FAILURE OF THE CROPS.—*"Rotterdam, Jan. 13th.* We are able positively to state, that the directors of the Netherlands Commercial Company have received letters from Batavia, by the Overland India Mail, informing them that in consequence of the failure of the crops, it will be proper for them to freight at present 9,000 tons of shipping less, to fetch the produce of 1844. It is the coffee crops which have suffered by far the most, and that belonging to private persons seems to be much more favourable."—*Times.*

Miscellanea.

THE SUGAR TRADE.—The circular of Messrs. Trueman and Cook, contains some observations of much public interest on the sugar question. They are as follows:—

"During the whole year the sugar trade has been subjected to a torturing uncertainty, which exercised the most baneful influence upon every one engaged in it, and depressed the colonial interest to a ruinous extent. There has been a continued decline in price, and the daily transactions, which were formerly carried on with unexampled facility, have become labours of extreme difficulty. The loss upon the net proceeds of the sugar imported is little less than three-fourths of a million sterling, (of which the *Gazette* average prices present a very fallacious view, confined as they are to this port, and excluding the rest of the United Kingdom,) and this, be it remembered, has fallen upon an interest confessedly requiring relief, and might have been avoided by a more prompt and decisive policy. The evils of suspense and delay being so manifest, Government will no doubt be strongly urged, by the different interests connected with the trade, to make an immediate statement of their intentions upon the assembling of Parliament—a request there can be no impropriety in, after the Premier's explicit and reiterated declaration, that the sugar duties must be decided simultaneously with the property-tax, which will expire in April. Assuming that the property-tax will be continued, a reduction of the duty on sugar, according to official promise, will follow as a matter of course; the first consideration of interest therefore is, to what extent it should be made. Nothing short of a reduction to 10s. per cwt. will give any efficient stimulus to consumption; and the interests of our East India and colonial possessions loudly claim assistance to promote the consumption of a production, their growth of which will be largely increased. During the past year, although the price of sugar underwent a considerable decline, and the ability of the people to consume it materially improved, yet the increase of consumption has not exceeded 5,000 tons; while in 1843, a less prosperous year, it was 9,000 tons over that of 1842. This comparatively unfavourable result is, no doubt, greatly owing to the adulteration, by means of potato flour, &c., so often alluded to, which has now reached an extent enormous almost beyond credibility, and can only be put down by such a reduction in the duty as will render the process unprofitable. A duty of 15s. per cwt. is still occasionally spoken of, but it would be entirely unsatisfactory, and would certainly not bring more to the revenue than one of 10s., as it would be ineffectual in putting an end to the fraud of admixture. The difficulty and annoyance practically attendant upon the levying of discriminating duties render them extremely undesirable, and almost impracticable; but a general duty of 10s. per cwt. upon all British grown sugar would be so low as probably to unite in its support even the advocates of a discriminating duty. The differential impost upon foreign free labour sugar, fixed last year at 10s. per cwt., will no doubt be maintained; and nothing has publicly transpired leading to the supposition that any alteration is at present intended with respect to slave-grown sugar. Of foreign sugar, the produce of free labour, there have not yet been any arrivals with the required certificate. Upon a careful comparison of East and West India and Mauritius sugar with Manilla and Java, it will be found that the former (adding the additional duty) are 1s. per cwt. cheaper than the latter, thus rendering the late legislative measure almost nugatory. Future prices of East and West India and Mauritius sugar will now be indirectly dependent upon the prices generally of foreign sugar in bond, inasmuch as the value of such qualities as are admissible for home consumption at the free labour duty will of course be influenced by that of other foreign sugar; but apart from this consideration, as the supplies from the East and West Indies and Mauritius will be much increased, and come in early, anything beyond a maintenance of present prices in the home market cannot be expected.

"The total imports into the United Kingdom of East and West India and Mauritius for 1844 amount to 211,000 tons, against 204,200 in 1843, and 207,000 in 1842; the deliveries to 208,000, against 202,400 and 193,800; and the stock is 44,500, against 42,800 and 41,500.

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEAR FRIENDS.—The deep interest we take in the prosecution of the anti-slavery cause in your country, coupled as it is at the present moment with so many interesting and important circumstances,—some of a hopeful and others of a painful character,—induces us to address you for the purpose of expressing our cordial sympathy with you in the great object of your labours, the unabated confidence we feel in your prudence and zeal in its promotion, and the hopes we cherish of its speedy and triumphant success.

Among the recent events which have occasioned us much pain is the incarceration in the common jails of Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Kentucky, and Florida, of several estimable individuals, of both sexes, on the alleged ground of their having either counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from the yoke of bondage. In the case of one of these Christian philanthropists we learn that to the indignity of chains and imprisonment have been added the torture of branding with a red-hot iron, and the insults of the pillory. For many long years most of them will have to endure the privations, labours, and seclusion of their prison-houses, and some of them to mourn over their separation from the dearest objects of their affections, their wives and children. And for what are they sentenced to endure torture, insult, and injury, the privation of liberty, and of endeavouring intercourse of friends? Not for having violated, but for having practically vindicated the sublime declaration of your constitution, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;"—not for having broken, but for having given practical effect to the royal law of love, that "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them." They have sought to deliver the poor when he cried from the hand of him that oppressed him, and for this they have been condemned to heavy and degrading punishments. This new outrage on our common humanity and religion will not fail, we trust, to give intensity to the feeling of abhorrence with which all good men should regard the horrid system of slavery, requiring as it does, for its support, laws which declare acts of humanity to be crimes, and that punish deeds of Christian benevolence as felonies. We shall not forget our brethren in their affliction; and you will derive a new motive from their "bonds and imprisonment" to increased exertion to free your country from its guilt and infamy.

Another event has also deeply grieved us: we allude to the course which certain individuals representing the Free Church of Scotland have pursued on the question of slavery, both in your country and in our own. In the United States, where, on their own principles, they ought to have been the most eloquent advocates of freedom, they were silent on that great iniquity which reduces to the condition of "chattels personal in the hands of their masters" three millions of immortal beings—they were silent—they bore no open, manly, and Christian protest against it, and, for this cruel abandonment of their duty, they were rewarded with the approbation and with the gold of the slaveholders to cast into the treasury of their church! At home, as a necessary consequence, they have become the studied apologists of the oppressor, and without either discrimination or justice have attacked you the friends of the oppressed. With the ignorant and uninformed among us, with those who seek apologies for inactivity in the great cause of humanity and freedom, this may do mischief for a time; whilst among you it may strengthen, we trust for a brief period only, the hands of your enemies and the abettors of slavery. Nevertheless we are not without ground of hope that there are many men of reputation and piety in the Free Church of Scotland who will steadily and boldly resist this attempt to implicate the great body of its members in upholding the impious system; and will give their countenance and support to the noble efforts you are making for its complete extinction. You may rest assured that we shall not allow this grave matter to pass over in silence, nor lose any favourable opportunity that may be afforded us of defending you from calumny, and of pleading the cause of our enslaved brethren against those whose sympathies, we regret to say, are more largely manifested towards the oppressor than the oppressed.

We now turn to subjects of a more bright and cheering character. It is with the greatest satisfaction we observe the progress of right principles among the different sections of the Christian church in your country. The consciences of multitudes have evidently been awakened to feel the deep criminality of slavery, and the duty of the church to purge itself thoroughly from all connection with it. This important movement, so accordant with the benign spirit and precepts of the gospel, cannot fail to augment its force, and pursue its triumphs, until the reproach which has been cast upon the

church, as the bulwark of slavery, shall be for ever done away, and the wails of the captive be heard no more within her borders. Continue your labours of love in this direction: it will be fruitful of blessings. Under the Divine benediction, as your chief strength, so your chief hope of success, lies here.

Next in importance to this movement in the church, we regard the formation and progress of the Liberty party. As deeply interested spectators, we have narrowly watched its course during the late presidential election, and have little to deplore beyond the unprincipled conduct of its enemies, and the sad defection, in a few instances, of those whom we have been wont to regard as standard-bearers in the cause of the enslaved. Of this we are convinced, however, that so long as it maintains its anti-slavery platform irrespective of party claims and personal objects, so long as its aim be single, and its action pure, it will increase in numbers and influence, until by its moral and political strength, it shall break down every opposing barrier, and the great end for which it was formed, be perfectly accomplished.

We have to congratulate you on the first triumph of the anti-slavery cause in your Legislature during its present session: the revocation of the rule which prevented petitions relating to the abolition of slavery from being received by it, is a proof that public opinion has felt the power of your principles, and that the House of Representatives itself, could no longer resist its force. This opens the way for a vigorous, united, and extensive appeal to this body on the greatest questions that can engage its attention. We are persuaded that you will not fail to avail yourselves of it, and pour your petitions into the House until its power shall be exerted to redress the mighty wrongs of which you complain. We shall wait with the deepest interest for the fruits of this great victory.

In relation to the annexation of Texas to the United States our hopes and fears alternate. The unscrupulous character of the present Government, the avowed intentions of the President elect, the stake which the slaveholders have in the question, fill us, at times, with serious apprehension and alarm. We fear lest by some violent measure of the executive, or some wretched compromise of Congress, the fatal step may be taken, and the new republic be permanently devoted to slavery, and a bloody war risked, not only with Mexico, but with other nations who have great interests at stake, apart from those of humanity and freedom, in that part of the world. Every lover of peace, as well as every friend of liberty, above all, every Christian both in your country and in ours, should exert himself to avert so great a calamity from the human race. On the other hand, we cannot abandon the hope that so fearful a catastrophe may be prevented, when we consider the divided counsels of the democratic party on the subject, the avowed hostility of the Whig party as a body to such a measure, and the determined opposition of the Liberty party, and the Abolitionists generally, to so infamous a scheme. To this we may add, the utter scorn with which civilized Europe would regard such an abandonment of all right principles as it would involve. We look also to the attitude which Texas herself assumes on the question. It is evident she does not press for annexation, however much some of her people may desire it; and, in fact, her interests, rightly understood, are opposed to it. Once secure in her independence, with free institutions and a free people, she would rapidly gain strength, develop her resources, and consolidate her power. But we need not speculate further, inasmuch as a short time will probably decide this momentous question.

We have learned with satisfaction the proposed Anti-Slavery Convention which it is suggested shall be held in the city of Washington. We trust such a convocation of the friends of liberty and humanity will take place, and that its deliberations may be followed with the happiest results.

In Europe the cause of abolition is onward. France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden may be said to have conceded the principle of slave emancipation, and that it is now with their respective legislatures and governments solely a question of time and mode; and with whatever reluctance some of them may appear to enter upon its consideration, it is certain nevertheless that events, combined with the constantly increasing interest felt in the subject, are rapidly hastening it to a final solution. The conviction everywhere prevails that emancipation must take place. Our earnest desire is that it may take place soon.

We need not say how deeply gratified we should be were the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, in such a position as would leave you free to co-operate with us on the general question. Africa is still desolated to supply the slave-markets of the world with victims. Countless millions of the human race, scattered over the face of the earth, are subjected to a tyranny the most cruel, and to a degradation the most complete. In the ultimate success of our

holy cause their liberty and happiness are bound up. May we labour for them with assiduous zeal, and be cheered with the conviction that "our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

London, February 3, 1845.

SURINAM.

In the *Reporter* of the 25th December last, we inserted an address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to British subjects holding slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam, pointing out the criminality of the system they sustain, and urging them to abandon it as a duty which they owe both to God and to man.

From facts which have come to our knowledge, we have good reason to believe the appeal of the Committee has not been without effect, both in Holland and in England. One of our contemporaries, the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, has devoted an article in reply to the address, especially to that part of it which refers to the religious instruction of the slaves in the colony. Having quoted the following part of the address—

As a consequence of the injustice, inhumanity, and immorality of the system, the slaves are, for the most part, if not universally, kept in a state of the grossest ignorance. From their minds the blessed light and grace of Heaven is shut out upon principle. To instruct and enlighten them is deemed incompatible with their servile state. Let us not be told that they are taught on many estates religious truth, by missionaries and others. We are aware that there is the semblance of this on some plantations; but allow us to ask under what limitations and restrictions is instruction allowed to be imparted? We know, from past experience in the British colonies, that so long as slavery is permitted to exist, instruction worthy of the name cannot be imparted—it is impossible. As the slaves live, so they die, ignorant and unblest, and leave to their posterity the same degraded and wretched inheritance.

The *Courant* thus proceeds :—

Such may have been the case in the British colonies, but such is not the case in the Dutch colony of Surinam. In that colony the instruction of the missionaries is no mere appearance; there no instruction is given under limitations and restrictions; and there it is no impossibility to give instruction, worthy of the name, under the system of slavery.

On nearly every plantation there the missionaries have free access. On some there is a resident missionary, as on plantation "Rust en Werk," in order to spread the light of the gospel amongst the black population, and to teach them to read when they shall desire it, that thus they may become a religious and moral people, and learn that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour.

It is not difficult to prove this demonstratively, the Moravian brethren at Zeist can confirm it; and the English commissary, Schenley, at Surinam, must acknowledge that we speak the truth.

True as are the abovementioned facts, no less false are the accusations against the Dutch colonists. These colonists are neither cruel nor immoral. And as a proof that the slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam are at least as well treated as the free labourers in Demerara, the following statement may suffice; that of forty free labourers who, through the assistance of the British commissary Schenley, in August, 1843, were sent in a Government vessel to Demerara; and who applied to Capt. Meyer, of the Dutch schooner, the *Beschermer*, complaining of their present lot, and earnestly desiring to return to Surinam, in order to work there as they used to do, and place themselves, according to what was said at the period in the *Guiana Times*, again under the barbarous regime of the Spanish buck, and the lash of the government of the colony of Surinam. Besides this, several runaway slaves have addressed themselves to the beforementioned captain to beseech him to bring over their former masters, to take them again into slavery, being willing to submit themselves to the punishment that would be inflicted upon them for their escape.

These are official facts, and the best answer to the shameful accusations so basely and calumniously brought forward against the planters by the so-called friends of the negro.

It is desirable that his Excellency, the Minister of the Colonies, should be acquainted with these facts, in order that it may be seen clearly by him that the Surinam colonists do not deserve the reproaches of the friends of Africa; and that his Excellency, being convinced by the injustice of the accusations against the planters, may displace the members of the colonial government who have induced his Excellency to form the erroneous opinion that the planters were cruel, and opposed to every thing—opposed to improvement and progress. The contrary is the fact.

Had not one of our correspondents informed us that this reply was quoted by the pro-slavery party in Holland as a triumphant refutation of the statement contained in the address, we should have allowed it to pass with a cursory remark; but inasmuch as some importance is attached to it, we shall examine how far the reply may be dignified by the appellation of a refutation.

In opposition to the address, our contemporary asserts that the instruction of the negroes by the missionaries in Surinam is not in appearance only, but is without limitations or restrictions, and is worthy of the name. In proof of this assertion it is alleged, that the missionaries have free access to the slaves on nearly every plantation—that on some there is a resident missionary to spread the light of the gospel—that such of the blacks as desire it may be taught to read—and that, to use the words of our contemporary, "they may thus become a religious, a moral people, and learn that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour." In confirmation of these assertions we are referred to the Moravian brethren at Zeist, and to Mr. Schenley, the British Commissary Judge at Surinam.

We should be extremely well pleased to find our contemporary correct, for it would be a proof to us that the planters in Surinam had begun to recognise the claims of their slaves to be regarded as men requiring, equally with themselves, to be instructed in the truths of religion; and that, conscience being enlightened thus far, we might cherish the hope that they would soon admit their claims to freedom—to which also, as men, they are equally entitled with themselves. But the satisfaction of believing this is, at least for the present, denied us.

The number of slaves in Surinam is estimated at about 45,000. These are scattered over 400 plantations in different and distant parts of the colony, inaccessible for the most part, except by boats in seasonable weather.

According to an official statement published under the authority of the branch of the Moravian Missionary Society existing in this country, it appears that there were settled in June 1844, at Paramaribo, five missionaries; at Charlottenberg, four missionaries; at Worstellings, Jacobs, two missionaries; at Rabeby, one missionary; and at Salem, one missionary; in all, thirteen missionaries, besides the wives of those that were married, and certain assistants, making in all thirty-one persons. Now, supposing the whole of the thirteen missionaries were constantly occupied in visiting the slaves on the plantations, which they are not, except occasionally, the number to be instructed would far exceed their ability; but, when it is remembered that these missionaries have to superintend the churches gathered at their principal stations, and to provide for public worship on Sundays, as well as during the week, it is quite clear that but very few of them can be spared to impart instruction to the plantation negroes, and that the instruction imparted must be of a meagre and casual kind. At Paramaribo the number of negroes under instruction is reported to be 3,277; at Charlottenburg, 3,322; at Worstellings Jacobs, 2,447; Rabeby, 78, and Salem, 653; in all, 9,477. This was the report for June. Subsequently, in November of the same year, we learn that Worstellings Jacobs had been abandoned, that deaths had occurred at other stations, and that at Charlottenburg five of the brethren and sisters were "lying seriously ill of fever;" so that it would appear that, towards the close of last year, few of the missionaries were at liberty to attend to the instruction of the negroes, and that, if we deduct the 2,147 which have been abandoned at Worstellings Jacobs, from the 9,477 reported in June, we have left 7,330 as the true number of negroes under the care, if it can be so designated, of the missionaries. But we are informed that there is a missionary settled on Plantation Werk-en-Rust for the benefit of the negroes there. Be it so—the number of negroes on that estate is 170.

As to the instruction imparted to the negroes we believe it to be of the nature stated by our contemporary, "that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour." This, to be sure, is very excellent teaching; but are these missionaries allowed to go a step further, and to teach their masters to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal?" In other words, wages instead of the whip—liberty instead of slavery? We fear not; for in so doing they would condemn themselves. Unhappily, the Moravian missionaries in Surinam are too deeply involved in the system of slavery to allow of their being faithful to the high trust reposed in them.

As to the general treatment of the slaves in Surinam, the fact of their rapid decrease would be sufficient, one would think, to convince our contemporary that it was the reverse of humane. If, however, he be unconvinced upon this point, we refer him to the official papers laid before the British Parliament last year, extracts from which were inserted in the *Reporter* of the 16th of October last.

Without calling into question the truthfulness of our contemporary, relative to the desire expressed by the liberated slaves removed some time since from Surinam to Demerara to return to their former condition, we state it as our conviction that he has been imposed upon by his informant, and that it will turn out, upon examination, to be a pure fable. The people are as free to return to Surinam as they were to leave it. No obstacle can be thrown in their way by the authorities if such be their purpose, as none exists in law.

THE LATE OUTBREAK IN DOMINICA.

A PARLIAMENTARY paper has just been published, containing the official correspondence which has taken place between the functionaries abroad and the Government at home, in relation to the disturbances in Dominica in June last. Our readers, consequently, can now see to what extent the accounts we have already laid before them are confirmed. We shall mark a few passages in italics, as worthy of special attention.

In his first despatch, dated the 11th of June, the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy, writes to Lord Stanley as follows:—

Your lordship will observe that the act of taking the census was the pretext for the commencement of the acts of violence which have unfortunately occurred. It is, however, beyond a doubt that for some time past evil-disposed persons have been going about the island, taking advantage of the ignorance of the lower orders, to excite them, and impress them with the idea that the Government intended to reconvert them into slaves. Many of these persons are said to be refugees who have escaped from slavery in the French islands. This idea, however preposterous, seems to have taken a strong hold of the minds of these ignorant people, and the consequence was their simultaneous rising against the census commissioners and enumerators at various and distant places on the 3rd

of June. I have no doubt that acts of indiscretion on the part of some of the commissioners and enumerators, and previous threats from the manager of an estate in one of the districts where the disturbances took place, who is stated to be a man of violent temper, to the effect that "they should soon have the cat on their backs again," contributed to exacerbate and excite them to resistance.

And in relation to the same point he writes as follows, in a subsequent despatch, dated June 25:—

With respect to the real cause which led to the rising of the labourers, in opposition to the local authorities, I trust it will be in my power to furnish your lordship, by the next packet, with a more accurate opinion than I can at present form, as by that time I shall have received Mr. Laidlaw's report of the result of a searching inquiry, which I directed him to institute, both with respect to the advantage which had been taken by some designing and mischievous persons of the ignorance of the labourers to induce them to believe that they were again to be reduced to slavery, and also as to the conduct of other persons, whose business it was to have prepared the minds of the people by explaining to them the object of the census, and undeviatingly as to the mischievous reports which had been spread abroad respecting it.

In the meantime, I feel confident that many circumstances will come to light, which, if they will not entirely excuse, will greatly extenuate the conduct of far the larger number of the peasantry who took part in the disturbances; and that had proper precautions been taken, in compliance with Mr. Laidlaw's directions and requests, no attempt would have been made, either actively or passively, to resist the laws, or oppose the commissioners and enumerators in the execution of their duties. I feel justified in making this assertion, from the fact that in the northern part of the island, where the stipendiary magistrates are resident, and on the whole of Mr. Laidlaw's estates, no opposition was offered, and no disturbance took place; while, on the contrary, in the southern parts, where the stipendiary magistrates are not resident, and where but little precaution appears to have been exercised, the most serious disturbances occurred.

It is scarcely necessary that I should add, that I lost no time in ordering the two stipendiary magistrates alluded to (Mr. Lynch and Mr. Johnson) to proceed at once to their districts, and to remain there.

In his despatch to Sir Charles Fitzroy, on the 10th of June, Mr. President Laidlaw gives the following account of the proceedings of the militia at Grand Bay, under Captain M'Coy:—

Captain M'Coy halted his men, and advanced by himself, to know for what purpose they were assembled; their answer was, "For nothing." Captain M'Coy then told them it was unlawful for armed men to be together as they were. At this moment a shower of stones, broken glass, bottles, and other missiles were thrown by a party in ambush at the men, on which they instantly, and without any order to that effect, fired; when they made off, leaving a woman dangerously wounded behind. This was towards the close of the evening; and pursuit was not attempted. On the following morning Captain M'Coy formed his detachment into several divisions, and ordered them to the respective estates, on his march to the Geneva property, where the negroes were more violent than elsewhere; but the majority of them retired into the woods, and the others concealed themselves about the houses. The party under Mr. Bellot attempted to capture one of the ringleaders; but he resisted, ran into his house, returned with a dagger, exclaiming, with his breast bared and beating it, that he had drunk rum and gunpowder, and that he had room for a dozen bullets in it. The men endeavoured to take him prisoner; but he wounded one of them in the arm with his dagger: and they were obliged, in self-defence, to shoot him. They afterwards struck off his head, and placed it on a pole at the Berricca estate; which, although a measure that I did not contemplate, had the effect of striking terror into the whole of the quarter; and a great number were soon afterwards taken prisoners. Captain M'Coy advanced upon the Stowe estate, where many of the most violent had resorted to. The detachment under his command surrounded the negro houses, and took a great many prisoners. One man made a rush from amongst them, and attempted suicide with a razor, but ineffectually, and he is in a fair way of recovery. Previously to Captain M'Coy's advance upon this quarter, the insurgents had entered the dwelling-houses of the respective estates, ransacked them, destroyed every article of furniture, &c contained in them, and pillaged the provisions. This destruction of property I have some reason to think was occasioned by the intemperate conduct of one of the commissioners of population, and a manager in that quarter; but cannot speak positively to this point. I have directed the matter to be investigated, when I shall report further in regard to it to your Excellency.

The following is an extract of a despatch from Lord Stanley to the Governor-General, dated July 16, 1844.

I request that you will convey to Captain M'Coy, of the militia force, Her Majesty's satisfaction with the activity and judgment evinced by him on this occasion. And I am also to state the favourable impression which Her Majesty has received of the general conduct of that force. It will be necessary, however, that an inquiry should be made into the fact of Captain M'Coy's company having fired without orders. It is also indispensible to make inquiry into the fact of the head of one of the insurgents who was killed, having been cut off and exhibited on a pole for the purpose of striking terror. Such an act cannot be approved, whatever may have been the immediate effect produced.

With reference to your report, that the outbreak may be in part attributable to acts of indiscretion on the part of some of the census commissioners and enumerators, and also on the part of the manager of an estate, I should wish to be furnished, as soon as the disturbances shall have been completely suppressed, with such further information as you may be able to procure on this subject.

In a despatch to Sir C. Fitzroy, dated June 26, Mr. Laidlaw says:—

I had the matter of Mr. — breaking open the people's houses on the — estate investigated by Messrs. O'Sullivan and Lloyd, and I am

happy to be able to acquit that young gentleman of any wilful intention of injuring them in the slightest degree.

The conduct of the "young gentleman" thus honourably acquitted is spoken of by the Governor-in-chief, in his despatch of the 1st of July, in the following terms:—

With respect to "the matter of Mr. —," it is right that I should explain that it refers to a complaint made to me on the spot by the labourers on the — estate at Grand Bay, where the whole of the furniture and household property of every description belonging to the proprietor (Mr. —) was entirely destroyed.

I rode over to this part of the island the day before I quitted Dominica; and, on questioning some of the labourers who had returned to their work, I was informed that they had been provoked to these acts of violence by the misconduct of Mr. —, one of the commissioners appointed for taking the census, who had, as they stated, wantonly broken into several of their cottages, on finding them deserted by their owners, who had abandoned them under the fear that the object of taking their numbers was to reduce them again to slavery. I had desired Mr. Laidlaw to have the circumstances of this case investigated, with a view to dismissing Mr. — from the magistracy, had his conduct deserved such a mark of displeasure of the Government.

Your lordship will not fail to observe, that the report of the outrages committed by Messrs. — corroborates the opinion I expressed in my despatch of the 22nd ultimo, that many circumstances would come to light which would extenuate the conduct of a peasantry who have hitherto been remarkable for their peaceable and orderly behaviour.

On the 28th of June, nearly three weeks after the outbreak, Sir C. Fitzroy wrote to Lord Stanley in the following terms:—

I am also happy to state, that I felt justified in ordering the release of almost all the persons who had been taken into custody during the disturbances, and that among the few whom it was considered necessary to detain for trial, none stand a chance of receiving a more severe punishment than would be inflicted under ordinary circumstances, in cases of aggravated assaults, or wanton destruction of property.

On the 27th of July, however, he thus recorded the disappointment of this pleasing expectation:—

It is with much regret that I have to inform your lordship that the anticipations which I had formed, and which I made known to your lordship in my despatch, Dominica, No. 22, of the 25th ult., respecting the probable results of the trials of the persons engaged in the late disturbances in that island, have been disappointed.

Your lordship will perceive that the Attorney-general of Dominica thought it incumbent upon him, in consequence of the evidence before him, to proceed capitally against six of the prisoners; that the whole six were convicted and sentenced to death, and that Mr. Laidlaw had deemed it his duty to have one prisoner executed.

To this despatch Lord Stanley replied in the following terms, on the 28th of August:—

I have received your despatch, Dominica, No. 27, of the 27th of July, in which you transmit Mr. President Laidlaw's report of capital sentences having been passed against six of the persons tried for crimes committed during the late disturbances, and of one of those sentences having been carried into effect by his authority without previous reference to you.

I concur with you in the regret which you feel for the course thus pursued by Mr. President Laidlaw.

You will, of course, feel it to be your duty to investigate the facts of these cases, as they bear on the real state of feeling on the part of the population, and the real causes of the disturbances.

The extracts which we have felt it our duty to make from this correspondence will speak for themselves. We have seldom seen a more painful or a more disgraceful disclosure. While there is much that the document before us does not tell, and while the whole correspondence is in an unfinished state (the reports containing the results of some important and most necessary inquiries being wanting), quite enough is revealed materially "to extenuate (to use the mild expression of the Governor-in-chief) the conduct of a peasantry, who have been hitherto remarkable for their peaceable and orderly behaviour." Whatever may be the truth of the surmises—for no evidence is adduced to take the allegations out of this category—respecting the artful dissemination of the notion that slavery was about to be restored, there is no doubt of the fact, now officially acknowledged and recorded, that the people were urged and goaded into irritation by most unjustifiable and blameable proceedings. It is admitted in one place that "but little precaution had been used" in order to make them acquainted with the true nature of the census in progress; and in another that a "young gentleman," who seems to have been both a magistrate and a commissioner of population, "wantonly broke into several cottages," which, on his visit he found empty. "Young" as this gentleman was, we really think Mr. Laidlaw must be younger than he; for he is so *childish* as to express his delight "in being able to acquit this young gentleman of any wilful intention of injuring" the people, the sacredness of whose homes he thus "wantonly" violated. How very different a measure the planter-president deals to this "young gentleman," from that which he dealt to Jean Philip Motard, for throwing a stone at Mr. Bremner!

The conduct of the militia in quelling the disturbance was as scandalous as that of planters, commissioners, and magistrates, in provoking it. At Grand Bay, a company of these gentlemen, upon being once pelted, *fired*—and fired, not by order of their commanding officer, but *without orders*—sending death into the midst of an unarmed peasantry, not even after the manner of martial law, but as an act of deliberate murder. They cut off the head of a man whom they had most unnecessarily shot, and stuck it on a pole for the purpose of inspiring terror. And such was the general temper of this body,

that President Laidlaw expresses his delight in the following terms :—" I have reason to congratulate myself and the country that their impetuous conduct did not lead to a more sanguinary termination of this affair."

We see with satisfaction that Lord Stanley notices these things in terms of disapprobation, and demands inquiry. We trust that the results of these inquiries will be laid on the table of Parliament, and that measures of just reprehension and punishment will not be withheld.

It appears clear from these papers, that the tragical result of these proceedings took Sir Charles Fitzroy by surprise. In a mild but unequivocal manner, he expresses regret at the execution of Motard, and Lord Stanley emphatically concurs with him. No doubt can now be entertained, therefore, that Mr. Laidlaw took upon himself, in this matter, an undue responsibility, and that, had the Governor-in-chief been consulted, the poor man's life would have been spared.

We have passed, without notice, the allegations which are made in this correspondence respecting a party easily recognised by means of Mr. Laidlaw's letter to ourselves ; because the bill of indictment founded upon them has been ignored by the Grand Jury to whom it was presented.

We pass by many topics in this correspondence calling for severe animadversion. But we cannot close our remarks without once more urging it upon Lord Stanley to take more effectual security for the tranquillity of the British colonies in the West Indies, and the lives of British subjects there. It must be evident to him, that in this case of serious disturbance, the peasantry were " more sinned against than sinning ;" and yet the whole amount of retribution falls upon them. Is it not melancholy that, at the present day, planters, magistrates, and population commissioners, having first, by neglect and outrage, exasperated the peasantry into anger, should afterwards have the prerogative of going as militiamen to scatter bullets among them at their pleasure, and the gratification of seeing one of them, far less criminal than themselves, hung up by the neck till he is dead ? If all this is to pass with no other notice than the courtier-like terms found in these despatches of Lord Stanley, we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction that the tranquillity and welfare of the British West Indies will be most criminally and dangerously trifled with.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 5, 1845.

PARLIAMENT was yesterday opened by her Majesty in person. In the Commons, Lord John Russell having expressed dissatisfaction with the revival of the commission for revising the treaties on the slave-trade, Sir Robert Peel said he thought it better to refrain from discussing the subject until the papers connected with it were before the House. He confirmed the rumour that the Commissioners appointed in this matter were the Duke of Broglie and Dr. Lushington.

Letters from Madrid announce the commencement of the discussion in the Spanish Congress of the penal law against slave-trading. M. Isturitz made a violent attack upon the new law, and upon the treaty on which it was founded ; to which M. Martinez de la Rosa replied that the treaty was a *fait accompli*, and the penal law now proposed a mere necessary consequence of the treaty. The discussion was adjourned.

CONSIDERABLE changes are taking place in the English Cabinet. What is chiefly interesting to us is that Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the Board of Trade is assigned by common rumour, in part, to an intended abandonment, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, of the policy adopted by the Government last session in relation to the sugar duties. Mr. Gladstone distinctly contradicted this rumour last night.

We have to record in our present number the death of two valued friends of the anti-slavery cause ; one of whom has been removed from our own country, and the other from the United States of America.

From our own country has been removed by Divine Providence the most noble the Marquis of Sligo, at the age of fifty-seven years. This nobleman, always of liberal political views, held the distinguished office of Governor of Jamaica in 1834, and had the task of carrying into effect in that island the great measure of emancipation ; an arduous and difficult position, in which he acquitted himself with eminent firmness and discretion. On his return to England he published his views on the points which were then undergoing an agitated discussion, in a volume on the working of the apprenticeship system, which did good service to the cause of freedom. Although of late years withdrawn by infirmity from public life, he held the same views to the last, and will ever be remembered with gratitude among the friends of the negro race.

From the United States of America has been removed a man, to whose name we have not to append any titles of earthly nobility, but whose character we have long held in the highest admiration—Thomas Morris, of Ohio. His death is thus spoken of in one of the American papers (the *Emancipator*) lately received :

THOMAS MORRIS.—The death of this distinguished leader in our cause is a heavy loss to the Liberty party. He was a truly great man. He died suddenly, having been apparently in vigorous health up to the time

of his decease. Even his political opponents now speak well of him. The Ohio State Journal, a Whig paper, says, "He has possessed the confidence of a very large portion of his countrymen as a philanthropist and patriot, and has sacrificed much of political advancement, to extend and advance abolitionism in this country. He has held many important posts, having been in his day a member of the State legislature, a judge, U. S. senator, &c." Mr. Morris was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, by the legislature, in 1808, thirty-six years ago, and has been in public life most of the time since, until he closed a six years' term of service in the United States Senate, in 1839. His speech in the Senate, in 1839, on slavery, in reply to Henry Clay, was a masterly production, and will embalm his name among the philanthropists and patriots of the land. It was a most triumphant answer to Mr. Clay, and was made at a time when there was not another man in the Senate who dared attempt an answer.

We direct attention to a document on our first page, being an address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Abolitionists of the United States.

We are without any material additions to our American news since our last. Accounts from all quarters, as inserted in the various papers of the day, confirm the impression that the annexation of Texas will not be consummated during the present session of Congress. The parties who covet this prize are fatally divided among themselves as to the best mode of possessing themselves of it. The following view of the case is given by the correspondent of the *Watchman* :

I say the *possibility* of Texas being annexed, because the *probability* of it seems to be daily diminishing. At all events, unless there should be some sudden and now unforeseen change of position in the leading members of the Democratic party, it is next to impossible that the measure should be carried through during the present session of Congress. No less than four or five different schemes of annexation have been presented by the advocates of the measure,—so greatly do they differ among themselves as to the proper mode of accomplishing their object. Mr. Benton, by far the strongest Democrat in the Senate, will oppose, to the last, all Mr. Calhoun's schemes, utterly rejecting the pro-slavery doctrines of the South-Carolinian Secretary ; and, in this opposition, he will be seconded by the whole Northern or Van Buren wing of the Democratic party. Of course, the Whigs will vote with them, in order to defeat Mr. Calhoun, knowing well that this will be equivalent to defeating the measure of annexation itself. The state of North Carolina has recently declared itself, by its legislature, as entirely opposed to annexation ; and there are symptoms of opposition in states even still further south. Mr. Calhoun's despatch to Mr. Shannon, our minister to Mexico, and the absurd conduct of that *skillful* diplomatist, in his blustering correspondence with the Mexican Government, have disgusted all thinking men of both parties. Even Mr. Calhoun, it is said, is deeply mortified by the mal-adroit movements of his own agent. Mr. Shannon's conduct has certainly added another to the many influences now at work to prevent annexation.

With much pleasure we present to our readers the following letter from the well known American abolitionist, Gerritt Smith, to the venerable champion in the same cause, Thomas Clarkson. The immediate occasion of it was the transmission of one of the pamphlets which have recently issued from Mr. Clarkson's pen, but it will be found to contain also some cheering views on the subject of American slavery generally. The letter is as follows :

Peterborough, U. S., January 1, 1845.

Venerable and beloved friend,—A thousand thanks for your letter of 3rd ultimo, and for the pamphlet which accompanied it. I have read the pamphlet this morning. How good is our heavenly Father in giving you, at your great age, enough vigour of mind and body to enable you to write so useful a pamphlet ! I hope it will have an extensive circulation in our guilty land. It is severe ; only, however, because it is true—it is all true, and it might have told still more horrid truths.

The anti-slavery cause is making rapid progress in our Northern States, and is getting a foothold in some of the Southern States. The Liberty party vote, which began in 1840 with less than 7,000, swells now to 62,000. But for the deceptions and forgeries resorted to at our late election, the Liberty party vote would have been at least 80,000. It will be 100,000 another year.

I cannot believe that the guilty and infamous scheme of extending and upholding slavery by the annexation of Texas to this nation will succeed. The North will not come to the support of that scheme.

You have seen, or very soon will see, the account of the mobocratic expulsion of the Massachusetts representative, Mr. Hoar, from South Carolina. I think that the spirit of Massachusetts will hardly brook this indignity upon her honour.

The shutting up of Northern citizens in Southern prisons along with felons, for no other offence than counsellng the poor slave to escape from his bondage, is swelling the tide of anti-slavery feeling at the North.

The slave question is driving the Methodist church of this country to a geographical division. This is well—and I hope that ere long our national Presbyterian Church will be divided into a Southern Pro-Slavery Presbyterian Church, and a Northern Anti-Slavery Presbyterian Church.

Do, my dear friend, let me receive a few lines from you occasionally, as long as our merciful God shall spare you strength to write them. You are very dear to the hearts of American abolitionists—and we highly prize every line that we receive from you. The letter which I am now answering I will soon send to the press.

Believe me to be with great regard, your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

P. S. It was a great error in the Free Church of Scotland to send to slaveholders for money.

We should feel additional gratification if we thought we might

venture to publish the note from Mr. Clarkson himself, which has reached us with the foregoing letter; but we think we must content ourselves with citing from it the few words which follow:—"Oh, how I burn to try my hand at another little essay, if a subject could be found! Thank God, that, though I have lost the use of some limbs, I have not lost my faculties." We commend this sentence to the attention of the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*.

AN important parliamentary paper has been published in relation to the late disturbance in Dominica. We have noticed its contents in another column.

We have given in our present number, according to our promise, the account of the anti-slavery meeting held at the town of Clarence, in the island of Fernando Po, west coast of Africa, on the 1st of August last. It occupies a large space in our small paper, and excludes for the moment some other articles of intelligence; but it is on the whole so interesting that we could not find it in our hearts either to withhold, or materially to abridge it. It is, we suppose, the first anti-slavery meeting ever held in Africa, the first effort of its class to awaken the energies and sympathies of Africa itself in opposition to the slave-trade. We beg to recommend it as an example to other missionary stations. Our account states that at the close of the meeting subscriptions were promised to the amount of nearly ten pounds. We shall be most happy to give the particulars when the money comes to hand.

By a report of the half-yearly meeting of the Cobre Copper Mines (Cuba) Association, held on the 11th January, it appears that the company had suffered a loss on the ore sold during the half year of 7,274. 8s., as compared with the sales of 1843. In that year also, we believe, there was a loss. "The directors hoped, on the sale of the accumulated ore, to be able to declare a dividend." It is not without instruction, that proceedings which do violence to all principles of justice and humanity should thus disappoint the hopes of gain on which they are founded. The Cobre copper mines are wrought by slaves, under the proprietorship and direction of Englishmen! Why will such respectable men as Sir John Pirie, George Whitmore, and Francis Mills, identify themselves with these heartless and unjust, we may truly say, infamous proceedings?

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT FERNANDO PO.

Dr. PRINCE having been called to the chair, after reading a portion of Scripture, and imploring the Divine blessing to rest on the proceedings of the meeting, he observed,—It falls to my lot to introduce the business of this meeting; but before entering on its direct object we thought it necessary to supplicate the mercy seat, a duty which I need hardly remind you the people of God should always be ready to perform. It is seldom unfitting in any engagement to introduce the authority of God; and, if ever we possessed Divine authority for any course of conduct, surely we have it for employing our feeble efforts "to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free." We desire then to come before you as the messengers of Christ, as those who are girt about with truth on every side; and, when I reflect on the righteousness of the cause in which we are engaged, I cannot but regard the present meeting as a continuation of the religious service of this morning, at which we specially prayed for the speedy extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. While we rejoice over what has been done in the British West India colonies, and render our praises and thanksgivings to God for the wonders he has wrought, I hope that the brethren who are to address the meeting, many of whom have themselves experienced the horrors of slavery, and are thus able to speak from experience, will so speak as to excite our sympathy in behalf of our brethren and sisters yet under the galling yoke. In desiring you to sympathise with the slaves, we only desire to link you with people like yourselves—natives or descendants of Africa, who have been unjustly torn from their homes, and carried to distant lands, to endure all the hardships and cruelty that the wickedness of the human heart could invent. We desire to see a union between the inhabitants of Fernando Po, most of whom have been delivered by the hand of mercy from the holds of slave-ships, and the people dwelling in Jamaica and the other isles of the far west, who, though once slaves, now love the air of liberty. But, while we speak of freedom and its blessings, let us not forget that liberty to the slave teaches to them new lessons, and brings with it new duties. While we speak of the sweets of liberty, let us not seek to enslave others, either in body or mind. Let us be careful of our conduct towards our servants. I speak as I do, because there is, in point of fact, a great deal of slavery in the town, which I hope will soon be abolished, and which indeed would soon be so, if the law of love, to do to others as we desire them to do to us, were better attended to.

We have assembled to commemorate the downfall of West Indian slavery. I ask, What was it that effected the mighty work? Instruction! knowledge! The lamp of Divine truth poured a flood of light upon the negro's mind, that convinced him he was a man, and not a thing—that taught him, not only to aspire after heaven as his eternal home, but also after a proper standing among the other members of the human family; but in doing this it likewise taught him how to behave as a slave—to commit his ways to God, and to wait patiently the hour of deliverance. However cruel his master, the word of God would not permit him to render evil for evil; it assured him that vengeance belonged to God alone, and that his God would in time appear in his behalf, and pity his condition. The slaves, therefore, with few exceptions, waited patiently. A silent, patient endurance marked the conduct of the Africans, which, while it reflected honour on them, could not have failed to call forth the approbation and joy of those who were engaged in their behalf, and which, like the still small voice on Mount Horeb, was prophetic that God was with them, and only waiting in his own good time to effect their deliverance. And may we not hope that the gospel seed now being

scattered on the mighty land of Africa may yet produce spiritual and temporal liberty? Yes, it will; and in that land where murder, and rapine, and every other evil now abounds, and which may be regarded as the main pillar of the empire of the prince of darkness, will yet be commemorated, not only the anniversary of freedom from year to year, but the jubilee of their deliverance from the thraldom of Satan and of sin. Let us hope also that France, Spain, Denmark, America, and the Brazils, where the iron yoke is yet riveted on the neck of the slave, will be impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and of their own accord break the bands and cast them away.

But it is necessary I should give a clear definition of what slavery is. Slavery is making free agents chattels, converting persons into mere things, and reducing them to articles of property. The slave cannot say, These hands, these feet are mine, without being guilty of sedition. Let him sweat from morning till night, no hand is opened to compensate him for his labour. Where, I ask, did man learn to exact the labour of his fellow-creatures without making a return? Such wisdom, I am persuaded, came from beneath—it emanated from the prince of tyrants, and would never have been exercised on earth had the human family not themselves become the willing slaves of the enemy of souls. This is the principle of slavery:—a man is to be hired out as you would hire a horse—a man is to be written over, in making a will, as you would leave a house, or any other article of property, for a friend; and thus in reading the wills of slaveholders we frequently meet with such sentences as the following:—I leave my boy John for so and so. A bill is given for the sale of a man as you would get a bill for articles purchased in England. Is this the way for man, created in the image of God, to be treated? O that the wickedness of the wicked may soon come to an end!

After reading some extracts illustrating the horrors of slavery, the chairman said—All these things, and more, and worse, we shall prove. Are these the doings of man? One would think that hell was emptied, and all the infernal spirits had taken up their residence on earth. I do hope your benevolent minds will respond to the appeals which may be made to-day, and while you hear of the horrors of slavery and the injustice practised on your fellow men, I trust you will resolve in the strength of Christ to owe no man anything, but to love one another.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE said,—Although I have seen a great deal of slavery, having lived in the midst of it for several years, and though I have selected, and could read much about it, I feel rather inclined to hear some account of the fearful system from those who have themselves been in slavery, and who have seen something of it in their own country. I believe there are people here who have borne the heat and burden of slavery, and will be able to speak experimentally on the subject, which, as you are well aware, is the most effectual mode of speaking. There are three great evils in the world, which should be hated and avoided by all the human family, viz., slavery, war, and intemperance; but, if one of these evils has produced more affliction than another, that one, I think, is slavery. In referring to the atrocities of slavery and the slave-trade, I do so with much reluctance; but how fearful is the consideration, that, though the British slave-trade was abolished in the year 1807, and no slaves could again, under the colour of law, be taken to the West Indies, upwards of four millions have since that period been taken from Africa. Before the abolition of the slave-trade, an excellent man, whose name will ever stand pre-eminently forth in the annals of humanity as the friend of the injured and oppressed, feeling persuaded that it was his duty as a Christian, a man, and a philanthropist, and one to whom God had given extraordinary energy and perseverance to support him under his arduous task, set himself to work with all his might, to collect and publish facts respecting the atrocities of the African slave-trade; and in a short time he laid before the world such startling accounts, as kindled a sympathy in the hearts of the British public which never ceased to burn, till not only the slave-trade, but slavery itself was abolished in the British West India colonies. This truly good man went to Bristol and Liverpool, and gathered accounts of the slave-trade from doctors, supercargoes, and others who were trading to the African coast, and by these means brought to light such a mass of evidence respecting the fearful cruelties practised on the enslaved Africans as would have been entirely discredited had they not been well attested. That man's name is Clarkson—he is now alive; and will ever be, even after his death, one of the greatest glories of his country. Wilberforce, his coadjutor in the righteous work, has gone to glory; but before he left this world his dying moments were cheered by hearing the destiny of West India slavery. For the labours of these noble men, and others whom I need not name, you should, my friends, be deeply grateful, and ever should you regard them as your best friends.

I have said that, since the abolition of the English slave-trade, upwards of four millions of Africans have been torn away from their country. And in what kind of vessels, I ask, were they carried over the deep? You have a slave ship lying here; all of you have seen the one which was captured at Bimbia, by Commander Earl, a few months ago. I visited one in Jamaica, and so confined was the place where the poor Africans were stowed, that I laid my elbow on the slave-deck, and touched the beam of the upper deck with my finger. Few slave ships are more than two feet high in the hold. Then think of the number who die of starvation, and want of air, and say if such things can be right! I do trust that, if you hate slavery at all, you will hate it altogether—hate it from the bottom of your souls. But you may say, What can we do? Before the meeting closes, you will perhaps be able to answer the question for yourselves. I would recommend you to become subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society. Before the meeting closes, put down your names, and give just what you can for destroying slavery; and while you do this, pray to God to send abroad the messengers of the gospel, far and wide, to diffuse the truth. I need hardly tell you that the religion of Christ is opposed to slavery—it has ever kept up a war against slavery; and though the contest may be long, and to some seem doubtful, Divine truth will always prevail. Surely you do not think that men could bring slavery to a close. The work is God's; and in his own good time he will accomplish it. By what means was slavery abolished in the West Indies? By the gospel. The slaves were enlightened by the truth, and knowledge gave power. The slaveholders,

knowing this, set themselves against the religious instructors of the people, and would, if able, have driven religion from the land; but they were not equal to the task,—for though they did much to injure the cause, the wise God overruled their evil actions for good. It is pleasing to reflect, that, notwithstanding the sufferings of the people of Jamaica, they endured them, with few exceptions, with much patience and meekness. During the insurrection in Jamaica the deacon of a Baptist church exerted himself to save his master's property from destruction, and, with forty or fifty other members of religious societies, received a vote of thanks from the assembly, and the offer of freedom; but he requested that his son might be made free instead of himself, and the request was granted. It might be said, If the gospel so enlightens the mind as to render the slave discontented with his station, why extol those who took no part, with, the slaves during the insurrection? But it must not be forgotten, that, while the gospel enlightens and exalts the mind, it also teaches forbearance under injuries. A man who is under the sanctifying influences of the gospel, would never think of taking up arms to destroy his fellow men; while an individual, who has only been enlightened, without being sanctified, might feel the yoke of the oppressor so heavy as to resolve to throw it off at all hazards. Mr. Clarke concluded his address by reading some extracts illustrative of slavery in the United States.

Mr. DUCKETT said, Christian friends, I rejoice to stand before you this day, and speak of the goodness of God. I cannot express what my feelings were when I looked upon the congregation this morning assembled to pray for the downfall of slavery, and especially when I beheld the children going through their different lessons during their examination. I could hardly believe I was in Africa. God has indeed done great things for us, whereof we ought to be glad. Much has been said about the horrors of slavery, and I can bear testimony to the truth of what has been said. How many people in Jamaica are near relatives to each other, yet, in consequence of being torn from their native country, and settled in different parts of the island, are not aware of the fact. Surely each of us should be determined never to relax our efforts till slavery is destroyed from off the face of the earth. The Lord has already put down slavery in the West Indies, and, if we look to him and exert ourselves in a proper manner in the good work, he will go on to work. A few years ago we knew no Sunday in Jamaica—even mothers with their new-born infants had to go out to work. I do bless God that he prevented many of our brethren and sisters in Fernando Po from being taken to slave colonies. True, your situation was bad enough on board the slave ships, but if you had been taken to Cuba, or any other slave island, your sufferings would have been much greater. I knew a man in Jamaica who destroyed his life to escape the horrors of slavery. He was an old man of about 70 or 80 years. He used to watch his overseer's corn, and six traps were given him by the overseer to catch the rats which used to destroy the corn, and because the old man did not catch any rats he was sentenced to be flogged. The poor old man ran away, and was absent for several months, till the overseer sent four men after him, who apprehended him, and tied him. In taking him home, the old man threw himself into the river and was drowned. When I looked upon the children this morning, and thought upon the privileges which they enjoy, I could not help praising the Lord on their account, and wishing that in my early life I had enjoyed such privileges. Though I never experienced the hardships of slavery, yet I was a slave when a child, and thus debarred from instruction. And now, my friends, that we have met to talk about slavery, I trust we shall not close the meeting, without doing something. We want you to give a long pull, and a strong pull, and pull altogether, in this work. When we arrived at Fernando Po, you gave us a good pull. You pulled us into your houses, and treated us with great hospitality. There was another glorious pull in the good work when eight were baptized the other morning in the brook; but we want another pull—we want a pull out of your pockets—out of your chests, to assist us pulling down slavery, and the kingdom of the wicked one.

Mr. WILLIAMS.—My friends, this day must look to you quite strange—strange altogether—you did not know 1st of August before, but you know it now. On this day, I assure you, a great deal of good was done. If it were not for the freedom which we got on this day we would not be here now. I tell you, my friends, that you get the gospel cheap—very cheap; nobody trouble you because you call on Christ's name, but in Jamaica it was not so; gospel very dear in Jamaica. We did not dare to call on Christ's name and let our masters hear. A gentleman in Jamaica, named Dr. —, asked me one day, Who do you call Christ? I know the old God, but as to Christ I don't know a word about him! But, bless God, we know about him, my friends. Jamaica was indeed a wicked place—a place not fit to be mentioned. The poor slaves were worked night after night—day after day; got thumping, lashing, and sent to the workhouse. Those children that can't help themselves were all given to an old woman to mind them, and the poor mothers sent to the fields at four o'clock to dig cane-holes. Things go on in this bad way till Mulgrave published news that all the people were to be free, but to have six years' apprenticeship. That time the people raised rebellion in Jamaica, they destroy many of them. Then we heard the planters seeking for Baptists—only the Baptist people they wanted. They murdered the people in such a degree that a heart of stone would feel for them, but God looked down—and while the wicked people were satisfying themselves the Lord was getting ready to take us out of their hands. Then, when we did get free, the apprenticeship was very bad. There was the tread-wheel and the lashing, for the planters were determined to kill us all before the apprenticeship time was out. By the time the six years are out, they said, not one of you shall be alive. For my own part I suffered a great deal in the apprenticeship. Three weeks I lived in chains, and they could not tell what they put me in chains for. When I went before court, they could not say I steal, or lie, or do any bad thing; then after I was released I was carried again before Capt. Dillon, and they said I was to get 500 lashes, but Capt. Dillon told them not to disturb the poor man. Oh, Jamaica was a very bad place! They didn't care for God nor man. They used to abuse our ministers, and say that those mackaronie fellows are the ruin of Jamaica; but our ministers never spoke one bad word to us—everything good they taught

us. When we were going to be free, some of the planters even made bullets, and when they were asked what they were going to do with them, they said to kill *blackbirds*, meaning the black people. But in time God drew us out of the house of bondage; let us then love the Lord, and love our ministers, who come from England to labour among us. Nor must we forget to pray for Thomas Clarkson. In Jamaica we love him so much that we called our town Clarkson Town, after him. Then when the gospel took root in Jamaica the voice came from Africa, Come over and help us, and we have come at the call of God. True, we are not great people—but I hope we will not bring any bad example, but do the work of God from the heart. Let us not lay any stumbling in the way of the people in Africa—let us weaken sin and not strengthen it. As to rum, I hope it will soon be banished out of the world, for it is very wicked thing. We condemned rum in Jamaica the day we got our liberty; for we not only buried the whip, and chain, and shackles, but a bottle of rum also, to show that we had done with it.

Mr. WHITFIELD.—My friends, I get up before you with much gratitude to my heavenly Father. Having lived in a part of the world where slavery was carried on, I know a little about the system, but the time is too far gone to say much. I have seen forty and fifty people in America in handcuffs, going to Georgia to be sold as cattle; and these poor people who are engaged in cotton-growing suffer a great deal—they are worked all day and all night, and have no time to sleep—many never see their homes from day to day. And how are all these things to be done away with? Why, we must put our shoulders to the wheel, till a slave is not to be found in the whole world. In many parts of America people have bells fastened to them, that when they run away they may be easily found out. Let us pray that the wicked system may soon go down, and then our fellow men will no longer be dragged to the market like dogs and oxen.

Mr. PETER NICHOLS.—Again, friends, I stand on this platform to address you. I hear about Jamaica, and thank God he has made our brothers and sisters free; as I was never there I cannot talk anything about it, but I can tell you a little about my own country. I was born in the Eboe country; and when I was taken and sold as a slave I was small, and young, and foolish. My own brother sold me for a slave. My father had twenty-four sons. I was the only one he had by my mother. I did not know my father, he died when I was very young. One day one of my brothers took a bag and give me, and told me to follow him. When I went a little way I saw some men waiting, and my brother gave me to the men, and received from them a gun and other things, in payment for me. When the men took me a gun was fired. In my country, whenever a person is sold and a gun is not fired, you can get back that person if you pay, but whenever a gun is fired he can never come back. When I heard the gun I asked my brother, "Have you sold me?" He never said a word to me, but walked away with the gun. The next day my sister came to buy me back, but, though she offered three slaves for me, they would not give me up. From my country I travelled till I came to a place near Bonny, called Irdoki. Oh, what things I saw in that place! Jamaica was bad, my friends, but Irdoki pass Jamaica for badness. On every large tree I saw one or two persons hanging by the foot with his head down. While I was there they made a country play one day, but I was so frightened that I ran away and hid myself. Three days after that a Bonny canoe came to Irdoki, and I was sent to Bonny. I remained at Bonny three months, and then was sold to a Portuguese captain; about 700 were sold that time. Many of the slaves at that time broke their chain at Bonny, and were running away, but the Bonny people caught them and killed them all. Well, when we were ready to sail we were all put on board, but we did not know where we were going. After sailing one day and a half we were taken by man-of-war. From what I hear and read of these, the slave vessel that I sailed in must have been much like it; the poor people cry all day for water—nothing but water—water—water! Ah! how we ought to pray for the Queen of England. I thank God we were not taken to Cuba, or any slave place—thank God that he brought us to a free country. When the man-of-war took us they gave us water, and brought us to Fernando Po. Colonel Nichols was then here, and he took me to be his servant, and treated me well. And now I am not sorry that my own brother sold me as a slave. God did not want me to die in my sins and go to hell, and therefore he brought me to this place, where I have heard the gospel of the Son of God. In my country I belonged to a very rich family, but now I belong to a richer family. Oh! how we ought to praise the Lord for his goodness to us. The Jamaica people, after receiving the gospel, and tasting how sweet it is, have sent it to us; the good people in England have sent out books, clothes, and many other things to do us good. Now, do, my friends, let us begin to work also; whenever you hear of any steam boat going up the river, if you have a shilling, give it, that the missionaries of Christ may go up the river and tell the people about the Saviour of the world. Jamaica has shown their love to God and souls by their actions—let us do the same. It is very true we have received the gospel cheap. You that have money, give it for this good work; put up what money you can to purchase clothes to send up the river for our poor country people, and let us pray to God to strengthen our missionaries to do good for Africa. I have not any more to say—but I would close by recommending all to give something to the Anti-Slavery Society. I am willing to give £1. every year. How should I rejoice if my country people had the gospel!

CHAIRMAN.—I hope that the other twenty-three of Peter's father's sons will be like him.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Dear brethren, my esteemed friend has called on me to tell a little about Jamaica slavery, and has allowed me five minutes for doing so, but with his permission I will take a few more. When a slave, I was the head-driver on my master's property, and finding that I would not punish the people, I was handcuffed and carried twenty-six miles from my family and friends, and confined three weeks in the workhouse. To this day I cannot tell why I was so cruelly treated. The truth is, I did not punish my brethren and sisters, and my master was therefore determined to punish me. While in the workhouse I had to get up at three o'clock every morning to drag cart; females, too, had to do the same, and the drivers used to flog them from one end to the

other. One day we were carried into a deep river with the chain on our necks, to work. While in the river the water came down, and, if it had not been for the goodness and mercy of the Lord, we would all have been drowned. After being in the workhouse for three months I went home. At that time the Gospel began to work mightily on the hearts of the people. Our masters made us work well for them, but what did they give us? Eight yards of osnaburgh, three yards of baft, and one dozen of rotten fish every year! They thought more of their dogs and cattle than they did of us. During the apprenticeship I was taken to another workhouse. The work of the property was going on well; a great deal of sugar was made, yet our master could not be satisfied; and why was he angry?—because he saw the gospel extending among the people. At that time we had little sleep; we tried to walk many long miles to talk about Christ and his salvation. I was taken before the court, and the charge against me was, I did not make the people work. But the truth is, I was ill-treated because I did not take the people to the treadmill. Oh, what treatment we received in those days. As you tie monkey, so they used to tie us. When I went before the court, the magistrate said, "William Phillips, go back and beg your overseer's pardon;" but I did not know what I was to beg pardon for. What could I do? Was I to sin against my God, to please man? Was I to punish my fellow men without cause? I went home, but two or three days after I was taken back, and my master said, "This man has been very impudent;" and in what did my impertinence consist? He wanted me to speak against the people, and have them punished, and I told him I could not. The magistrate sentenced me to receive five hundred lashes, but they never took me to be punished. At last the apprenticeship was shortened, and we were free altogether; and then we laboured hard for those who formerly punished us—we carried on the work of the estates well; but while we worked well we made them pay well; and when we received our money we did not dig holes and put it in the ground; we did not lock it up in our chests; we erected chapels—supported our missionaries, and sent the gospel to those who had it not. May the Lord bless what has been said, and let his face shine upon us!

Mr. DUFFIS. My countrymen, truly the Lord is God, and we must fix our heart on him, and put our hand to his work. When I go to Jamaica from my country, Cabenda, I meet one cruel master, named —, but the Lord spared my life till I was made free. Many of our fellow-creatures are still in chains; let us then work hard to deliver them; and let us thank the good people of England for sending us ministers to preach the gospel to us, and let us do good to one another.

Mr. AMEDI JOB. My friends, when I was at Goree the slaves used to work very hard for their masters, except Sundays, but they never get any money for their work. The people at Goree do not know anything about God. Whenever a person dies, they say witch kill him, and then they put the dead man in a country chair to sit up, and dance before him, and ask, "What make you die and leave all your things? You have plenty of rice, and money, and cloth." When I left Goree I went to the Gambia, and then went to Sierra Leone, but I did not see any bad thing there.

Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSON. My friends, through the grace of God I stand here to-day. When I was in my own country I left it and walked to another country, and the people of that country hold me and chain me. My poor mother wanted to pay money for me, but the men that chained me would not let me go. They took me to Bonny and sold me to Portuguese; and the English took the slave ship and brought me to Fernando Po, and now, by the goodness of God, I live in a Christian country, and know something about the Son of God. Let us all pray to God to send the good news to every country.

Mr. Wm. NIGER. My friends, I have too much thing to talk about my country palaver, and it come now too late, I can't talk deep. I must begin se talk close here. My father got seven pickeneys, four girl, three boy; when my father dead, my father-in-law come head-man. Him say my eye too dry. I no good boy—one day him tell me go bring tópe; * that time been very cold time too—him say run quick. That time I go look for tópe, I see two man; they catch me and walk way with me, till by and by we come to one house: but they say they no put me for stand for house. I must stand outside. The man that have house make eat, and give me and bring tópe; give me, but I can't eat, I can't drink. When we stop at this place little bit, they say plenty of trouble for road, they must go back to my country, and then my mother will get me again. They carry me to another country; I live there four days, and then we walk, walk till we come to Calabar. When I go for Calabar, the man with whom I stop, his brother died; then I begin to look if I can run away, but I could not get away. When I live at Calabar, I go to one market one day. I see one woman tied at the place where I stop, and the people of that country eat man and woman, like them eat beef. When I come to Calabar again, the woman that him brother dead, say I must stop with him. One day I go to river to wash, I begin to swim; one man run catch me, and say I want to run away, and chain me; I live in chain three moon, and they make me dance when I have on chain. At last they sell me to Portuguese, and English man-of-war catch Portuguese and bring me Fernando Po, where I meet Col. Nicols. Him good man. When I come Fernando Po I learn sawyer, and then Mr. Thompson want me to saw board 6s. for 100 feet; and because me no him do me bad; and tell me I know you very well, you Ebœ people you very bad. About that time Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince bring good news; their palaver come to my heart—my heart broke when they go away; they tell me more teacher come, but we no hear them. We no know what to do; that day I see them go, I cry too much. I say me dead to-day; that time I feel too much, brother. I can't eat, I can't sleep; I say I shall take canoe go live with Bubi, † till God-man come; but little bit God bring Mr. Sturgeon, and now he bring plenty other good man. God do me too much good—we ought to love him and believe in Jesus Christ. We must call Jesus Christ Saviour, and God Jehovah. Make we all pull one band. You know if we go in canoe and no pull, canoe can't go. I done. We must all work for God.

* Palm wine.

† Natives of Fernando Po.

Mr. WILSON. I do not know of any cruelty in my country I can give account of. I was too young when I was taken as a slave to know much about what happened in my country. I did not leave my country willingly, but I now plainly see the hand of God was in the whole matter. One of my cousins was taken by the men-stealers; when the news came to my father that his relative was caught by the robbers my father agreed to pay four slaves for him, but we had only two. When my father was going to another town to get the other two, he put me in the hands of the men who stole my cousin, as a pledge that he would return and pay them two more slaves; but the men, instead of waiting till my father's return, took me away as a slave. There were no slaves in that part of the country where I lived, and so my father had to go out to get slaves. Had my father not left me in the hands of the men-stealers, I might this day have been bowing down to wood and stone, and to my fellow-creatures; but the good God brought me here, where I have heard the gospel, and I hope have felt its power. We ought to pray continually to God, that the truth may be sent throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. We have now about come to the end of the first of August, but not to the end of the subject. I have something to propose, which I trust will meet the approval of all—(hear, hear). If you desire to show your sympathy for the slave, you must not only talk, but do something. The people of England have done much for you. The Anti-Slavery Society, which we now call on you to assist, aims to put down slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. If all the palm trees were cut down, you know there would be no more palm-oil; and if all the slaves were free, there would be no more slave-ships. Mr. Clarke is a corresponding member of the Anti-Slavery Society. I do hope that when he next writes he will be able to say that you have contributed of your substance in aid of the good work of emancipation. I do rejoice that Peter Nichols has come forward so nobly; there are many big people in my country by no means so liberal as he. We do not tell you what you are to give—give what your hearts prompt you to give, and by so doing you will cheer the hearts of the people of England and Jamaica.

The Rev. J. CLARKE said, I very cordially second your proposition, Mr. Chairman. Although I alluded to the subject in my speech, and first proposed that something should be subscribed in aid of the good cause, I must not forget to state that the proposition originated with Dr. Prince. You will recollect that some time ago some money was raised here for the Civilization Society, and many of you became subscribers. That society has fallen, and all that you intended to give to it should be given to the Anti-Slavery Society. I propose that all who wish to become members will come forward and have their names put down, and the money subscribed will be sent to England from time to time.

The Rev. T. STURGEON. I very cordially support the motion of the chairman. When we were conversing about an anti-slavery meeting, I thought we should meet to little purpose if something was not subscribed. Give just what is in your power, and never forget that what you give is given to the Lord. If any of your friends in the town feel inclined to assist, tell them to come to me and I will be glad to take their names. I hope the Lord will dispose your minds to give as he has given to you.

Colonial Intelligence.

ST. LUCIA.—IMMIGRATION.—It was our intention, on the present occasion, to have made some observations on the projects of the absentee proprietors and London merchants, to saddle the resident proprietors with the expense, or to use their own expression, to obtain labourers for their estates "at the general expense of the colony," but as this plan is contingent on the negotiation of a loan in the English money market on the credit of the colonies, and Jamaica has declared her determination to have nothing to do with the transaction, we doubt not that the project will fall to the ground. Demerara and Trinidad will get a few thousand Coolies for the public money they have squandered, and will have time to repent at leisure of their folly, and we shall hear no more of Coolie immigration on a large scale, to force our present good and industrious peasantry to work at sixpence a day, or make way for the Eastern idolaters, who will eat rice and put their earnings in their pockets, and be carried back to their native hills at the expiration of their term of service, at the public expense.—*Independent Press*.

THE PROSPECTS.—We have the satisfaction to state, after having made minute inquiry on the subject, that the prospects for the coming year are most favourable; much attention has been paid to the cultivation of the cane-fields, and much new ground has been opened and carefully manured, as well from the cattle pen, as with no inconsiderable quantity of the guano, the effect of which is manifest, in the luxuriant growth of the plant. The peasantry are continuing to work steadily and industriously, and at a rate of wages the planter can well afford to pay, while the produce retains its present moderate price in the home market, and from all the information we have been able to obtain on this important subject, we do not anticipate any material reduction under the operation of the extended competition we shall be exposed to in the market; and if the contemplated reduction in the duty on plantation sugar takes place, we may look for remunerating prices and a ready market, which is of paramount importance to the West India sugar growers, who generally ship their own produce.—*Ibid.*

GRENADA.—PENAL SETTLEMENT.—We understand that from instructions recently received from Lord Stanley, his Excellency Sir Charles Grey intends shortly to leave Barbados on a tour to Jamaica, to assist at a Congress there, to be held for the purpose of adopting measures for the formation of a penal settlement for the common benefit of these colonies.—*Grenada Gazette*.

BARBADOS.—We find in the *Liberal* an account of the death of Prince William Husbands, a sugar boiler, under circumstances affording very strong presumption of foul play; while all demands made by his

relatives for inquiry have been met in a manner of apparent compliance, but real evasion, little short of mockery. In conjunction with our contemporary, we express "our earnest hope that a proper, searching investigation will be made in the case."

BRITISH GUIANA.—The *Berbice Gazette* states, on the authority of Mr. George Laing, that 10,000 instead of 5,000 Coolies are to be sent by Lord Stanley to British Guiana.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—CHARLES T. TORREY has been removed to the Penitentiary, and placed in the weaving department.—*Anti-Slavery Standard*.

DELIA A. WEBSTER.—The Governor of Kentucky has refused to pardon Miss Webster, and she must, therefore, serve out her allotted time of two years in the Penitentiary.—*Ibid.*

ANOTHER VICTIM.—Henry Bowyer, another citizen of Massachusetts, has been arrested, tried, and condemned, for aiding a slave to escape, in Virginia, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.—*New York Evangelist*.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Mr. Memminger, the only man in the South Carolina Legislature, it would seem, whom the gods have not made mad, has brought in a bill to abolish capital punishment for forgery and other crimes. Among the other crimes, the 6th section specified that of aiding slaves to escape. The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee, who amended the section so as to make aiding a slave to escape punishable with death for the second offence. But the House, after some blustering discussion, struck out the section as amended, passed the bill, and sent it to the Senate. So the law will still stand as it did when John L. Brown was sentenced, *death without benefit of clergy*, for pointing a slave to the north star, and saying—"Follow that and be free."—*Emancipator*.

EMANCIPATION IN ALABAMA.—In the Lower House of the Alabama Legislature, on the 6th Jan., there was a discussion upon a bill to emancipate Gertrude, a Creole slave. The bill was discussed with much warmth. Many gentlemen expressed opposition to emancipation of slaves under any circumstances. The bill was passed.—*Emancipator*.

SLAVE HUNTING.—In the borough of Montrose, a public meeting has been held to express the indignation of the citizens against a body of armed men who have been concealed in the town for the purpose of kidnapping a number of coloured persons, formerly slaves, who, for several years, have resided there, leading quiet, industrious and honest lives. The meeting was of the citizens generally.—*Tribune*.

CUBA.—The last accounts from Havana mention the receipt, by the Governor-General, of a royal decree, enjoining him to give satisfaction to England for the insult offered to Mr. Turnbull, in his capacity as agent invested with the confidence of the British Government.—*Times*.

TABLE of exports of sugar from Havana and Matanzas, from 1st January to 31st August, 1843 and 1844;—

	From Havana.	From Matanzas.	
	1843.	1844.	
	boxes.	boxes.	boxes.
To the United States	22,331	87,038	31,659
,, Great Britain	19,171	11,962	6,257
,, Cowes	153,458	162,931	65,178
,, Baltic	48,062	31,544	46,954
,, Hamburg and Bremen	51,238	50,068	37,314
,, Holland	10,218	11,607	5,405
,, Belgium	6,220	9,460	2,802
,, France	17,760	18,431	8,221
,, Spain	47,155	77,428	10,008
,, Italy	2,365	4,264	1,322
,, Trieste, Venice, and other parts	10,023	13,027	15,386
Total.....	388,002	478,460	230,489
			287,607

WESTERN AFRICA.—Colonel Nicolls, in a letter to the editor of the *Friend of the Africans*, says, "I would congratulate our friends on the late news from the Bights, which you well know were, without any exception, no later than 1832, the very worst slave marts in Africa. I am now informed by several persons, that there has been of late *no slave-trading* along that portion of the coast extending from Bimbia to Cameroons; and that, so well are the chiefs carrying out their treaties with our Government against the slave-trade, that we are about to appoint a consul (at their own request) to reside among them."

SHOA.—Dr. Beke communicates the following extract of a letter from Aden, dated Oct. 11, 1844:—"The latest news from Shoa is, that Sahela Selassie has suddenly made extensive inroads into the adjoining countries, and murdered and captured many thousands—revert says, 30,000—men, women, and children. The natural consequence is an increase in the exports, by sea, of slaves, to supply Mokha, Ilodeidah, Loheia, Djidda, and Yembo. The Danakil (the slave-dealers) are in a terrible fright, in consequence of their having expected 600 from Tad-jurrah."

Miscellanea.

PRESIDENT POLK AND HIS SLAVES.—The *New England Puritan* tells us, and in a manner that would induce us to believe that Praise-God-Barebones was its editor, some "facts respecting Mr. Polk," the

new American President. We hear that Mr. Polk, "in the walks of private life," is highly respected; "that he is a slaveholder indeed, but not, as has been often stated in the papers, one of the richest and most extensive slave-owners in the State: that he may be worth some 25,000 dollars, *A PART ONLY IS INVESTED IN SLAVES.*" How beautiful are the softening tints of iniquity! Mr. Polk is a slaveholder, but not a rich slaveholder. He only dabbles a little in human blood and bones; he is not a wholesale dealer in God's image; he turns a cent or so, where other men turn a dollar, and therefore may be looked upon—and indulgence claimed for him accordingly—as a sort of amateur human flesh-merchant, not a regular trader. True it is, that Mr. Polk has slaves; but possibly he may avail himself of the notorious excuse of the frail lady, "they are" very "little ones."—*Punch*.

THE DUTCH SUGAR TRADE.—The Hague, Jan. 30.—The *Handelsblad* communicates the following remarkable comparative view of the different kinds of sugar exposed for sale by the Commercial Society of the Netherlands, from the year 1836 to 1844 inclusive:—

	Picols.	Brown.	Yellow.	Grey.	White.
1836 ..	313,058	35	20	28	17
1837 ..	398,026	40	28	27	10
1838 ..	477,851	40	20	28	12
1839 ..	565,366	41	28	20	11
1840 ..	794,280	41	11	30	17
1841 ..	735,392	33	19	27	21
1842 ..	732,126	31	13	26	30
1843 ..	773,012	17	21	15	46
1844 ..	732,440	36-16	5-10	18	2-10
				11	4-10
				58	3-10

The *Handelsblad* adds, "The favourable results which have been obtained since 1836 are due to the enlightened zeal of Mr. Band, the minister of the colonies, who takes the greatest care to ascertain if the product correspond with the model specimens. Thus, by degrees, from a given quality, more than two-thirds per cent. of white sugar have been obtained, and less than two-thirds of brown; whereas, in 1837, the quantity of brown produced from the same quantity was more than double that of white; and what renders this result the more happy is, that the quality constantly improving, there is likewise an increase in the quantity, as is evident from the preceding table."

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH COMMISSION.—We understand that the Duc de Broglie, the distinguished diplomatist, is hourly expected at the French embassy from Paris, all necessary preparation having been made for the Duke's reception there. The Duc de Broglie comes to this country on an important special mission from the French Government. The object of the Duke's mission has reference to the "right of search" and the slave question generally; and it is now hoped that a settlement of the long-pending differences on that important subject will shortly take place to the mutual satisfaction of both nations.—*Times*.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. Clarke to Mr. Scoble, dated Fernando Po, August 6th, 1844:—"A slaver lies daily before my eyes upon our beach; another near, captured by Captain Earl, and taken to Sierra Leone; five, I just hear, have been in the Brass river, two of which had sailed, with their cargoes. Some weeks ago the Sea Lark chased two, but both of these escaped. We have now twelve steamers and ten sailing war vessels on this coast; still the trade goes on. A vessel was building at Bissau in February last, and the owner boasted thus, 'Let me get clear with two cargoes, and the man-of-war may take her, if he can, with the third; the first will pay all expenses, the second will give me a large profit, and about the third trip I am not anxious.' A very large number of vessels have been sent lately, it is reported, from Cuba, on this trade; and are so armed as to show a determination to fight and die rather than be taken. The *Carolras*, taken by Captain Earl in February last, was all ready for resistance, but she was boarded as she lay at anchor at midnight. One man was shot by the captain of the slaver: he wished to run below to blow up the vessel, but was secured. This vessel had a crew of about forty-two, and was to carry about 600 slaves. I found only thirty-three sailors on board; the others had left at Calabar, or died in the Bunbran creek. The height of the space for slaves was three feet: about twenty or more females had places provided for them in the cabin!!! The iron bars for securing the hatchways, and for torturing refractory slaves, affected me deeply. The great gun in midship had taken out of it five balls, one grape-shot, and one canister. It was half full, and certainly must have burst, or done fearful execution among the man-of-war's men."

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXXXVI. VOL. VI.—No. 4.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1845.

[PRICE 4d.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To such of our Fellow-citizens as regard the proposed Annexation of Texas as hostile to the morals, liberty, and happiness of the United States, and as extending and perpetuating human bondage.

The Federal Government was ordained and established for the avowed purpose of forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, ensuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty. Traitorous to its high and holy trusts, regardless of the preservation of union and domestic tranquillity, as well as of the common defence and general welfare, in utter violation of the obligations of justice, and in contempt of the blessings of Liberty, it is now conspiring to extend and perpetuate the curse and crime of human bondage. With unblushing profligacy does the Cabinet at Washington, in its communications to foreign nations, avow that it seeks the acquisition of Texas for this most detestable object: and there is imminent danger that, through the force of party discipline, the distribution of patronage, and other means of corruption, the base and unholy design will be effected. We cannot, in this brief address, spread before you the various modes in which annexation will aggravate the accumulated miseries of the coloured race—the bounty it will afford the breeders of "human cattle"—the new impulse it will give to the American slave-trade—the barriers it will raise to future emancipation, and the influence it will exert, not merely in perpetuating slavery in Texas, but in spreading the accursed system over the vast regions between our southern boundary and the Isthmus of Panama. To the impudent and wicked falsehood that annexation will enlarge the area of freedom, and prove fatal to slavery, it is sufficient to oppose the frenzied anxiety of the slaveholders to secure their long-desired object, and the trickery by which they seek to avoid the delay and uncertainty attending the treaty making power.

But however deep may be our sympathy for the slave, it ought not to be confined to him alone. The annexation of Texas will endanger our Union, and prove pernicious to the liberty, prosperity, and morals of the country, thus involving the happiness of ourselves, our children, and our children's children.

The equality of rights and of representation which we had reason to expect under the Federal Government, has already been grievously disturbed by slavery, and when the annexation of Texas shall force upon us half a dozen or more slave states, the north will be reduced to a mere colony of the south. Accept the following facts instead of arguments:—

In the presidential election of 1840, 13 free states had 163 electors, and gave 1,716,705 votes—1 elector to 10,218 votes.

12 slave states had 115 electors, and gave 693,005 votes—1 elector to 6,026 votes.

Ohio had 21 electors, and gave 273,840 votes—1 elector to 13,040 votes.

Virginia had 23 electors, and gave 86,394 votes—1 elector to 3,756.

In the presidential election of 1844, 13 free states had 161 electors, and gave 1,890,084 votes—1 elector to 11,739 votes.

12 slave states* had 105 electors, and gave 798,848 votes—1 elector to 7,608 votes.

Michigan had 5 electors, and gave 56,222 votes—1 elector to 11,244 votes.

Louisiana had 6 electors, and gave 26,865 votes—1 elector to 4,477 votes.

Such is the practical working of the federal ratio of representation. If we look to the great offices of the nation, we find them filled almost exclusively by slave-holders. Of this class of men are the acting President of the United States, and, in case of his decease, his successor, the President of the Senate, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Navy, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General. Only one individual from a free state is allowed seat in the present cabinet. To the same class belong the President elect, and his late competitor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and a vast proportion of our diplomatic agents, and our naval and military officers. The ascendancy of the slave-holders now rests upon the corrupt and selfish sufferance of northern politicians; but in the event of annexation, will be established on the stable foundation of a numerical majority in both Houses of Congress. When this majority shall have been acquired,

the action of the Government will be invariably exerted for the defence, not of liberty, but of bondage; for the encouragement, not of manufactures and commerce, but of markets for cotton and human flesh. This horrible and atrocious perversion of the powers and objects of the federal constitution may well excite doubts how far the oaths which have been taken to support it will continue to have any binding force; while the sacrifice of northern rights and interests to the slave-holding policy, must eventually lead to a dissolution of the Union. We will not now dwell on the sufferings and conflicts which must necessarily attend the disruption of those ties which have so long bound together this great country. Most certainly the national government has never before engaged in any enterprise so abhorrent to the great and holy principles on which it was founded, and so perilous to its own permanency, and the peace, prosperity, and union of the states, as the annexation of Texas.

In this emergency, fellow-citizens, where shall we seek for help? Party in its madness asks for present power and emolument, regardless of future consequences. The slave-holders are the sole dispensers of the national patronage, and wealth and office, as well as infamy, await the northern men who may do their bidding; while the numerous traffickers in Texan debts and lands hastening to be rich swell the shout for immediate annexation.

There is a power who not only ruleth in the armies of heaven, but doeth his pleasure among the children of men. In the usurpation and pernicious influences of the slave power, He is visiting the iniquities of our fathers upon their children. Just delivered by a strong hand from the oppression of Great Britain, the framers of the Federal Constitution guaranteed to the slave-holders the continuance of the African slave-trade for at least twenty years, and as much longer as Congress might permit it; and they conferred for all time to come on the possessor of five human chattels, the same political weight in the Government as four freemen who hold no property in man.

We have added to the provocations of our fathers, by the countenance we have given to the slave system, and our own manifold transgressions. According to the assurance of Scripture, our sins are now finding us out, and we have abundant cause to dread the just judgments of an offended God. But, blessed be his name, punishment is his strange work, and he is ever ready to have mercy and to forgive. His word affords us numerous instances in which impending calamities have been averted by prayer and humiliation. Surely none who concur with us in the view we take of the present crisis, will dissent from the opinion that duty requires us to invoke the Divine aid. But while individual supplication is at all times proper and obligatory, occasions of general peril and affliction call for united intercession and humiliation. Such union in devotion is sanctioned by common usage and Scripture example. In the present case there is no civil or ecclesiastical authority by whom we can expect to be invited to offer our prayers to Heaven in behalf of our beloved country in this the time of her jeopardy and reproach. Friends, brethren, fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians, do not, we beseech you, deem us presumptuous, for respectfully and affectionately inviting you under existing circumstances, to observe Friday, the 7th day of February next, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. On that day let us, where practicable, prostrate ourselves before Almighty God in our respective places of public worship; and where this privilege may be denied to us, let us find a sanctuary in the social circle, the family and the closet. Let us with sincere confession and repentance, with ardent prayer and devout humiliation, beseech our heavenly Father to look upon us in mercy, and for the merits of his beloved Son forgive the iniquities of ourselves and of our rulers, and avert the sore chastisement which in his righteous indignation, he is now threatening to inflict upon our nation. Most earnestly do we solicit the ministers of the gospel to lend us their aid on the day we have named, in awakening us to penitence and righteousness, and in bringing our supplications before the Most High. And may Almighty God change the hearts and confound the devices of wicked men; and, of his great goodness render us a free, happy, and Christian people.

ARTHUR TAPPAN,
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,
S. S. JOCELYN,
WILLIAM JAY,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
S. W. BENEDICT,
WILLIAM JOHNSON,
WILLIAM LILLIE,
R. G. WILLIAMS,
WILLIAM E. WHITING,
WILLIAM KIRKLAND,
JAMES WARNER,
DEXTER FAIRBANK.

Executive Committee.

New York, Jan. 20, 1845.

* South Carolina here omitted, her electors being appointed by the legislature.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

THE following correspondence between the English and French Governments we deem it our duty to insert entire.

M. GUIZOT TO COUNT ST. AULAIRE.

Paris, 26th Dec., 1844.

M. le Comte.—Last year, about this time, I requested you to call the attention of Lord Aberdeen to the important question of the right of search, and to the powerful motives which led us to desire that the two Cabinets should concert together with view of substituting for this mode of repressing the slave-trade a new mode, which, whilst equally efficacious for our common object, should be free from the same inconveniences and the same dangers.

To the communication which you made to Lord Aberdeen his lordship answered, that, being perfectly convinced of my sincere resolution to labour perseveringly for the suppression of the trade, any proposition made by me would be received by him with confidence, and examined with the most scrupulous attention.

If, since that time, I have abstained, M. le Comte, from treating of this important affair, in my official correspondence with you, if I have delayed sending the instructions which I had announced to you, it certainly has not been that the Government of the King have lost sight for a single day of the object which they had to propose to themselves, or that their convictions had become less strong. You know the various causes, internal and external, which, by obliging us to devote all our efforts to urgent questions, have made it imperative on us to suspend the negotiation, the opening of which in London you had been charged to call for, on the question of the means of repressing the slave-trade. The time is now arrived for resuming it.

As I have already mentioned to you, M. le Comte, our conviction of the necessity of having recourse, in concert with England, to a new mode of repressing the slave-trade, is undiminished and profound. All the events which have occurred, all the reflections which have forced themselves upon us since this question was raised, have made us feel more strongly the necessity of modifying the system actually in force. In order that the system should be effectual and without danger, it is not sufficient that the two Governments are animated by reciprocal goodwill and confidence.

Constantly liable in its application to oppose, cramp, and injure private interests, often legitimate and inoffensive ones, this system keeps up, in the minds of a numerous class, active and necessarily rough in manners, a source of irritation which, though it may sleep for a time more or less long, may, by an unforeseen accident at sea, or by the slightest disturbance in the political relations of the two states, be at any moment developed, inflamed, extended, and transformed into a powerful and formidable national sentiment.

This being so, the system of the right of search, used as a means for repressing the slave-trade, is more dangerous than useful; for it compromises, at one and the same time, peace, good understanding between the two countries, and even the success of the great cause which it is intended to serve.

This, M. le Comte, is not a mere conjecture; it is a fact which experience has now demonstrated. During ten years the reciprocal right of search has been accepted and exercised by France and by England with common consent, and without any declared feeling, or any manifestation of mistrust or of repulsion. Owing to causes which it is useless to revert to, the case is now different. The feeling of the Chambers and of the country is strongly averse to this system. Not, M. le Comte, that France is at present more indifferent than she was some years ago to the horrors of the slave-trade; but a conviction exists in France (and the Government of the King shares this conviction) that it is possible to find other means quite as effectual, more effectual even, than the reciprocal right of search, by which this infamous traffic may be reached.

In order to obtain the co-operation of the country and of the Chambers, their earnest, active, indefatigable co-operation, for the repression of the trade, the adoption of a different system is henceforth indispensable.

But what ought to be the new system? By what measure, by what combination of measures, can we reasonably hope to obtain results, in the way of repression, at least equal to those which the right of search has led us to hope for? I might, M. le Comte, here point out some of these measures; but in a matter on which the men of the two countries specially qualified must of necessity be heard, it appears to me preferable that the task of collecting and examining all the elements of the question should in the first instance be confided to a mixed commission. This commission, which would hold its sittings in London, ought, I think, to be composed of men of consideration in their respective countries, well known for their sincere sympathy for the cause of repressing the slave-trade, and by their entire freedom of judgment relative to the means of attaining this noble end. And when the commission shall have thoroughly examined the question, when it shall have searched well and determined what new means of repressing the trade may be as efficacious as, or even more efficacious than the system at present in force, its work should be presented to the two Governments, and submitted for their decision.

Have the goodness, M. le Comte, to place this proposal before the eyes of Lord Aberdeen. I am confident that in the communication which you will make to him of the present despatch he will see new evidence of our constant solicitude for the two great interests which we have equally at heart,—the maintenance of peace and a good understanding between the two countries, and the repression of the slave-trade.

Receive, &c.,

(Signed) GUIZOT.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO LORD COWLEY.

Foreign Office, 9th Jan., 1845.

My Lord,—The French Ambassador has delivered to me a despatch from his Government, in which M. Guizot describes in strong terms the feeling which has prevailed for some time past in the French Chambers, and generally in France, relative to the right of search. After detailing at length the reasons which have induced him to arrive at such a conclusion, he suggests to her Majesty's Government the expediency of appointing a joint commission, for the purpose of inquiring whether means may not be discovered for the suppression of the slave-trade, as

effectual, or even more effectual, than those afforded by the treaties which confer the mutual right of search.

A copy of this despatch is inclosed for your Excellency's information.

M. Guizot correctly states that when, at the close of the year 1843, the Count de St. Aulaire announced to me the intentions of the French Government to propose certain measures which they felt satisfied would be found preferable to the right of search, and better calculated to attain the objects in view, I at that time informed the French Ambassador that my conviction of the sincerity and zeal of M. Guizot for the abolition of the slave-trade would induce me to receive any suggestions from him on the subject, and to submit them for the consideration of her Majesty's Government.

Your Excellency may assure M. Guizot that her Majesty's Government attach no special value to the right of search, except in so far as it affords an effectual means of suppressing the slave-trade. They are indeed aware that the exercise of this right cannot fail to be attended with some inconvenience, and they would willingly see the adoption of any measures which should be as effectual for the accomplishment of the great end in view, and which should not be liable to the same objections. I am bound, however, in candour to declare, that I have not hitherto seen any plan proposed which could safely be adopted as a substitute for the right of search; and when M. Guizot recollects how earnestly the people of this country have desired the abolition of the slave-trade, and the enormous sacrifices which they have made and are daily making to secure the attainment of this object, he will not be surprised if we hesitate to abrogate treaties the stipulations of which have been found efficient, until we are satisfied that the measures about to be proposed will be attended with equal success.

I abstain from inquiring into the causes which have led to the great change of sentiment in France respecting these treaties, which up to a recent period the French Government had united with that of her Majesty in pressing on the adoption of other nations.

Be these causes what they may, I fully admit that such engagements, if not executed with cordiality and zeal by both the contracting parties, must become less likely to answer the purpose intended, and their value be greatly impaired. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell on the means taken by her Majesty's Government to remove all reasonable grounds of objection to the exercise of the right of search, and on the care with which the instructions recently delivered to the officers engaged in this service have been prepared. The mere fact officially declared by M. Guizot that the Government, the legislature, and the people of France earnestly demand a revision of these engagements, while they profess at the same time an undiminished desire to attain the objects for which they were contracted, would afford to her Majesty's Government a sufficient reason for agreeing to the proposed inquiry.

But, in assenting to this suggestion of M. Guizot, your Excellency cannot too strongly impress upon his mind how much will depend upon the character of the persons who may be selected as commissioners, in order to inspire the necessary degree of confidence, and to ensure any useful result. It appears to her Majesty's Government to be indispensable that the commission should be composed of individuals of high station and of enlightened views,—men perfectly independent, and well known for their attachment to the great cause of freedom and humanity. It must clearly be made known that the object of the commission is not to get rid of treaties, but to ascertain the possibility of adopting measures by which they may advantageously be replaced. It appears essential also, that whatever substitute may be proposed, if any be found, should be considered in the first instance only as an experiment, but by which the operation of the treaties in this respect would necessarily be suspended until its success or failure had been made manifest.

To a commission thus constituted and thus instructed, her Majesty's Government could not only entertain no objection, but would be disposed, in common with all who sincerely desire the early and complete abolition of this detestable traffic, to look with hope and satisfaction.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) ABERDEEN.

LORD COWLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Paris, 13th January, 1845.

MY LORD,—The messenger Fennessey arrived at Paris on Saturday the 11th instant, and delivered to me your lordship's despatch of the 9th instant.

I immediately directed a copy to be prepared of it, and placed it in the hands of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the course of that day.

After reading that despatch with attention in my presence, his excellency said, that he entirely concurred in the views therein taken by your lordship, respecting the engagements entered into by the two governments for the suppression of the traffic in slaves. He admitted, likewise, that since the conclusion of the treaties of 1831 and 1833 a great change had taken place in the opinions of the Chambers, as well as of the public generally, upon the question of the right of search. It would be useless, he said, to enter into any examination of the causes which had led to that change; he would only say that the prejudice existing throughout France against the exercise of that right was unconquerable, and was daily increasing.

I might, therefore, he continued, form some judgment of the degree of satisfaction with which he had received the communication which I had just made to him, announcing the acquiescence of her Majesty's Government in the proposal of that of France, for the appointment of a joint commission for the purpose of inquiring whether means as effectual as the mutual right of search might not be resorted to for the suppression of the slave-trade.

He was fully aware of the feelings of the people of England on the subject of this odious traffic, and of the jealousy with which the proceedings of the proposed commission would be watched, and I might therefore be assured that the compliance of her Majesty's Government in the proposed inquiry, would be justly appreciated by the government, the legislature, and the people of France.

His Excellency then informed me that the Duc de Broglie would be charged with this important commission; and I am certain your lordship

will be of opinion that a better selection for that purpose could not have been made. The Duc de Broglie has for many years been a strenuous advocate for the abolition of the slave-trade, and it was under his auspices as Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the supplementary convention of 1833 was concluded. It is not likely, therefore, that he will propose, or will himself be satisfied with, any measures for the suppression of the traffic in slaves less efficacious than those at present in force under the treaties.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) COWLEY.

LIBERATION OF SLAVES AT THE BRITISH CONSULATE OF TUNIS.

Tunis, 21st Jan., 1845.

My dear Sir,—Yesterday I had the extreme gratification of being the simple agent of presenting the "freedom document," the *Atka*, to five slaves. This was the first proceeding of the kind I had witnessed during the six or seven years that I have been occupied in promoting, by literary labours, the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade. But I will relate the circumstances of this liberation, so honourable to the British Tunisian Consulate.

I was called by Sir Thomas Reade, our consul-general, not knowing what might be his request, and was, to my surprise, immediately introduced into the presence of the consul, his dragomans, and five poor slaves, trembling with joy on the brink of freedom, besides numerous spectators. Sir Thomas then informed me, that I was this day to have the honour of presenting the "freedom document" to five slaves—two males and three females. I forthwith took it from the consul, and presented it to the slaves, one after another. It was, in truth, affecting to see the devout ardour and tearful joy with which the poor things kissed the hands of our worthy and noble-minded consul, on receiving the inestimable blessing of freedom. By our continually writing upon anti-slavery subjects, we forget, or we feel but little, the immensity of the boon of freedom—the inalienable right of every man and woman born into the world. What a horror is Slavery! To be sold to the will and passions of a frail creature like oneself, who calls himself our master, and assumes an absolute property in our persons, in our thoughts, words, and actions—to have no will of our own—to have our mind, our immortal part, chained to his mind as a subordinate, dependent, and worthless thing—to be at the mercy of his caprice and his worst passions, our bodies consecrated to his lusts, our souls saved or damned at his good pleasure; such is the essence and some of the terrible features of slavery. What, then, must be freedom? To be liberated from this cruel oppression of mind, this deep degradation of body—to be our own selves—to feel the power of our own unique conscious will, and the dignity and glory of our unending existence—to know that we have no master but God, no lord whose supremacy we worship but our all-glorious Maker—to have the sincere pleasure of satisfying the legitimate feelings and instincts of our nature, and the holy, the sublime joy of preferring our God to any mortal man! These are the two antagonistic conditions of slavery and freedom. Alas! that the wickedness of men should still hold so many thousands of their fellows in slavery. Ah! eternal shame to Christians—and the Christians of England—to squabble and fight about the trifles of the modes of their faith, instead of seeking to disseminate the pure doctrines of its paramount philanthropy through the isles and continents of the habitable earth, by which the whole human race would soon be delivered from this accursed degradation of God's creatures, who are stamped in his image and likeness. * * *

Let me, however, tell you something more about these five liberated slaves. Notwithstanding the good will and good faith of the Bey, and the most strenuous exertions of the British consul-general, the matter of liberating runaway slaves is still difficult. A thousand of these slaves have been liberated through the instrumentality of Sir Thomas Reade, since the final measure of the Bey for the abolition of slavery in his territories, and yet each case has always its peculiar difficulties. The master of the youth, one of the five slaves liberated, made the most determined and persevering efforts to retain him in slavery. The humane and enlightened Mussulman prince was assaulted with continual objections, and besieged with incessant importunities to render the slave to his master. But his Highness, sustained by the friendly and protective counsels of the British consul, triumphed over all difficulties. Nevertheless, Sir Thomas Reade has taken the precaution to keep the boy in his own house until the clamour of the slave party, and especially his old master, has died away. I have already informed you, that these liberated slaves consist of those ill-treated slaves who flee from the cruelty of their masters to the British consulate for protection, and who, at the demand of the consul, are thus liberated by his Highness the Bey. At this moment there is another poor African youth refused in the British consulate from the cruelty of his master, whose freedom is yet to be obtained. Happily, however, the number of slaves decreases every day, and there will soon be no slave-master to ill-treat a slave, and no slave to run away from the cruelty of his master.

What a contrast is all this to the abominable letter of Marshal Bugeaud, addressed to the Duc de Montmorency, president of the *Institut d'Afrique*, written apparently expressly for the bad purpose of reviving the infamous traffic in human beings upon the frontier of the northern districts of the Sahara, and to destroy the grand work of emancipation now going on in Tunis! On this subject I must again be permitted to add, that I do pray the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will immediately

adopt the necessary means for making an indignant remonstrance to our Government—if not to the Government of the King of the French—concerning the pro-slavery projects of the Governor-General of Algeria. To let the matter pass without making such remonstrance, would be treason to the cause of abolition in North Africa.

I subjoin a translation from the Arabic of the "freedom document," which Sir Thomas Reade had the goodness to allow me to have the honour of presenting to these slaves on their liberation—which "freedom document" is the proof and guarantee of their liberty during their whole life.

Yours very faithfully,

J. R.

To John Scoble, Esq.

MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

OUR file of Mauritius papers brings intelligence of considerable interest. It appears that Lord Stanley had written out, expressing his regret that the demand for labourers had not been regulated in better harmony with the pecuniary resources of the island; a sentiment in which the editor of the *Cernéen* expresses his sympathy in the following terms:—

We cannot but join with Lord Stanley in deplored the improvidence of certain measures of our Government relating to immigration. It is obvious that a material portion of the onerous expenses it has occasioned might have been spared the colony. What will his Lordship say when he learns that, through the inefficiency of our police force, which even contains in its bosom, and in the persons of its inferior agents, the most powerful and most active elements of disorder, we are still obliged to send abroad for more immigrants, when our colony contains a sufficient number to meet all demands for labour?

We have marked the last line of this paragraph in italics, to draw the special attention of our readers to it. We are not going to say that we have read it with surprise, because we have long been well satisfied of the fact thus stated; but it is with particular gratification that we find our opinion confirmed by so unexceptionable a witness, on this point as the *Cernéen*. The affirmation actually rests, however, on an authority still higher than that of our contemporary. In an account of the proceedings of the legislative council on the 9th of September last, in the same paper, we find the following passage:—

On this subject (the expense of importing labourers) the committee lament the necessity under which the country is laid of importing new labourers, when it has already received a sufficient number; and it attributes this fact to desertion, to the non-renewal of hirings, to the setting up of small shops, and to the non-execution of the vagrant law.

It thus appears to be acknowledged on all hands, and seems to be officially declared by the highest authorities, that *Mauritius has received a sufficient number of immigrants to answer all its demands for labour*. We think that this is a pregnant fact, and that important consequences ought to follow from the announcement of it. We beg to ask whether it is known to the noble lord at the head of the colonial department, officially communicated as of course it should have been by the Governor of the colony? If it be not, we take the liberty of calling his Lordship's attention to it, and of asking him whether, in the face of such a fact, he really means to go on with the system of immigration to Mauritius, and to sanction, not only from the shores of India, but from the eastern coast of Africa also, the unnecessary, and therefore, certainly, the cruel and mischievous transportation of men? For be it remembered, that the demand for labour is the only plea by which it has ever been attempted to justify the wholesale system of immigration for which our colonists have clamoured; and now it is placed beyond question that the "colony of Mauritius contains a sufficient number to meet all demands for labour." On what pretence, then, is a system so fearfully mischievous, and so ruinously costly, to be continued? If immigration is clamoured for now, it is not because there are not people enough on the island, but because those who are there cannot be induced to work on the plantations. Some are alleged to be deserters; while others, when their contracts expire, will not hire themselves again, preferring to set up in a small way of business. Is it then to supply wants so created, that Indian and African kidnappers are to be set to work, and two continents to be drained of their inhabitants? To such a course it is no severity to apply the term madness. The pecuniary exhaustion involved in it must speedily be ruinous to Mauritius itself, while yet the planters will not have labourers; since the same causes will operate with the successive new-comers which have operated with the past. We really think that compassion for the Mauritians themselves should settle this matter, even if there were involved in it no question of humanity. Some glimpse of this view of the case seems to have been caught by the planters themselves; for, while they are busying themselves in endeavours to provide funds for a farther importation of Coolies from India, and in perfecting the scheme for obtaining Africans—a veritable slave-trade—from the Imaum of Muscat, they are bent also upon some methods of compelling the immigrants to labour. For this they are aiming at two things. In the first place, they want a more stringent vagrant law, although they have at the present time a very severe one, and although the Colonial Secretary stated in the Legislative Council that it was "severely administered." In the next place, they want to extend contracts for labour, which are now restricted to one year, to a period of three, or even of five years. Some of the members of Council went so far as to hint to the

Governor, that he might of his own authority effect such a modification of the Order in Council, and seemed disappointed when his Excellency stated that, on such a question, he must refer to the Government at home. Of course he must. And upon both these points we trust the Home Government will be firm. It is of the utmost importance that they should be so, if they mean to preserve Mauritius from relapsing into a state of hopeless oppression and practical slavery. We ought not to omit noticing that the number of absentees from the plantations appears to have been greatly overrated. One member of the Legislative Council, obviously with the design of recommending a more stringent vagrant law, stated them at one-fourth of the whole number of labourers, not fewer, therefore, than 8,000; the Governor, however, having required the Civil Commissioners to make a return on this point, they have officially reported the number of absentees to be only 1,600.

Before closing this article, we must acknowledge our contemporary's courtesy in noticing the last Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The only point which requires attention, is his correction of the statement therein made, that the proportion of women among the immigrants was only 8 per cent., whereas he states it at 12 per cent. The statement in the Report was correct, according to the documents then laid before Parliament; but subsequent documents bear out the statement of the *Cernéen*. Even this proportion, however, as our contemporary admits, is shamefully too small.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-senders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 19, 1845.

ON Friday evening last, two petitions from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society were presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Hawes; the one praying for the further encouragement of free labour, and the other deprecating the use of armed force for the extinction of the slave-trade. The petitions will be found below.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth.—That, in the judgment of your Petitioners, the encouragement of free labour is one of the most effectual means of promoting the abolition of slavery, and the extinction of the slave-trade.

That, therefore, they would respectfully urge on your Honourable House the propriety and importance of admitting the free produce of foreign countries into the markets of Great Britain, on the same terms as produce of the same kind from the British possessions abroad.

That with a view to the still more effectual encouragement of free as compared with slave-labour, your Petitioners deem it important also that such restrictions as now exist on the agriculture and commerce of the British Colonies should be altogether removed.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to take into its early consideration the measures aforesaid, and to adopt such course as to its wisdom may seem meet for carrying the same into effect.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth.—That your Petitioners rejoice in the rapidly spreading conviction, that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable hope of the annihilation of the slave-trade; and that it is felt not only by those who object upon principle to the use of an armed force, but by the public generally, to be impracticable to suppress it by such means.

That a review of the experience of the last twenty-five years renders it obvious that some deeply-afflicting evils have resulted from the application of coercive means for the extinction of the slave-trade; among which may be enumerated a dreadful aggravation of the sufferings and horrors of the middle passage, a fearful increase in the rate of mortality on the number of unhappy victims shipped for the slave markets, and, on the part of Great Britain, a lamentable sacrifice of life and the expenditure of an enormous amount of treasure in vain.

That your Petitioners have always been of opinion that the employment of an armed force for the suppression of the nefarious traffic would prove ineffectual; and this opinion having been confirmed by indubitable facts,

Your Petitioners respectfully, yet urgently, entreat your Honourable House to confine its exertions in future to the employment of such means as are of a pacific character, and to concentrate all its efforts on the universal abolition of slavery, as the most effectual mode of extinguishing the nefarious traffic in human beings.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

The debate on the Address in the House of Commons contained some references to the right of search, as the question now stands between the governments of England and France, which we have thought it right to record in our columns. To us, we may take this opportunity of repeating, the question possesses very small interest, inasmuch as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, by its constitution, confines itself to the employment of pacific measures, and is at this moment deprecating altogether the use of an armed force. We shall be happy, however, if, out of the labours of the mixed commission now constituted, there shall arise any suggestions tending to direct the energies of this and other countries to the extinction of slavery, as the most effectual means of putting an end to the slave-trade. It is an important era in the progress of opinion on this subject, when a person of so much distinction and weight in the legislature as Lord Howick expressed sentiments like those which fell from his lips in the debate we have referred to, and which we earnestly commend to the consideration of our readers. We have thought it our duty also to insert entire the correspondence between the French and English Governments, which has been laid on the table of the House of Commons.

SIR ROBERT PEEL, in the great number of reductions which he proposes to effect in the tariff, contemplates two which materially affect the question of slavery. We refer to the duties on sugar and cotton wool. In relation to the former of these articles, we take the following account of his proposition from the *Times*.

He proposed with regard to all sugars but refined sugars, to make this reduction. On brown Muscovado sugar, which now paid a duty of 25s. 3d., he proposed to make a reduction of 11s. 3d., and to reduce the duty to 14s. That reduction would apply to all British plantation sugar, and to sugar the produce of the Mauritius; but there were certain districts in British India with regard to which a different rule now applied, and with respect to them he proposed that they should pay the same relative proportion of duty which they paid at present, and that the duty should be 18s. 8d. On free-labour foreign sugar he proposed that the protecting duty should not exceed 9s. 4d., and therefore the duty would be 23s. 2d. Any country which had a reciprocity treaty with us could not, of course, be deprived of any right which it enjoyed at present. As to white or clayed sugars, or sugars equal to clayed sugars, he proposed that the duty should be reduced on British plantation sugars from 25s. 3d. to 16s. 4d.; that the duty on sugar imported from India should be 21s. 9d., and that the duty on free-labour foreign sugar should be 28s., thus retaining the whole amount of discriminating duty which was imposed last year, but applying that discriminating duty in a different manner, giving 9s. 4d. as a protection on Muscovado sugar, and an increased protection of 11s. 4d. on the more valuable and costly article. With respect to the duty on molasses, he proposed to reduce it in the same proportions. As to the admission of refined sugar, he proposed to remove the prohibitory duty on refined sugar imported from those British possessions which were entitled to import Muscovado sugar at 14s., and to place upon such sugar a proportionate import duty, namely, on refined sugar, 18s. 8d., and 21s. on double refined. He then gave the Committee an estimate of the supply of sugar which he considered likely to come from our possessions to this country in the course of the present year, and concluded his observations upon that point by stating that the effect which would be produced on the price of sugar by this reduction in the duty would be a reduction of 1½d. per lb.; but taking other circumstances, which always accompanied a high rate of duty, into consideration, he calculated that it would amount to a reduction of 1d. per lb. He estimated the loss which would be produced in the revenue of next year by the reduction of the sugar duties at 1,300,000l.

Upon the face of it, this plan appears to maintain the same differential duty in relation to foreign free sugar as the act of last year; but in reality it affords to the West Indians a much greater protection. The matter is thus clearly stated by the *Morning Chronicle*:

Sir Robert Peel professes to retain the difference of duties the same as was fixed by the act of last session; but he proposes to classify sugars into two kinds—Muscovado and clayed, on which he proposes to charge different rates of duty, instead of the present uniform rate. The duty now chargeable on sugars of all kinds the growth of our colonies is 25s. 3d. per cwt., and the rate chargeable on all kinds of foreign sugars the produce of free labour is 35s. 9d., establishing a difference of 10s. 6d. per cwt. Now, it is well known that the colonial interest generally would have been well satisfied to have retained that difference of duty, on obtaining so considerable a reduction on the entire rate as is now proposed to be made. Sir Robert Peel proposes now to reduce the duty on colonial Muscovado sugar to 14s. per cwt., and on colonial clayed sugar to 16s. 4d., the average of which is 15s. 2d.; he proposes then to place on foreign free labour Muscovados a duty of 23s. 4d., and on foreign free labour clayed sugar a duty of 28s., the average of which is 25s. 8d., thus leaving between the two average rates the difference of 10s. 6d.; but though the difference between the two extreme rates (14s. and 28s.) is no less than 14s. Now it does so happen that the *whole* of our sugar produced in the West Indies, and we may state generally in our colonies, is Muscovado sugar, and will be subject only to the duty of 14s. per cwt., unless, indeed, an exception is intended to be made in respect to the fine white sugars of India, and to charge them at the 16s. 4d. duty. On the other hand,

we apprehend it will be found that nearly the whole of the sugar produced in Java, the great contemplated source of our supply, is clayed, and will be subject to the 28s. duty; so that, really and practically, between the sugar imported from the two great sources of supply, our colonies and Java, the different rate of duty, as proposed, will be 14s. per cwt., instead of only 10s. 6d. by the present law; thus affording to the West India planter an increased protection, and a simple transfer of so much money from the public exchequer to him; forming a lavish, and in this case gratuitous (as far as we can judge), waste of the public money, and that, too, at a time when the Minister is asking for a continuance of an extraordinary and obnoxious tax, partly on the ground of the changes thus effected in the duties.

We are sorry to see, by the debate of Monday evening, that Lord John Russell concurs in the view of Sir Robert Peel. His lordship is reported to have spoken as follows:—

I do not object that the right honourable gentleman makes a distinction, if the Custom-house officers and others say that it can be made, between raw and clayed sugar. A different degree of manufacture is a distinction, if it can be ascertained, in the same way that you distinguish between leather and boots and shoes. In cases of that kind you are justified in imposing a different duty, and as it is a matter on which opinions are not likely to vary, it is unnecessary to enter further into it.

For our own part, we think the distinction now proposed highly objectionable; not only as affording a higher protection than the act of last session to the West Indians as against foreign sugar, and so withdrawing part of the encouragement supplied by it to free labour, but also as practically subjecting the sugar of our East Indian possessions to a discriminating duty as compared with the growth of the West Indies. Mr. Hastie remarked in the House of Commons, on Monday evening, that, out of 70,000 tons of sugar exported from India, 50,000 tons would consist of granulated white sugar; and this will be charged with a duty of 2s. 4d. per cwt. more than West India sugar, which is almost entirely muscovado. And this after the strenuous efforts which have been made to equalize the duty on East and West India sugar!

The duty on cotton wool imported, we are sorry to say, the Premier proposes entirely to abandon. As a matter of principle and consistency this is much to be deplored.

By the West India mail we learn that Lord Stanley's disallowance of the second Immigration Loan Ordinance of British Guiana had caused considerable sensation in that colony. We are also informed by our own correspondent, that the Combined Court were again in secret session, and that, although nothing was known of their proceedings, it was expected they would give way to the noble lord, and place the burden of the loan on the exports. Our correspondent justly remarks, that, although this is "a concession in the right direction," it leaves the Ordinance still open to many and grave objections.

In Trinidad the planters have been at the same hurried work as in Guiana; an Immigration Loan Ordinance for raising 250,000*l.*, having been read a second and third time, and passed, on the 9th of December. An ordinance for promoting Coolie immigration also was passed through all its stages with equal rapidity. Two attempts made by the Treasurer of the island to mitigate somewhat the former ordinance, were got rid of by a direct statement of the Colonial Secretary, "that it was Lord Stanley's wish the bill should be passed without delay." We are sorry to see his Lordship so eager in this infatuated business. He seems to us under some impulse almost amounting to frenzy, to outdo even the planters themselves.

We are glad to see in the papers many notices of agricultural improvements.

The *Trinidad Standard* comments upon the letter of our correspondent respecting Mr. M'Kay, and says that he did not, as stated by our correspondent, offer prepayment for the printing of the document he wished to publish. The editor adds, that the printing of it was declined from a sense of disapprobation of its contents.

From the last arrivals from the United States it appears that a resolution in favour of the annexation of Texas, had been passed by the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the Senate, with the view of becoming a joint resolution. By the latter body it had been referred to the committee on foreign relations. The resolution will be found in another column. From Mexico it is reported that Santa Anna has been overthrown, and the revolution, consequently, established. M. Rejon, the Secretary of State, who answered Mr. Shannon in so spirited a manner, is said to have fled, while the American minister is reported to be on the best terms with Herrera, the president in anticipation. These circumstances are held to favour the prospect of annexation. Upon this subject, the committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have taken a decided step, by issuing a document, (our readers will find it in another column,) requesting that the 7th of February might be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer in relation to it.

By the Spanish papers we learn, that the penal law against slave-trading was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 8th instant. General O'Donnell, the Governor of Cuba, is stated to have written a despatch, affirming that the slave-trade was indispensable to the prosperity of that island. In a report made by a committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the penal law, there is a very ominous

allusion to the possibility of supplying the Spanish colonies with *free labourers from Africa*. This, of course, would be nothing but a slave-trade; yet what a plausible sanction would it derive from the British system of free emigration!

It appears that the Venezuela sugar has been purchased at 25s. to 34s. per cwt. in bond, while British plantation sugar of the same quality, would have fetched 32s. to 40s. Since the differential duty of 10s. per cwt., then, must have kept this sugar out of the British market, our readers will ask, perhaps, what was done with it? It was bought for exportation to the Isle of Man, where the duty on sugar is only the nominal one of 1s. per cwt. It thus happens that this fraction of the British isles may be supplied with foreign sugar bought at a rate which will not admit it to general home consumption. The quantity thus disposed of, however, must be very small, and a considerably lower price must be given for what is really to be introduced into the British market.

It appears, also, that the price of British plantation sugar is 6s. to 8s., lower than at this time last year, that the supplies increase, and that the stock is more than a third, or nearly 15,000 tons greater than at this time in 1844. These are encouraging statements, as illustrative of the producing power of our colonies; but they will not at all bear out the inference which Messrs. Newman and Cook, from whose overland circular we have quoted them, seek to draw from them. These gentlemen are displeased with what they call the "ridiculous distinction" between free and slave sugar; and they say, Abolish it, because there is now plenty of sugar from the British colonies. What thoughtless absurdity is this! If the now copious supply from our own colonies were reason enough for any change at all, it would rather be that free sugar should be excluded, than that slave sugar should be admitted. These gentlemen tell us, moreover, that the West Indian planters are now content to enter into competition with the foreign grown, because they are now "permitted to obtain cheap labour." Lord Stanley's batch of 12,500 Coolies, however, can have done nothing for the West Indies yet; and, if it does for the West Indies what immigration has done for Mauritius, it will undoubtedly plunge those colonies, hopefully struggling as they are now, into the gulf of ruin and despair.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, FEB. 5.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the debate on the Address, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said—There is, sir, one subject on which, although it is not touched upon in the speech from the throne, I suppose that the house will receive some explanation from the right hon. gentleman. I confess that I am not pleased with the announcements which have appeared of the appointment of a commission to revise the treaties of 1831 and of 1833 for the suppression of the slave-trade. There does not appear to me to be any necessity for the revision of those treaties; if, however, the Government thought that those treaties were likely to disturb the unanimity existing between the two nations, if they believed that those treaties would cause any serious disturbances of the existing harmony, I am of opinion that they ought themselves manfully and freely to have entered into negotiations with the French Government, and to have stated what they believed necessary to secure the object of the treaties of 1831 and 1833; but in the first place to make the right established under those treaties as illusory as it is boasted to be, to issue private instructions to our naval commanders of such a nature that they cannot exercise any powers, and to make what ought to be so effectual a means of repression null and useless, after they had gone on for some time and had become nearly efficient, and then to come forward and transfer the responsibility to commissioners, to ask men of high name and of unblemished character to put themselves forward and suggest new views, is not a course which is dignified, or which is fair towards the people of this country. (Hear, hear). Sir, the people of this country wish to see the repression of slavery. The people of this country, and we on this side of the house, are as anxious for the repression of slavery as any amongst those who voted for the resolution of the noble lord the member for Liverpool in 1841. (Hear, hear). They will look with jealousy at anything which will weaken the means of repression at present existing, and which if not maintained in their vigour will, I believe, become valueless, although I am willing to give every confidence to the reasons which have produced an inquiry, and to appreciate fairly the motives with which her Majesty's Government are actuated.

Sir ROBERT PEEL. The noble lord has referred to the question of the right of search; but I think it better to postpone discussion on that subject until the communications which the Government are prepared to lay before the house are in the possession of hon. members. The house will then be enabled to judge whether we have made, in point of fact, any compromise of that which I admit ought to be our main object, viz., the effectual suppression of the detestable traffic in slaves. (Hear, hear). After the sacrifices made by this country, I do believe that there is the highest political and moral obligations on us to adopt every measure, consistent with the general law of nations, which can by possibility contribute to the suppression of that traffic. (Hear, hear). But observe, the French Chambers have declared twice, I believe, against this right of search; public opinion in France has been raised against it, and say what you will, the right of search becomes, in a material degree, paralysed when it is against the sense of the organs of public opinion, and against the general sense of the country. Though the right of search might be most efficacious for its object, when carried into effect with the perfect good-will and concurrence of both parties; yet, if the French Chambers, by almost unanimous votes, do think fit to denounce this right of search,

and look to their Government to attempt to substitute something in lieu thereof, it was quite impossible not to expect that the existence of such a feeling must throw obstacles in the way of carrying into practice the right of search. What, then, does M. Guizot propose? Avowing that the object of the French Government is the same as ours:—declaring their anxiety to abolish the odious traffic in slaves, the French Minister asks whether it be possible to substitute for the measures which we adopt, under the right of search, other measures equally efficacious; and, to use his own expression, more efficacious than the right of search? Our object being the suppression of the slave-trade, would it be wise, seeing the state of opinion in France, to refuse all consideration of the question? In our answer, we state that we retain our opinion as to the obligation of putting down the slave-trade, and that we cannot consent to give up any powers we may possess, unless we can satisfy ourselves that some other measures, at least as efficacious, can be adopted. The policy of entering into the inquiry mainly depends on the instruments by which that inquiry will be conducted. Whom did the French Minister propose to conduct the inquiry on the part of France? one of the highest authorities in France; one who is universally respected—the Duke de Broglie, who is ready to sacrifice political power for the purpose of endeavouring to effect that great object the suppression of the slave-trade. It was this illustrious individual who counselled one treaty, and concluded the other in 1831, and 1833, and, if prejudices are to operate on the subject, all his are in favour of the maintenance of the treaty. This is the man offered by the French Government to us, for the purpose of determining whether any measures more efficacious than the right of search can be devised. (Hear.) Whom have we invited to assist in the inquiry? Dr. Lushington, a man, who during his whole life, has been ready to sacrifice political power or pecuniary advantage for the great object of the suppression of the slave-trade. (Hear.) This is what we have done with respect to the right of search; and the house would have the opportunity of seeing on the official papers what are the grounds on which the Government acquiesced in the proposed inquiry, and what are the qualifications by which that acquiescence was accompanied. Let the house look to the two men appointed to conduct the inquiry—one, the minister, who signed the treaty giving the right of search; and the other, a gentleman well known for the desire he has manifested for the suppression of the slave-trade; and he would leave the house to judge how far the ministry had acted with propriety in this matter.

Lord PALMERSTON. I think if the commission be appointed to examine whether any other measures can be devised better than a mutual right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade, that the question is so clear that it may just as well be answered at once without a commission at all—because there is no man who has the least common sense, but must know that without the right of search nothing effectual can be done to suppress the iniquitous traffic in slaves. (Hear.) To inquire for measures as a substitute for the right of search would be a mere farce, and one to the enactment of which I should be sorry to see two such eminent men as the commissioners lend their talents. If they are advised to recommend some measures in addition to the right of search, that might really be an inquiry productive of some advantage; but when I hear what the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government said this evening, and when I remember the course pursued by the Government with regard to the Slave Treaty of 1841, I am afraid that they are not in search of additional measures, but of something which shall, in their opinion, be a pretence for abandoning the right of search; and we are thus, out of compliment to the French Government, about to sacrifice the great and important principles to preserve which the British Parliament, and every Government but this, has not only professed its desire, but has shown by its conduct that such was its most anxious wish. (Hear, hear.) I repeat that to appoint a commission to inquire whether the right of search is essential for the suppression of the slave-trade is just about as rational as appointing a commission to inquire whether two and two make four, or whether they can make anything else. (Hear, and a laugh), it is a perfectly self-evident proposition—no one can doubt it—that, unless you have a maritime police, it is impossible, absolutely and physically impossible, to put down the slave-trade. I know that some projects have been spoken of as substitutes for it; that we could have, for example, a foreign naval officer to cruise in our cruisers, and that there should be a British officer on board every French cruiser; and then, I suppose, if it is to be done for one power it must be for another, and then there would be perfect little Noah's arks sailing about; naval officers by pairs in these slave-trade cruisers! (A laugh.) The idea is perfectly absurd, and any man who intends seriously to propose such measures as that means nothing less than to get rid of the treaty altogether, and to render it perfectly inefficient. The right hon. baronet, however, says, "But you must consider, gentlemen, that when the treaty becomes odious to a country, the subordinate officers of a Government will not execute it with the alacrity and zeal that they did before, and it becomes useless." But the right hon. baronet forgets that the value of this treaty does not depend upon the alacrity, the zeal and ability of French subordinate officers at all, but upon our own officers; and whatever may have been the disposition of any foreign country to assist you in the suppression of the slave-trade, I do fear that nothing effectual has been done towards its accomplishment by the naval force of any country, except that of Great Britain. But the argument of the right hon. baronet leads simply to this,—that whatever treaty you may have made, the moment the country you have made it with becomes dissatisfied, you are to give it up, and to say, "Oh, surely, if you don't like it, you may take it back." (Hear.) Why, what would become of the settlement of Europe by the treaties of 1815? (Hear.) The moment that the right hon. baronet yielded this treaty, on account of the violent articles in the French newspapers, they would play you the same game again, only with much more force and spirit, because then they might have more important interests to serve. In this case you have no interests of your own to serve in maintaining the treaty—none, except that you regard it as the necessary means of putting down the slave-trade. Your cause is none other than that of humanity and generosity; you have a right, therefore, to stand on the treaty, and I say, if the Government had known its duty, that it would have done so, and would have said to France, "We will enter

into no negotiations with you upon the subject unless we contemplate the substitution of some measure for the right of search. We contemplate no such substitution, and we should only mislead you if we held a sham negotiation with you to enable the minister of the day in Paris to answer an opposition speech." That is the real state of the case. But more than that, because whence arises the clamour in France for the abandonment of the right of search? I don't deny that there may be men in France who are misled, and who think that the national honour is concerned, where it is concerned the other way; because I say that it is as much for the national honour of France to put down the slave-trade as it is for the national honour of England to do so. It is as notorious, however, as the sun at noon-day, that the clamour to which I refer as having been raised in France has been raised solely by the slave-traders and slave-holders—it is just a repetition of the cry raised some time ago in Lisbon. It is then to the clamour of such men as those that the right hon. baronet is about to give way; and whilst on the one hand he professes the most ardent desire for the suppression of the slave-trade—refusing to admit cheap Brazilian sugar on the miserable pretext that the slave-trade might be encouraged if he did so, at the same moment he is consenting to a negotiation which, if he perseveres in his object, is negotiating to surrender that treaty which is the foundation of all our measures for the suppression of the slave-trade. (Hear). I say, therefore, that I will not wait for the documents, because I have knowledge enough of the facts to form an opinion upon the matter. If, indeed, the papers shall show that in consenting to this negotiation the right hon. baronet has dealt fairly and candidly with the Government of France, and has told them explicitly that he will not give up the right of search, because he knows that nothing can be done for the suppression of the slave-trade without it, the case would be different. It may be said, in answer to this, that the French will emancipate their negroes; but even were they to do so, it would be no equivalent for the slave-trade, which would still continue in Cuba and the Brazils; nor would such an act affect the amount of that trade. The truth is that there is but a very limited slave-trade in the French colonies. This is, however, I do say, a question for the Government of France to decide upon, and not one which it at all concerns the Government of England to trouble itself with. In my opinion, it is not fitting for us to drive the French Government into such a course as has been contemplated by giving up measures so extensive and well-organized, as well as so necessary for properly carrying into effect the most anxious wishes of the Parliament and people of this country, expressed over and over again in resolutions and in addresses to this house (which were, however, certainly open to the objections made by the right hon. baronet to one which I brought forward last year) on the subject of the slave-trade. Why there would, on examination of the journals of the house, appear continual addresses, praying the Crown to institute measures with such and such provisions for the suppression of the slave-trade. In fact, there is no question whatever on which the Parliament and the nation have expressed their opinion so frequently, so unanimously, and so strongly, as upon the necessity of the English Government exerting all its influence to put down the slave-trade.

Lord SANDON said, It was impossible not to foresee the inconvenience arising from the right of search, and he looked for far more benefit to the labours of the honest and distinguished men engaged in negotiating upon the question. He hoped that the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington would successfully arrange it, for it was not only a source of irritation, but might lead to open war with the most important maritime power of the world.

Lord HOWICK said, that he could not help thinking that there was great force in the objections respecting the evils and practical difficulties of suppressing the slave-trade, but at the same time he could not say that he had heard much as to the possibility of effecting that object by forcible means within the exercise of the right of search. He did think, however, that the time was come when the house and the Government should inquire and consider whether it was wise, prudent, or useful to adopt those means or not. No man abominated the slave-trade more than he (Lord Howick) did, or was more anxious to see it suppressed; but at the same time he could not help asking himself what had been the result of all our efforts to do away with it. For thirty years we had persevered in those efforts; for thirty years we had endeavoured to keep the police of the seas, and to prevent the slave-trade from being carried on; and what had been the result? It was admitted even by the advocates of that policy—and he (Lord Howick) had always been as eager on its behalf as any—that hitherto the practical effect of our efforts had been that millions of pounds of expense had been incurred; that the lives of thousands of our bravest officers and men had been sacrificed; and yet, that we had not only failed to accomplish our objects, but had actually added to the horrors of the slave-trade. It was only last year that an account was published by the chaplain of one her Majesty's ships, which exhibited the cruelties that had been the consequence of our attempts to carry this policy into effect. He (Lord Howick) firmly believed that we had not in any degree diminished the extent of the slave-trade, while we had certainly aggravated its horrors, and he therefore did think it became us seriously to consider whether this was a policy in which we ought to persevere. Last year they were told by her Majesty's Government that new measures were to be adopted for more effectually blocking the coast of Africa, and hopes were held out of greater success to our future efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade. He (Lord Howick) was not prepared to object to the trial of these means, if there were any rational hope of their success; but he confessed, for his own part, that he entertained a great doubt of their being so successful as it was anticipated they would be. He believed that while there was such a strong interest engaged in the slave-trade, and while the government of those countries by the people of which it was carried on did not endeavour to suppress it, all our efforts to put an end to the trade would be fruitless. He believed it to be impossible, by any vigilance or activity on the part of naval cruisers, to suppress a smuggling trade of this kind, carried on along the coast of a continent, over a space of thousands of miles, and where it was easy to baffle the utmost vigilance that could be employed. He confessed he could not help feeling some suspicion that more success would follow from a different course; he could not help believing, if we were no longer to take on ourselves the

task of keeping the police of the seas, but were to leave every nation to prevent its own subjects from engaging in the trade, that the feeling of shame would be excited before the civilized world, when there was no longer any feeling of pride in resisting our efforts, and that a regard to their own interests and honour, would induce Brazil and Cuba to put a stop to the trade. It was as easy for them to do it as it was difficult to us. When a nation were determined to put an end to the trade, the experience of our own colonies showed that there was no difficulty. Therefore he thought other nations could succeed, while we should only continue to fail. The danger to which those countries would be put from the continuance of the slave-trade, after we had ceased to interfere to suppress it, would of itself be the strongest motive to them to alter their policy. Brazil was now in a very different situation from that in which she was when we were carrying on the slave-trade. She was no longer a colony, having the mother country to fall back upon whenever she was placed in any position requiring assistance. Already we know that the disproportion of the black population as compared with the whites, excited very serious fears among the best judging persons in that country, and he was convinced that Brazil, if placed in such a position that she would no longer feel that in continuing the trade she was only opposing the insolent dictation of this country, would take measures to put an end to the trade. He thought the same with respect to Cuba; and, with regard to France, he fully concurred with the right hon. baronet opposite in all that he had said as to the inefficacy of all the treaties on this subject entered into with that country, if not carried out in a cordial spirit by both parties. After all we had seen during the last two years, no man could expect that cordial co-operation with the French nation or the French people; but if we were to say to them we would no longer interfere (and we ought not to do so unless there was a prospect of success), then, he believed, a very different spirit would be shown with regard to the suppression of the slave-trade. Of course, when we were ourselves carrying on the trade, it was very natural to argue that if we did not do it other nations would; but when the question was merely one of our exercising the police of the seas it became a very different one. We were not called on, we had no duty to exercise that police, unless it could be shown that by so doing we were really promoting the interests of humanity. Therefore he did hope that if the Government persevered for the present in the policy they had hitherto pursued, they would at no distant period look to the results of their measures, and if they found that they did not succeed by forcible means in suppressing the slave-trade, he hoped they would have the manliness and courage, however unpopular such a course might be, to come forward and state, in the face of the country, that their policy had failed, and that they were prepared to recommend its discontinuance. This, he contended, was the light in which the question ought to be considered with reference to its bearing on the cause of humanity. For, was it worth while to continue such an expenditure of human life as occurred on the coast of Africa, if the plan was found to be a practical failure? Still less should it be continued, where it threatened the slightest addition to the danger of war between ourselves and our neighbours. When they looked at the dreadful calamities to ourselves and our neighbours, and to the whole civilized world, which would be the result of a war between this country and France, they were bound to take those dangers into consideration in estimating the reasons for and against adhering to the present policy of this country in reference to the tendency they had to increase the risk of a war with France. For it was quite true, as had been said by the noble lord, the member for Liverpool, that it was impossible to exercise this right of search without giving well-founded cause of complaint. The zealous officer would exceed his duty; the legal and illegal traders were so closely connected—it was so easy to confound the ship not intended for the trade with the regular slaver, that with all possible desire to avoid all ground of abuse, it was almost impossible but that our officers should sometimes fall into error. And it should also be considered that whether the acts of our cruisers were right or wrong, they were liable to be represented in the most odious light in France. A ship was detained, and great loss inflicted on the parties, and she might perhaps have been intended to prosecute the slave-trade, yet there might be great difficulty in proving it. Yet the owners of such a vessel would endeavour to excite the feelings of their countrymen. It was well known how excitable they were, and how little able we were to submit to any concession that was not considered consistent with our honour; a quarrel thus brought on might tend to the most fatal results (hear, hear.) These considerations, he (Lord Howick) had felt it to be his duty to submit to the house and the country. They might not be prepared to alter the course they had hitherto pursued—a course of which all had been alike the eager advocates—but which he did say they ought not to persevere in unless there did appear very speedily reasonable grounds for presuming that that policy would meet in future with more success than had attended it in times past.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Mr. HASTIE, seeing the right hon. baronet in his place, wished to ask him whether it was his intention to admit East India sugar under the new Sugar Duties Act in the same class of sugar in which it had heretofore been admitted, namely as muscovado sugar?

Sir R. PEEL said he had stated on Friday that a distinction was intended to be made between muscovado and white-clayed sugar.

Mr. HASTIE remarked that the classification of the sugar would make a difference in the duty of 2s. 4d. a cwt. There were 70,000 tons exported from India, of which about 50,000 would consist of granulated white sugar, and he wished to know whether this would be liable to the additional duty.

Sir R. PEEL thought it would be better to postpone for the present any discussion as to the details of the measure.

Mr. GIBSON wished to ask the right hon. gentleman whether, in classifying sugars into clayed and muscovado, and fixing the different rates of duty, he contemplated the adoption of the *ad valorem* principle of duty, and whether he meant, that the higher rate of duty should always apply to sugar of the greatest value?

Sir R. PEEL said that would generally be the case, although he would not pretend to go into every particular case. Presuming that clayed sugar was generally more valuable than muscovado, that would be the effect of the arrangement.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said he apprehended it was the right hon. baronet's intention to propose that the Sugar Duties Bill should be passed for one year only, as had hitherto been the case. As there was some doubt among the public regarding the intention of the right hon. gentleman, and it was a point of great constitutional as well as commercial importance, perhaps he would state whether it was his intention.

Sir R. PEEL answered, that under any circumstances, if the sugar duties were made permanent, he should have been very much disposed to propose that some other duty, of nearly equal amount, should be made temporary, in order that there might be no infraction of constitutional principle. His own opinion was, that it would be better that the new sugar duties should be of a permanent character; but under all the circumstances, looking at the greatness of the change, he was not prepared to advise that the new sugar duties, supposing them to be sanctioned by Parliament, should be continued beyond the 5th of July, 1846.

Home Intelligence.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—At a recent meeting of the Committee of this society, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"That this committee can find no words sufficiently impressive to mark the deep sentiments of mingled sorrow and indignation which have been excited in their minds by recent occurrences, strongly illustrating the character and influence of American slavery,

"That two of the leading periodicals connected with the Free Church of Scotland should apologise for slaveholders, and without discrimination represent the American abolitionists as a body unfit for truly Christian men to associate with, calls for the severest censure, and affords a painful illustration of the demoralising effect resulting from the contributions of slave-holders being solicited for religious purposes.

"That Dr. Chalmers should deem it becoming in correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Smith, of South Carolina, an upholder of American slavery, to disparage those who would seek its downfall, in a circumstance deeply to be deplored; yet its injurious influence on the minds of American Christians and philanthropists should be mitigated, by the consideration that Dr. Chalmers uniformly abstained from all public co-operation in efforts for the immediate abolition of British Colonial slavery.

"That the laws of the state of Florida, by which Captain Walker has been branded in the hand, fined, imprisoned, and exposed to the indignity of standing in the pillory—of Kentucky, by which Miss Webster has been condemned to imprisonment for two years—of Maryland, by which the Rev. Mr. Torrey has been condemned to imprisonment for seven years—of Missouri, by which Messrs. Kempson, Wright, and Barr, have been already imprisoned for three years towards a sentence of twelve years—and of South Carolina, by which John L. Brown was sentenced to death; all for no other crime than having aided, or being suspected of aiding, slaves to escape,—are barbarous, and deserve the universal condemnation of the civilised family of man.

"That the proposal to annex Texas to the United States, and thereby provide a new field for slavery and the slave-trade, almost boundless in extent, is a scheme full of the greatest danger, threatening the most deplorable consequences to the human race. In the midst of such circumstances this committee rejoice, that the tried and faithful abolitionists of America continue to evince untiring energy and devoted zeal. This committee congratulate them on the prospect of an Anti-slavery Convention being held at Washington, the seat of American government, and sincerely trust that the gathering together, and the deliberations and measures of that assembly, will effectually serve the cause of freedom, not only in America, but throughout the world."

At the same time two petitions to parliament were adopted: the one in opposition to the plan of Coolie emigration to the West Indies, at present patronized by the Government; and the other against the use of armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade, also advocating the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA. PROROGATION OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—The Assembly was prorogued on the 23rd of December, with a speech from the Governor, from which we make the following extracts:—His Excellency said, "In order to do justice to the experiment which is about to be made by the introduction of Hill Coolies into the colony, it is indispensable that they be located together in considerable numbers, and that arrangements for their reception on estates be effected with a due regard to their habits and comfort. By such means they may be induced to attach themselves to the island, and to regard it as a home rather than a place of temporary sojourn. In exercising the powers confided to me by the act for the encouragement of immigration, I shall keep these objects in view.

"The accounts which I receive of the prospects of the crop continue to be generally of a cheering character. For a series of years the difficulties attendant on a change in our social system have been aggravated by unfavourable seasons. The influx of capital into the colony has been checked, and the inhabitants have failed to reap the full benefit of the improvements lately introduced in the cultivation and manufacture of our staples. Present appearances warrant the expectation that the labours of the agriculturists are at length about to be rewarded with a more abundant return; and I earnestly hope that while we unite in gratitude to Providence for the blessings vouchsafed to us, all classes in the community will cordially and harmoniously co-operate in turning them to account."—*Falmouth Post.*

EXTRACT of a letter to Mr. Sturge from the Rev. W. Knibb, dated Kettering, Dec. 23rd, 1844:—"The new state of being into which the vast majority of the population have been thrown, is daily developing new features of character, and while there is much to grieve, there is also much to cheer, and I by no means think that there is any cause to change the general description which has been given. Where no religious instruction, or very imperfect instruction has been given, the people are in a state of darkness and evil distressing to contemplate; but in other districts there is an ample reward for the labour bestowed. The attendance on the means of grace is quite as good as ever it was, and though there has not been so much contributed for religious objects, I am persuaded that it has arisen from impoverished means, and the increased wants which freedom most properly brought with it. I do not believe that there is a labouring population on earth who would so patiently have borne the reduction of wages they have, connected with the increased price of provisions, arising from that cruel and abominable taxation which has purposely been laid on the articles of food they consume, for the avowed purpose of raising money to fill the island with labourers, still to curtail their comforts, and still to reduce their wages. It must, it ought to be borne in mind, that the peasantry were fully as unprepared for the drought as were the other classes of society. They had entered into engagements for land and houses, and their usual supplies were at once stopped or materially lessened, so that really every fraction they had was demanded to supply the wants of nature. This we have deeply felt as a mission, and to this I attribute, in a great measure, the falling off of our schools, or rather our inability to maintain them. I have struggled through, and my schools were never in a better state; but many of my brethren have sunk under the burthen. Could twenty or thirty pounds have been raised for several of the schools, this calamity had not happened. The debts on our chapels loudly calling for payment, added to our troubles, but my confirmed conviction is this, that as a general statement, our people had relaxed their efforts, not from a want of disposition, but from hard gripping poverty. I have taken great pains to find this out, and I give the result to you, and shall be glad of the utmost publicity being given to it, that as a body I do not think the peasantry have retrograded either in morality or religion, and that the very trying circumstances through which they have passed so soon after their emancipation, and their general good conduct under these circumstances, entitle them to the deep sympathy of the anti-slavery public of Great Britain. We have had a severe trial to pass through, and I have no doubt it will be graciously sanctified."

THE CROP.—The *Times* says, that "the prospects of the country, so far as the crops are concerned, are most cheering; and there seems little doubt—always provided we can command labour sufficient for the purpose—that the aggregate sugar crop, which was only about 35,000 tons for 1844, will reach 45,000 if not 50,000, for the ensuing year."

BARBADOS.—Our agricultural prospects are cheering. The weather has been all that could be desired by the agriculturist, and on some estates sugar-making has commenced.—*West Indian.*

BAHAMAS.—These islands have been afflicted with famine. Governor Matthew says, "that the conduct of the lower classes in totally abstaining from any sort of outrage, even to obtain the necessities of life while under the pressure of the greatest want, is most truly deserving of approbation; and this conduct is very correctly considered as a rich reward to the Legislature for its liberal grants in favour of religious and moral education."

ST. VINCENT.—We are glad to learn that the crop of sugar for the present year will exceed that of last year by nearly 1000 hogsheads.—*Royal Gazette.*

TRINIDAD.—**IMMIGRATION.**—At a meeting of the Legislative Council on the 9th of December, a new Immigration Loan Ordinance was read a second and third time and passed. It proposed to raise a loan of 250,000*l.* sterling in five years, to be repaid from the export duties of the colony. "The treasurer endeavoured, but without success," the *Standard* says, "to introduce two amendments—one reducing the amount of the loan to 200,000*l.*, and the other limiting the sum to be raised in any one year to 30,000*l.* instead of 50,000*l.*" The same hon. gentleman opposed the motion to suspend the standing rules to enable the bill to undergo the third reading and be passed that day, but the opposition was met by a statement of the Colonial Secretary, "that it was Lord Stanley's wish that the bill should be passed without delay." An Ordinance for promoting Coolie immigration was also read a second time, and "passed through all its stages," observes the *Standard*, "with the same rapidity as the foregoing Ordinance."—*Barbados Liberal.*

THE CROP.—The weather has been showery, with occasional intervals of a few fine days. The appearance of the young canes, we understand, is gratifying. The usual dry season is now looked to with expectation, as affording, should it favour manufacturing operations, some ground to hope well of the result of the present crop.—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—(*From a Correspondent.*)—Our legislators here, although foiled twice, are at their dark deeds again. I cannot tell what they have done; for although it is holiday time—and West Indian officials love holidays—yet the combined court have been at their extraordinary labours almost all this week with closed doors. The results of their secret deliberations will be made known to the public, perhaps, some time after these results, in the shape of immigration and civil-list ordinances, have been put on board the Mail steamer for the colonial office. Although nothing definite has transpired, yet it is rumoured that the two laws lately disallowed are to be re-enacted; but the tax for immigration purposes is to be laid on the produce. This may, I fear, satisfy Lord Stanley, who seems not to object to immigration being promoted by taxation, but to its being carried out by a tax on imports. This modification of the loan bill, if the rumour be true, is a concession in the right direction; but the difference in the principle of the two measures is more apparent than real; whilst the injurious consequences of the proposed wholesale introduction of heathen men, without their families, will still ensue to the present inhabitants of the land—to the poor deluded immigrants themselves—and to the general resources of the colony, upon

which, no doubt, our plantocrat rulers will make the burden ultimately to fall. Immigration by means of money raised by taxation, whatever be the kind of tax imposed, will prove an injurious and ruinously delusive scheme, from which I trust a kind Providence may save us.

MAURITIUS.—**IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.**—The Legislative Council has determined that the premium for the importation of a man shall be £5 sterling, and for that of a woman £6. It is proposed that any vessel so employed shall have a licence from the governor, to prevent them from being interfered with by the queen's ships employed in putting down the slave-trade.—*Cerneen.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—**ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.**—The House of Representatives, on the 29th ultimo, having received several additional annexation bills and joint resolutions, terminated the discussion of the question, by consent, passing the following joint resolutions, offered by Mr. Brown, a Whig, by a vote of 120 to 98:—

"JOINT RESOLUTION DECLARING THE TERMS ON WHICH CONGRESS WILL ADMIT TEXAS AS A STATE INTO THE UNION,

"Be it resolved, that Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within, and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas, may be erected into a new state, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government to be adopted by the people of the said republic, by deputies in convention assembled, with the consent of the existing Government, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the states of the Union.

"And be it further resolved, that the foregoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions, and with the following guarantees, to wit:—

"1. Said state to be formed subject to the adjustment by this Government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other Governments; and that the constitution thereof, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of the said Republic of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress for its final action, on or before the 1st day of January, 1846.

"2. Said state, when admitted into the Union, after ceding to the United States all mines, minerals, salt lakes and springs; and also all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports, and harbours, navy and navy yards, docks, magazines, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence, belonging to said Republic of Texas, shall retain all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind, which may belong to, or be due and owing to the said Republic; and shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities of said Republic of Texas; and the residue of said land, after discharging said debts and liabilities, to be disposed of as said state may direct; but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the Government of the United States.

"3. New states of convenient size, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of the said state, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such states as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise, shall be admitted into this Union, with or without slavery, as the people of each state asking admission may desire."

On the 27th ult. the resolution was introduced into the Senate, read twice, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The question of its fate was considered scarcely doubtful.

MARTINIQUE.—**FUGITIVE SLAVES.**—Five fugitive slaves from Martinique arrived in Castries on Tuesday last. From the account they give of themselves, it appears they started from Trois Islets, Martinique, on Sunday, in a small canoe: they must have encountered most imminent danger in making the passage, the weather on our coast during Monday night being boisterous and squally, their fragile embarkation was swept by the wind and currents as far to the southward as Anse Laraye, and on making the shore, about three o'clock in the morning, their canoe was dashed to pieces, but the poor fellows escaped unhurt: the police at the station conducted them to Castries.—*St. Lucia Independent Press.*

FRANCE.—**THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.**—The Duke de Broglie will leave Paris for London towards the end of the week. The Duke and Dr. Lushington will immediately commence their labours. We have been assured that the question of the right of search will not be the only one examined by the plenipotentiaries; and that two other questions will occupy much more of their attention; namely, the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies, and the annexation of Texas. It would appear from the remarkable article of *The Times* on the subject which we published some days ago, that the British ministers are rather inclined to give up the right of visitation, if they can obtain two new compensations; the one at the expense of our colonies, that is, a prompt emancipation of the slaves; and the other at the expense of America, that is, an intervention, diplomatical at first, of France against the United States, in the affairs of Texas.—*Constitutionnel.*

SPAIN.—The Chamber of Deputies adopted, on the 7th, the penal law against the slave-trade; but there existing some slight differences between the project, as sent down by the Senate, and that voted by the Chamber, the latter had appointed a committee to regulate those differences in a conference with the Senate.—*Times.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXXXVII. VOL. VI.—No. 5.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5TH, 1845.

[PRICE 4d.

SUGAR DUTIES.

A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at No. 27, New Broad-street, on FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1845,

The Rev. JOHN HOWARD HINTON, A.M., in the Chair:

Resolved.—That, in the judgment of this Committee, the encouragement of free labour is one of the most effectual means of promoting the abolition of slavery, and the extinction of the slave-trade.

That, therefore, they would respectfully urge on her Majesty's Government, and the Members of the British Legislature, the propriety and importance of admitting the free produce of foreign countries into the markets of Great Britain on the same terms as produce of the same kind from the British possessions abroad.

That, with a view to the still more effectual encouragement of free as compared with slave labour, this Committee deem it important also, that such restrictions as now exist on the agriculture and commerce of the British Colonies and Territories abroad should be altogether removed.

(Signed,) J. H. HINTON, Chairman,
JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank our friend Mr. Lefroy for his letter.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 5, 1845.

Since our last, repeated debates have taken place in the British parliament on the question of the sugar duties. These debates have run to so great a length that, with our small space and infrequent publication, it is impossible for us to give anything like a full report of them; we have thought it our duty, however, in consequence of the importance of the subject to which they relate, to place on record the most material and relevant portions of the speeches which have been delivered, and for this purpose we have resorted to a double number, an expedient which we hope our readers will for once forgive.

On Monday, the 24th of February, Mr. Milner Gibson brought forward a proposition for admitting all foreign sugar at the same duty as British; and on Wednesday, the 26th, Lord John Russell introduced one for admitting foreign slave-grown sugar and foreign free-grown sugar at the same duty. So far as the debates were concerned the questions were substantially one, and the same ground was gone over on both occasions; while both the debates have been very little more than a repetition of the speeches made on the same subject during the last session. For ourselves, we are unfeignedly glad that both the propositions in question have been negatived by large majorities, and that the British Government is to pursue the policy adopted last year. Much of the discussion has related to the protection claimed by the West India interest. We are not among those who hold any protection to be due to the West India interest. We have advocated, and we still advocate, the admission of all foreign produce, being freegrown, on the same terms as produce of British territories. The ground we take is that of humanity; and we must confess that we have seen nothing in the recent debates to move us from it. By some honourable members, indeed, our apprehensions of a fearful aggravation of slavery and augmentation of the slave-trade, as resulting from the free admission of slave-produce, are affirmed to be groundless, and Mr. Ewart proclaims commerce to be the only emancipator. But what on this matter says Mr. Macaulay, in a speech the splendid and powerful eloquence of which is admitted by all parties, and in the most fervid advocacy of the admission of slave-produce? Speaking of the effect of taking off the duty on American cotton, the honourable gentleman is reported to have said, "I have not the least doubt but, as soon as the contents of the budget shall be known across the Atlantic, the slave-trade traffic will become more horrible than ever, that the dreadful jobbers in human flesh, moving up and down the land, south and north, will be more numerous than ever." Of course, Mr. Macaulay believes also that a reduction of duty on Brazilian and Cuban sugar would have a similar effect on the Brazilian and Cuban slave-trade. The free traders will, perhaps, allow some little weight to this testimony from one who is so strongly on their own side. Our entire case, as to the matter of fact, is thus admitted. Mr. Macaulay coolly enough disposes of it by saying, that no obligation lies on us to make ourselves censors of the morals of other nations. To this it was replied by several members of the house, that, with respect to the slave trade, we have already done so; and Mr. Macaulay would seem obliged to admit that his principle could not be carried out without leading to an entire change of British policy in this respect. To this we may add, that we think it not theoretically sound. It would apply as much, we sup-

pose, to the conduct of individuals as to that of nations; and it would, in this application, lead to the abandonment of principles and practices in which all honourable men have concurred.

Reference was repeatedly made in the course of these debates to the feeling out of doors, and especially to the feeling of the great anti-slavery party in the country. On the latter point we read with some surprise Mr. Cobden's assertion, that the anti-slavery party was identified with the ultra-free-traders. "I know," said the honourable gentleman, "that the right honourable baronet and his friends lay claim to the credit of being supported by Sir F. Buxton and the anti-slavery party, on the ground that these sugar duties have a tendency to prevent the slave-trade. Now that (continued Mr. Cobden) is quite a delusion. There is no class of men for whom I entertain a higher respect than I do for those who have laboured to sustain the anti-slavery principle; but I tell you that the men who fought that battle are now in the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League." Not exactly so, Mr. Cobden; or, if it be so, what is the meaning of those frequent articles in the organ of the League, in which the anti-slavery party are so perseveringly entreated to alter their opinions? To this allegation, in which the honourable member must have gone somewhat further than his cooler recollection would justify, Mr. Gladstone replied, by justly citing the names of some leading men among the present race of British abolitionists, as evidence that at least a portion of this body coincided in the policy of the Government. We believe that the great majority of them do so; that the change of opinion which has been effected by the agitation about free-trade, is exceedingly limited; and that the expectation expressed by several members in the late discussion, that any practical revival of the slave-trade would arouse the anti-slavery feeling of the country to its pristine energy, would be fully borne out by facts. The nonsense that Mr. Cobden uttered about the members for Manchester, the member for Leeds, and the member for Bath, having been sent into that House by the anti-slavery party, is unworthy of serious notice. Instead of making, in the face of the country, the groundless and fallacious assertion that the anti-slavery party wish for the introduction of slave sugar, he might with much more truth affirm, that they deplore the inconsistencies into which Ministers have plunged themselves, by promoting with one hand what they discourage with the other.

On Friday Mr. Hogg brought forward a proposition relative to the intended classification of sugars for the purpose of a differential duty, objecting to it as at once impracticable in itself, and as injurious to the East Indies. At the request of the Government, and with a view to further inquiry, the honourable gentleman withdrew his motion. On the same ground also the Chancellor of the Exchequer postponed his resolutions on the sugar duties from Monday last until Friday. We hope we may consider these delays as indications that the Government are disposed to give way on this subject. For ourselves, we earnestly hope that no distinction between sugars not being refined, will be attempted. We would much rather that something should be added to the rate of a duty which should be invariable.

Having made these general remarks on the debate, we shall turn to a little episode in it, which is not without interest. Mr. Gibson seems to have created no small consternation among the West Indians, by quoting the recent proceedings of the Clarendon Agricultural Society, Jamaica, from which it appears that, on two estates in that island, sugar has been made at a cost of 9s. 6½d., and 8s. 10½d. per cwt. respectively. In the House, Sir G. Clerk, with a degree of ignorance to us quite unaccountable, ventured to tell Mr. Gibson that this cost included only the charge for labour; and the honourable gentleman does not appear to have been at the moment in sufficient possession of the subject to have set his reprobation right. On Wednesday evening, however, he did so: and we must lend our help towards making the facts of the case as public as may be. The truth is, that Sir G. Clerk is in the wrong; and that the sum stated includes the entire cost of the sugar, allowing for all the expenses of working the estate, deducting, as usual, the value of the rum. The more astounding this statement is to the West Indians in this country, the more it behoves them to take it to heart. It clearly shows what can be done by good management, and goes fully to bear out the policy which would render good management indispensable. We just put by the side of it the following extract from a pamphlet recently issued, entitled *The Sugar Question*:—"A hundred weight of sugar costs 61s., (growth 26s.,) and only sells for 52s. and 6d. Most estates are kept up at a yearly loss." No wonder: but whose fault is this?

Two highly important subjects were brought before the House of Commons on Tuesday, the 26th ult., by Sir Robert Inglis, on a motion for papers relating to emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and to immigration to Mauritius from the east coast of Africa. With regard to the former, we have already directed the

attention of our readers to the very objectionable measures (as we deem them) taken by Lord Stanley, for the obvious purpose of compelling such Africans as may be liberated from captured slaves at Sierra Leone to go at once to the West Indies, and especially to the proclamation issued by Lieutenant Governor Fergusson on the 12th of June last. Sir Robert Inglis adverted, with great propriety and truth, to the principal objections which lie against so forced an emigration; the abandonment of the established policy of Great Britain with regard to Sierra Leone to which it amounted—the mockery of a choice which it presented to the unfortunate Africans—the deluge of vice occasioned by so extreme a disproportion of the sexes—and the plausible pretext which it supplied to other countries for the extension or renewal of the slave-trade under another name. On all these points his observations were at once correct and powerful. In defence of the Government, Mr. Hope said—

"The proclamation stated that all allowances of whatever kind, which had previous to the date of its being issued to captured negroes by the Government on their being landed in the colony, would cease and determine from the date thereof, except clothing and maintenance while under adjudication, which would be supplied to them until they could find an opportunity of going to the West Indies, and no longer. But that was not the rule of the Government; it was pointed to the negroes only, not binding on the Government. The proclamation undoubtedly was intended to be carried out in a spirit of justice and moderation; it was not intended to compel emigration, but to provide against the remaining in a state of idleness in the colony, alike damaging to themselves and to the colonists."

We confess we do not understand this. The captured unfortunates are told by proclamation that clothing and maintenance will be supplied to them till they could find an opportunity of going to the West Indies, and no longer; and yet this is not intended to compel emigration! Why the time and circumstances of this proclamation make the contrary notorious; to say nothing of the care which the Government takes to have always an emigrant vessel ready for her reluctant cargo. Yet more strangely does Mr. Hope tell us that the proclamation is "not the rule of the Government." We have thought, in our simplicity, that proclamations were intended to make known rules which the Government had prescribed to itself, but it seems we were wrong. This proclamation, for example, is not the rule of the Government. "It was pointed to the negroes only," continues the under secretary. But for what purpose, we ask, if it was not to tell them what the Government intended to do? This, at least, is its apparent purpose, and so by the Africans it would necessarily be understood; and since, as affirmed by Mr. Hope, it did not express the rule of the Government, it must have been designed to give them a false impression, and to lead them to a hasty act of emigration under a dread of an evil which would never have been inflicted on them. Can anything be more unworthy of the British Government than such an artifice as this? And how much longer can it answer its purpose, when this declaration of Mr. Hope shall become known at Sierra Leone? But it is not only upon the inhabitants of that colony that this fraudulent proclamation imposes; it has deceived also the people of England. And, since we are now informed that it does not convey the intentions of the Government, we beg to ask what their intentions are, and whether there are any other proclamations issued at Sierra Leone or elsewhere of a character similarly deceptive. To say that Sir Robert Fergusson's proclamation "was intended to be carried out in a spirit of justice and moderation," is to say only that he may treat the Africans just as he pleases in spite of his own proclamation, which, although it terrifies them, does not bind him. The people of England really would like something a little more definite and satisfactory than this. A clearer case, we think, cannot be made out than is thus established by Mr. Hope himself for that which Sir Robert Inglis most respectfully asked, a reconsideration of this proclamation.

From the statement made by Sir Robert Inglis in relation to Mauritius, we learn that the colonial ordinance for regulating immigration from the east coast of Africa arrived in this country on the very morning of his motion. Mr. Hope had only to say, consequently, that there had not been time to examine the provisions of it; and he added generally, "that nothing would be approved which would in the slightest degree encourage the slave-trade." So far as words go, this sounds well; but we believe, with Sir Robert Inglis, that "something very like a slave-trade" will inevitably arise in this scheme of supplying Mauritius with labourers. "How?" asks Sir Robert, "are these people to be brought down to the coast?" Seductive and fallacious promises are the most innocent of the means by which this can be effected; and it cannot be doubted but these will rapidly pass into fraud and force of every kind, not excepting the most horrible and revolting. May we, in addition, beg Mr. Hope, while he examines this new immigration ordinance, to recollect what we stated, on official authority, in our last, that the demand for labour in Mauritius is fully supplied?

By our Demerara papers we are informed of the issue of that secret sitting of the Combined Court, of which our correspondent informed us by the preceding mail. The Court have passed a third ordinance for raising an immigration loan, desirous of pleasing Lord Stanley, if they can. In some points they have yielded to him; but in the main point, that of throwing the expense of the loan on the exports, and not on the general taxation of the colony, they have, as it appears to us, clung to their old position. The clauses which relate to this point amount to this—that the tax on

exports shall be primarily liable for the cost of the loan, and that it shall continue at its present rate until the loan shall be liquidated; but that, in case of its insufficiency, the further cost of the loan shall be laid on whenever the Court may please. This is, in our judgment, a merely circuitous mode of charging the expense on the general taxation of the colony, which is the very thing to which Lord Stanley objects. It appears in the same light to some of our contemporaries in Guiana, and not to the *Congregational Record* merely, but to the *Guiana Times* also. The latter paper thus expresses itself:—

"The combined Court has made a sham of complying with Baron Stanley's injunctions, and has promised that, for the future, as long as the loan act lasts, produce shall be taxed—**AT THE SAME RATE AT WHICH IT IS NOW TAXED**. That is to say, supposing that the tax on produce shall be sufficient for the purposes of the loan, and no more, then the civil list shall be paid out of other sources of revenue: and supposing it to be insufficient for that purpose, then the deficiency shall be made good out of those other sources! A quibble, a juggle, a cheat, a swindle!"

Lord Stanley is not the man, we think, to be thus ludicrously beaten. We are authorised to say that a memorial to the British Government in opposition to this ordinance, which was transmitted through a private channel in consequence of the impossibility of sending it in the Governor's bag by the current mail, has been forwarded to the Colonial office, and that Lord Stanley has promised attention to it when it shall arrive through the official channel.

From Trinidad we have received the detailed account of the hurried passing of the Immigration Loan Ordinance, which will be found at length in another column. We find also that Mr. Burnley is at his dirty work again on the subject of squatting. What significant sentences are these, which we copy from his speech in the Council of Government! "Since the recent reduction of wages the labourers had again commenced occupying and cultivating, without leave or licence, the northern range of hills in the vicinity of Tacarigua, and he believed the same thing was taking place at Point a Pierre. * * . We were about importing a large number of Coolies. When they arrived, the planters would naturally be anxious to get rid of such bad subjects as they were now necessitated to employ, and to supply their places by the new arrivals, and then all these would go and do as others were doing at present." This, then, is at once the real object of Coolie immigration to Trinidad, and the true meaning of the anxiety for the suppression of squatting!

"The Sugar Question"—such is the title of a pamphlet which has appeared during the present crisis, evidently with a view of influencing the votes of members of parliament, and, according to rumour, with the sanction of the West India body. In style and manner it is perfectly new and unique. It is written at a gallop, or rather perhaps we should say, that it is the complete introduction of the railroad system into the art of pamphleteering. In two and twenty pages of large and open type, it discusses no less than seven questions—the sugar question, the West India question, the African question, the slave trade question, the finance question, the free-trade question, and the ministerial question! To give a sample in detail, we quote the last two sentences of the book:—

"The practical policy, then, on which ministers should now act, without an hour's delay, is to commute part of the taxes on consumption, including the whole duties on British sugar, for direct taxes: to remove the restrictions on the manufactures of sugar: and to send at least fifty transports to Africa to colonize the West Indies."

"This done, all will be well. But let a contrary course be adopted, and mark the result. Consumption overtaxed, sugar dear, the West Indies lost, slavery restored, America triumphs, England fails in its policy, and the dire idols of Africa remain in their seats."

Our readers are now certainly out of breath, and must pause a little to recover themselves. The moderation of these gentlemen, who will have the whole of the sugar duties transformed into income-tax, and "at least fifty transports" employed instantaneously in transporting Africans to the West Indies, may perhaps serve to compose them.

We go on to observe that the pamphlet before us is crammed with brief and summary statements of facts, these statements being in a great number of instances deceptive, either by incorrectness or exaggeration. Thus the writer runs into the extravagance of asserting that "the pay of the negroes now averages 50*s.* a year," the fact being notorious that the average does not reach half that amount, including both "goods and coin." Thus again he states that "a hundred weight of sugar costs 6*s.*," allotting to the "growth" of it the proportion of 26*s.*; when we know that, according to recent experiments in Jamaica, a hundred weight of sugar ought to cost but 10*s.*, or even less.

We have already noticed the vast greediness of this writer for immigrants. He admits, however, that "neither Coolies nor Chinese seem so fitted by race, tongue, or creed, for the West Indies as Africans;" and he adds, "the government plan of last year to import 3,000 Africans and 15,000 Indians might now be changed with advantage for one sending 18,000 Africans, and no Indians." This is a singular admission to be made at a time when 12,500 Indians are supposed to be actually on their way to the West Indies. The writer proceeds—"After all, this is an increase of only two per cent. on the population, while the West Indies require 100 per cent. to make their people as dense as that of Antigua or Barbadoes. Indeed," he adds, "to do any good to the West Indies, 40, or even 100 ships seem a more likely number than the present four African transports," (p. 10.) Notwithstanding the

evident extravagance of this language, we believe it shows what the West India party in this country are really driving at, and we beg our readers to ponder it. They want for the West Indies "half a million" (p. 14,) of men, and these to be wrung out of the bosom of Africa! Let this infatuated clamour be put by the side of two facts. The first is, that the planters in the West Indies do not want this multitude; witness the vote of the Jamaica legislature putting a veto on Lord Stanley's proposed boon to them of 5,000 Coolies, and reducing the number to 2,000, together with the refusal of the Trinidad planters to provide for more than 1,800 of the 2,500 intended for that island. The second fact is, that this mass of men can be obtained no otherwise than by a vast extension of the slave-trade in Africa itself, which must be desolated through an immeasurable extent with fire and sword, in order to satisfy the cravings of the English West India proprietors for cultivators of sugar! Some of our readers, perhaps, will say, "Surely such phrenzy will fall harmless upon the legislature and the statesmen of Britain!" But they must not be too sure of this. The only way to secure it is to make their voice heard within the walls of parliament on behalf of truth, justice, and humanity.

SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART.

It is with deep emotion we record the death of Sir Fowell Buxton. The melancholy event took place on Wednesday evening, the 19th ult., at his seat, North Repps Hall, in the county of Norfolk. This eminent individual had not, at the time of his lamented decease, reached his 59th year, yet he had lived long enough to secure for himself an enduring fame as one of the great benefactors of his race.

To us it would have afforded a melancholy pleasure to have presented our readers with a full view of the public life of this distinguished philanthropist; but our confined space will only allow of a very brief notice of the services rendered by him to the Anti-Slavery cause, a department of Christian labour to which he specially, conscientiously, and unreservedly devoted himself.

In the year 1817 we find the name of Sir Fowell, then Mr. Buxton, on the list of Directors of the African Institution, in promoting the great object of which, the abolition of the Foreign Slave Trade and the civilization of Africa, he was worthily associated with some of the most illustrious men which this or any other nation has ever produced.

The following year, 1818, Mr. Buxton was returned to parliament for the borough of Weymouth, after a severe contest which he sustained against six other candidates. This circumstance, of course, widened the sphere of his influence and usefulness; but those who knew him best can bear testimony to the fact, that, in seeking the honourable position to which he aspired, he was influenced by no sordid or ambitious motive, but by an earnest solicitude to promote the freedom and welfare of his oppressed and degraded fellow-men, and to advance, to the best of his ability, the true interests and glory of his country. Mr. Buxton continued to represent that borough for a period of nearly twenty years, when, in 1837, he was defeated, after a vigorous contest, by a violent party-movement, the success of which was secured by no very honourable means. He retired from public life without a pang; for his defeat, under the circumstances of the case, was his honour, the disgrace, and it will be indelible, attaching to the constituency which rejected him. Nor was that disgrace redeemed when, in admiration of his high character and distinguished public services, the electors, including his opponents as well as his friends, presented him with a splendid piece of plate.

Having reason to fear that slavery would be extended in the British possessions in South Africa, Mr. Wilberforce, during the parliamentary session of 1822, with his usual eloquence, moved an address to the Crown, with a view of preventing, so far as it was possible, so fearful an event. In the debate which ensued he was ably sustained by Mr. Buxton, who concluded a powerful speech in the following words, which we give as indicating the estimate he had then formed of the character of slavery:—"As nothing would be more shameful, or more wicked, than the rise of slavery in our own possessions; so was there nothing more consistent with the course we had pursued (on the slave-trade), or more congenial with the disposition and spirit which the people of this country had manifested, than the deliverance of the whole of our South African dominions from slavery and slave-trading. In effect this was within the power of Government, and was therefore their bounden duty."

Whatever assistance, however, public or private, Mr. Buxton gave to the Anti-slavery cause in the earlier period of his public career, it was not until 1823, that he was placed in the eminent position of its leader in the House of Commons, by the public designation of Mr. Wilberforce, and the unanimous approval of the country. Others might probably have been found possessed of more brilliant qualities, but the sagacious eye of Mr. Wilberforce could discover no one more worthy to be his successor, and the event fully justified the wisdom of his choice. Never could a man have brought to the advocacy of the cause greater singleness of purpose, a deeper sense of its importance, or a more determined zeal to do it justice.

In 1823, the London Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and the campaign was then opened against colonial slavery. Of this important institution Mr. Buxton was elected a Vice-President, and, on the 15th of May of that year, he proposed his celebrated motion,

which struck the first blow against the detestable system, and finally led to its complete abolition. The motion was as follows:—

"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution, and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

In the course of the speech delivered by Mr. Buxton in support of his motion, a speech characterised by great moderation and firmness, he stated the grounds on which the anti-slavery body generally, as well as himself in particular, rested their apology for gradual instead of immediate abolition. We give his words:—"I cannot say I deserve any credit for abstaining to liberate them at the present moment. I must confess, that, if I conceived it were possible for the slaves to rise abruptly from their state of bondage to the happier condition of freemen; if we could clothe them, not only with the rights and privileges, but with the virtuous restraints of social life; if, in fact, I did not know that the same system which has reduced them to the condition of brutes has brutalized their minds; if, I deemed them ripe for deliverance, my moderation, I confess it, would be but small. I should say, 'The sooner you cease from doing injustice, and they from enduring it, the better.' I should take no circuitous course: I should propose no tardy measures of amelioration: I should name no distant day of deliverance; but this night, at once and for ever, I should propose to strike off their chains; and I should not wait one moment from a conception that the master has the least shadow of a title to the person of the slave." Had Mr. Buxton's motion been unsuccessful, it was his intention to have brought in a bill or bills, embracing among others the following objects, viz. to cause the slaves to cease to be chattels in the eye of the law—to remove obstructions to their manumission—to prevent their removal from one colony to another *as slaves*—to abolish compulsory labour on the sabbath—to put an end to the driving system—to secure the rights of property to the slaves—to put an end to the arbitrary punishment of slaves—to make their testimony available in courts of justice—to provide religious instruction for them—to institute marriage among the slaves, and to prevent its forcible disruption—and to declare all children born after a certain period to be free.

The Government, however, resisted the motion of Mr. Buxton, and substituted for it a series of resolutions, the purport of which was, that it was expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave-population in his Majesty's colonies, with a view to their participation in those civil rights and privileges enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects, at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned.

The concession of the great principle—amelioration with a view to ultimate emancipation—for which he had contended, led Mr. Buxton and his friends in the House of Commons to acquiesce in the governmental resolutions which received the unanimous approval of the House.

This point having been gained, the next was to ascertain the steps the Government proposed to ensure practical efficiency. The following were indicated as the meliorative measures they were prepared to sanction:—Obstructions to emancipation were to be removed; slaves to be protected in the possession and transmission of property; religious instruction to be provided; the driving system to be peremptorily abolished; an end to be put to the corporal punishment of females; Sundays to be secured to the slaves for rest, recreation, and religious instruction, and the marriage of slaves sanctioned by law. The slaves, however, were still to be regarded as chattels, for fear it might disturb the tenure of property, and the only security on which money had in many instances been advanced, were this detestable feature of slavery done away; and the offspring of slaves were still to be regarded as slaves.

The announcement of the intentions of Government was received with furious discontent by the colonies, who left no means untried to circumvent them, and to bring into disrepute Mr. Buxton and his associates in the great work of abolition. The Government evidently quailed under the formidable opposition of the colonies, and hence we find that its measures were to be confined in the first instance to certain crown colonies, over which they had complete jurisdiction. On the debate originated by Mr. Canning in 1824, in connexion with the Trinidad order in council, Mr. Buxton spoke with great effect. Contradicted in his assertion that female slaves were continually whipped in the presence of their relatives, he said, "I request gentlemen to wait until the fit opportunity arrives for reply and contradiction, if I am wrong. I well know the difficult situation in which I stand. No man is more aware than I am of my inability to follow the brilliant and able speech (Mr. Canning's) which has just been delivered. But I have a duty to perform, and I will perform it. I know well what I mean by this. I know how I call down upon myself the violent animosity of an exasperated and most powerful party. I know how reproaches have rung in my ears since the pledge was given, and how they ring with tenfold fury now that I call for its fulfilment. Let them ring! Rather than I will purchase for myself a base indemnity, with this sting on my conscience." Addressing the House, he said with energy, "You ventured to agitate the question—a pledge was obtained. You were therefore in some sort the holder of that pledge, to which the hopes of half a million of people were linked. And then, fearful of a little unpopularity, and confounded by the dazzling eloquence of the right hon. gentleman, (Mr. Canning,) you sat

still—you held your peace, and were satisfied to see this pledge, in favour of a whole archipelago, reduced to a single island."

On the presentation of a petition for the abolition of slavery, in 1826, signed by 92,000 persons, Mr. Buxton complained of the opposition of the colonists to the regulations proposed by Government, and urged upon them the absolute necessity of giving them practical effect. "Nothing," said Mr. Buxton on that occasion, "could be more unequivocal than what was required from the West India colonists; nor could anything be more unequivocal than the utter refusal on their part to carry into execution the proposed measures for the benefit of their slaves." Mr. Canning admitted that the vote of the House of Commons, and the recommendations of the Government, having for their object the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, had been refused, and that the order in council intended to enforce the regulations had failed; but he would not allow that a case had arisen for the direct legislation of Parliament on the subject. Further time was to be given the colonies to comply with the decision of the British Legislature and of the Government.

In this year Mr. Buxton appeared as the accuser of Sir Robert Farquhar, on the ground of his having connived, whilst Governor of Mauritius, at the slave traffic which had been notoriously carried on in the island. An immense number of witnesses had to be examined, and their testimony to be thoroughly sifted and arranged; and although Mr. Buxton was ably assisted by Sir (then Mr.) George Stephen, his health gave way under the accumulated amount of labour he had to sustain, and disqualifies him for some time from public duties. There can be little doubt that his exertions and his anxieties at that time laid the foundation of disease so deeply in his constitution, as to greatly abridge the period of his existence. As to the case against Mauritius and its Governor, it was so abundantly made out that the Government determined on the emancipation of the slaves surreptitiously introduced into that colony. But delay after delay took place in carrying this determination into effect, and the result ultimately was, that, instead of punishment, the Mauritians were allowed to hold them as apprentices until the year 1838, when they received compensation for their emancipation.

It is needless to say that the discussion of the great question of emancipation came up from year to year, and in various forms, in the House of Commons; and that debate succeeded debate without any apparent point being gained, except, indeed, that the case of Mr. Buxton became clearer and clearer, and the obstinacy and contumacy of the West Indians, became stronger and stronger. This led to the substitution of the doctrine of immediate for that of gradual emancipation, and to a determination on the part of the country at large to have it. Mr. Buxton became the exponent of this sentiment in the House of Commons. Public meetings were held in all parts of the country, petitions were poured into parliament, and so irresistible was the appeal, that, in 1832, he carried the appointment of a committee "to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies;" to which was added, on the motion of Lord Althorp, "*and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May, 1823.*" The result of the labours of this committee, triumphantly established the following points. 1. That the slaves, if emancipated, would adequately maintain themselves by their own labour; and 2. That the danger of withholding freedom from the slaves was greater than that of granting it. The controversy therefore respecting the expediency of emancipation was decided: the justice and humanity of such a measure had long ceased to be a question.

From this period, events bearing upon the abolition of colonial slavery followed each other in such rapid succession, that a bare enumeration of them would occupy considerable space. It may, however, be said, that Mr. Buxton never lost sight of his position through them all, and availed himself of them all to forward the object he had so much at heart. At length the great subject was taken out of his hands by the Government, and Lord Stanley was selected to introduce it to the attention of the British legislature. This he did in a speech of great eloquence and power, on the 15th of May, 1833. In the accumulation of facts it was overwhelming—in argument, conclusive and convincing—and in appeal, irresistible. The conclusion, however, was unworthy of the great cause he had submitted to Parliament. The slaves were to be continued in a state of semi-bondage for a term of years; and a loan of fifteen millions sterling was to be advanced to the planters, to provide against the risk of loss which they might sustain by the abolition of slavery.

When it became known that the proposed loan was to be repaid to the Treasury by the negroes, Mr. Buxton, in common with the great body of the abolitionists throughout the country, resisted it as utterly unjust, and intimated his dissent from the proposition to the Government. Taking advantage of this, the Government changed the loan of fifteen into a grant of twenty millions sterling; but still determined to retain the negroes under a system of apprenticeship for twelve years. On this point Mr. Buxton joined issue with the Government.

When the abolition bill was in Committee, he moved an instruction to limit the apprenticeship to the shortest period necessary to establish the system of free labour. In this he was beaten by a majority of seven only, but it had the effect of reducing the period of the apprenticeship from twelve to six years. Not satisfied, however, with this reduction, he moved again that the apprenticeship should terminate in two years, viz., on June 1st, 1836. This was

negatived by a majority of seventeen.. Finding himself foiled a second time, he attempted to induce the House of Commons to withhold a moiety of the compensation until the apprenticeship ended, but lost his motion by a majority of fifty-one. From year to year, whilst he sat in Parliament, he failed not to bring the working of the system before the house of which he was a member, in which he complained that, bad as the law was, it was worse in practice. Having been misrepresented upon this point in the House, when he was no longer a member, he addressed a letter to Lord John Russell in 1838, explanatory of the course he had taken upon the subject, in which he says:—"Permit me with all possible distinctness to declare, that, from the first day on which Lord Stanley's scheme was propounded to the present hour, I have had but one mind on the subject, viz., that the apprenticeship was unjust in principle, indefensible in policy—an anomalous, unnatural, and unnecessary state of things—and in practice, as the practice has unfolded itself, worse than in theory." In that year the apprenticeship was abolished, and our honoured friend saw the end of his great exertions and generous sacrifices accomplished. If to Mr. Wilberforce, as the leader of the Anti-Slavery body in his day, belongs the honour of the abolition of the slave-trade, to Mr. Buxton, as his successor in the position which he held, belongs the honour of the abolition of colonial slavery. If, in any part of the policy of these great men, some of their fellow-labourers differed from them, whether it respected the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, or the civilization of Africa, none ever doubted the purity of their motives, or the loftiness of their aims. They now rest from their labours, and their works follow them. Both were eminent Christians; and, as they had endeavoured, each one in his sphere, to promote the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men, so both departed in the faith and hope of the gospel. Influenced by similar principles, animated by the same spirit, and impelled by equal zeal, may there be raised up among us men who will carry forward to its completion what yet remains to be accomplished in the entire freedom and welfare of the human race!

We conclude this brief and imperfect sketch of our departed friend, with a copy of the minute passed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was a member. It is the sincere tribute of men who knew, loved, and honoured him.

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, on Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1845. George William Alexander, Esq., in the Chair, it was unanimously resolved,

That this Committee, deeply impressed with the value of the eminent services rendered, during a long period of years, to the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity by their much-lamented friend, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., feel it to be their duty to record the high sense they entertained of his private worth and of his public labours. By his decease the cause of Christian philanthropy has lost one of its brightest ornaments, Africa one of its most devoted and munificent friends, and the Negro race one of their most active, conscientious, and successful advocates. As the successor of Mr. Wilberforce, and the recognized parliamentary leader of the abolitionists of Great Britain and Ireland in their great struggle for African freedom, his memory will be cherished with affectionate respect by his coadjutors, with the liveliest gratitude by the emancipated slaves of the British colonies, and with honour by posterity.

To Lady Buxton, and her much respected family connections, this Committee tender the expression of their heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolence, and would add their earnest hope that they will be enabled to bear with Christian resignation the great loss with which it has pleased Divine providence to visit them.

Extracted from the Minutes,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, February 24.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Mr. M. GIBSON rose for the purpose of moving the amendment to the order of the day of which he had given notice. If the colonial interests laboured under difficulties in consequence of the legislation of that house, he contended that compensation had been given in the shape of a vote of public money to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* With regard to the alleged deficiency of labour and other difficulties under which the colonists laboured, and for which 2,300,000*l.* was next year to be taken from the pockets of the consumers, was that sum to be given to other parties than those who complained? Was there any complaint that the East Indies or the Mauritius suffered from want of labour? and, if not, why should this sum be given indiscriminately? There was no part of the world in which labour was more abundant than in British India; and he believed he was correct when he stated, that at the present moment there was in the Mauritius a surplus of labour; many persons wandering about in search of employment, so great was the number of Coolies imported beyond the amount of labour prepared for them. In Barbadoes, too, there was at present an overflow of labour: therefore Barbadoes should not be included in the list of protection. Antigua should also be put out of the list. What then remained? Comparatively, a very reduced proportion of colonial produces; and were they entitled to any portion of this 2,300,000*l.*? What was the alleged grievance in reference to the deficiency of labour? Labour was dear, because it was not abundant; the cost of the production of sugar in the West India islands was increased

by the difficulty of obtaining labour and the rate of wages they were compelled to pay. But what were the facts of the case? He would state, upon good authority, what was the cost of producing a hundredweight of sugar previous to the year 1828, when the colonists had all the advantages of slavery in its most unmitigated form, and were under no apprehension that it would be abolished. Mr. Porter said, "During the ten years from 1819 to 1828 the whole expenses on a particular estate attending the culture of the cane, including provisions, the hire of provision grounds for the use of the negroes, lumber stores, repairs of buildings, salaries, &c., was 26,851*l.* The number of slaves, of all ages and both sexes, employed was from 127 to 152, the average number being 140. The estate produced 29,492*cwt.* of sugar and 164,285 gallons of rum. Now, that amount of rum, at 1*s. 6d.* the gallon, would produce 12,321*l.*, and leave a balance of 14,529*l.* as the cost of 29,492*cwt.* of sugar, or 9*s. 10*½d.** the *cwt.*" He would now give them the cost at the present moment upon two estates, subject to all the difficulties which were now complained of by the West India colonists, and which were urged as a ground for the protective duty. The *Jamaica Royal Agricultural Society's Reporter* for June 20, 1844, contained a statement to the effect that the Clarendon Agricultural Society gave a prize of 20*l.*, or a piece of plate to that value, to the manager of that estate on which the greatest quantity of sugar had been made at the smallest cost, between the 1st of January, 1843, and the 31st of December, 1843, "all things considered." Allowance, therefore, was made for the difficulties attending the want of labour, in order that there might be a fair competition as to who could produce at the least cost. Now, what was the result? Why, that on one estate the cost of producing a *cwt.* of sugar was 10*s. 2d.*, while on another it was 6*s. 9*½d.** So that they had it now on a good authority that the cost of producing a *cwt.* of sugar in the West India colonies was, during the continuance of slavery 9*s. 10*½d.**, while at the present moment it was something between 10*s.* and 6*s.* This being so, he (Mr. Gibson) wanted to know, what was the ground on which they were called on to give to the West India planters 10*s.* additional on every *cwt.* of sugar they produced? Why, the sum thus given to them was clearly more than the whole cost of the production of the sugar (hear, hear). Why, if the Brazilian could grow his sugar for nothing—if sugar were rained down to him from the skies—if it were produced by no effort of human industry—if no labour were employed—still that 10*s.* protection would place the Brazilian at a disadvantage as compared with the West India proprietor. But was it a fact that there was any deficiency of labour in the colonies? Would any one get up and state that the difficulties which arose in the colonies were to be attributed to the freedom of the labourers? Why, the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies showed us a year or two ago that the supply of labour in our West India colonies was sufficient, if that labour were properly applied. If the labourers were properly used—if all the remnants of the evil practice which existed in the time of slavery were abolished, and the West India proprietors tried to carry out the Emancipation Act effectually, faithfully, and in its true spirit, he (Mr. Gibson) thought he could infer from the language of the noble lord that there would not be a difficulty in procuring continuous labour. The real reason why the West Indian colonist could not get a sufficient supply of labour, and that the negro would not give his sinews, was that the planters would not reward him according to the work he did (hear, hear). Why, if the British agriculturalists were to deal with the British labourer as the planters had dealt with the negroes, he very much doubted whether there would not be found to be a great difficulty in getting continuous labour (hear). But another complaint, and it did appear to him to be a most anomalous one, was, that the colonists were suffering from the number of able-bodied paupers (hear). From one part of the body a complaint came that there was a deficiency in the supply of labour, while others complained of the expense they were put to in the maintenance of able-bodied paupers (hear, hear). The difficulty of getting labour, and the existence of able-bodied paupers, seemed in the case of the West India colonies, to arise equally out of the manner in which the colonists employed their labour. Of course the greatest repugnance was created to labour when those who employed it persisted in treating free men as slaves. It was, in fact, a matter of very great doubt whether the conditions which were imposed on the West India labourers were not inconsistent with the spirit of the Emancipation Act, and at variance with the intention entertained when that act was passed—that the negro should be raised to all the rights of the free man. Another reason why the colonists found such a difficulty in getting free labour was also set forth by the noble lord. In setting before the West India interest the real causes of the difficulty of obtaining labour, the noble lord pointed to the absentee system—a system which was going on to such an extent that it was in vain to hope that the industry of the West India colonies could be profitable under any system of protection or monopoly. The great bulk of the West India proprietors lived away from their estates, and were wholly ignorant of the great branches of labour that were necessary for their cultivation. They knew nothing of how their own interests were conducted in the colonies. Their estates were left to the mercy of attorneys and overseers, who had no interest in the permanent value of the property, but who were only desirous of getting as much as they could for themselves for the time being. And what interest was it that was neglected? In the cultivation of the sugar-cane several processes were required besides agriculture—there were manufacturing processes, and distilling and chemistry were also necessary to its production in perfection. Yet all these considerations were neglected by the only person who really had a permanent interest in the success of the speculation. Why, if the hon. gentleman, the member for Stockport, were to live at Vienna, leaving his print works to be conducted by attorneys and overseers, would he not very soon find it impossible under any system, however favourable the markets or the prices, to carry on his business with anything like profit to himself or return for his capital? Yet that was the condition of the West India proprietors. They lived away from their estates, and, unlike the great English landed proprietors, they did not leave them to the management of persons who had an interest—they did not let them to tenants, so that the estates had the benefit of their personal supervision. The West India planter, who had a much graver responsibility, lived away entirely from his estates, and then came to Parliament, saying that his business was not a profitable one, and asking Parliament to levy a large contribution on the great body of the working industry of

the country, to enable him to meet the deficiencies in his income created by his absurd and injurious management. No juggling of duties in that house would restore their prosperity—no Parliamentary majorities would give improvement—no dancing attendance at the Colonial-office, praying for this or that favour—nothing could be done without a better system of employment, a more economical application of labour, better modes of cultivation, more extensive application of science and machinery. Why, the noble lord the Governor of Jamaica (Lord Elgin) had told them that the mere substitution of the plough for the hoe would make a difference of 50 per cent. in the amount of production. He observed that recently in Jamaica, Captain Dillon, in an able and sensible speech, observed that it would be better for the colonists to spend a part of their colonial income in purchasing steam-engines and new machines from England than to attempt to promote the immigration of fresh labourers. He (Mr. Gibson) thought that Captain Dillon had taken a sound and sensible course, for it appeared that for three centuries past there had not been the slightest improvement in the cultivation of sugar. The steam-engine was shown to be an aid to labour,—why not use it in the West India colonies? Why should not the planters adopt the principle of the English manufacturers—that of not so much increasing the amount of manual labour, as of rendering it more productive by the use of machinery? He would not dwell any longer upon this branch of the question, because he would fairly admit, that if it could even be shown that they were adopting a plan of cultivation in the West Indies most economical,—even if it could be shown that protection had worked all the good that the most sanguine person had ever expected from it, he would still say that protection was unjust to the community of this country. He knew that they were fond of saying, that although upon the face of this protection to colonial interests it was unjust to the trade of this country, still that we did gain advantages by some extension of our imports, or some increase of trade, or some augmentation of power, or something which had a tendency to satisfy the people of this country that national interests were consulted. But let them take a short view of these allegations. Could it be said that we had increased our imports by the protection afforded to the West India colonies? What was the quantity of sugar brought from the West Indies?—and he would take a period previous to slave emancipation in order to get rid of that argument, that production had diminished in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves. He would say, that production was decreasing for many years previous to the year 1834, when emancipation was carried (hear, hear). Our imports from the West India colonies had been gradually decreasing, and yet there we had all the advantages of monopoly and slave labour (hear, hear). The right hon. baronet at the head of the government distinctly stated that there was no material increase in our imports from the West India colonies; that although there might be in one year a larger quantity than in another, still on the whole the imports were comparatively stationary; and, when they considered the vast increase of the population, what a deficiency there must be! But then he might be told, perhaps, because some hon. gent. said that exports did not depend upon imports, that we had a larger trade to the West Indian colonies than we should have but for this protection, and that this protection had increased our trade, and was advantageous to the British manufacturer. He must confess that that argument was but ill supported—in fact, it was not supported at all, but was rather contradicted by facts. What had been our exports to the West India colonies? Had they increased under the influence of this monopoly? Certainly not. They were as great in 1794 as at the present time (hear). In that year they were 3,632,762*l.*; in 1804, 4,281,735*l.*; in 1829, 3,612,085*l.*; in 1842, 2,591,425*l.*; and in 1843, the last year upon which the accounts were made up, they were 2,882,441*l.* Compare 1824 with 1844. In 1824 they were 4,000,000*l.* and upwards; in 1844 they were only 2,000,000*l.* and upwards. Did that look as if the exports had increased gradually under the beneficial shelter of protection? (hear, hear.) At the present moment the Dutch government admitted sugar and coffee, and all the produce of Java, upon the same terms, at the same rate and duties, with the produce of Brazil and Cuba, and foreign countries. And what was the practical result of that fair competition? Why, that the production of sugar by free labour in Java had gradually increased during a long period of years under the encouraging influence of competition (hear, hear). From the year 1829 to the year 1843 the production of sugar in Java had increased from 91,227*cwt.* to 1,000,000*cwt.*; exposed to free competition with the sugar of Brazil and Cuba—free labour against slave labour—that competition which hon. members opposite were unwilling should take place in this country (hear, hear). This was an example, which at any rate might satisfy them, that it was possible for free-labour produce to compete with slave-labour produce; and he called upon them, if they had any wish to see the emancipation of the slave carried out through all parts of the world, not to sanction by legislation the dangerous doctrine, that the labour of the free man could not compete with the labour of the slave. He would conclude by moving, as an amendment to the order of the day for going into Committee of Ways and Means on the sugar duties—"That no arrangement of the sugar duties will be satisfactory and permanent which does not involve an equalization of duty on foreign and colonial sugar."

Mr. EWART said, it might be urged, in the case of sugar, that this duty was kept up because of the existence of slavery. Did they think they could put down slavery by fiscal regulations? Why, suppose that when first their great manufacturers introduced the cotton and tobacco of America into this country they had been objected to because they were the produce of slave labour, would the rejection on this ground have destroyed slavery in the United States? (hear, hear.) He believed there was only one great emancipator, and that was Commerce (hear). But he should be told that they were bound to maintain the existing protection of colonial interests. What had been the result of all their protection? Lethargy—complete paralyzation of the powers which ought to be called out and developed in the West Indies. A railroad in Jamaica had been alluded to, and he happened to be connected with the formation of it; a near relative of his was chairman of the directors; and he could state that, so far from finding the negroes disinclined to work in the execution of that great undertaking, they were in fact the workmen upon it, and there was every promise that it would be an investment which would worthily remunerate British capital and enterprise. Now, this was the real way to call out the dormant energies of the West Indies. Their true

malady was the gigantic system of absenteeism of which the House had heard. But there was another subsidiary power, the power of competition; and until that commanding power also was called into existence, the resources of the West Indian colonies would never be fully developed. Why, if the mere remote sound of competition—the distant rumour of rivalry in futurity—had already created improvements (as it had), and thrown the colonists into a state of animation, after the torpor in which they had so long, not lived, but vegetated, what would be its result when it came into present and full operation? (hear, hear.) Then, did they wish to put down slavery and the slave trade?—commerce was their only resource. Did they wish to call out and develop the resources of their West Indian colonies?—competition was the only means; not protection, not fiscal regulations, not naval armaments.

Mr. JAMES said, the amendment, if carried into a law, must inflict injustice on millions of human beings, for it would make the slave-trade more profitable than ever, and inflict more tortures on the African race, and, besides, do fresh injustice to the colonists. The hon. member touched on the subject of absentee West Indian proprietors, and the hon. member who spoke last (Mr. Ewart) had joined him in saying that the estates could not be profitably cultivated in the absence of the proprietors. He (Mr. James) certainly thought so too, and he might be considered pretty nearly as a resident proprietor, as he had a son residing on his estate. It was true the West Indian proprietors had got compensation for their slaves, but they had got no compensation for their land, and their land was of no more use to them without labour than the mills would be to the master manufacturers of Manchester, if their operatives were taken away from them, and their machinery stopped. The fact was, some means ought to have been taken at the time of the emancipation to provide labour for the colonies; those means had not been taken, and that was the reason of their present disastrous condition. It was said, "You use slave-grown coffee, cotton, and other articles, and why not sugar?" He (Mr. James) would tell the House why. Sugar required an immense deal of labour in the cultivation of it; that was not the case with cotton and coffee. The objection to the admission of slave-grown sugar was not so much because it was the production of slaves, as because it would tend greatly to give a stimulus to the slave-trade, which was not the case with respect to cotton and coffee, which required very little labour to raise them. The cost of making a hogshead of sugar in Jamaica was about double what it was in the Brazils or Cuba. Thus, if the West Indians were to be brought into direct competition with the population of the Brazils or Cuba, they would be driven out of the market; the cultivation of estates would cease; and they would be ruined. That was just what would happen if the hon. member's proposal became law. Let it be observed, there would be in that case such an increased demand for slave-grown sugar to supply this country, that all expectation of inducing foreign states to emancipate their slaves would be gone. All this country had been doing for 35 years, both under Whig and Tory governments for that object, after expending 34 millions of money, would be totally lost. The attempt to put down that nefarious and detestable traffic would be destroyed by the operation of the amendment, which would make that traffic more horrible than ever, and give such an impetus to it, that no power on earth could put it down. Those who wished to carry out emancipation on the principles that were advocated at the period he had referred to, would vote for the proposition of the government; those who wished to perpetuate slavery in its most hideous forms would vote for the amendment of the hon. member.

Mr. RICARDO hoped the West Indian proprietors would see the necessity of yielding in time, that they would begin to find out that the ball was rolling, and that nothing that they could do would suffice to stop it, and that they would at length discover that their better course was to follow the example of the English manufactures to trust to their own ingenuity and their own resources, and at once give up the absurdity of protection and monopoly (hear, hear.) Capital so employed was like a house built upon sand, and all their protection and discriminating duties would not prevent it from falling. His advice to them, then, was, to yield gracefully, in a time of prosperity, that which would be forced from them at a period of adversity.

Sir G. CLERK.—When you come to consider the peculiar case of the West Indies I must say that I think they have, in their present situation, a strong claim upon this House (hear, hear.) The hon. member for Manchester entered into a statement of the expense of cultivating sugar in former times, and quoted the result of some prizes given for the cultivation of sugar upon a late occasion, showing that the expense of cultivating it in the West Indies was not so great as was alleged. But the hon. member forgot to inform the house that the account he quoted embraced only the expense of labour in the field. He must be perfectly aware, or if he is not I must say that his information is most erroneous, that that amount has nothing to do with the general expense of management; that in fact it contained no charge for the premises, for the capital expended, for work at the mill, or taxes being confined to the expenses connected with the land (hear, hear.) I believe that by continuing a moderate protection to the West Indian planters, who are producing an increased and increasing quantity, you will secure to the consumer a low price, while you will avoid inflicting any injury on existing interests, and avoid giving a stimulus to the continuance of slavery. The hon. member for Manchester stated that our imports have fallen off from the West Indies, while our exports have not decreased. It is perfectly clear, that if, as an immediate consequence of your legislation, the produce of these islands fell from 200,000 tons of sugar to 100,000 tons, that sufficiently accounts for your imports falling off, whilst those in the West Indies could not import many articles into the West Indies which were to be paid for by their own products; and it is only remarkable that the export of the manufactures of this country to the British West Indies has not fallen off in a great proportion. But I do trust, as the West Indies improve in their condition and are better supplied with labour, or as the emancipated negroes apply themselves more diligently to the cultivation of the estates, that we shall see a very great improvement in those islands, and, consequently, have an improved export trade there. The same reason has operated against the introduction of machinery to some extent. The hon. member for Cumberland will be surprised to hear that no attempt has been made to introduce machinery into the West Indies—that steam engines

have never been heard of there. (Hear, hear.) I rather think that 30 years ago, on passing through a large establishment at the other side of Westminster bridge, I saw it full of steam-engines for the West Indies. But the want of capital has diminished the exertions that were formerly made in this respect. The hon. member for Dumfries spoke of the state of lethargy which arises from the enjoyment of a monopoly and the want of competition; but many of the West Indian proprietors have, out of their other capital, been sending out every improvement in machinery in the forlorn hope that some of these improvements would lead to profit. The hon. member said to the West Indian proprietors—"You are absentees, and don't know what is going on." I should think it is just as likely that the hon. member for Cumberland will take care that his West Indian estate is properly managed as that the railway directors living in Liverpool and Manchester will take care that the railway there is properly managed.

Mr. VILLIERS.—The course adopted by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. James) was, in his opinion, somewhat ingenious. That hon. member saw that he had no case for argument, and he therefore changed the issue, and introduced the question of slavery. Now, he (Mr. Villiers) contended that that question was not raised by the present motion. The only question raised by the motion of his hon. friend was this—why put a protecting duty of 10s. on East and West India sugar against the sugar of Java and Manilla, which was produced by free labour? What then had the question of slavery to do with the matter? But the hon. member for Cumberland called upon them to think of the horrors of slavery, and appealed to their feelings of humanity. Now, how could the humane and generous feelings of the hon. member be violated by the admission of Java and Manilla sugar, the produce of free labour, at the same rate of duty with our colonial sugar; and how could he, on this ground, object to the present motion? If that hon. member, and those who advanced the same views, were sincere, they ought to give all the encouragement in their power to the importation of sugar produced by free labour, and with that object support the motion of his hon. friend. The hon. member for Cumberland, and the opponents of slavery, said, "We want to show the world that free labour is better and more economical than slave labour, and to give such encouragement to the produce of free labour as may lead to the abolition of the slave trade." Then why not open our markets to all sugar produced by free labour? The right hon. baronet opposite (Sir G. Clerk) had distinctly attributed the present situation of the West India planters to the abolition of slavery. But the right hon. gentleman had no pretext for that statement; for, with slavery or without slavery, the planters had always complained of suffering and distress. The right hon. bart. The First Lord of the Treasury had stated in that house, that the experiment of the abolition of slavery had answered in a more striking manner than any great experiment ever made; that the slaves seemed to be fitted for freedom, that they were good workmen, and did not object to work for wages. How was it, then, that the existing distress had been occasioned by slave emancipation? They knew that some of the West India islands had been in a very flourishing condition ever since the abolition of slavery.—Barbadoes, for instance, where the people worked for low wages, and great prosperity existed. He (Mr. Villiers) was of opinion that in many cases the most dishonest practices were resorted to by agents in the West India islands in the absence of the proprietors. He understood it was no uncommon thing for those agents and attorneys to represent to the proprietors in this country that their estates were in such a condition, that unless money was sent out for their cultivation they must be abandoned; and cases had occurred in which, under such circumstances, gentlemen residing here had abandoned their estates, which had been purchased by the agents or their friends (hear, hear). Shortly after the debate which took place on this subject last session, he (Mr. Villiers) asked a gentleman well conversant with the condition of the West India colonies, whether the statements then made on that (the Opposition) side of the house to prove the evils of protection were well founded. That gentleman replied, "My family has been connected with the island of Jamaica for upwards of 100 years, and in consequence of representations made to me, I went out to that colony that I might ascertain the real state of affairs; and I can give you no rule but this—that you must not believe one syllable you hear stated in the house on the part of the proprietors ("hear, hear," laughter, and a cry of "Name.") I could scarcely believe my eyes when I got there. Every species of waste was carried on to a shameful extent." His informant stated also that in no sugar-producing country on the face of the globe was that article cultivated and prepared in so barbarous a manner; "but," he added, "the best proof I can give you that I don't despair of the eventual prosperity of those islands is that I purchased land instead of abandoning it" (hear, hear). That individual was the brother of a gentleman at the head of a great mercantile establishment in this metropolis, and whose family had been connected with Jamaica for upwards of a century.

Mr. P. W. MILES believed it to be a fact, that the West India body had suffered very severe distress for a long time past; that they had employed their capital without receiving a return, and that some of them had been brought to the very verge of ruin. The hon. gentleman had stated, that the proposal for a 14s. duty on Muscovado sugar was offering a direct premium on slovenly manufacture. On the contrary, he (Mr. Miles) believed that it would be found much more advantageous to the West India proprietor to send home sugar of the higher duty rather than the coarse Muscovado. (Hear, hear.) During the last session of Parliament an important measure had been passed for the admission of Hill Coolie labourers into the West Indies. That measure he believed to be of great advantage to the West Indies, and he thought that in all probability it would succeed. The Sheriff of Demerara, in a report to the governor, had stated that the Hill Coolies worked better than the negroes; and in that case, if the proposal should succeed, he (Mr. Miles) did not see why the West India colonies should not be able to send a sufficient quantity of sugar to supply this country, and that at as cheap a price as sugar the produce of slave labour. They were, of course, anxious to induce sovereign countries to abandon the employment of slaves; and he did not hesitate to say that the greatest inducement they could hold out to foreigners would be to prove to them that free labour was cheaper than slave labour; and he did believe that the free labourer, in the exercise of his free will and power, would work so much better and produce so much

more than the slave, that in the end there would be little difference whether they employed the one or the other. He hoped, however, when he spoke in that manner, that the house would not do him, or those whom he represented, the injustice to suppose that they thought of grinding the poor free negro down to a state worse than that of slavery. All they wanted was to obtain a fair day's work for a fair day's wages. By showing the negroes that the proprietors were not wholly dependent upon them for labour, and by stimulating them to exert themselves, he expected to derive a great advantage from the Hill Coolie immigration. (Hear.) I am persuaded that this measure will altogether disappoint the West India proprietors. Any gentleman who has taken pains to make himself acquainted with the actual condition of the West Indies cannot be ignorant that what is now complained of is the competition with the small supply of labour there. The competition of the planters among themselves raises wages so high, that the negroes by working only a comparatively small portion of the day are enabled to supply themselves with all those articles of consumption to which they have been accustomed. Of course, like men in every clime and country, they do not like work for work's sake (hear.) When they can provide themselves with those necessaries and comforts and luxuries to which they have been used, of course they will labour no more; and we find that whatever the price of sugar is, the planters will outbid each other so much and so far as that price will enable them, in giving wages to the labourer, in order to take labour away from each other. This is the necessary effect of a non-supply of labour in the market (hear, hear.) Then what will happen if you, by a reduction of duty, greatly raise the price of sugar, and thereby increase the competition of the planters among themselves? My conviction is, that the result will be that the competition which already exists will become more intense; your wishes will not be realized, and the negroes in consequence will be able to supply themselves with all they want, with even a smaller amount of labour than they now give. The effect of your measures will be rather to diminish than increase the supply of colonial sugar, and to place the West India proprietors in a worse situation, as compared with the East Indies than they are in at present. The hon. member who last spoke (Mr. Miles) candidly admitted that up to a very late period the system of colonial cultivation was one of reckless extravagance. He said that under the pressure of necessity considerable improvement had taken place. I believe it; and I believe that under the pressure of further necessity still greater improvements would be the result (hear, hear). I am convinced, sir, that in the end the change now proposed would be highly beneficial to our colonies. It would be beneficial, because it would stimulate all those improvements which are so much required; it would make the colonial legislatures exert themselves to do what depends upon them. With the stimulus of personal interest, I have not the least doubt that cultivation and manufacture would both be improved to the greatest degree (cheers). Besides that, you must remember that in a few years you will have the advantage—every day it is coming into operation—of fast rising into manhood a peasantry not educated under the degrading influence of slavery, but enlightened by education (cheers). I believe, sir, that more has been done towards improvement within the half-dozen years since slavery was really abolished in your own colonies than even during the two preceding centuries (hear). If I am well informed, in some of your colonies, and particularly in those in which there are resident proprietors—in Antigua and in Barbadoes more especially—considerable improvement is going on (cheers). Taking that improvement into consideration—taking into consideration the further improvements which will no doubt be made, and the stimulus which they will naturally give to competition—looking at all these things, I feel perfectly persuaded that in a few years you will find that free labour will be far cheaper than slave labour, and that the rich regions of Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica, will be able not only to drive the produce of slave labour out of your own markets, but to drive it out of the market of Europe and out of the market of the world (cheers), and, by doing so, abolish not only the slave-trade but slavery (continued cheers). Sir, these are the great results to which, I believe, you may confidently look, if you have sufficient faith in the truth of great principles; if you have sufficient reliance on the certain triumph of what is right and good; and if the rulers of this country will venture to adopt an enlarged and enlightened policy on this subject, instead of shrinking from what may be the temporary difficulty and the inconvenience of the change (cheers). I am not prepared to deny that for a time encouragement might be given to the foreign slave trade (an ironical cry of "hear," from the ministerial side). Sir, I am perfectly prepared for that sneer from the other side; but I can assure the hon. gentleman that it does not at all shake my confidence in the opinions to which I have given expression (hear). Any temporary evil that might arise from the adoption of the principles I recommend would, in my opinion, be of minor importance, when you take into consideration the great object sought to be achieved (hear). Sir, if with a view to put down not only slavery but the slave-trade, if trusting to the truth of certain principles which you have partly adopted, that free labour is better than slave labour, you are prepared to commit your colonies—I ought to say unencumbered by protecting duties—to a struggle in your market with the produce of slave labour; if, acting on the conviction that no real good can arise without steadily pursuing some principle, you venture to get rid of the inconvenience of your present system, and to admit slave-grown sugar as you admit slave-grown cotton, slave-grown tobacco, and slave-grown coffee, I say you would, notwithstanding some temporary inconvenience, in the end gain a great victory to the cause of humanity (hear, hear). And I feel confident that in the struggle that may ensue the produce of free labour will triumph over the produce of slave labour, and thus an end would be put to the existing system.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—I wish heartily that it were possible that equality, or something like equality, could be established between the native and the foreign productions (hear, hear). Such an equality cannot be established, and I do believe that the adoption of the proposition of the hon. member for Manchester would bring down ruin on a numerous class of persons at home, and carry dismay into the colonies. I grant you that the extreme dearness of production in the West Indies forms the difficulty of this question. I admit that it would be unfair to make a demand on the people of this country as an encouragement to the grower, if no reason existed for such a demand being made. But reasons exist for such

a demand. What are the causes of the dearness of production in the West Indies? There has been a passion for saving that scarcity of labour has been a cause of the dearness of production. That, in my opinion, was not the sole cause, but one of the most important causes. The scarcity of proprietors has been another great cause—I mean the scarcity of resident proprietors. The question will then naturally be asked of the West Indian proprietors—Why do you not become residents? or, failing to become residents, why do you not place in the care of your estates some near connexions of your own, who would have a direct interest in the well-being of the labourers, and in the productiveness of the estate? or why not hand over your estates to eligible tenants, or part with them to persons who will reside in the colony? Those questions are much easier asked than answered. Surely hon. members must see that arrangements so extensive could not be effected in periods of time that could be reckoned by months or years. Then, with regard to the other cause, respecting which so much has been said, namely, the scarcity of labour. I rather imagine the house will agree with me that that scarcity does not proceed from any single act or from any individual cause. No man can shut his eyes to the fact that the Parliament of this country has been the cause of making labour scarce. The state of the West Indies cannot be considered in the same light as it must have been viewed before the abolition of slavery. Labour was then cheap—labour is now dear; and those who were the cause of this effect must not at present refuse to bear their proper share of the consequences of their own acts. There is a severe and heavy pressure upon the West Indian interest; but I do say that, in the mode by which we are endeavouring to lower the premium upon the production of West Indian sugar, we are giving every motive to the practice of economy—every motive to the spirited and enterprising employment of capital—every motive for the judicious and effective employment of machinery with a view to the production of a better and a cheaper article. The noble lord admits that his measure would produce some temporary inconvenience—some fleeting evil; that it would, in short, give some encouragement to the slave trade. Does any one doubt that this would give a fatal shock to the West India interest? Wherever we are to have trade, let us take care to have it where there is no risk; let us have it where there are natural supplies of raw material, where there is a judicious employment of machinery and active employment of capital. But these principles of legislation cannot be without reserve applied to our West India colonies, for, with reference to their produce, they come before us with a special plea, for they say, with perfect truth and justice, that they have to compete with causes of which you are the creators; that non-residence prevents a wise economy—prevents an employment of the best methods of cultivation; that it produces scarcity of labour; and that the employment of negro labour has been rendered much more expensive and less productive by the abolition of slavery (hear, hear).

Mr. COBBEN said,—I know that the right hon. baronet and his friends laid claim to the credit of being supported by Sir F. Buxton and the anti-slavery party on the ground that these sugar duties had a tendency to prevent the slave trade. Now, that is quite a delusion. There is no class of men for whom I entertain a higher respect than I do for those who have laboured to sustain the anti-slavery principle; but I tell you that the men who fought that battle are now in the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and this, likewise, I will say, that they, in common with others out of doors, regard you as hypocrites. Remember those whom the anti-slavery party have sent into this house—the members for Manchester, the member for Leeds, the member for Bath. Now, I ask the member for Bath, if the anti-slavery party are anxious to keep up this duty? On the contrary, I believe they repudiate the sugar tax. And what do foreigners say? Mr. Calhoun says the same, so does the legislature of Brazil, and those at Madrid and at Cuba—they all say you are hypocrites. Several hon. members have assumed that you cannot carry on the sugar business in competition with slave labour; and the hon. member for Cumberland asked, how would the manufacturers like to carry on their manufactures in competition with people who paid no wages for labour—that is to say with people who stole their workmen and paid them nothing? I tell the hon. member at once, that I desire to have no other competitors (hear, hear). Let my workmen have none other but gangs of slaves to compete with, and I undertake to say that they would have the monopoly of the trade of the world (cheers). Was there ever a more monstrous absurdity than to suppose that a slave community can possibly compete with a nation of freemen? (cheers.) Why, it is notorious that slavery precludes those economical arrangements on which cheapness in production depend (hear, hear). What does slavery involve?—the absence of independent labour, and that implies that you must keep in your own establishment a sufficient number of workmen of every kind necessary for performing every thing that is in any way connected with your business. If you are a sugar merchant, you must keep up gangs of coopers, and gangs of wagoners, &c.; and these you must maintain constantly for the 12 months, although you may only need them for a limited period of the year. It is a state of society like this which precludes the division of labour, and retards all advance in science, and all improvement (hear, hear). The assumption which has pervaded the speeches of all those who oppose the motion of the hon. member for Manchester, is this,—that the equalization of the sugar duties would bring ruin on the colonies. This is a most audacious fallacy, and is disproved in the case of Manilla and Java sugar; for if those countries sell their sugar in Holland and in England in opposition to Brazil sugar: why should not your own colonies be also able to sell their sugar against a similar competition?—(hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman on the Treasury bench, the hon. member near him, and the hon. member for Bristol, came before that house *in formid pauperis*. They are pleading for relief, in order to be able to carry on their own business. I submit that before we dole out the public money to these gentlemen, we should investigate their accounts (hear, hear). Let us see how they have carried on their business. Nothing is more wasteful, extravagant, or improvident than the system of mismanagement in the West Indian colonies (hear, hear). I have heard the fault attributed to the workmen, but I believe that they are not to blame. It rests with the masters.

Mr. CARDWELL said it was all very fine for hon. gentlemen and for noble lords to describe to the West Indians, in glowing terms, the benefits of free labour. He hoped that as the world grew older, free labour would

beat slave labour out of the market. It was all very well to say that slavery was the bane of the West Indies. There was no doubt of it. But who established slavery? It was all very well to say, that if slavery had been abolished, that abolition had produced no evil. Did not hon. gentlemen opposite know that there had been experienced a falling off in the exports from the West Indies during the period immediately succeeding the abolition of slavery? Then the West Indians contended that we had been the cause of this; the West Indians might say, "Give us fair play, re-enact slavery, re-establish the slave trade, give us back our advantages, and we will compete with Cuba or any other country." (A cry of "The 17,000,000!" from an Opposition member.) If they were put into the condition in which they were before what they called their advantages were removed, they would not grudge the repayment of the 17,000,000. If they applied the free-trade principle, then let them be put under the same circumstances as those with whom they had to compete; that would be acting on a fair free-trade principle. But we placed them under disadvantages, first, by imposing on them slavery, and then by requiring the abolition of slavery; and now hon. members called for the application of the free-trade principles, and required those who bore these special burdens to run an equal race with those who were unladen. It was said—and here was the great argument against the proposition of the hon. member for Manchester—"only equalize your duties, and you will have a permanent settlement, and capital will flow into your colonies which will be of great advantage." It might be so, but then it might happen, that by this equalization it would be discovered they had greatly increased the slave-trade; and then might be again raised the anti-slavery cry from the very gentlemen who now cried out for cheap sugar (hear, hear).

MR. BRIGST said, The only pretext set up for protection as regarded the West Indies was the price and scarcity of labour there. This plea, at least, could not apply to the Mauritius, where there was as great an abundance of labour as in Dorsetshire; and with respect to the East Indies they had the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year, that there was no country in the world whose soil, climate, and population gave it so great an advantage in the growth and production of sugar as the East Indies. So that the pretext of deficiency of labour could not apply there. The strongest argument he had heard adduced on the question was that which arose out of the reduced cultivation of the produce of the West India islands, notwithstanding all the protection they had enjoyed. This had been going on for many years past. But this system of protection not only thus acted as a sort of opiate to the West India gentlemen; it also converted them into everlasting grumbler.

After a few words from the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and Lord SANDON,

The house divided,—

For Mr. Gibson's amendment	84
Against it	211
Majority	— 127

TUESDAY, February 25.

EMIGRATION OF FREED NEGROES TO THE WEST INDIES AND THE MAURITIUS.

SIR R. H. INGLIS said his object was to urge the Government respectfully, but very earnestly, to reconsider the proclamation which the Governor of Sierra Leone issued on the 12th of June, last year, on the subject of the negro population of that colony. The question involved was whether the captured and liberated Africans should be allowed to remain at Sierra Leone, or to migrate to the West Indies. He had supposed, when the system was first adopted, that those persons would be allowed to exercise their own discretion, but it was clear from the nature of the case, that to a large number the term could not apply. It appeared that a very large number of the liberated slaves that were landed at Sierra Leone were young persons. Mr. Hill, in his extremely interesting work stated that out of the 440 negroes forming the cargo of the slave ship, on board which he took his passage, 230 were boys. Under such circumstances it was obvious that a large portion of the persons affected did not possess sufficient discretion to know exactly what they were about when they were called upon to say whether or not they would migrate to the West Indian colonies. The Governor of Sierra Leone required that all captured negroes in Sierra Leone, as soon as liberated, under the judgment of the competent tribunal, should be called upon to decide at once as to whether they would remain in the colony or migrate to the West Indies. It was a perfect mockery to call such an option a freedom of choice, as regarded the newly-landed African man; but how much more so with respect to children! In the proclamation which was issued by Governor Fergusson, founded on the letter of Lord Stanley, it is directed that the liberated Africans should be informed, immediately on the adjudication of their freedom, that if they continued to reside in that colony they must provide for themselves; but that if they were willing to emigrate to the West Indies, provision would be made for their support in the meantime. This, however, was found by the governor who issued the proclamation, to be too monstrous to be enforced, as there was no exception made as to age or sex, for it included within its operation children of the youngest years as well as the full-grown negro. When this was intimated to the governor he liberated from the operation children under nine years of age. Only consider the situation of this liberated negro, probably ignorant of the language of those about him, and having no trade or means of getting employment in agriculture; and, having no other resource in the colony, he was called on immediately to decide whether he would starve in the colony itself, or become a forced labourer by removal to the West Indies. He denied the right of the governor of the colony thus to fetter the judgment and discretion of the negroes. Among other proceedings, an agent of the Government visited some of the schools in Sierra Leone, and read the order of the governor with respect to emigration to the West Indies, and invited any of those in the school who felt disposed to do so to give in their names; in consequence of this about 100 boys and girls embarked last July for Jamaica. He had no objection to every facility being afforded to free egress into our West India colonies, and that those who were really free should have every facility afforded them to emigrate from England, Germany,

or Africa; but he could not help regarding this plan of the Government as a mere mockery of a free emigration, and that it was very like a compulsory system of labour. He (Sir R. Inglis) did not wish to throw any impediment in the way of any one desirous of emigrating to the West Indies; but he wished Government to return to the course of proceeding which formerly existed in Sierra Leone as regarded provision being made for the maintenance of the liberated Africans. Is there was any security that there could be a real *bona fide* freedom of will on the part of those liberated negroes, when they were asked to emigrate, he should not complain; but this was obviously not the case. He, therefore, urged very earnestly the reconsideration of this subject. In the first instance, an interval of six months was allowed between the adjudication in the case of a liberated negro, and his being called on to say whether or not he was willing to proceed as an emigrant to the West Indies. This period was afterwards reduced to one month, and afterwards was reduced to one week, and subsequently by Governor Fergusson it was ordered that they should at once and without delay decide whether or not they would proceed there. Again, Lord Stanley in the first instance, when he sanctioned this species of emigration to the West Indies, directed that in every case a certain proportion between the sexes should be preserved on board of each vessel conveying emigrants from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and that proportion was that out of every number shipped, at least, one-third should be females. In the first instance it was ordered that the proportion between the sexes should be one half, but it was found that it was impossible under the circumstances of the colony to adhere to this rule. It was, no doubt, the intention of the noble lord at the head of the colonial department that something like an equal proportion between the sexes should be preserved in this description of emigration. This requirement was subsequently not enforced, for he found it stated in minute of council in Sierra Leone, that the restriction requiring a certain proportion of females to accompany each shipment of emigrants might with safety in a moral point of view, be altogether abolished; the consequence was that while cargoes of males could be taken from Sierra Leone just the same as slaves were conveyed from the Gold Coast 40 years ago. He knew that false statements had been made in foreign countries as to the mode in which this emigration was carried on, and that it was alleged to be only slavery in disguise. Now, although he would not refrain from doing what he considered to be right because his neighbour thought it to be wrong, yet they should not forget that the highest authority asserted "that they should not do good in such a way that it should be spoken evil of." He conceived, therefore, that they should so regulate their acts as not to allow any one to speak ill of them. Many observations had been recently made in the French chambers on this subject, which must be familiar to honourable gentlemen. The house was well aware with how much jealousy the people of France regarded our proceedings with respect to emigration to our colonies, and they not merely watched our proceedings relative to the right of search, but also to the cultivation of sugar in our colonies by what we called free labour from Asia and Africa, but which they called slave labour. Again, in Spain he perceived that a similar feeling of jealousy had manifested itself on this subject, as would be seen from the slave-trade papers before the house. In one of them he found a communication from the Spanish minister Gonzalez to Mr. Aston, in which he stated that it was known that thousands of negroes had been indiscriminately shipped from Sierra Leone to Jamaica. Although this statement was much exaggerated, they could not deny that they had encouraged emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. It appeared, also, from a paper laid before the Cortes of Spain during the last month, that it was stated that they had a perfect right to encourage the immigration of free labourers from Africa into their American colonies. It appeared therefore to him, if this plan was to be adopted, that there was nothing to prevent the slave-trade being carried on under the allegation that the slave-ships were only carrying free labourers on board to their own colonies. There was too much reason to believe that under this change of name the slave-trade would still exist most extensively. He now came to another part of the subject, with respect to which he conceived there were great grounds of suspicion. He alluded to the proceedings on the eastern coast of Africa to supply the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. In the Mauritius he understood that an ordinance had been issued, a copy of which he understood was in this country, but which he had not seen, in which a regular bounty was offered on the importation of negroes from the eastern coast of Africa to the Mauritius, namely, of 5*l.* for each male, and 6*l.* 10*s.* for every female. In the slave papers marked A, which were laid before the house last year, there was a long account of the manner in which the negroes were induced to emigrate, and the manner in which the voyage was carried on. The agents were told that the negroes were to be addressed in a kind and insinuating tone, so as to induce them to remove to the coast of Africa; and they were to be promised plenty of farina and other food. It was probable that their condition might be improved; but the greatest caution and control ought to be exercised in sanctioning these proceedings. That which was true with respect to the western coast of Africa took place, in his belief, wherever there was a demand for slaves. The native kings had an absolute command over the liberties of their subjects. When they could find their own subjects in sufficient numbers, they were ready to sell them to the first comer who applied for them; and when they could not, they would make an inroad into the territory of some neighbouring state, and sell all the captives they succeeded in catching. He, therefore, thought it right to call the attention of the Government to the subject, and he would ask them to follow not merely the example of their predecessors, but the dictates of their own judgment in acting upon it. The Marquis of Normanby declared that no precaution which had been or could be devised could prevent discredit being brought on such a system, and Lord John Russell said "he was not prepared to countenance a measure which might lead to loss of life on the one hand or to a new state of slavery on the other" [hear hear]. Such were the sentiments of the distinguished individuals to whom he alluded on the mitigated system of slavery to which he wished to call the attention of the Government, and he trusted they would not be lost sight of on the present occasion. He felt that notwithstanding the claims of their fellow-subjects in the West Indies to every consideration that could consistently be given to them,

he was not at liberty to weigh the interests of the West India proprietor against the sufferings and the blood of the African. He concluded by moving for certain papers.

Mr. G. W. HOPE was sorry that he felt obliged to protest against the concluding portion of his hon. friend's observations, in which he said that he could not weigh the interests of the West India proprietors against the blood of the African. If he (Mr. Hope) could look upon the matter in the light represented, and as being a sacrifice of the blood and the interests of the natives of Africa; as a performing of evil, in order that benefits might be conferred on a third party, and as a breach of the contracts entered into by this country, then he should be sorry indeed to support any such course as that which had been adopted by Government; but he was prepared to contend that the very reverse of all that was the case, and that so far from its being any breach of faith on the part of this country towards the negroes, it was actually the most effectual and the most beneficial mode by which the engagements entered into by England to protect and support them could be carried into effect (hear, hear). His honourable friend referred, as the point from which he started, to the obligations entered into by this country in 1807, to provide for the liberated negroes, but the question which the Government had to consider was, whether they would best carry out these obligation, by continuing the whole system, or by adopting some new regulations which, while it would prove, perhaps, beneficial to others, would be also more conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the Africans themselves. His honourable friend referred to the proclamation issued by the governor of Sierra Leone, and contended that the inevitable result of that order was, that Africans arriving in that colony in state of utter debility, and incapable of labouring, were left no alternative between immediate re-embarkation for the West Indies, or utter destitution. Now, the grounds on which the proclamation had been issued were undoubtedly to encourage emigration to the West Indies when an opportunity offered, and to warn negroes of the intentions of Government towards them, should they refuse to proceed there; but he denied that those intentions, as expressed in the proclamation, were such as to warrant the harsh construction which his honourable friend had put upon them. The proclamation was intended to be carried out in a spirit of equity, and in that spirit he would venture to say it had been acted upon. There was but one case which had been particularly brought before the country, and that was the case of the 180 liberated persons of colour, to which his honourable friend had referred; but these men had not been at once turned out, but had over and over again been solicited to take advantage of the opportunities which were presented to them of emigrating, which they had as often refused. His hon. friend dwelt particularly on the case of children. He said that the option held out to those unfortunate beings was a mockery when applied to the case of grown persons, but it was much worse when applied to children. His hon. friend had referred to children of nine years of age being exempt, but he appeared to have forgotten at what an early age persons in those warm climates arrived at maturity (hear, hear). But his honourable friend referred to the case of children in the schools at Sierra Leone. He stated that an agent had been sent to them, giving them the option to emigrate to the West Indies, or to be turned adrift, and that 100 of them in consequence emigrated to Jamaica. It would, he had no doubt, be a satisfaction to his honourable friend to trace the fortunes of those children subsequent to their departure for the West Indies. It was true that they had been conveyed to Jamaica, but when he came to speak of the comparative advantages of Sierra Leone and that island, he was satisfied the house would agree with him, that the change which had taken place in the circumstances of those children was most fortunate for themselves. On their arrival in Jamaica they were taken charge of by the government, and the greatest pains were employed to select good and indulgent masters for them. These masters had been specially contracted with in each case, and a portion of the agreement, which they were obliged to sign, was in these words—"And the said A. B. further agrees that the aforesaid persons hired out to him shall attend a regular school, and receive instruction during three years from the date hereof; and he also engages that the said persons shall be taken by a proper person to church on every Sabbath-day; and that he shall use every means in his power to provide them with moral and religious instruction" (hear, hear). Now, it was on the treatment of these children that his hon. friend had especially relied, and he asked whether the result did not show that their welfare had been properly attended to (hear, hear). But his hon. friend appeared to imagine that Africans had no option between emigrating and being reduced to a state of utter destitution; but he believed that interested parties in Sierra Leone were in the practice of making that option for them (hear, hear, hear). He maintained that the option was complete, and was not, as had been alleged, a mere delusion. There had been lately inquiries on the part of the West India colonies, as to the causes which stood in the way of an extended emigration to their ports, and the result of these inquiries would be laid before the house. In the meantime he might be permitted to refer to these inquiries so far as to observe that the experience of all those colonies tended to the same point. Nothing could be stronger than the statement which the government had received from the governor of Sierra Leone, or as to the wretched condition of the liberated Africans in that colony. They were picked up by others who had previously settled there, and obliged to do all the labour of the colony without any remuneration whatever. The question for the house to decide then was, whether it would be better for those poor creatures to be sent to the West Indies, or to continue at Sierra Leone. His hon. friend had dwelt on the difference in the proportion of the two sexes observable at Sierra Leone; but was he not aware that all the returns of births in the West India colonies showed that a much larger proportion of females were born than of males among the black population? In Demerara there was an excess of 2,000 females in a population of 18,000, and the other colonies showed similar results. His hon. friend had referred to an ordonnance lately issued by the governor of the Mauritius, but that document had only arrived on that morning, and all its provisions had not yet been examined; but of this his hon. friend might rest assured, that no ordonnance would be suffered which would allow the slightest risk of affording an encouragement to the slave-trade (hear, hear). He could also tell his hon. friend, that the former ordonnance of 1842, to which he had referred, had been disallowed (hear, hear, hear). His hon.

friend had referred to a note presented to the British government by the government of Spain, and his hon. friend had observed, with reference to that subject, that their motives were liable to misconstruction; but, if he would take the trouble of referring to the letter of Mr. Jerningham to Señor Frias, at page 16 of the correspondence with Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, relative to the slave-trade, published in 1843, he would find the most complete and decisive answer that could possibly be expected or required on that matter. There was but one other point to which he thought it necessary to refer. His hon. friend said, that by promoting emigration to the West Indies, they would be retarding the civilization of Africa. He was of a contrary opinion; for he thought it was from the West Indies and the New World that they should look for the civilization of Africa. It was well known that they could only civilize the natives of Africa by bringing them in contact with other civilized persons, and this could be done effectually only in the West Indies (hear, hear).

Mr. HURST was convinced the government would pursue boldly the course it had adopted. If they would turn a deaf ear to the mischievous meddlers at Exeter-hall, it would promote the cause of the negro and of colonial improvement to an immense extent. By allowing and encouraging the importation of emancipated labour into our West India colonies, that slavery, which had hitherto resisted all our efforts to suppress it, would be entirely overthrown by the simple result of our being able to undersell the employers of slaves (hear, hear). They had tried the system advocated by the trading philanthropists of Exeter-hall quite long enough; far too long for the West India growers, and for the great cause of emancipation and of colonial improvement (hear, hear).

Mr. JOHN S. WORTLEY said, hon. gentlemen seemed somewhat to have misinterpreted the hon. baronet the member for Oxford. What that hon. baronet designed by his motion was simply to ascertain whether certain rumoured changes, calculated in his opinion to prevent the satisfactory carrying out of the plan for transmitting free coloured labourers from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, had or had not been introduced (hear, hear). So long since as March 1841, a dispatch of Lord J. Russell, then Secretary of State, gave the emancipated negroes of Sierra Leone three alternatives,—that of proceeding to the West Indies as a free labourer—that of remaining in the colony to support himself—and that of leaving it on any other destination he might prefer. But an interval of three months would be given to the negro before he would be required to make up his mind in either case, during which period he was of course to be supported. If his option were made at once to depart to the West Indies, still six weeks were to be allowed him before he was required to proceed there: afterwards, this period, being found inconvenient, was lessened; and after the lapse of four weeks the negro was to be at liberty to remove. What his hon. friend wanted to know was, how far these regulations had been acted upon, modified, or departed from.

After some observations from Mr. Aglionby, Lord Sandon, Mr. Mangles, Sir T. D. Acland, and Mr. Plumptre,

Sir R. H. INGLIS replied; and the motion was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, February 26.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the order of the day being moved for going into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. MILNER GIBSON begged to offer a short explanation of part of the statement he made on the sugar duties question a few nights since. As it had been supposed that, in his estimate of the cost of producing a hundred weight of sugar, he had not included all the expenses, he begged to say that, in his estimate, he had included salaries, wages, taxes, &c. (Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then rose and said, I consider the distinction between foreign free labour grown sugar and slave labour grown sugar illogical, because, in regard to other articles of slave produce, you have no objection to admit them into this country. You take coffee, tobacco, and cotton, which are the produce of slave labour, as readily as those articles which are the produce of free labour. But if this distinction of the two growths could be kept up, and if the custom-house regulations were so accurately observed that none but free labour sugar was admitted, yet even then you would do nothing more than this—you would abstract from the markets of the world a certain quantity of free labour sugar, which would be supplied by slave labour sugar, therefore you would be as much encouraging slave labour sugar as if you were to admit it directly into this country. But in the next place there is this difficulty, that you cannot confine your consumption to free labour sugar. You have certain treaties with foreign countries whose produce you are bound to admit upon the same terms as that coming from the most favoured nations. You therefore cannot, consistently with those treaties, exclude sugar which is the produce of those countries. A fact has recently occurred showing the practical operation of this difficulty. A small quantity of sugar has been admitted into this country from Venezuela, owing to the treaty existing between England and that state, which sugar was the produce of slave labour. I have read various statements in regard to this. Some say it has been recognised as sugar imported into Venezuela from Porto Rico, others from Surinam, and others from Brazil; but all agreed that it was not Venezuela sugar, but sugar which, by some fraud or other, was imported into this country as Venezuela sugar. But this has happened so early that it has preceded any of those importations for the sake of which you have altered your law. (Hear, hear) If this be the case, what may you expect if, for the whole next ten years, for instance, you preserve this distinction? What can you expect but this, that ingenious persons will contrive a scheme by which they will evade your regulations; and that sugar the produce of Brazil and Cuba will be sent to the ports of Venezuela, wherethen they may find a consul not suspicious, and the custom-house authority open to bribery, (hear, hear). I consider it rather aggravates than otherwise the protection which is at present given to the colonies. In whichever way you view it, there can be no doubt that the reduction of 1s. 2d. will benefit the consumer to the extent only of about one half, and the other half will go to the exclusive benefit of the planter, (hear, hear). It has been most truly stated by Mr. Deacon Hume and others, that this is neither more nor less than a tax upon the people of this country to the

extent of 5s. or 6s., for the sole benefit of the West India planters. It is as if you were to make the whole of the duties equal, and reduce that duty to 8s., and then pay the full sum so received to the West India planters, and not one farthing into the exchequer. It is, in fact, paying no less a sum than 1,100,000*l.* a year to the planters out of the exchequer. It is at present a tax divided between the exchequer and the West India planters, one part of it going to the revenue, the other being for the benefit of the planters. But then it is said that you must give this great protection on account of the state of the West Indies and the abolition of slavery. I could not vote for my honourable friend the member for Manchester the other night, because I think the West Indies have a very considerable claim upon us, owing to the recent abolition of slavery. I think the recent abolition of that mode of compulsory labour makes it advisable either to have a gradual equalization of duty, or to have what is much the same thing—a protecting duty for a short time for the benefit of the planters. But let us observe what is the state of the West Indies in consequence of this very great advantage given to them. The West India labourers have had the advantage of a great state of prosperity ever since the passing of the act of emancipation. During the last year that state of prosperity was diminished, in so far as wages decreased, being, I believe, not more than 1s. a day, or, at the most, about 7s. per week. Now, how has it been proposed to alter this state of affairs? What has taken place in the West Indies has been this: there have been great plans for immigration, and for the admission of a great number of labourers into the West Indies, that there might be a sufficiency of labour to supply sugar to this country. But the way in which that scheme has operated has been this. Taxes have been imposed under this immigration ordinance, which have borne with great severity on the abourers. In proof of this, I hold in my hand a letter from a person who is a most remarkable man, who took an active part in the colonies upon the subject of slavery, and who now has a most extraordinary influence over the minds of a great part of the population of Jamaica. The person to whom I allude is Mr. Knibb, the Baptist missionary. This letter was dated December 23, 1844. Mr. Knibb says, "I do not believe that there is a labouring population on the face of the earth who have so patiently borne a reduction of wages as they have; and this, too, connected with an increased price of provisions, by a cruel and abominable tax on the necessities of life, imposed for the avowed purpose of raising money to increase the number of labourers, and thereby still further to curtail their comforts, and still further to reduce their wages." Now, this proves that the plans you propose, though they may have the effect of giving so large an amount as a million or upwards to the planters, will not have the effect of increasing the comfort or happiness of the peasantry of the West Indies. The admission of labourers from Africa to the West Indies, if conducted under regulations, and allowed to take place in small numbers, would be for the advantage both of the West Indies and of Africa. I have recorded that opinion, and I still believe both that the civilisation of Africa would be promoted by persons going from Africa to the West Indies, and that the general prosperity of the West Indies would be improved by that plan. But I own I look with very great dread to the scheme proposed for taking a great number of people from Africa to the West Indies. If you are now to introduce vast numbers of Africans from the shores of Africa, if you were to take them from places where they are still in a state of barbarism, and were to transplant them by wholesale to the West Indies, and turn them at once to labour, I cannot but foresee that, in no long course of time, you would have a population whom it would be very difficult to bring into that state of civilisation which your present negro population of the West Indies are in. And yet that is the attempt you are now making. It is an attempt I hardly think will succeed, because the great cost of carrying labourers from Africa to the West Indies is very much against it. But still the attempt is making in this way, by making large loans in Trinidad and Demerara, and taxing the people, and especially taxing the admission of their food, for the purpose of raising means to bring great numbers of people from Africa to the West Indies. I think it would endanger the future condition of the West India colonies, making it doubtful some twenty years hence—when we consider the immense numerical superiority of the black population over the white—whether the colonies may not become the scene of some most frightful convulsion. And, be it observed, all this is done to keep up a system which is quite contrary to your own general principles with regard to free trade; and it is all done at a very great expense, in order to produce an artificial price of sugar in this country, and thereby to promote, as you say, the prosperity of the West Indies. I confess it appears to me that the result must be very dangerous, and may be fatal in the end to the interests of those you are anxious to protect. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord concluded by moving the following amendment:—"That it is the opinion of this house, that the plan proposed by her Majesty's Government in reference to the sugar duties, professes to keep up a distinction between foreign free labour and foreign slave labour sugar, which is impracticable and illusory; and, without adequate benefit to the consumer, tends so greatly to impair the revenue as to render the removal of the income and property tax, at the end of three years, extremely uncertain and improbable."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the noble lord had stated that he could see no distinction between the admission of sugar the produce of slave labour, and the admission of other articles, like cotton, tobacco, and coffee, which were equally the produce of slave labour. True it was that they had this point in common—that slave labour was employed in the cultivation of all of them; but he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was only repeating what had been frequently advanced, and on recent occasions, when he asserted that there was a great difference in the personal suffering of the labourers employed in the production of sugar and of the other articles to which the noble lord had adverted. Often and often had the house been told of the waste of human life in sugar plantations, and often and often had it been almost contrasted in this respect with the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and tobacco. It was not to be denied that the importations of negroes from the coast of Africa into Brazil and Cuba were not intended to augment the production of cotton, coffee, or tobacco, but to settle lands for the cultivation of the more profitable crop, sugar. If ministers had endeavoured to establish a distinction between free labour sugar and slave

labour sugar, it was because they adhered to the humane principle repeatedly urged in Parliament, and enforced by treaties, that of endeavouring, by all the means in their power, to put down the slave-trade, by whomsoever it was carried on (cheers). The noble lord urged that such measures must be futile—that they must be illusory, because under them sugars from foreign states must be introduced, which ingenuous persons would take care should come from any quarter where they could be procured to the best advantage. The noble lord relied upon the imaginary importation of sugars from Venezuela, whose produce was to be admitted upon the same terms as that of the most favoured nations; and if any ingenuity had been displayed, it would rather appear to have been shown by the individual who, as if wishing to support the position of the noble lord, and unwilling to run the risk of a larger importation, had brought in a single hogshead; for that was the extent of his adventure (cheers). Fraudulent importations from Venezuela had been threatened on former occasions; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had admitted that it would not be practicable, consistently with good faith, to exclude sugar from those countries from the advantages given to free labour sugar. He had endeavoured, however, to show that there were circumstances connected with Venezuela and the United States which rendered it highly improbable that any amount of sugar would be introduced from thence. What was the present state of Venezuela? Did they continue the slave-trade? No; they had long since abolished it. Did they continue slavery as part of the code of the republic? Quite the contrary. In 1822 they passed a law that every individual born after that year should be free. Therefore every man of twenty-three years of age in Venezuela was at this moment free, and every succeeding year added to the numbers. So far, then, from importations from thence being an encouragement to slave-grown sugar, it was an encouragement to free-labour sugar, and was consistent with the great object of this country—the utter extinction of slavery. The noble lord had next argued that the exclusion of sugar from Brazil and Cuba would tend greatly to aggravate colonial protection. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) confessed himself unable to understand the noble lord's position in this respect: if there were any truth in the argument of the honourable member for Manchester on a preceding night, it went to this, that whatever might be the amount of the protecting duty, to the extent of it a burden was imposed on the consumer in this country. A distinction had been made between free labour sugar and slave labour sugar; but whether it was the one or the other—whether it came from Java or Brazil, the burden upon the consumer was the same. Therefore there was no ground for assuming that the burden a protecting duty would impose on the population of this country had any connection with the distinction attempted to be drawn between slave labour and free labour sugar. This country did, and for a certain time must pay for adherence to the principle by which it had been actuated in relation to the slave-trade; but at the same time he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) begged to express grave doubts whether a decision by Parliament, that slave labour sugar should be admitted at a very moderate duty, would benefit the consumer by a permanent reduction of the price of the article. If Brazil sugar, which could be raised at a cheaper rate than the sugar of our own colonies, depressed as they were by the recent change from slavery to liberty, and unwilling as the black population naturally was just after emancipation to undertake the most burdensome toil of the cultivation of sugar—if, he said, the cheap sugar of the Brazils could at once be brought into competition, it might produce a diminution of price, but that diminution would, ere long, be followed by an excessively high price. A vast number of West Indian estates would be thrown out of cultivation; the production, which had been four millions of cwt., and had already been reduced to about half that amount, would amount to comparatively little, and such a revulsion would be occasioned as might lead in some cases to the abandonment of the West India islands as property not worth retaining. The vacuum thus created in the markets would instantly occasion a rise of price and a severe pressure. The noble lord's complaint had been, that measures had been adopted to promote immigration which were at variance with the comforts and happiness of the working classes; and he had taxed the island of Jamaica with having raised a loan, and provided for the interest of it by burdens upon the means of subsistence of the lower orders. Such was not the fact. The taxes imposed were limited to exports—they were upon the produce, and were paid by the proprietors of the produce for whose benefit the immigration was intended, and they were, therefore, not liable to the imputation cast upon them by the noble lord, no doubt from misinformation. If the house was willing to abandon that principle for which they had all so long contended, namely, to oppose every obstacle in the way of the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade—if the house was prepared to abandon its exertions in enforcing the treaties which had been made with France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries, for putting an end to that nefarious traffic—exertions which they had often been accused of not increasing, for the purpose of enforcing the observance of those treaties—(hear, hear)—if, he repeated, they were to abandon those principles, well and good. He knew that, by abandoning them, they might gain some temporary additional advantages to the consumers; but if they were to maintain their high character—if it was to be believed that they had, on moral principles, maintained the abolition of the slave-trade, and endeavoured to enforce it upon others, they could never justify themselves by adopting a course in respect to a particular article, the cultivation of which was a great inducement to the slave-trade—if, for the sake of the argument, that some additional burden would be thrown on the community for a time, they were to abandon all their efforts, and open the way to desolation and misery, of which it would be vain for the house to attempt to conceive—(hear, hear)—if they were to adopt this course, let not the noble lord the member for London, or the member for Durham (who had alluded to the subject the other evening), suppose that the country would be silent and apathetic as to the continuance of this traffic. He firmly believed, that if a general reduction of the duty on sugar were to take place (which would undoubtedly lead to an increased traffic in slavery), the accounts that would be received of the sufferings of the wretched victims on the passage, and the miseries they would endure upon their arrival at their destinations, would awaken the indignation of the benevolent people of this country, and their sentiments would find such an echo in that house that they would be obliged to adopt a course which

would be more consistent with their honour than that proposed by the noble lord (*cheers*).

Mr. LABOUCHERE said that the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down defended this part of the scheme upon one ground only; he said that to adopt any other course would be to give great encouragement to slave labour and the slave-trade in foreign countries. He (Mr. Labouchere) believed that there never was an assertion made more utterly destitute of foundation—(*hear, hear*)—and in support of which it was impossible to advance any sound argument (*hear, hear*). He would take the very arguments which the right honourable gentleman had used upon another part of this subject, and apply them to this question, and show how untenable his position was. What did the right honourable gentleman say in talking of the sugar trade in this country, when our colonies produced a surplus beyond what was required for consumption in this country, as to the effect which it would produce upon the price of sugar in general? He said, and truly, that all protective duties under those circumstances were entirely nugatory (*hear, hear*). There was a surplus of sugar, and we had some to spare to foreign countries, and whether they put on a differential duty or not, it was utterly nugatory (*hear, hear*). The price of the sugar which we could not consume, was, of course, governed by that of foreign sugar, and the differential duties were a dead letter on the statute book. But if this was true with regard to a part of our colonial sugar, under those circumstances, was it not equally a sound argument with regard to foreign free labour sugar produced at the present moment in the world? (*hear, hear*). He doubted whether any one could answer for the sugar which came into this country being the produce of free labour, and he believed that was the opinion entertained by every person who had turned his attention to the subject—(*hear, hear*);—and he stated advisedly that the West Indies were full of suspicion upon this point (*hear, hear*). As to the cargo of Venezuelan sugar which had arrived in this country, it was doubted whether it was not the produce of Surinam or Porto Rico, and not of Venezuela, (*hear, hear*). If the right honourable gentleman could show that any palpable and real benefit would result from his scheme, well and good; but when they saw how imaginary and illusory was the idea that any discouragement would be given to the slave-trade at all under this system, it was a matter for grave consideration whether they would not create much positive mischief by introducing increasing fraud and prevarication in the mercantile world, upon a question of this description (*hear, hear*). No one could know the degree and extent of fraud that would take place. Who could say by what means merchants and planters would defeat the enactments of this bill? He had stated that he believed those opinions were held by the West Indians themselves, for whose benefit the right honourable gentleman said he was proposing this anomalous and strange system of legislation. He feared, especially after the late conduct of the Government on this subject, that the high tone assumed as to the grounds upon which this distinctive course was pursued, was not likely to raise the opinion in foreign countries (which it was desirable should be kept high) of the sincerity of this country as to the discontinuance of the slave-trade (*hear, hear*). He was afraid when they saw the same Minister who had so lately lowered the duties on coffee in favour of Brazil and Cuba—(*hear, hear*)—who had this year altered the duties on foreign coffee produced by a description of labour infinitely worse than that which cultivated the sugar cane—(*hear, hear*)—when foreigners, he said, observed this, they were not likely to believe that it was on a very sound principle as to the suppression of the slave-trade that the measures of the right honourable baronet was proposed (*hear, hear*). The duty on foreign slave-grown cotton had been very properly taken off; but when these things were considered, it was impossible to say that they held out to the world the prospect of consistent legislation on these subjects (*hear, hear*). With regard to another point, he confessed he could understand that they were discouraging the slave-trade and slave-grown sugar while they were completely excluding all foreign sugar from this country, but he could not see how they were doing so by admitting foreign sugar the produce of free labour, when the effect of that would be to raise the price of slave labour foreign sugar (*hear, hear*).

Mr. W. GLADSTONE said, to proceed to the resolution before the house, the first part of it declared that the attempt to keep up a distinction between foreign free-labour and foreign slave-labour sugar was impracticable and illusory. Now he had not on previous occasions said the distinction was so clear that it could be precisely drawn, for perhaps that might not always be the case; but the real question was whether they should or should not exclude sugar raised in countries which continued to carry on the African slave-trade. The bill of last year did not go to that full extent, for it did not pretend to keep up the requirement of a distinction between slave-grown and free labour sugar, for it admitted sugar of the former description from countries having certain treaties with us. He recollects that last year great complaints were made in making this distinction between the latter and these countries, but the house should bear in mind that the real question was as to the exclusion of sugar the produce of Cuba and the Brazils. Then the question was whether an attempt to distinguish between such sugar and free-grown sugar was impracticable and illusory. The right hon. gentleman said that sugar from these countries would come in through fraud, and also that if the effect of the present plan was to withdraw from the markets of the world a portion of free-grown sugar for the consumption of this country, that that deficiency would be filled up by a supply of slave-grown sugar from those two countries. Now these objections were not started in any novel terms, but in language which had been very often used against the proposal made last year. He then had said that it was not very likely that the sugar of Cuba or Brazil would come into our markets under the pretence of its being the produce of those countries. The noble lord made some allusions on this point, in reference to the recent introduction of sugar from Venezuela, and he stated that some unknown gentleman had informed him that he thought the sugar so introduced was the produce of Porto Rico, or Surinam, Brazil, or some other place; he (Mr. Gladstone) begged the house to mark that this person did not say distinctly that it was the sugar of any of these countries: this unknown authority would not say clearly and openly that it was not the sugar of Venezuela, and that it was the sugar of some other country. He (Mr. Gladstone) challenged the noble lord to bring

this party to book, and to give the grounds for the opinion which he had communicated to the noble lord; and when he obtained that opinion, let it be placed in the hands of the government, for by this means the noble lord would impose upon the government the necessity of adopting a strict inquiry into the whole matter, and it would throw on the officers who certified this sugar the duty of stating the grounds they had for saying that it was Venezuelan sugar. If the noble lord would take this course, and obtained a satisfactory answer to his inquiries, he would be provided with a powerful argument for resisting any attempt to persist in these distinctions; but if he did not do so, he was only again flooding the House of Commons with such rumours as were so repeatedly put forward last year on this subject (*hear, hear*). He was then repeatedly told that there were certain laws in the United States, by which sugar could be introduced into that country, and that by some payments and repayments, and by a sort of transfer from the right hand to the left hand, a large portion of American sugar could be imported into this country, and that in its place an equal quantity of sugar would be imported into the United States from Cuba and the Brazils. It was rather hard to expect that any one should have the laws of a foreign country at hand, so as at once to give a positive statement on the subject: but this matter had been much pressed upon him, and he had been repeatedly challenged on the point. It now appeared, however, that the whole was a mere fiction, and that the statement was invented for the purpose of deception, and that it was a mere figment imposed on the minds of honourable gentlemen. He asked whether the right hon. gentleman was warranted in saying that the plan of the government would give the same stimulus to the production of sugar in Brazil and Cuba as if we admitted it directly into our markets? It was well known that sugar bore a higher price in that market where it was in greatest demand, and that that description of sugar which was in demand in the greatest number of markets was always of higher value than that sugar which was in demand in only a few markets; thus, those persons who had sugar to dispose of here obtained a better price for foreign sugar than for West Indian produce. For his own part he sincerely believed that this measure would give a stimulus to the production of sugar in Java and Manilla, which would not be felt in the Brazils or Cuba. He would not deny, that if there was a great vacuum in the markets of the continent, occasioned by the flow of free-grown sugar into this country, that the Brazils and Cuba would supply some portion of sugar. He could not positively deny that this might occur, although he should much regret the circumstance; but he had every reason to believe that it would not be the case. He believed that the result of the measure would be, that the demand for sugar would be greatly increased in this country; but he also felt assured that there would be a great increase in the importation of sugar from our own colonies, and this to a much larger extent than there was any prospect of a short time since (*hear*). He therefore felt with perfect confidence that the plan was not impracticable and illusory. He thought that the question of the importation of sugar from Brazil and Cuba stood upon very peculiar and special grounds, which involved the continuation of the slave-trade in those countries or not (*near*). But he would appeal to the noble lord and to the house on the extreme inexpediency of pressing such motions as the present before the world, as by doing so they were gaining neither of the objects which were contended for in that house. On the one hand, they (the government party), who were the majority of the British Parliament, had contended for the propriety of continuing a distinction between sugar grown by free labour and sugar the produce of slave-owning countries, and they had repeatedly shown the determination to allow the experiment of seeing how far that policy would be effectual in retarding the slave-trade to be carried out; while, on the other hand, the party of the noble lord—for, unfortunately, party politics were allowed to be mixed up in the matter (*hear, hear*) prevented, by their repeated opposition, that experiment from being efficiently tried (*hear, hear*). He would grant that the feeling in the country differed to a great extent from the policy of the government, but on the other hand there was also a considerable proportion of that feeling in their favour (*hear, hear*). The honourable gentleman said that no section of the community supported the government on the present question. He (Mr. Gladstone) should distinctly assert the contrary (*hear, hear*). When he mentioned the names of the late Sir Thomas Buxton, of Sir Stephen Lushington, and of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society of London, as being all in support of the views of the government on the question then before the House, he believed that it would be admitted he had some grounds for that assertion (*hear, hear*). He might be told that the abolitionists were generally attached to the Reform or Liberal party, and that it was not to be wondered at if they still continued to show symptoms of prepossession in favour of the party to which the noble lord opposite belonged. But the fact showed that those parties possessed such strength of feeling, such depth of conviction, as to the real interests of humanity, which were involved in that subject, that the most ardent and thorough partisans, and the most honourable in every relation of life, men like Sir Stephen Lushington, were found ready to forget all their predilections in order to support the government in the course which they were resolved to maintain, and in which, it was contended by honourable gentlemen opposite, they were wholly unsupported (*hear, hear*). Mr. Sturge and Mr. Scobel, and other men who had aided in giving the last blow to slavery, whether rightly or wrongly he would not then say, in putting an end to the system of apprenticeship, men whose political opinions went, it was well known, even farther than those of the noble lord opposite and his party, gave their support to the government on this question; and he had, he conceived, therefore a right to say, that while a feeling existed in the country favourable to the views of the honourable gentlemen opposite, there was also a strong feeling in favour of the government in their exertions to put an end to slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba and Brazil. Under these circumstances, he put it to the sense of the House, whether it would not be better to give the government an opportunity of ascertaining, by an interval in the disturbance of the question, the result which their present policy was likely to have on the diminution of slavery and the trade in slaves. The government did not deny that the object of honourable gentlemen opposite was an important one—that a great responsibility rested with those who interrupted the legitimate course of commerce for purposes not of a commercial nature; but, on the other hand, honourable gentlemen opposite should not refuse to allow the great importance of

any effort to induce the governments of Cuba and Brazil to give up the slave-trade in which they were at present involved (hear, hear). If the right of search was to be continued, the proposition of the noble lord could not be carried out, for it would be acting against the common decency that regulates the proceedings of nations to send an armed force to intercept the slave-ships in the Atlantic, with instructions to put down the traffic in slaves, when necessary, by violence, and even by blood, and, at the same time, to open their markets to the produce of the slave labour of Brazil and Cuba, and thus to afford the greatest encouragement to the governments of those countries to continue and extend the slave-trade (hear, hear).

MR. MACAULAY said, they were told that they were under a moral obligation to make a distinction between the admission of sugar, the produce of slave-labour, and sugar the produce of countries in which slavery did not exist. Now, he should be as unwilling to lie under the imputation of indifference to the African race as the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down could possibly be to the imputation of hypocrisy. He did, however, think that it was in his power to show, at least, strong reasons why no such moral obligation as that for which the right honourable gentleman contended rested upon them to interfere in the manner in which they were required. He begged to deny that there was any obligation whatever imposed upon them to convert their fiscal system into a penal code for correcting vices of independent states (hear, hear). He would say that when they once adopted that principle, it would lead to consequences which must result in throwing the whole economical condition of the world into confusion (hear, hear). He would say that if that principle were adopted, their whole fiscal legislation would become one mass of anomaly and confusion; and he would go further and add, that if that principle were admitted to be correct, the budget of the right honourable gentleman opposite must become one mass of inconsistencies and absurdity (hear, hear). If the right honourable gentlemen opposite did wish to carry out the principles which they professed on the present question, they would find numerous other cases in which they could have an opportunity of showing their consistency by applying the same principles to all (hear). He here referred to the past conduct of the government in relation to tobacco, and their present proposition to abolish the duty on cotton. There could not be a doubt that, when the right hon. baronet's budget reached the other side of the Atlantic, the slave-jobbers would be in a perfect ecstasy; more gangs of slaves would be collected than ever, and in both the breeding and the cultivating states there would be redoubled energy. It was perfectly amazing how the right honourable baronet could come forward, and after an harangue against slavery, introduce a budget favourable, in the highest degree, to the state which, above all others in the world, had the most to answer for in reference to slavery (hear, hear.) He most fully admitted the paramount authority of moral obligation, but it was at the same time important that we should earnestly consider what our moral obligations to foreign countries are (hear, hear). We are clearly bound to consider them with benevolent and kindly feelings, to be disposed to render them all the reasonable good we can; but it is nevertheless true, that Providence assigns both to individuals and to societies certain spheres within which, should they heedlessly wander, their mistaken efforts, however well intentioned, may do more harm than good, may produce all the deplorable effects of deliberate malevolence (hear, hear). The right honourable baronet had referred to the names and opinions of several of the leading advocates of emancipation; he, Mr. Macaulay, much doubted whether Sir Fowell Buxton would have approved, and whether Dr. Lushington did approve, of the right honourable Baronet's budget.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM felt, that Mr. Macaulay had hardly regarded the subject with a statesmanlike view, when he said that it ought not to be dealt with as a financial or commercial question. It was true, that the question ought not to be looked at abstractedly, as a question of finance or commerce, but that in taking it into consideration, they ought also to look at it as regarded political morality. Therefore, whilst he agreed in thinking that political morality was concerned in the question, he should also state that he conceived questions of finance and commerce of the highest description (hear, hear, hear, from the ministerial benches). The interests of the colonies ought not to be neglected in a consideration of this question. An immense change was forced by the Parliament of this country upon them, and it could not be denied that the position in which they were placed by that change was a subject which ought to be taken into consideration in dealing with this subject (cheers from the ministerial benches). What, he would ask, had been the effects of the change which had been so produced? Although a liberal grant had been made to the proprietors in the West Indies, in order to afford them some compensation for the effects which were produced by the change, yet the means which they had of cultivating the soil had either been destroyed or rendered extremely narrow by the alteration (hear, hear). Now it might be supposed that when considerations of humanity induced the Parliament to abolish slave-labour, facilities would be afforded to the proprietors in the West Indies to obtain free labour. But what was the case as regarded the change we had effected there? We had taken away from the proprietors the slave-labour which they formerly employed, and we had not given them free labour in order to substitute it (cheers from the ministerialists). We took from them the slave labour which they had previously used in the West Indies, and, although we gave them some compensation for the change which we had effected, yet we had left them, to a great extent, without the means of cultivating their estates, except by the payment of very high wages to a population which had been recently liberated from slavery, and the members of which were unwilling to work except when they received very high remuneration (hear, hear). It was, therefore, a duty on our part to encourage the production of sugar in the West Indies and India to the utmost extent which was consistent with the interest of the British consumer (cheers from the ministerial benches). The reduction which the Government proposed would give a great benefit to the consumer, by reducing the retail price of sugar to an extent of from 1d. to 1½d. per lb., whilst it would not altogether disregard the interests of the West India proprietors, and that without any such loss to the revenue as the proposition of the noble lord would entail (hear,

hear.) If they encouraged the produce of slave labour, they could scarcely expect credit for sincerity in the maintenance of cruisers, and other means of putting down the slave-trade (hear, hear). Any attempt to allow an equal competition of slave labour with free labour sugar, would appear inconsistent with the policy which they had all along pursued, and which the house had sanctioned last year by its vote.

MR. C. WOOD said, the noble lord, the member for London, had said, that slave-labour sugar would be encouraged by drawing sugar into the British markets, and the honourable member for Newark, who affected to treat that statement with contempt, admitted that it might possibly have a tendency of that description. What was this but a quibble—for he could designate it by no other name—upon a most important subject? And was it come to this, that when it was admitted by the advocates of the measure themselves, that "it had a tendency to promote slave grown sugar," they were, at the same time, to stand up in that house and say, that they were doing nothing to encourage that traffic which the Government had so often condemned? He said that the measure would have not only a tendency, but the effect of promoting slave-grown sugar by the amount of free-grown sugar which we should take from the markets of the world by consuming it in this country. We should thereby give an encouragement as certain, though not as direct, as if we took the slave-grown sugar itself, which other countries would do openly; and at the same time, that an unnecessary burden would be inflicted upon this country. Notwithstanding all that had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, the ex-President of the Board of Trade, there was an increased feeling in the public mind against the distinctions which the Government wanted to sustain in dealing with the question of sugar. He himself had conversed with many upon the subject of that distinction, and he found no one who talked upon the subject who did not designate it as an absurdity. There was a considerable change of opinion, even amongst the anti-slavery party, and those persons who had hitherto taken a prominent part in the measures which had been agitated and adopted for the suppression of slavery. It was impossible also to conceal the strong opinion which was gaining ground without, that the measures which this country had pursued for some time, were not well calculated to serve the interests of humanity; and Sir Thomas Buxton himself, and others, of whom he ever thought and spoke with respect and reverence, had distinctly avowed their opinion, that in respect to the slave trade, the exertions which the country had made, instead of checking the slave-trade, had only tended to aggravate its horrors. Many persons who had taken, and still took, a most active part in anti-slavery measures, entertained the opinion, that the distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar, which, indeed, was that evening thrown entirely over by the right honourable gentleman the member for Newark, was absurd and untenable, and believed that slavery would be more favourably affected in the end by abolishing such distinctions than by maintaining them, and consenting to receive, in competition with our colonial produce, free-grown sugar alone. The superiority of free labour over slave labour, in the cultivation of sugar, was manifest, from a comparative statement which he held in his hand, and from which it appeared that the same amount of labour which in Cuba would produce only 2,666 lbs. of sugar in a given time, would in Mexico produce 5,332, that was to say, twice the amount produced by slave labour.

SIR R. PEEL said, the subject to which he wished to address himself was, as he understood the question, whether it was right or not that sugar, the produce of slave labour, should enter into competition with other sugar, the produce of free labour. He should not be prepared to admit sugar the produce of slave labour to come into competition with sugar the produce of free labour (cheers). He did not think it would be just to their colonies; he did not think, notwithstanding the very able speech of the right honourable gentleman the member for Edinburgh, he did not think that it would be at all consistent with the principles which they avowed to the world, and the course they had taken, now to pass a resolution which would admit sugar the produce of slave labour into competition with sugar the produce of their colonies. With respect, first of all, to the question of policy and justice, as far as their colonies were concerned. He admitted at once, that if they had regard to purely commercial and financial considerations, he would be bound at once to say that he could not defend it (hear, hear, from members on the opposition benches). He thought that, on a pure abstract preference of commercial and financial consideration to any other, ought to induce them to make no distinction between free and slave-grown sugar; but then he said it was impossible for them to disregard the position of the West Indies (hear, hear). He admitted that they had behaved with great liberality, as far as individuals were concerned, and that they had made a great pecuniary sacrifice; but still he did not think that that pecuniary sacrifice, however onerous it was to the country, and however complete might have been the compensation in some cases, and he doubted if it did not relieve but a very few, still he said, considering what was their relation to the colonies, when it was proposed to admit slave labour in competition with the produce of free labour. First, they had abolished in the West Indies the slave-trade, and then they had abolished slavery; and in that case were they to require them to enter into competition with Brazil and Cuba, where not only slavery existed, but the slave-trade existed, and the slave-trade was carried on to a very great extent, and this in direct violation of public engagements? (hear, hear). There could be no doubt that a sufficient time had not elapsed to have free labour introduced and established in their colonies to that extent to enable free labour to compete with slave labour. Though there might be an immediate gain by allowing that competition, though there might be an immediate gain to the consumer from sugar the produce of slave labour coming into competition with sugar the produce of free labour, still, he asked, would it be so desirable in their relation to those colonies, or would it be desirable, where there was a progress to an improved condition in these colonies, to disable them now to bear the burdens to which they were subject? He must say that he doubted ultimately—that is, if they desired to maintain their existing colonial relations, whether the sacrifice that they would make of their interests would not countervail any immediate advantages that they obtained (hear, hear). The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) said that if there was any one country against which they

had a right to raise the indignation of the civilized world, it was the United States—that it was the United States that continued slavery, and that, too, in its most aggravated form—that it was the United States that bred slaves for the purposes of labour; and that if the United States had given their power to render the right of search effective, that with its aid it would have been sufficient to put an end to the slave-trade. The right honourable gentleman had said what was perfectly right, that the public feeling in France would not have been excited if the United States had given its cordial aid to the right of search. But then the United States were an independent power, they had the right to continue slavery, and they had a right to refuse aiding in the right of search. It might not be right or just, or proper for them to do so. That was not the question; but, as an independent power, it had a right to exercise that discretion. The right honourable gentleman then observed, that they refused sugar, the produce of slave labour; and why did they not refuse cotton, the produce of slave labour also? The right honourable gentleman said he did not oppose their receiving cotton; but that he could not reconcile their consistency on both points. The right honourable gentleman had said that he doubted, if he opposed the introduction of cotton, whether he would do anything to improve the condition of the slaves, and whether his doing this might weaken, and not strengthen, those who in the United States were friendly to the abolition of slavery. Let it be so. Then he wished to show that there was a material distinction between encouraging the importation of sugar the produce of Cuba and Brazil, and of cotton the produce of the United States. It was always to be held in mind that the labour in the produce of cotton was infinitely less severe than in the produce of sugar. The unhealthiness of the cotton plantation was less than that of the sugar plantation. He relied on this, that the only two countries which could enter into formidable competition in the production of sugar, were two countries with respect to which they stood in a peculiar situation, namely, Cuba and Brazil (hear, hear). He would now attempt to show that the permission to Cuba and Brazil to import sugar, the produce of slave labour, would be contrary to the dictates of humanity, and would inflict a great and particular evil on that class of society which had the strongest claims on their superintendence and interference, the negro population of the coast of Africa. They stood in a peculiar position with respect to the slave-trade. They had contracted a special obligation as to the suppression of the slave-trade. It might be very well to say that the slave-trade being carried on by other countries was not matter of concern to England—that they would not interfere with the course of their free action. That, he said, was not their course. They had publicly proclaimed that they would do all in their power to suppress the slave-trade. The people of England had made a clear distinction between slavery and the slave trade. On general principles, why, it was said, should they interfere with Brazil, or why undertake the management of the general policy of the world? The noble lord (Viscount Howick) thought that they were unwise to undertake it. That might be; but that then was not the position in which they stood. They had resolved to use their utmost efforts to suppress the slave-trade. What now were the facts as to the slave-trade? As this country did not now carry it on, the horrors of that trade were not brought under their notice in the way that they used to be; but occasionally there were debates, in which persons speaking on the highest authority disclosed some of those horrors to them. They might now form a wrong impression on this subject—they might think that in admitting the sugar of Cuba and Brazil they thereby gave a fresh stimulus to the slave-trade. The anti slavery feeling was now dormant; but if it were afterwards proved that by admitting Cuba and Brazil sugar, they had aggravated the horrors of the slave-trade, they might be assured that feeling would be revived, and that great discontent would compel them to depart from their policy (hear, hear). The noble lord had given an account, founded on his own experience, last session, of the horrors of the slave-trade. The noble lord had stated, that human beings on the coast of Africa were entrapped and brought to Brazil, that they were placed on board ships and between decks, where there was not more space than from two feet to two feet and a half, and that there were often to be found 600 human beings crowded together in the slave ships. This occurred in bringing slaves to the two countries from which the sugar was to come. Let it be considered what must be the sufferings of from six to seven hundred human beings thus placed during the whole of the middle passage—that they were placed between decks, not more than two feet apart, and this without the opportunity of stirring, so that it constantly happened that when they arrived at Brazil their limbs were paralyzed. That slave trade was now carried on to a great extent, and they were bound to do all they could to suppress it. Now the two countries in the world which carried on and sanctioned that trade were the said two countries of Brazil and Cuba (cheers). He availed himself of the authority of the noble lord to state what were the effects of this. This was said by him last year: "But both Spain and Brazil are bound by treaties concluded with us, to prohibit all their subjects from engaging in or being concerned with the slave-trade in any manner whatsoever; and they have, in pursuance of those treaties, pronounced laws denouncing severe punishments upon such of their subjects as may have anything to do with the trade. But these governments notoriously set at nought their engagements, and systematically disregard them, while they permit their own laws to be daily and openly violated with impunity." When the Spanish authorities determined upon suppressing this trade, it was greatly diminished by General Valdez, who had been appointed by Espartero. It was under the sanction of the governments of Cuba and Brazil that the slave-trade had revived; and if it were not disconcerted, their efforts for the suppression of such a traffic would be ineffectual. If we had cruisers stationed on the one coast, attempting to prevent vessels laden with slaves leaving Africa, and on the other were permitting vessels from Cuba and the Brazils, laden with sugar, the produce of slave labour, then, indeed, would our conduct be inconsistent (hear, hear). Those countries were bound in engagements to us on the subject of slavery, which they had not fulfilled. He spoke of the engagements entered into with us, and the special duty imposed upon them to abolish slavery, or even to improve the condition of the slave within their own territory; but the positive engagements they had entered into with

us to prohibit and discourage the slave-trade, and those engagements had not been fulfilled (hear, hear). It was said there was some inconsistency in permitting cotton, the produce of slave-labour cultivation, to come into this country, and at the same time prohibiting slave grown sugar. But it was difficult to take any course that was not liable to the objection of inconsistency (cheers from the opposition). He did not suppose any one would advise that cotton, the produce of slave labour, should be prohibited (hear, hear). But the question was, whether the import of slave-grown sugar from the Brazils and Cuba would not be a great curse to the African race (hear, hear). Whether or not, the horrors of slavery in Cuba and the Brazils would not be aggravated by the permission to import their produce into this country? And if so, then, whether there was any inconsistency in our conduct in regard to the admission of cotton, was not the question; but the question was, what was the course which it was the duty of this country to pursue, so far as the interests of humanity were concerned—whether the declarations we had made were to be forgotten, and the course we had but lately pursued in the face of Europe, and to which we were bound, in concert with other powers, to put a stop to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa was to be abandoned altogether (hear). If they (the opposition) had new views on the matter, if the views expressed by the late government in 1840 were changed, he had no doubt the change had been adopted not without sufficient reason; but they might depend upon it that the admission into this country for the benefit of British consumers of an unimpeded and unlimited supply of sugar, the produce of the Brazils and Cuba, would be looked upon by Europe and by the world as inconsistent with our profession and the principles for which we had been so long contending (hear, hear), and in that case, he should advise this country to abandon altogether its efforts to suppress the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, because if they did so, they would be only attempting to punish by the one act the crime they were encouraging on the other (hear). He hoped a better feeling was now entertained in many of the countries of Europe, in respect to the question of the slave-trade than formerly prevailed. He believed the European states were becoming alive to its great evils—he believed they were now beginning to understand, that after the experiment we had successfully made in all our colonies to put an end to slavery, it was scarcely safe for them to continue a system of unmilitated slavery in their provinces. He found that very recently the Swedish minister had made a proposition to his government for the ultimate abolition of slavery in that West India island that belonged to Sweden. In Denmark the question was under discussion, whether slavery should be abolished or not; and a petition, numerously signed, praying for its abolition in all the Danish possessions, had been presented. France, too, was seriously considering whether or not it was politic to continue the existing status of slavery in their dominions. Portugal had acted in a manner that entitled her to the greatest praise—that country was fulfilling its engagements in this respect, and was exerting itself against the slave-trade in the most praiseworthy manner, and we had no ground of complaint against her (hear, hear). And as to the United States—this step at least had been made—the resolution by which even the presentation of a petition to Congress against the slave-trade was prohibited had been rescinded, and it was now competent for any member of Congress to present a petition, and make a motion on the subject. And, notwithstanding the declaration of public men in the United States to the contrary, he believed it would be difficult for the United States, consistently with its own interests, to maintain unmilitated the state of slavery which now existed in some portions of their territory. We had, however, no right to interfere in this respect (hear, hear, hear). The decisions of the United States were in their own discretion. It was true that a feeling existed there on the subject stronger than in any other part of the world; but in Europe, in Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden, a strong impression prevailed that the time had arrived when, following the example of England, it would be proper for them to put a stop to the present status of slavery existing in their dominions (hear, hear). He earnestly hoped the House would not come to a decision which would, he feared, materially impair its moral influence with the world, and impede the progress of those principles to which he had adverted. It was admitted by Europe, that our sacrifices for the abolition had been most generous; in no quarter was there a doubt of our sincerity. That was the position England now occupied in regard to this question; but if we deviated from the course we had hitherto pursued, we should give an encouragement to the slave-trade; and if we admitted the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and the Brazils, we might depend on it we should diminish our moral influence, and detract from that respect which was now entertained for us all over Europe. It would be looked upon as an admission that our exertions for the suppression of slavery had failed, and that we were influenced in that object, not by motives of humanity but by motives of interest. That would be the taunt thrown out against us (hear, hear). If we resorted to Cuba and the Brazils for our supplies, with our knowledge of the horrors of slavery in those countries, then the accusation of hypocrisy made against us by Mr. Colquhoun would have a much better colour than it had now. He would, without hesitation, give his vote against the proposition of the noble lord, which sanctioned the principle that sugar, the produce of slave labour, should be admitted now for the first time to the great market of the United Kingdom (hear, hear).

Viscount PALMERSTON said, the argument of the right honourable gentleman in defence of that distinction is confined to the encouragement which the admission of slave-grown sugar would give to the slave-trade. The right honourable baronet takes his stand on the engagements entered into by other countries towards Great Britain, and says, in reply to the unanswerable argument of my right honourable friend, the member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), adduced in reference to the importation of slave-grown cotton, "That there is this distinction between cotton and sugar—the United States have entered into no arrangement with this country from which they have swerved—they are free from any engagements with us on the subject, and have a right, to have slaves, and employ them in the cultivation of cotton, and that we have no right to legislate with a view to prevent them from doing that which they have not engaged to abstain from" (hear). The right honourable gentleman then throws aside the principles of humanity, and

stands on the right given to this country by treaties with other powers (hear, hear). The Brazils and Spain, he says, have contracted treaties, by which they bind themselves not to prosecute the trade in slaves—they have broken those engagements, and therefore we are right in legislating to exclude their slave-grown produce. Why, if the argument be good for sugar, it is equally so for all other articles in the production of which slaves are employed (hear, hear). It was equally good for coffee (hear, hear). But what did the government last year? They reduced the discriminating duty on Brazilian coffee; and so far as the cultivation of coffee employs slaves in the Brazils, and encourages the import of negroes, they did themselves by their act of last year give encouragement to the slave-trade (cheers). What have they done this year, in violating those principles which the right honourable baronet has just laid down? The whole of the duty is taken off the import of copper ore. Now copper ore, as is well known, comes from Cuba, and is got from the earth by means of slave labour. Therefore, both last year, by the change you made in the tariff, and this year, by your measures, you do that which you call on the House to prevent (hear, hear). What nonsense to tell us that if you take 20,000 tons of sugar from the market of the world, it makes the slightest difference whether these 20,000 tons consist of slave or free-labour sugar. Whatever the production of the sugar, the void when made will impart an increased value to what remains (hear, hear). Whether you take slave-grown sugar or free-labour sugar, the result is the same—you increase the price of that left in the market of the world; and if that sugar be sold, you will give increased encouragement to its production; and thus indirectly, but certainly, aid and foster and assist in carrying on slavery and the slave-trade (loud cheers).

Sir CHARLES NAPIER rose amid loud cries of "divide." He wished to know whether honourable gentlemen proposed to prevent Cuba introducing her slave-grown sugars into this country? The introduction of Brazilian sugar might be prevented, but Cuba sugar was easily transferred to America, and could thence be as easily transmitted to the English markets.

The House then divided.

For the amendment.....	142
Against it	236
Majority against the amendment —	94

FRIDAY, February 28.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the order of the day being read for going into Committee of Ways and Means on the sugar duties,

Mr. HOGG objected to the differential duty proposed on white clayed sugar, or sugar rendered by any process equal to white clayed, not being refined, and on brown sugar, being Muscovado or clayed, or on any other sugar not being equal to white clayed. On the former it was proposed that there should be a duty of 16s. 4d. per cwt., and on the latter a duty of 14s. His objection was, not to the principle, but to the application of the discriminating duty. To make it intelligible to the house [that the proposed application of the differential duty would act unfairly, he must call their attention to the nature of the manufacture of sugar in the East and in the West Indies. In the East Indies the manufacture of sugar was now the same as for centuries past it had been—it was a manufacture peculiar to the East Indies. The sugars there were not clayed. The mode of manufacturing sugars in the East Indies was this: they were filtered through wet grass, the colour was greatly improved, and the sugars rendered very white. But that process diminished the strength of the sugar, and rendered it intrinsically of less value. Now, his complaint was this, that they would have the sugars of the East Indies, being white and pure, coming in at 16s. 4d. per cwt., while the rich Muscovado sugar of Barbadoes, containing a greater quantity of saccharine matter, and altogether a superior sugar, would come in at the lower duty. He would tell them what would be the result of this. Orders would go out from this country to those who produce sugar in the East Indies to this effect,—"Don't send us any longer the white pure sugar that will be subjected to the higher duty, but send us a black, dirty, impure act of Parliament sugar" (a laugh). Everybody knew that the manufacture of sugar was improving every day (hear.) But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he insisted upon the measure of which he (Mr. Hogg) complained, would check that improvement, and, as there would only be two classes of sugar, the public would either have to take the dirty sugar, or have recourse to another. Now, he contended that the public of this country and the consumers ought not to be driven to the expense of refined or lump sugar, and that every one ought to endeavour to manufacture the best sugar for general consumption without being refined. It was unfair to make this distinction between the East and West Indies. It would not militate against the interests of the West Indies that the East Indies should produce large quantities of cheap sugar, while by producing plenty of free-labour sugar the object of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government would be attained. On the other hand, if he checked the produce of the East Indies, as he would by this discriminating duty, and thus make the quantity both of the East and West Indies insufficient for these countries, no power on earth would keep out slave-grown sugar (hear, hear). He concluded by moving, "That it is the opinion of this house that there ought not to be any discriminating duty between sugars, muscovado and clayed, not being refined; and that any such duty would interfere with the measure of equalization between sugars the produce of the East and West Indies."

Mr. HUME seconded the motion.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER had always felt the great difficulties that lay in the way of the plan of differential duties; but at the same time, being desirous of giving the public the full benefit to be derived from a reduction of price, and being desirous of giving to East India and West India sugar an effective but not an extravagant protection, he had nevertheless thought it essential to the discharge of his duty that he should propose a differential duty. The standard taken in the resolution was the white-clayed sugar of Java. All sugars below that standard were

to pay the lower duty, and all above it the higher. He firmly believed that if the house adopted the resolutions as they stood, and took the quality of white clayed sugar as the test of sugar being subject to the higher duty, that test would be practically useful, and do justice between contending parties. They were now practically bringing the sugar of our own colonies into competition with the sugar of foreign countries. This necessarily created alarm, and there was scarcely any particular class connected with the sugar trade that did not wish for some alterations in the proposed scheme to suit its own views; but as the Government had consented to a sacrifice of revenue in lowering the duties on sugar in order to insure a more extended consumption, it also proposed to reserve the power of imposing a lower duty on the lower classes of sugar, and a higher duty on the higher classes, for otherwise those who consumed the lower kinds of sugar could not have the advantage it was intended to give them (hear, hear).

Mr. HAWES wished to know who was to judge of the quality of sugar on its importation into this country? How was it possible to suppose that Custom-house officers could properly judge of the colour, granulation, and strength of the different sugars, or that the Custom-house officers in Cork, Liverpool, and London would all come to the same conclusion? He had had communications with practical men, who all said that the attempt was full of great practical difficulties, that it would subject the trade to unequal rates of duty, and would introduce fraud. What did they call upon the Customs officers to do? They took the sugar of Java as a standard, and then they required the Custom-house officers everywhere to be the judges of colours, of granulation, and of the saccharine qualities. He would like to have heard from the right hon. gentleman the authority of any practical man in favour of the possibility of making the distinction: the whole city of London was open to the Government to make inquiries, but no such authority had been quoted. Unless such an authority could be obtained, he did ask the Government to reconsider the question.

Sir R. PEEL was sure hon. gentlemen would admit that the position of the Government was one of difficulty (hear, hear), because they were not at liberty to make very extensive inquiries; and it was necessary to limit their consultation, before they announced their plan, to a very small number of persons. The object of the Government was not to subject East Indian sugar to any disadvantage; they did not desire to favour the West Indies at the expense of the East Indies (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman says, that we have no authority for making any such experiment, and that we have no practical testimony in its favour; but we have had communications from the Custom-house officers that nothing is more easy than to make the distinction. The best course, if the forms of the house would allow them, would be to apply themselves to the consideration of the question, whether they could impose a mere power of discrimination upon the Custom house officers, and should accurately define what should constitute quality. With further consideration they might be able to determine whether they could introduce particular words. If, therefore, the forms of the house would allow, the resolution might now be passed on the understanding that in committee on the bill, unless they should adopt a satisfactory definition of what should be the quality, in the sense in which it was generally understood, his hon. friend should be at liberty to object to it, and make a motion on the subject, and to limit the power of the Custom-house officers. They might allow the resolution then to pass, on the understanding that no one should be bound by it not to make an objection to the clause in the bill.

After a few words from Mr. HAWES, Mr. MANGLES, Mr. F. BARING, and Mr. GLADSTONE,

Mr. Hogg withdrew his amendment.

MONDAY, March 3.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER rising to propose his resolutions on the sugar duties, a long and desultory conversation took place respecting the alleged impracticability of distinguishing between the different qualities of sugar, not being refined; and at length it was agreed that the resolutions should be withdrawn, and the subject be brought forward again on Friday.

TRINIDAD LEGISLATION.

We mentioned in our last, that an Immigration Loan ordinance had been passed in Trinidad in a very hurried and indecent manner, on the alleged urgency of Lord Stanley. The Port of Spain Gazette furnishes us with the following account of the proceedings.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT, Dec. 9, 1844.

IMMIGRATION LOAN ORDINANCE.

Mr. LOSH.—The bill ("An ordinance for the raising of money to be applied to the promoting of immigration of agricultural labourers from British dominions in India and elsewhere,") had been read a first time. Its provisions differed, on one or two points, from the one previously passed. The former ordinance had fixed the loan at 200,000*l.*; this was, by the present bill, increased to 250,000*l.* The number of years for raising the loan had also been increased from four to five years. In the former bill the agents had been named; in the present bill it had been left entirely to the Secretary of State to appoint the agents. The loan was to be repaid from the export duty, and the money to be raised was to be also applicable for the return passage of such as might wish to go back. There was another ordinance which accompanied this, for emigration from Asia. The export duty on produce amounted to 18,000*l.*, and the sum required for immigration yearly was 16,300*l.* The export duty had not increased in the same ratio as was expected, as the value of produce had decreased. It was the earnest desire of the Home Government to put down slavery altogether, and he looked upon this measure (immigration from India) as a

great means of arriving at that object; there could not be a better means than this to make capital available, and they could not too much appreciate the enlightened policy of the Home Government in promoting a measure of this kind. He thought the ordinary revenue of the colony quite sufficient for the purpose. He would move that the ordinance be read a second time.

Mr. SCOTT.—He would second the motion.

TREASURER.—He thought the sum named in the former ordinance would be quite sufficient, and he would propose that the amount to be expended in any one year should not exceed 30,000*l.*, which would introduce 2,000 or 2,500 people; and also that no sum should be raised without the approbation of the Governor.

Mr. LOSH.—It was quite true that 30,000*l.* would bring into this colony 2,000 Coolies, but he should not think to make it apply to immigration generally, that the sum of 50,000*l.* would be too small. The power to expend this money was vested in the Secretary of State, who would see that it was properly applied.

SOLICITOR GENERAL.—In the case of a Parliamentary loan the Government guarantees it, and they expect the colonial Government to pass an ordinance to guarantee them.

HIS EXCELLENCY.—After the insurrection in Jamaica, when the people were suffering very much, the Government lent the money.

On the motion of Mr. Losh, the board went into committee on the bill.

The clauses were read seriatim.

On the first clause being read, authorising the raising of a loan of 250,000*l.*, the Treasurer moved as an amendment that the same should stand at 200,000*l.*

The Solicitor General remarked that he was well convinced that every shilling proposed to be raised would be well applied.

The Treasurer's amendment not having been seconded, was lost.

The third clause, authorising the raising of 50,000*l.* in any one year, was objected to by the Treasurer, who moved as an amendment that the sum should be limited to 30,000*l.* The amendment, not being seconded, was lost.

The several clauses passed through committee, and the bill was read a second time, and the board resumed.

Mr. LOSH moved that the standing rules be suspended, that the bill might be read a third time and passed.

TREASURER.—He considered that the ordinance should not be read a third time, but that it should be reprinted, and that it was necessary to take the opinion of the public on the subject, and contended that it was necessary for them to observe the forms of the board.

COLONIAL SECRETARY.—Perhaps the Treasurer was not aware that Lord Stanley was very anxious that this bill should be passed and sent home.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The principle of the ordinance was the same as the one they had already passed, and the present ordinance could only be considered as an amendment of the former ordinance.

Mr. SCOTT.—They were merely verbal alterations in the ordinance.

The Colonial Secretary read an extract from Lord Stanley's despatch, expressing a desire that this ordinance should be passed and forwarded home with the least possible delay.

Mr. LOSH.—There was no advantage to be gained by the delay proposed by the Treasurer; and he thought that by passing the ordinance they would meet the views of the Home Government. There was no change, no alteration in the principle of the bill; and, under those circumstances, he would move the suspension of the standing rules.

His EXCELLENCY.—This could not be called a hasty measure. A similar ordinance had already passed the board, and had been sent home. Lord Stanley wished the council to pass this bill. The agents in the former bill had been named, but Lord Stanley wished to have the appointment of the agents, which had been provided for in the ordinance before them. A great deal of interest and trouble had been taken by influential parties at home connected with the colony on this subject; and he thought they should mark their sense of the conduct of these public spirited gentlemen at home—he could not think the ordinance was hurried. There had been a petition got up here by certain parties, and sent home, against the former ordinance; the receipt of the petition had been acknowledged, and no further notice was taken of it. He really thought no colony in the West Indies had given so little trouble to the Home Government as Trinidad had done; and he thought the board of council ought to feel the way in which Lord Stanley had carried out their ordinances which they had enacted. They would be able to meet a great part of the immigration expenses from the ordinary revenues of the colony.

Mr. LOSH then moved the ordinance be read a third time.—Carried.

Mr. LOSH moved, seconded by Mr. Scott, that the ordinance do pass.—Carried.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. LOSH moved the second reading of an ordinance to make provision for the payment of the expenses of bringing into this colony immigrants from Asia, and further to extend the provisions of an ordinance entitled, "An ordinance to make provision for the payment of expenses of bringing into this colony immigrants from the coast of Africa or other places, under the authority and direction of Her Majesty's Government."

The board went into committee, when the several clauses of the bill were read, and the board resumed. The ordinance was read a second time. The standing rules were suspended, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—The following petitions have been presented against the immigration of Hill Coolies, as affecting the morals of the community, and as entailing a large amount of extravagant taxation:—From the Baptist Western Union. From certain tax-payers in the parish of Hanover. From the inhabitants of the Eastern Interior of the parish of St. James. From certain inhabitants of the parish of

Trelawny. From Waldensia and Unity congregations, in the parish of Trelawny. From the inhabitants of the Western Interior of the parish of St. James. From a Presbyterian congregation in the parish of St. James. From certain labourers in the parish of Westmoreland. From certain tax-payers in the parish of Westmoreland. From sundry ministers, merchants, planters, and others, of Clarendon. There was one petition, and only one, in favour of the scheme. We had hoped, notwithstanding the but partial representation of the people, that public opinion had made such advances, that a disposition would have been manifested on the part of our legislators to seek the welfare of the community, and to redress all grievances; but we have been disappointed—the votes on the immigration question are an answer to the complaint raised against taxation; the former house chastised you with whips, but we will do it with scorpions.—*Morning Journal.*

ST. LUCIA.—The year has opened with the most favourable weather for all the purposes of the planter, and the greatest activity prevails on every estate, both in manufacturing the sugar of the present crop, as well as in preparing land and planting the crop of 1846; and notwithstanding these extensive operations, we hear no complaint of any want of labourers. The very abundant supply and low price of imported provisions is operating most advantageously in favour of the growth of our exportable staples;—the diminished demand for home-grown provisions causing an unusually large amount of labour to become available to the sugar planter;—the moderate reduction in the wages of labour, which we had occasion to notice about six months since, but which are still amply remunerative, has been cheerfully submitted to by the labourer, and this furnishes a further proof, if any were necessary, of the soundness of that policy which has been acted upon in this colony, namely, that of permitting the free introduction of cheap foreign food, and thereby liberating the hands that would otherwise be employed in cultivating that food in the colony.—*Independent Press.*

TRINIDAD.—THE PEASANTRY.—In a late sitting of the Council of Government, Mr. Burnley is reported to have said:—"There had been a committee appointed some time ago to inquire into the squatting nuisance. There had, he believed, been one meeting of the committee at which he had not been so fortunate as to attend; and he could not find out when there was to be, or if there ever would be, another meeting, or who was the chairman of the committee. It was most necessary that something should be done. Since the recent reduction of wages, the labourers had again commenced occupying and cultivating, without leave or license, the northern range of hills in the vicinity of Tacarigua, and he believed the same thing was taking place at Point a Pierre. He had expected a great deal of good from the appointment of the committee, but instead of that a great deal of harm had resulted. The stipendiary magistrates no longer took the steps they were previously in the habit of taking for dislodging or checking squatting. They seemed to feel themselves altogether absolved from any further interference in the matter by the appointment of the committee, and did nothing. We were about importing a large number of Coolies. When these arrived, planters would naturally be anxious to get rid of such bad subjects as they were now necessitated to employ, and supply their place by the new arrivals, and then all these—the worst description of our population—would go and do as others were doing at present. By and by the removal of such persons from grounds so occupied by them would be considered a hardship and cruelty."—*Port of Spain Gazette.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—TEXAS.—Extract of a letter from J. G. Whittin to Joseph Sturge, dated Boston, 31st of 1st month, 1845.—"We are just through with the most important meeting which has ever been held in this state, in relation to slavery. A convention of the people, irrespective of party, opposed to the annexation of Texas, as a slave-holding territory, has just been held in Fanueil Hall, in this city. Fifteen hundred delegates, comprising a great number of the talent and wisdom of Massachusetts, were in attendance. Chief Justice Williams presided, assisted by twelve vice presidents, among whom was our liberty friend the Hon. Wm. Jackson, late member of Congress for Massachusetts. Judge Allen, of Worcester, presented, as chairman of a committee for that purpose, a powerfully-written protest against the iniquitous scheme for extending and perpetrating slavery. We are full of anxiety in respect to the result of this question in Congress. A resolution in its favour has passed the house by a vote of 118 to 98. What will be its state in the senate is still doubtful. It is a tremendous question. The consequences of the passage of the bill now before the Congress, must be disastrous in the extreme. Territory sufficient for five states will be consecrated to slavery, and the rights and interests of the north placed entirely at the mercy of slaveholders."

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, Jan. 30th, 1845.—"Last Saturday (25th inst.) the various projects before the House of Representatives in Congress relative to the annexation of Texas were disposed of. Those from the ultra pro-slavery side of the house, and from the ultra anti-slavery side, were all voted down. Mr. Mitten Brown, of Tennessee, a Whig, introduced resolutions that were adopted by a vote of 118 to 101. His proposition differs from most others which have been presented, in leaving Texas to pay her own debts with her own resources, including her public lands. It provides also, that Texas is to be annexed, if at all, not as a territory, nor as a state territory, but simply as a state comprehending the whole territory. But from this state new states may be hereafter erected, not exceeding four in addition to the state of Texas. Those states shall be entitled to administer into the union the same as states already admitted. It is provided that such of these states as may be forced out of territory south of lat. 36 deg. 30 min. shall be admitted with or without slavery, as the inhabitants of each state asking admission may desire; but in states formed out of territories north of such line, slavery shall be prohibited. Now, as the best part of the lands and most of the inhabitants are south of the line, it is probable that if Texas shall be

admitted, that three-fourths at least of the whole territory will be given up to slavery. We did not anticipate that any project would be adopted by the house by so large a majority, if at all, and it had greatly distressed us. Still the provision that Texas shall pay her own debts will cool the ardour of many of the friends of annexation, who anticipated sharing in the money they expected Congress would appropriate to pay the debts of Texas. The resolutions are now before the senate. It is doubtful how the vote will be in that body. We hope for the best, and yet look forward with anxious alarm to the decision. If the resolutions pass both houses, it will then be seen whether Texas will agree to the terms. Mr. Adams made a powerful speech on the unconstitutionality of this measure, but furious partisans did not need this argument. The low price of cotton has made the slaveholders almost mad, and the democrats in the free states are afraid that if they do not vote with the slaveholders their party will be diminished or overthrown, so that to parley to the claims of humanity the rights of the poor slaves are to be sacrificed."

FUGITIVE SLAVES.—It is stated that Mr. Calhoun remitted to Mr. Everett, by the last steamer, a most decided despatch, demanding from our government positive information relative to the refusal given by the authorities of the Bahamas, some time back, to deliver up some slaves who, after murdering a family in Florida, escaped to the island.—*Times' Correspondent.*

Rsv. C. T. TORREY.—The friends of Mr. Torrey will be gratified to learn, that his situation is not so "bad as it might be." A friend in Baltimore writes me:—He visited the prison a few days since, and that Mr. T. was in the "warping department," which he thinks is the "lightest business the prison discipline allows." They had not "shaved his head," but made a "clean sweep of his whiskers." He says the warden told him "he never had a prisoner go to work so cheerfully;" and gave as a reason, "he (Torrey) had committed no crime."

DELIA WEBSTER.—Miss Delia Webster has been three days in the prison. She is sentenced for two years, on a charge of aiding in the escape of runaway slaves. I have not seen her, but I am told there is a growing sentiment in favour of her liberation among all who make themselves acquainted with her case. It is said that she has been convicted on testimony rather vaguely circumstantial; and that she is a very intelligent young lady, and protests her innocence; and that her father, who is here, worn down with years and cares, is not an abolitionist.

JUDGE O'NEALL.—We learn that a correspondence has taken place between the Rev. Dr. Marsh, of England, and Judge O'Neal, of South Carolina, on the subject of slavery. The Judge has undertaken to show that the Bible authorizes slavery, and justifies the enactment and execution of the bloody slave code. Dr. M. is said to have written to the Judge a Bible argument, showing conclusively that the Scriptures afford no sanction to American slavery or the slave code. We hope it will be published.

KENTUCKY.—Another attempt has been made to call a Convention in Kentucky, for the purpose of amending the Constitution. This, like the attempts which have preceded it, failed, so jealous is the slave power of any encroachment on its prerogative.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

TEXAS.—President Jones has issued a proclamation annulling the recognition of Gen. Duff Green as American Consul at Galveston! The President, we understand, states that the honour and interests of the nation imperatively demand such a course. The cause of the flare-up between President Jones and Gen. Duff Green, we understand to have originated in a most insolent attempt on the part of Green to dictate to the President. The latter gently insinuated that when he desired Gen. Green's advice he would solicit it. This answer, it seems, raised Green's dander, whereupon it is said he had the indelicacy and want of good sense to threaten the executive, and intimated that he would make the executive office a very unpleasant resting-place for his excellency the President. Such conduct could lead but to one result. The President very properly ordered Green from his presence, and cut short his official functions.—*New Orleans Tropic.*

Late accounts from Texas state that the citizens of Fort Bend county had held a meeting to consider the question of annexation, and had declared, that "it now behoves us, as a nation mindful of our own dignity, to urge the question no further, but distinctly to make it known to the people of the United States, who have a far greater interest at stake upon its final issue than we can have, that the measure is one altogether acceptable to us upon equal terms, but for which Texas ought not to beg." The meeting repudiated all discouraging and "despairing" expressions touching the well-established ability of Texas to maintain her national independence.—*Times.*

CONFESSIONS OF A PLANTER.—The *Grenada Gazette* contains a long letter signed "A PLANTER," in relation to the alleged unwillingness of the peasantry to labour. We hope the good sense apparent in the following extract is not confined to the writer. He says:—"We have hitherto acted independent of the negro. At the outset of his freedom, we fixed on a certain rate of wages and allowances; we have since then raised their wages and increased their perquisites; and lately we have lowered these wages, and deprived them of all extra allowances. Never, on any occasion, have they been consulted. We have never condescended to ask their assent to any measure having reference to our respective positions; forgetting that in all contracts both parties should have a voice. We have never endeavoured to ascertain from the negroes themselves, whether they disapprove, (although we have reason to think so,) of our mode of management, so, far as relates to them, and whether they are prepared to propose any arrangement for carrying on the cultivation of the estates that may meet our approval, while it would satisfy them, and consequently establish a good understanding between both parties. Who of us can say, that the self-esteem of the negro is not wounded by our independent mode of procedure towards him, and that his conduct is not influenced, in some degree, by a spirit of opposition, as well as by his dislike to the present system of applying his labour. If we have hitherto acted erroneously, in not endeavouring to ascertain, from the negroes themselves, whether a satisfactory arrangement might be made between them and the landholders, let us now, even at the eleventh hour, try to come to a mutual understanding for carrying on the cultivation of our staple commodities. Adopt some mode of ascertaining whether such an arrangement be feasible. Endeavour to elicit from the labourers their sentiments on the subject. Endeavour, if possible, to

gain their confidence by giving them a voice in any change of system that may be proposed."

ILLEGAL EXPORT OF SLAVES.—The colonial code establishes the punishment of two to twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine not exceeding the value of the slave, nor less than 500 francs, against any person who shall have illegally exported, or caused to be exported from the colony one or more slaves. The court of cassation has just extended the application of this article to cases in which the slaves shall have been found on board of a vessel bound to a foreign island, even should such vessel not yet have entered the port.—*Les Antilles.*

THE SUGAR-CANE.—It is known that in 1842, the corvette *L'Aube* brought from Tahiti some plants of the sugar-cane selected from the richest species growing in that island, and which were intended for the purpose of renewing in the French colonies those plants which had degenerated. Entrusted to the care of the director of the Jardin des Plantes, in Martinique, these canes leave nothing to be desired in point of juiciness and beauty. The director of the interior has published in the *Journal Officiel* a list (which is here subjoined,) of the different kinds of canes from Tahiti, which will be distributed on application amongst the planters; and he adds some observations which will be of the greatest utility to them, enabling them to select such varieties only as are already well known to them.—*Courier.*

PUERTO-RICO.—The exports of sugar from Puerto Rico, in 1843, were about 40,000 tons weight, and of coffee 6,000 tons;—the sugar crop of 1844-5 will be as much, that of coffee less. There are cotton, tobacco, molasses, rum, hides also. The island of Puerto Rico, taken altogether, is thriving—its annual produce increasing—not that many planters make or save money there—there is much debt among them—but their habits are not very expensive. The debts of the dealers of Puerto Rico to people in St. Thomas, probably amount to nearly the value of the whole year's produce of the island, and have done so for many years past. Something is paid and paying by many; no fresh credits are given, and business goes on accordingly. From one year to another, the debt, generally is on the increase.—*St. Lucia Palladium.*

PORTUGAL.—In the sitting of the 12th inst., at the Chamber of Peers, Viscount sa da Bandiera moved an address to the Queen, calling her Majesty's attention to the fact that the black population of the Portuguese colony of Angola, in Western Africa, though nominally free, are in reality in a state of slavery, being forcibly made to do the work of beasts of burden, and actually employed in conveying into the interior of the country the goods sent for the purpose of being bartered for slaves, in the performance of which service they are treated with the most wanton cruelty, being chained together in droves, half starved, and beaten for the most trifling fault or the least murmur. The consequence of such atrocities, it is stated in the address, is the death of numbers of those poor creatures, and the flight of many others into the interior; and those who remain, being prevented by long and frequent absence from attending to the cultivation of their lands, are reduced to the extreme of misery. Hence it is that the population of Angola, instead of increasing like that of all other colonies, is rapidly diminishing. The address concludes by exhorting her Majesty, in the name not only of humanity, but of sound policy, to take prompt measures for putting an end to so flagrant an abuse, the effects of which are the ruin of that colony and the encouragement and facilitation of the Slave-trade, prohibited alike by the laws of the country and by treaties with England. The Address has been ordered to lie on the table, and it is expected will shortly be discussed.—*Morning Herald.*

FUNERAL OF THE LATE SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART.—The mortal remains of this late respected baronet were interred on Thursday last, at Overstrand Church, Norfolk. The whole arrangements were conducted in the most simple and unostentatious manner. At twelve o'clock the procession left Northrepp's Hall, the residence of the deceased; but long before that time the roads were lined by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, anxious to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of the departed baronet.—*Times.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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Scarr, Hannah	0 5 0
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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

ON COOLIE AND AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO ITS AUXILIARIES AND FRIENDS THROUGHOUT GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Dear Friends,—We have had frequent occasion to call your attention to the importation of Indian and African labourers into the emancipated colonies, and to the deplorable results which have followed; but never, we venture to say, was your active interference more needed than at the present time, to prevent, if possible, the consummation of a governmental scheme for extending this species of emigration, on a large scale, to these colonies.

The energetic and united expression of your opinion, in the year 1838, led the Government, both at home and in India, to prohibit the further export of Coolies to Mauritius and British Guiana; for it was found, that although attempted to be regulated by Government, it was a system of fraud from beginning to end. The fact was established beyond dispute, that multitudes of the Coolies shipped to Mauritius were kidnapped, forced into prison depots, and kept in durance until the vessels were ready to receive them; hurried on board, put under hatches and guards, not allowed requisite accommodation, food, or medical attention during the voyage; brought under fraudulent contracts, to labour for years on scanty wages and scanty fare; separated from their families, who were left to want, beggary, and starvation; compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour at the discretion of their masters; and, to crown all, were not afforded due protection from an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It is believed that not less than 50,000 Coolies were introduced into Mauritius under these circumstances, and that of that vast number a few hundreds only were females. The consequences of such a frightful disparity of the sexes may be imagined. The most unnatural vices became prevalent, and are thus adverted to by the late Sir Lionel Smith. "The Coolies," he observes, "have given themselves up to a degree of disgraceful licentiousness, which no person acquainted with their character and habits in India, (dissolute as they are known to be,) could possibly believe;" and yet for the purpose of lowering to the *minimum* point the wages paid to the emancipated negroes, and to glut the cupidity of Mauritian planters, all this was allowed by the Government, until the indignant voice of the public, both in India and in England, was heard, and the Coolie slave-trade was discontinued.

Two things, however, revived the demands for fresh importations of Coolies, the great mortality which occurred among them from the want of proper shelter and sufficient food, as well as from hard labour, and neglect in sickness; and the anticipated expiration of the indentures of service of the survivors. To meet these demands, Lord Stanley, after much opposition on the part of the friends of humanity in this country, caused the prohibitory act to be repealed, and an ordinance was promulgated in British India, on the 15th January, 1842, re-opening the Coolie trade with Mauritius.

It will be remembered that Lord Stanley distinctly pledged the Government, that every precaution should be taken to prevent abuses; that proper officers should be appointed as emigration agents in India, and as protectors of emigrants in Mauritius; that the Europeans shipped to the colony should be perfectly free to choose their masters, and, of course, their employments on arrival; that due care should be taken to prevent fraudulent contracts for labour; and that, in point of fact, the oversight of these people should be, throughout the whole transaction, paternal. His Lordship, however, did not promise an equality of the sexes, a point which, above all others, was most essential to the social happiness, to say nothing of the moral welfare of the people among whom they were to be placed.

It now turns out that if all the evils which accompanied the importation of Coolies into Mauritius previously to 1839, have not taken place under the new regulations, there has been the most culpable neglect on the part of the authorities in giving them effect. In a few words it may be stated, that the vicious system of private agencies has been permitted to exist with their establishments of duffadar and crimp, who have trepanned the ignorant into engagements, under promises never meant to be realized, that many have been fraudulently shipped; that on arrival at Mauritius they have not been allowed liberty of choice, either as it respects employers or employments; that they have been selected by the planters who paid the importers from ten to fifteen dollars per head for the privilege of choice, in addition to the bounty of 7*l.* per head, to which they were entitled, by the Colonial Government; that when thus selected, they were marched off to the abodes or estates of their respective masters; that they are herded together in buildings which admit not of proper separation for the sexes; that de-

prived generally of female society, their moral habits are of the most revolting kind; that those in the rural districts are deprived of the right of locomotion without a pass, and that the vagrant laws are administered with great severity.

After about 40,000 Coolies were shipped from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, eleven per cent. only of whom were women, and the market for them had become glutted, the Governor of Mauritius discovered that the regulations meant for their protection had not been duly carried into effect, and therefore despatched an agent, Mr. Anderson, to the Indian Government, to secure proper superintendence in future. The explanation of this strange dereliction of duty, is thus given by his Excellency, in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated 19th December, 1843, nearly two years after the regulations should have gone into full effect:—"A series of communications freshly received from Mr. Anderson, the agent, justifies, in every essential particular, the anticipations formed, assuring me, as these communications do, that *abuse of every kind has received an immediate and effectual check, as a first consequence of his mission*; and that he has received the most cordial and unreserved support of the Indian Government, for carrying into immediate operation every provision of her Majesty's Order in Council, hitherto but imperfectly subscribed to, through casual misconstruction, admitted on the one hand, by the Indian authorities themselves; and on the other, through pressure of the urgent wants of the colony, and could, at the outset, be only adequately provided for, through the channel of individual mercantile speculation." What a confession have we here!

In further alluding to the subject, the Governor seems to congratulate himself, now the "pressure" is taken off the colony, that "*the whole duffadar and crimping machinery, inseparable from the system of private agencies, will be rooted up, and the consequent additional demand made upon the planter, varying from ten to twelve, and even fifteen dollars for every labourer, so obtained, will entirely cease!*" Comment on this statement is unnecessary.

Under the Order in Council of the 15th January, 1842, up to the 31st Dec., 1843, the estimated shipment of Coolies from India for Mauritius, as we have already stated, was about 40,000; and by the last mail from India we learn that the shipments from Calcutta for the year 1844 amounted to upwards of 6,000. It thus appears that between 90,000 and 100,000 Coolies in all have been imported into the colony since the 1st August, 1834.

It is a point of no slight importance to ascertain what has become of this mighty host. How many of them have returned to India? How many have died in Mauritius? And what number remains alive in the colony at the present time?

We can answer the first question from the official papers laid before Parliament. During the years 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843, the number of Coolies who returned to India was 6,074; to this must be added those who had returned previously, 52, making in all 6,126.

With respect to the second question our information is exceedingly incomplete. From one official source we learn that the mortality among the Coolies ranged from 8 to 9 per cent. per annum in the town of Port Louis; from another, that it has been 10 per cent. in the country districts; and from a careful inspection of the parliamentary papers we gather, that out of 25,000 Coolies introduced within a period of four years, and during that period only, the deaths were about 7,000! The probability is, that the mortality has been excessive, and will parallel, if it does not exceed, that which occurs among the slaves of Brazil and Cuba.

Not content with the vast supply of Coolie labourers which have been already imported into Mauritius, nor with the additional supply of 6,000 per annum which the Government have engaged shall be shipped, under its auspices, for the colony, an ordinance has been introduced into the legislative council for the purpose of obtaining a further supply of labourers *from the eastern coast of Africa*. Now, supposing this ordinance should go into effect, a new form of the African slave-trade will be begun, for along the whole of that coast, we affirm, that not a single free labourer can be obtained. The bounty which it is proposed shall be paid on imported Africans is 5*l.* per head, which is the very price at which slaves are sold for on that coast. Surely it is enough that thousands of Coolies have been already sacrificed, and will yet be sacrificed, to the lust of gain, without entailing more misery on Africa. If it be said, the Africans purchased will become free in Mauritius, it may with truth be replied, that, even if it were so, to supply these Africans, an extensive internal slave-trade must be carried on with all its accompanying horrors. We, therefore, call upon you, and every friend of humanity throughout the country, to resist this attempt to renew the slave-trade.

Another fact we beg to lay before you bearing on this subject. The Government has given its sanction to the removal of a large body of Indian labourers to the colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and

Trinidad. Already orders have been despatched to India for 12,500, to be followed by a much larger number as soon as the monetary arrangements to defray the charges are complete. For that purpose, it is proposed that a loan of 1,500,000*l.* shall be raised, to be repaid, both principal and interest, within a given number of years. Now, as there is no reason to doubt that similar evils will result to the Coolies imported into the West Indies and British Guiana as have been found to exist in Mauritius—fraud, death, and immorality—you are urgently called upon to resist it.

The hope entertained by the West India body of feeding their estates with labourers from the British settlements on the coast of Africa having become faint, propositions have been laid before Government to allow other parts of the western coast of that continent to be open to them for the supply of labourers; but they can only be obtained by purchase, or by means equivalent to purchase. The West Indians wish to emulate the Mauritians in this respect—the one demands unlimited access to the eastern, the other to the western coast of Africa.

After the course which the Colonial Minister has pursued on this great question, we confess that our fears are excited to the utmost, and that the Government will give way on the African as they already have on the Coolie trade; and, should they do so, who can predict to what an extent foreign countries, having slave territories and colonies, may not follow the pernicious example, and people them with nominally free, but in reality, slave labourers.

From the evidence which has come before us, we are satisfied that the demand for immigrants is fictitious, not real; that what is principally wanted is capital, a resident proprietary, a better organization of labour, superior modes of cultivation, fairer dealing with the labourers, and the entire abandonment of the relics of the old slave-system which have forced large numbers of the emancipated slaves to abandon estates on which they were bred in order to preserve their independence, and have led them to other modes of obtaining a livelihood than that of sugar cultivation.

It may be observed, also, that in the colonies there is a growing conviction of the impolicy of immigration as proposed to be carried on, and that strenuous exertions are being made to prevent it. To a certain extent this has been successful in Jamaica; but in the crown colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad, where the voice of the people cannot be heard, immigration loan ordinances have been passed, which, if allowed by the Government, will involve the tax-payers in a debt of 750,000*l.* sterling, with the interest of 5 per cent. accruing thereon for a period of twenty-five years to come, the whole of which is to be devoted to the supply of the colonies with Coolies and Africans.

Our design in this appeal is to urge you to petition Parliament forthwith against any further introduction of Coolies into the emancipated colonies, and to press upon Parliament the necessity of resisting every attempt to obtain labourers in the manner proposed from the African continent. To free immigration we have never been opposed, whether carried on at the expense of those to be benefited by it, or at the charge of the immigrants themselves; but to the schemes of the West India body and of the Government in relation thereto, we have been and continue to be, the uncompromising opponents.

I am, dear friends,

On behalf of the Committee, yours faithfully,
JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

27, New Broad-street, Feb. 26, 1845.

PETITION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth.—That your petitioners, deeply impressed with the painful nature of the facts which have been officially submitted to your Honourable House, and which have come to their knowledge through private but undoubted sources of information, relative to the export of East Indian labourers to the British emancipated colonies, would respectfully call on your Honourable House to pause before it gives additional sanction and extension to a measure fraught with so many evils.

From these facts it results, that, from various ports of British India there have been shipped to the island of Mauritius, from 1834 to 1844, both inclusive, a number of labourers which cannot fall far short of one hundred thousand; that they were composed chiefly of the male sex; that a large proportion of them left behind them wives and families, or aged relatives, more or less dependent upon them; that many of these were in consequence reduced to the most abject poverty, and some to starvation and death; that large numbers of these labourers were kidnapped by crimps employed by the shipping agents, or trepanned into engagements by promises and representations never meant to be realized; that these abuses have occurred, not only under the old, but in many cases under the new regulations formed by Government for their repression; that, on arrival at their place of destination, of which they were oftentimes ignorant, they cannot be said to have had liberty of choice either of employments or employers; that they have been restricted whilst under engagements to certain districts, not being allowed to remove freely from one place to another without a pass; that many have been confined in the Bagne, or prison, at Port Louis by the police, without any charge whatever having been lodged against them;

that they have suffered a vast mortality; and that, deprived almost wholly of female society, they have sunk into the most degraded state and the practice of the most unnatural vices.

That comparatively few of those imported into Mauritius previously to 1839 have returned to India at the expiration of their term of engagement of five years, and that those who have returned with sums of money worthy of notice were chiefly composed of the sirdars or headmen, domestics, or parties who had devoted themselves to petty trades as hucksters and money lenders.

That the result of the importation of Indian labourers into Mauritius has by no means answered the expectations of the parties most interested, the colonists having become burdened thereby with a vast debt and heavy taxation, which presses most severely upon them; and that, upon their own showing, the present crop of sugar is heavily mortgaged to meet existing liabilities.

That your petitioners attribute this deplorable state of things to the vicious system of supplying the colony with labourers to meet a momentary exigency, or rather with a view of depressing the wages of labour paid to the emancipated classes, as well as of extending the cultivation of sugar.

That your petitioners are deeply concerned to learn that the local Government of Mauritius has given its sanction to a scheme for the importation of negroes from the eastern coast of Africa, in addition to the permission of the home Government to introduce 6,000 Coolies per annum into Mauritius, from British India. That your petitioners regard this movement, should it receive the sanction of the Crown, as the commencement of a new African slave-trade; for they are persuaded that no free labourers can be obtained on any part of that coast, that such negroes as are obtained must be purchased, or arrangements made equivalent to purchase, and that the place of those who may be obtained by such means will be supplied by kidnapping, predatory war in the interior of the country, or by such other detestable means as are resorted to by slave-dealers.

That your petitioners grieve also to state, that the home Government have extended the principle of Coolie emigration to the emancipated colonies in the West Indies and South America, and that there is probably now on their way to these colonies ten thousand of that class of labourers; and that the cost of their importation is to be borne, not by those who are to derive advantage from it, but by the colonists at large.

That your petitioners have further learned that a loan, amounting to 1,500,000*l.*, is to be negotiated for immigration purposes by certain of the British colonies, the payment of which is to be guaranteed by your Honourable House, and that already British Guiana and Trinidad, in which colonies the great body of the tax-payers are unrepresented, have passed ordinances with indecent haste, and reckless of consequences, the principle on which they are based having, it is understood, received the sanction of Government.

That your petitioners have reason to fear that, unless your Honourable House interpose, parts of the Western coast of Africa out of British jurisdiction may be opened for the supply of African labourers to the British West Indian and South American colonies; whereas it is evident to your petitioners that no free labourers can be obtained, except in small numbers at the British settlements on that coast.

That your petitioners cannot but contemplate these measures with dismay, inasmuch as, in addition to the injustice, inhumanity, and immorality they necessarily involve, example will thereby be given to slaveholding countries to people their territories and colonies with nominally free, but in reality slave labourers, and the African continent will be ravaged to a greater extent than ever to supply the victims of a barbarous cupidity.

That your petitioners are satisfied that the demand for labourers in the emancipated colonies is fictitious, and that what is really wanting is capital, a resident proprietary body, a better organization of labour and better modes of cultivation, the entire abandonment of the relics of the old slave system, and the stimulus of wholesome competition in the home market.

Your petitioners therefore urgently entreat your Honourable House to take their representations into early and serious consideration, and wholly to refuse its sanction to any scheme for raising loans to supply the emancipated colonies with Asiatic and African labourers, or to any other measure of colonial immigration which is not based on the unfettered choice of the emigrants, and the expenses of which are not borne out of the private funds of those intended to be benefited thereby.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

THOUGHTS ON THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We take the following interesting letter from an extra number of the *Union Missionary*.

TO THE REV. THOMAS RASTON, WESLEYAN MISSIONARY.

Mendi Mission House, Little Boom River,
Sherbro, August 20th, 1844.

My dear Sir,—At your request I will give you some account of the slave trade, as carried on here. I have long been intending to do this, but have not, on account of my information being so limited. I have been here only about five months, and as a matter of course, I have not in that short time, become fully acquainted with all the *modus operandi* of this most nefarious traffic; but what little I have

learned I most readily commit to paper and send you. After having given you,

- I. The present state of the slave-trade in Sherbro, I will add
- II. What I conceive to be the proper remedy.

L The present state of the slave-trade in Sherbro.

As the trade has been lately renewed, it will be well to commence at the beginning. Soon after my removing to Kaw-Mendi a letter was received by the king from Gallinas, requesting him to build up Ba-hall, the old slave factory, again. A short time after a Spaniard visited Kaw-Mendi and brought the King of Kooman a demijohn of rum, and a case or two of gin, requesting him to build up the place, and let them open a factory there. The Spaniard visited the other chiefs in the same way. The chiefs then all met together with their people at Ba-hall, and built a large house for the Spaniard, for a store, &c.

A vessel with a cargo of goods arrived some time before the house was completed. As soon as the part intended for a store was finished, the goods were landed. But the Spaniard would not let the chiefs have any goods for the purchase of slaves till they had paid up what they owed when the factory was destroyed last. The different chiefs and others owed about three hundred slaves. The king (Harry Tucker) owed six. Those who were able to pay, got goods, and those who were not able did not. For a hogshead of tobacco they have to pay twelve slaves, for a puncheon of rum (120 gallons) two slaves, and have two months from the time they receive the goods, in which to pay the slaves. How they pay for other goods I have not learned.

Since the trade has commenced, from what I have seen and heard, I should judge that it had been carried on quite briskly. The trade is carried on as follows:—The chiefs or others take goods as above described—carry them home, and distribute them to trusty persons, not unfrequently to confidential slaves, who take them into the Mendi (Koso) country, and there they purchase slaves, and bring them down.

Several weeks ago they brought between five and six hundred slaves from Gallinas in order to ship them at Sea-Bar, because Gallinas was blockaded with men-of-war, and they could not ship them there. When the slaves arrived at Ba-hall, they found a steamboat off the Bar, and consequently they could not ship them there. They remained at Ba-hall some days, perhaps ten, and were then taken back to Gallinas. While at Ba-hall there being no barracoon, and nothing but a kind of shed to shelter them from the rain, they were on the point of insurrection. The Spaniards were obliged to call in the neighbouring people, and to keep a strong watch night and day.

II. What I conceive to be the remedy.

It will be easily seen that whatever is the remedy, there must be an adaptation of the means to the end. It will be therefore necessary to ascertain the nature of the malady. Its character is evidently complex. It may, perhaps, not improperly be considered as a physical, political, and moral evil.

It is a physical evil only in reference to its wretched victims.

It is a political evil only in reference to those nations engaged in it. The slave-trade is not a political evil to England.

It is a moral evil in reference to the whole universe of God. It tramples under foot the laws of God and the rights of man;—degrades him to a chattel, a thing—makes barter of the image of God, &c. This leads me to say,

I. The remedy is not to be found in physical power.

1st. I judge this to be so, because there is no adaptation of the means to the end. The physical trait is not a prominent trait; so far from it, that it may perhaps be considered as a consequence of the trade rather than as forming a part of its character. If it be a trait of its character, it is so connected with the other two, that while they exist, it must exist, and when they cease it will also cease.

2nd. I judge this to be so because of the comparatively little good that has been done by the extensive experiment that has been made. I say, little good when compared with the almost infinite means, which have been used to accomplish it.

I would premise here, that in what I shall say of the inefficiency of an armed force to suppress this trade, I do not wish it to be understood that I censure or blame the British Government for using that force, for that purpose; far from that, I commend it. The active measures it has taken to abolish slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, give to the British Crown a lustre, which bedecks the crown of no other nation. The course that England has taken in reference to this trade, has caused her name to be written high, yea very high in the temple of fame. It adds more glory to her name than a dozen battles of Waterloo could ever do. While the course the United States has taken,—not being able to bear the weight of her mother's crown, entered the temple of liberty and inscribed her name in blazon characters, high above all others, and underscored it with significant lines and stripes, and bestudded it with dazzling stars to give a prominence, while at the same time she kept her iron foot on the neck of nearly one-sixth part of her population, and has acted in the same hypocritical manner ever since—has covered her name with everlasting shame and disgrace.

England, in endeavouring to suppress this trade, has used the kind of means which naturally belongs to her as a nation, and used them faithfully. Yet they have proved inefficient, and always must, from the very nature of the case. But is not her fault here, a want of adaptation of means to the end? Perhaps we may be able to judge more correctly as to how much real good has been done if we consider the following things:

- 1st. How much has the market been diminished?
- 2nd. How much has the number of its victims been diminished?
- 3rd. How much has the profit of the trader been diminished?
- 4th. What is the actual condition of those rescued?

1st. How much has the market been diminished?

On this point I confess a want of knowledge of facts permits me not to speak. But from the fact that the means used have been directed towards the supply, rather than the market, we are naturally led to the conclusion that the market has been affected only as the supply has been.

2nd. How much has the number of its victims been diminished?

That you may be able to see the truth on this point, follow me for a few moments. First, let us go to Cuba, and take a view of the slave market there. We find there is a demand for five hundred slaves: now let us come back to the coast and visit a slave-factory. We find in the barracoon just five hundred slaves, just enough to supply the market yonder. They are put on board—they set sail—they are taken as a prize and carried into Sierra Leone. The demand still remains, yea increases, and must and will be supplied; and from whence? From Africa, as a matter of course, except those smuggled in from the West India islands, and other places. Others must be hunted down and torn from their homes, to fill the place of those who have been captured. We must not take the number of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, for the number of persons rescued from the horrors of slavery. We must first subtract the number that has been taken to supply the market they were intended to supply, and we shall find the number very much diminished. Thus you see, the number that is kept out of remediless bondage is not so large, by far, as is generally supposed.

3rd. How much has the profit of the trader been diminished?

Follow me a little farther, and you will see that the trader finds the business nearly as profitable as before, or at least, so profitable that he can well afford to run some risks. Let us now for a moment pay a visit to that slave factory. Let us go into the counting house and open the trader's books. We find that several years ago he gave a hogshead of tobacco for four slaves. Let us now turn over to the present time, and we find that though tobacco is cheaper than formerly, that instead of four he receives twelve slaves for a hogshead of tobacco. Thus you see, that while the men-of-war have increased his risks, he has diminished the price he pays for the slave, so that the profit remains about the same.

Let us now follow those twelve slaves he has just received for that hogshead of tobacco, to Cuba. We see them sold under the hammer for 340 dollars each: add it up, and we find that the hogshead of tobacco transferred from Africa in the shape of human cattle, brings in Cuba market the round sum of four thousand and eighty dollars. Surely this is a profit which authorises the trader to run great risks. (In February last, 340 dollars was the market price of slaves in Cuba. See *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the month of April.) We see that if the profit is in any way diminished, the trade is now sufficiently profitable to induce the traders to carry it on, notwithstanding the great risks they are obliged to run.

4th. What is the actual condition of those rescued?

We might well stop here; but in order to judge more correctly as to the real amount of good which has been done by the experiment of physical power, we must visit those who have been captured, and liberated in Sierra Leone. If we find them Christianized and civilized, making good citizens and accumulating property, it will be so much in favour of physical power. We will go to Freetown, as that is the most favoured spot in the colony. Here is a population of 15,000. We find 5,000 who are absolutely heathen, and who are permitted to practise their heathenish customs and worship without any molestation from Government. Yea, more than this, we find Europeans giving them money to see them go through with their devil worship and devil dances. Almost every night your ears are assailed with the monotonous tum-tum of their drums, accompanied with the almost unearthly sound of their voices.

We find, then, that one-third of those who are carried into Sierra Leone are as much heathen as they were when they left their native country. From the two-thirds we have to subtract the settlers, Maroons, Europeans, &c. Let us look for a moment at the remainder. We find among them some of the brightest specimens of Christian character. They would be an ornament to the Church of Christ in any part of the world. Yea, they would be a living rebuke and reproof to the alarming stupidity and coldness which characterise the mass of professing Christians in civilized countries. We find many good citizens, and men capable of holding offices under Government. We find some who, by their industry and enterprise, have accumulated a respectable amount of property. Still we find some, even of this remainder, who are far from being good citizens. There is one thing to be taken into consideration here, and that is, the labours of the Church and Wesleyan Missionaries. Government has done much in educating the liberated children; yet most of the education, and most of the practical Christianity we find in the colony, is to be ascribed to the self-denying labours of these missionaries, who have been supported by their friends at home.

We will stop here: we have seen since we started, that while many were rescued from slavery by physical power, yet that very fact was the occasion of many more being thrown into it; that after all the prizes that had been taken, the profit of the traders was not materially altered, or, at least, that even now the profit is so enormously large, that the traders could well afford to carry on the trade, although they do meet with heavy losses from captures and other causes.

We also have seen, that one-third of those who have been captured are now heathen, and that most of the education, and most of the practical Christianity in the colony, is to be attributed to the labours of the missionaries; and from what you have seen, you are now better able to judge of the efficiency or inefficiency of physical power as a remedy for this most dreadful malady.

2nd. The remedy is not to be found in political power.

First—I judge this to be the case, because those nations who would destroy that great malady at a stroke by political action, cannot, because it is not to them a political evil, and is not within their jurisdiction. And

Second—Because those nations to whom it is a political evil, will not, because their moral sentiment is so dreadfully low. It may be said, "Correct this low moral sentiment, and political power will accomplish it." Very true; but it would require some other power beyond either physical or political to do that. So that it remains as true as before, that political power is an inefficient remedy.

3rd. But the remedy will be found in moral power.

First—I judge this to be the case, because there is a perfect adaptation of the means to the end. If a person desires to accomplish a specific object in business, he must adapt the means to the end desired. One man is successful in business because he does this, and another fails because he does it not. There is no law in nature more true than this: "Means must be adapted to the end." It is but another name, as it were, for the law of "cause and effect." It is just as absurd to suppose that a man's mind can be changed by the sword, as it is to suppose that a ship can be built by making an eloquent speech, or by preaching a powerful sermon to the congregated timbers.

Second—Because it has always proved efficient in similar cases. Look at the Sandwich Islands, where a few years ago every man but the king and his family were slaves: not a slave is now to be found. Look at the other South Sea islands, where cannibalism and infanticide were the order of the day. Look the world over, and you will find that wherever it has been faithfully applied to any moral evil whatever, it has always proved successful.

Third—Because the promises of God are to that effect, and were there no other reason than this, it would be sufficient. The promises of God in Christ Jesus are "Yea and amen." There is a concentration of moral power in the cross of Calvary, which he has promised shall subdue all things to himself, so that at the name of him that hung upon it, "every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess him Lord to the glory of God the Father." The "little stone cut out of the mountain without hands," it is promised, "shall fill the whole earth." I might easily enlarge on this point, but I hasten to bring this already too protracted communication to a close. I shall give you, lastly, The encouraging facts which have come under my own observation since I have been here.

1st. I have found almost universally a willingness among the native traders to converse upon the subject. I have made it a rule to converse with every one who came in my way, and they have done it with a freeness and frankness which has surprised me.

2nd. They all, without exception, readily acknowledge that it is wrong. I could give you many instances of this kind, but two or three must suffice. The king has repeatedly told me that "his heart troubled him about it." A few days ago, when at Kew-Mendi on some business, the king told me that he was coming to my house to get some rope of me to make a sail for his canoe. I told him that I was always ready to do him a favour, but could not in any way assist him in the slave-trade; as the canoe was used in the slave-trade I refused to let him have it. He afterwards obtained rope from another quarter, and sent it with some canvass to my coxswain that he might make the sail. I refused to let him do it for the same reason. The next morning the king came to my house, and I asked him if he was vexed with the word I had sent the day before. "Oh no," said he, "for what you said is the truth."

A few days ago, another man engaged in the trade called on me. In conversing with him on the subject, he said repeatedly that the (native) traders were afraid of me. I asked him how it was that they were afraid of me. I said I was only one man, and they never saw me with a sword or knife or anything else in my hand. "But," said he, "they are afraid of you because they know they are wrong."

3rd. There is a universal impression that this mission is going to destroy the slave-trade in Sherbro. When the king was at Ba-hall, he was repeatedly told that he had sold his country for nothing, and that now the white men (Spaniards,) could not come here to trade.

When conversing with the trader above alluded to, I told him what I intended to do for the children that should be committed to my charge,—that I not only intended to teach them to read and write, but I hoped to be able to teach the boys trades, and the girls to sew, and spin, and weave. Said he, "You do that, and you will stop the slave-trade." I might also add, as an encouraging fact, that the children here, as they are everywhere else, are on the side of humanity. On one occasion, when a slave was brought into Kew-Mendi, with handcuffs on his wrists, and a log of wood on his ankle, so heavy that it took two boys—one at each end, to lift the log as he stepped, the two boys were heard talking together about it, when one said to the other, "If I was a man I would not sell slaves."

I might multiply incidents of this kind, but I will weary your patience no longer. Hoping the above will contain satisfactory information, I subscribe myself as ever,

Yours, most truly,

W. RAYMOND.

TRINIDAD LEGISLATION AGAIN.

The good people of Trinidad are going on with their work in a very spirited manner. Calculating upon the speedy arrival of those crowds of Coolies, for whose transportation they made provision in December last, by the hurried and indecorous passing of an Immigration Loan Ordinance which we have already noticed, they have proceeded to the passing of two other ordinances, with a view of qualifying themselves to give these wished-for strangers a suitable reception. Copies of these ordinances, which have been sent over by the last mail for the approbation of her Majesty's Government, are in our hands, and a brief reference to their contents will show beyond all question the *animus* and bearing of them. The first which we shall notice is intituled an Ordinance for regulating the relative rights and duties of masters and servants. Generally speaking, it is extremely stringent and severe, and liable to be abused to bad purposes. The second clause enacts that, if any servant under contract "shall be guilty of any wilful misconduct or ill behaviour in such service," he shall be liable to fine and imprisonment; so that any trivial fault a servant may commit may be made the subject of a prosecution, and the term "ill behaviour" may at pleasure be annexed to what is no fault at all. The twenty-first clause extends this rigorous criminal jurisdiction, for the first time since emancipation, over "all household and other domestic servants." The fifth clause enacts that any contract shall, in the absence of any express agreement to the contrary, be deemed a monthly contract, not terminable (unless by mutual agreement) except at the end of a month, and on notice of fourteen days; while, by the eighth clause, it is lawful for any employer to discharge any servant for any misconduct, without notice, and without any wages beyond what may be due at the time—no obligation being laid upon the employer to state before any magistrate the nature of the alleged misconduct, or to prove its occurrence. By the twelfth clause, contracts for labour by the day or task cannot, except by mutual consent, be terminated without twenty-four hours' notice, in the presence of a credible witness. The fifteenth and seventeenth clauses extend the whole summary jurisdiction of magistrates over the labouring classes, which has hitherto been confined to the stipendiaries, to the ordinary justices of the peace; thus withdrawing from the peasantry the advantage they have thus far derived from the institution of the stipendiary magistracy. As if aware that this ordinance is of excessive severity, and convinced that it must give rise to oppressions which could not be borne, the Trinidad gentlemen have accompanied it with one for establishing a Court of Appeal. The value of this remedy for the prospective mischief may be judged of by the following particulars. Every person "minded to appeal" must "enter into a recognizance, with one surety," in the sum of five pounds sterling, over and above the amount of any penalty which he may have been adjudged to pay, (clause tenth,) all appeals are to be heard at one of three places in the island, an arrangement involving the necessity, in many cases, of long and difficult journeys, and protracted absence from home, on the part of the appellants, (clause five;) and all appeals are to be determined by one of the three judges of the island, (clause 8.) Now two of these judges were for many years planters in the colony, and have contracted much of the habits and opinions of that class; while the duties and emoluments of the judges have been lately put under the control, in the first instance, of the Governor and Council of the island. The Court of Appeal, consequently, is neither more nor less than a delusion. What common labourer in Trinidad can find security for 5*l.* sterling, or can deposit that sum? Who among them can go to a distant town to attend a judge, over miserable roads, and at a sacrifice of eight or ten days? And which of them, finally, can expect justice at the hands of judges deeply imbued with planter prejudices, and under the practical control of the planter body? The whole affair is too transparent not to be seen through in a moment. It is a scheme to reduce the labouring population to the most stringent possible servitude—to slavery under the name of freedom. And that it is particularly designed for the benefit of the expected immigrants appears from a clause, which, although we have not yet noticed it, is the most remarkable and atrocious of all. We refer to the 11th clause of the masters and servants' ordinance, which, although artfully worded, clearly proposes that contracts for labour may be entered into in any part of the world "from which her Majesty may be pleased to allow of immigration into" Trinidad, and that all such contracts, excepting those only which may be formed within the limits of the island, shall be valid for an unlimited period. Here is the *animus* of the whole. The planters of Trinidad are stretching their loving arms out thus wide, in order to give to all immigrants a warm reception. They will enter into contracts of labour with them in any part of the world, and for any period of time; having prepared a law by which their condition shall be rendered as nearly as possible that of a slave. Generous souls! We have done what we can towards making known this unheard of benevolence, and we hope that intending immigrants especially will hold it in admiration. In the meantime, however, the ordinances are under the eye of Lord Stanley, with whom, we may add, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have put themselves into immediate communication on the subject. He must know as well as we do, that the allowance of such ordinances as these will amount to the entire abrogation of the order in council of Sept. 7, 1838; a document which has truly been denominated the West Indian labourer's charter, and which, having been maturely considered by the Government of that day, will not, we hope, be regarded as waste paper by their successors.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ANOTHER article appears in the *League*, on "the Sugar Monopoly and the Anti-Slavery Society." Our contemporary, in this article, entreats his "anti-slavery friends to reflect how far the failure of their well-meant efforts may be attributed to the violation of the laws of nature and Providence;" the law which he has in view being that which requires that there should be a free exchange of the produce of one country for the produce of all other countries on the globe. Without being very critical on this representation of the case, it is enough for us to say, that there are laws of morals as well as laws of nature, and that the former are of more imperative obligation than the latter. Our contemporary's view of the natural law of universal exchange would oblige him to deal unrestrictedly with robbers and pirates, to buy slaves of kidnappers and human flesh of cannibals.

He next lays it down that slavery cannot be put down by mere declarations of its unchristian and iniquitous character; but that slaveholders can be approached only through their pecuniary interest. This, although partly true, is too broadly stated. In some cases, as in Turkey for example, slavery is not a matter of pecuniary interest at all; and the noble conduct of the Bey of Tunis presents an instance in which it has been renounced solely under a conviction of its oppressive and iniquitous character. We agree, however, with the writer in the *League*, that slaveholders ought, where it is possible, (as to a great extent it is,) to be approached through their pecuniary interest; a principle which obviously lies at the root of our desire after fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

Our contemporary laments that slave-owners generally entertain the opinion, that slave labour is cheaper than free labour; and he complains of the Anti-Slavery Society that they have (he courteously says unconsciously) fostered this erroneous notion. If we inquire after the mode in which they are alleged to have done this, we find it to be by nothing else than their desire to favour free labour by fiscal regulations. Now, if this tends to foster an idea that slave labour is cheaper than free labour, it must be because the fiscal regulation is desired for this reason. This, however, is not the fact. The Anti-Slavery Society have never said, Favour free labour because it is the dearest: they have said only, Favour free labour because it is the fairest, the freest from injustice and oppression. To say that it is also the cheapest, is to say what, *ceteris paribus*, we also believe; but what tends in no degree to remove us from a position which we have taken on a different ground. In truth, this fact can go no further than to show that unrestricted competition between free and slave labour would be safe: it supplies no evidence whatever that it would be advantageous.

The article concludes by an elaborate rebuke of the West Indian planters, in which we too nearly concur with our contemporary to find fault. That the introduction of free labour in the British colonies would generally have been a source of pecuniary gain, if the planters had acted with fairness and discretion, we believe. It may be asserted with confidence, however, that it was not for gain, either to themselves or the planters, the people of Great Britain demanded the abolition of slavery; and that, whatever may have been, or may hereafter be, its pecuniary results, they may boldly maintain the successful issue of this great experiment in the improved and improving condition of the people.

TEXAS.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c.

MR. LORD.—Among the events which have recently occasioned the friends of human freedom in the United States, as well as in this country, much anxiety and alarm, has been the fixed determination of a portion of its citizens, deeply implicated in the continuance of slavery, and unfortunately having the powers of the executive government at present in their hands, to annex the republic of Texas to their own. Already has the House of Representatives, by an unlooked for majority, passed resolutions in favour of the project, and it is said to be extremely doubtful whether the Senate may not be induced to affirm them. In that event the consent of Texas alone will be required to consummate the act.

It is, however, satisfactory to remark that many, the Committee believe most, of the eminent men of the United States are decidedly opposed to annexation on constitutional grounds; whilst it admits not of a doubt that the more intelligent and religious part of the community are strenuously opposed to it on those of humanity and morals. They dread, in common with the Committee, the indefinite extension of slavery on the American continent, to which such an event would probably lead; and would hail, in common with the Committee, the legitimate and prompt exertion of the great moral influence of the British Government with their own to prevent so fearful a catastrophe.

The Free States are already moving against annexation. By the last mail the Committee received information of a great meeting held at Faneuil Hall, Boston, at which fifteen hundred delegates from the cities and towns of the state of Massachusetts attended, to enter their solemn and united protest against a scheme which, if realized, would cover their country with dishonour. Other states no doubt will follow the example set them by Massachusetts.

But the Committee not only look with confidence to your lordship to exert a wise and peaceful influence, not only over the counsels of the United States, but also with the Government of Texas. Unless her

consent be given, annexation cannot take place; and it is hoped that, if she be strongly encouraged by the British Government to maintain her independence, the base designs of bad men may be averted. Under a wise government, with free institutions and a free people, there can be little doubt that Texas would ultimately become a great and powerful nation.

The unabated interest felt by the Committee in this important subject will, they trust, be their apology for again directing your lordship's attention to it. But, persuaded that they speak, not only the sentiments of the abolitionists of this kingdom, but of the United States also, they have felt it to be a duty arising out of recent events respectfully to renew their request that the exertions of the British Government may be continued to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States.

I have the honour to be, on behalf of the Committee,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

New Broad-street, March 1, 1845.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, March 6, 1845.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, you request the peaceful interposition of her Majesty's Government, both with the United States Government and with that of Texas, in order to prevent the contemplated incorporation of Texas with the United States.

I am to thank you for your communication; and to assure you that her Majesty's Government will not fail to take such measures as may be practicable, and as they may deem best suited to meet whatever circumstances may arise, with reference to the object in question, both in the United States, and in Texas.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. N. ADDINGTON.

To John Scoble, Esq.

&c. &c.

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

(From our own Correspondent.)

I SEND you a few more particulars respecting slavery and the slave-trade in Algeria. First, I give you an extract from a French pamphlet, entitled "L'Algérie en 1844," by M. Desjober. At page 125, M. Desjober says:—"We should have thought that France had renounced the idea of counting men amongst the number of its merchandise, since experience has proved that to buy prisoners from the African people was to provoke them to war; it was to increase still more the barbarism of their chiefs; it was to sow in their bosoms the most selfish and infamous passions: but, nevertheless, M. Laurence, senior director of African affairs in Algeria, in the commission instituted in January, 1842, speaks of projects respecting slaves. Marshal Soult has satisfied the Commission of the Credits of 1844, by declaring that in no case would Government buy these slaves (*noirs*); he thinks, however, that one could not hinder the natives from having slaves. Under this view the regency of Tunis marches quicker than France in the way of civilization: slavery was abolished there two years ago." You will perceive by this passage, that the anti-slavery spirit is not extinct in the writers of France, if it does not make progress. But let us hope it will.

The next passage which I take the liberty of sending to you is an extract from the French journal, *Afrique*, 2nd December, 1844, which confirms all that I wrote to you of the abominable slave transactions at Oran. This journal says, "The traffic in slaves is carried on in Oran by a class of natives, the Jews, who are the habitual go-betweens or brokers. Many persons in Oran possess little slaves that have been sold to them by the chief of this commission, who is attached to the mayor of the city, and who receives a salary from Government for performing these functions. The authorities see this, know it, and yet, nevertheless, are silent and act not. I will not say that the Government authorizes it, but it tolerates it. Such is the shameful laxity of French employés in Algeria on the heinous traffic in human flesh and blood. In the time of the deys, *Jews could not deal in slaves*."

I shall close my letter by copying a very curious extract from an old Spanish book, called *Historia del Reyno de Argel*, Barcelona, 1733, respecting the slavery of Christians in Algiers up to that date. It is:—"Generally speaking, the slaves in Argel (Algiers) are more respected than the free Christians there. The last are continually injured by the Turks, Cololis, and Moors, whilst the slaves are seldom injured, much less maltreated; for, if they sicken or die in consequence, the aggressor, or his relations, would be condemned to pay much more than their value. Sometimes slaves commit crimes in the houses of their masters, who suffer without denouncing them, for fear of losing them through some decree of justice. It is an incontestible fact, however, that the vices of the slaves, (few of the class being free from them,) occasion them as much misery as their masters. But those slaves who, by obedience and fidelity, recommend themselves to favour, enjoy not only the esteem of their masters, but their regard also." P. 285.

From this extract we learn that the condition of Christian slaves in the old piratical state of Algiers, was much more tolerable than is usually supposed. In fact, there was no comparison be-

tween the way in which these Christian slaves were treated by their Mohammedan masters, and that of slaves now held by Christian masters in the West Indies and America. The Christian masters are more like demons, when compared to the mild despotism of the Mohammedans.

I have heard, but I scarcely believe it, that Marshal Bugeaud has got a plan in contemplation of introducing negro slave-labour into Algeria, for the colonization of this country.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 19, 1845.

A MAIL from the United States was delivered yesterday. The following view of the state of the annexation question is given by the *Morning Chronicle* :

"The question of the annexation of Texas was on the point of being decided by the Senate; and the numbers in that assembly are so nearly balanced, that the defection of a single vote (that of Mr. Bagsby, of Alabama, whose vote had been counted upon for annexation, but who, in a clever speech, had come out strongly against it at the last hour,) was looked to with great interest, and would, it is said, give a majority of one against the measure. The discussion in the Senate opened on the 13th ultimo, and was continued with great spirit up to the 26th, when an adjournment took place. The vote would, it was thought, be taken on the following day. Mr. Polk, the new President, is said to have been using all his influence in favour of the measure, the fate of which was undecided at the latest accounts."

The same conveyance has brought us a letter from our valued correspondent, Lewis Tappan, dated February 26th, of which the following is an extract :—

"The Address of your Committee to the Abolitionists in the United States is received. The Address is printed at length in the *Boston Chronicle* of the 24th, and will doubtless be copied into many of our anti-slavery newspapers. Other papers will scarcely notice it.

"By a letter from Illinois, I learn that Mr. Work has been pardoned by the Governor of Missouri, and has returned to his family. He is an honest mechanic. A benevolent individual went from Illinois, and made such a statement of facts to the governor of Missouri that he granted a pardon; and there is a strong probability that his two late companions will be pardoned soon.

"A friend of mine in Kentucky recently visited the Penitentiary, and saw Miss Webster, who has been said, but erroneously, to be a relative of the Hon. Daniel Webster. Miss W. is of a respectable family. No other female was in the prison. She had not been arrayed in a prison dress, but was treated unlike most convicts; and the expectation was that ere long she would be pardoned. Mr. Fairbank pleaded Guilty, and was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. The papers say that the judge intimated to Mr. F., 'in consequence of his saying he regretted his offence—was not aware, until he came into Kentucky, how well off the slaves were—that the course of the Abolitionists was wrong, &c.'—that it was probable the governor would shorten his term.

"The allusion made in the Address to the Free Church of Scotland will give pleasure to the abolitionists of this country. We have seen with much gratification the discussions that have taken place in some of your newspapers relative to the conduct of the Commissioners of the Free Church in soliciting money from American slaveholders, while the apologies and attempted justifications of it in the organ of the Free Church have filled us with astonishment. We did not believe that any respectable paper, religious or secular, on your side the Atlantic, would indulge in such apologies, or in such vituperation of American abolitionists.

"It is unquestionably true that anti-slavery principles have been greatly extended the last twelve months. Previously the discussions were carried on chiefly in anti-slavery papers; but of late a large number of newspapers have engaged in the discussion, and our sentiments have had free course. One effect has been that a desire is manifested to obtain anti-slavery publications, and to learn the facts relating to the good results of emancipation in the British West Indies. A president of one of our oldest colleges recently wrote to me to obtain for him a complete set of anti-slavery literature for the college library.

"No call was issued for the proposed convention in the city of Washington. The proposition was favourably entertained, but the time suggested was thought by many too short. The subject is under consideration, and it is hoped that by another year a call may be signed by several hundreds of influential abolitionists in different parts of the country.

"You will learn with high satisfaction that Cassius M. Clay has issued proposals to publish in Kentucky a paper entitled *The True American*, in which the duty and advantages of emancipation will be discussed. It is proposed to publish the first number June 1st.

"We rejoice to learn that the cause of abolition is onward in Europe; and we hope the day is not distant when the system of slavery will cease in every country.

"The resolutions of the House of Representatives in favour of annexa-

tion have been before the Senate several weeks. Several able speeches have been made on both sides the question. Several of Mr. Clay's Whig friends from slave states will vote, it is confidently said, for the resolutions, or something equivalent. The predictions of the Liberty party, therefore, that slaveholding Whigs could not be relied upon in this matter are about being realised, it would seem. We are in the most anxious suspense to know the result in the Senate. That body is nearly equally divided on the subject, and it is very doubtful which party prevails."

The papers contain an important message from President Tyler, in relation to the slave-trade as carried on by American citizens, but we must postpone the insertion of it to our next.

THE West India mail has brought us several articles of interest. A letter from the Rev. Joshua Tinson, of Jamaica, to Mr. Sturge, a lengthened extract from which appears in another column, treats the question of the moral and social condition of the peasantry in a sober and candid manner, and will repay perusal. By the *Dominica* papers, we find that the letter of Mr. President Laird, addressed to us through the columns of the *Colonial Gazette*, has subjected him to some rough handling from the parties aggrieved by it; but we do not see occasion for our further interference in the quarrel. The intelligence from Trinidad we have treated in a separate article. In British Guiana, a strong sensation has been created by the arrival of the *Roger Stewart* from Sierra Leone, with the large number of 348 emigrants. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that this vessel was chartered by some private individuals in Berbice, a license for her voyage having been obtained from the Governor. She quickly shipped her full complement of 350 persons. Of this number about 325 were newly-liberated Africans; so that we have here the obvious result of Lord Stanley's coercive proclamation of the 12th of June last, refusing even food to this class of persons a single day after the appearance of an emigrant ship on the coast. This is compulsory transportation, not free emigration. Upon the arrival of the *Roger Stewart* at New Amsterdam, it turned out that the charterers of the vessel did not mean that these immigrants should be located, as usual, under the authority of the Government, and through the medium of the recognised agent; it appeared, on the contrary, that these successful speculators had determined to distribute them by private arrangement, or, in other words, to place them all on their own estates, and this at the very moment that they had obtained an order for the payment of the bounty of 7*l.* sterling per head out of the colonial purse! Under these circumstances it can create no surprise that the same parties are about to repeat their experiment, and that others propose to imitate their example. The private distribution of these new-comers has so far proved a stumbling-block in the way of the Governor, that he has ordered the payment of the bounty to be suspended; but we think it requires much more serious notice than this. The distribution of immigrants was placed in the hands of an official and responsible agent, in order to afford some guarantee for the exercise of their own choice on the one hand, and for the selection of a healthy and desirable location on the other; and, small as it is, it is the only guarantee which has been offered, or which can be given, for either of these important and indispensable points. To abandon this part of the immigration system is to open a wide door for the exercise of artifice and fraud, in the train of which incalculable mischiefs must inevitably follow. If the fact of chartering a vessel is to give to the charterer a right to the immigrants who may be brought in her, all possibility of salutary regulation, and even of freedom of choice, is taken away; the immigrants are *ipso facto* purchased men, and the whole transaction is an undisguised slave-trade. In our judgment the first step in this process is the wrong one. If we could bring our minds to the system at all, we should say that the chartering of emigrant ships ought to be as exclusively in the hands of the Government as any and every other part of the proceeding.

The arrival of the *Roger Stewart* supplies an occasion to our contemporary of the *Berbice Gazette* for an argument on "the true method" of ending the slave-trade, namely, "by rendering it unproductive to the planters of Cuba and Brazil." We must bestow upon this argument a few words.

"The introduction of the people by the *Roger Stewart*," says our contemporary, "cost the colony somewhere about 1,500*l.* A similar number would cost the Brazilian planter, at the lowest computation, 30,000*l.* Suppose we start at their introduction, the estate being there, machinery and other things equal, the enormous difference has in some way or other to be compensated before the production of these people can be sold cheaper than our own in the British market. This can only be effected in one way. The labour of the slave is not better, as we shall presently show; nor is there an advantage in soil or climate in any slave state in the world not possessed by ourselves; but sugar-making requires a set of continuous operations—atoms as it were making up an aggregate—which the slave-owner can compel, the want of which with us makes the whole difference; the possession of which would, in a few years, solve the problem of free as against slave labour, by making us independent of protection."

The sum of this is, Give us people enough to insure continuous labour, and we will make sugar cheaper than the Brazilians and Cubans. Now, to this we answer in a single word, that, when British Guiana, like Brazil and Cuba, had both slaves and the slave-trade, she did not make sugar as cheap as those countries; and if she did not do so then, what reason is there to suppose she would do so now? The allegation is a mere plea to get immigrants. Besides, the assumption on which it is based is untrue. This assumption is, that there are no other differences in the cost of sugar-making, as between British Guiana and Brazil, than that which

arises from the purchase of the labourers at different prices. Why, the planters have for years been dunning us with the affirmation, that wages to free men are a much heavier charge than to keep slaves ever was; besides which it is notorious (although the planters do not say much about it) that the management of estates involves a far more prodigal and extravagant expenditure in the British West Indies than in any other colonies in the world. Yet this writer naively says, "The want of [continuous] labour with us makes the whole difference!" Further, so far from this alleged want of continuous labour—that is, of hands to work continuously—making "the whole difference" between the cost of sugar-making in British Guiana and Brazil, we undertake to show, from evidence supplied by this writer himself, that it makes no part of the difference at all. Here are his words:—

"Plantation Everton is probably the best, if not the only paying property in the county. There is located upon it a large population of fine people, who take pride in its success; and on it, more than on any place with which we are acquainted, can continuous labour be depended upon. The consequence is, low cost of production, so low as fully to bear out our argument, that with abundant labour we would be independent of competition. Adding the price obtained for the rum and molasses to the pay-list of the property, the crop of 1844 has been produced at the rate of 22 dollars per hhd. of 15 cwt. for wages: add as much more for salaries and other charges, and we have sugar produced under 12s. 6d. per cwt., at a time when Cuban and Brazilian is worth 19s. 6d. in the London market."

We happen to know plantation Everton well, and we can testify that it deserves all that can be said in commendation of it. But plantation Everton is in British Guiana, the very colony in which it is so confidently alleged that continuous labour cannot be had. Here, however, continuous labour can "be depended upon," there being on the estate "a large population of fine people, who take a pride in its success;" and here, accordingly, sugar is made at 12s. 6d. per cwt., a cost at which it could undersell the Brazilian. But, if this can be done at Everton, why not at other plantations in British Guiana? What advantage has Everton? None, but that it is managed in a spirit of equity and kindness. We are personally acquainted with its proprietor, and can speak of him in terms of commendation; and this estate being selected as the most remunerative plantation in the colony, and as one which, without immigration, could undersell Brazil, is a fresh demonstration that what is wanted in British Guiana is not hands, but discretion. Singularly enough, the very number of the *Berbice Gazette* from which we are quoting supplies us, in another article, with an independent proof of this position. It thus gives what it calls a "return of labour as compared with population" in the county of Berbice.

"In this county, as the latest census informs us, there is a population of upwards of twenty thousand souls, two-thirds of whom, or nearly so, are adults. Taking, as the most accurate test, the pay-list of every estate in the county, whether the cultivation be sugar or coffee, and putting every guilder down for a day's work, we find that in the year 1844 the whole labour obtained in this county amounted to no more than 3,660 guilders daily; and to every one conversant with the economy of a plantation, it must be apparent this mode of reckoning will be over rather than under the amount of work. The tables from which we copy are compiled with the most particular accuracy for official purposes, and may be, with all safety, relied on as correct. Here, then, in an agricultural country, solely dependent for very existence upon such an amount of production as will defy the competition of the slave, we have an amount of indolence—"of self-indulgent repose," unparalleled in the world."

We will not at present inquire how far this very dubious representation may really correspond with facts. For the purpose of our present argument our contemporary cannot complain if we assume its truth. We say then, upon the authority of the editor of the *Berbice Gazette* himself, that hands are not wanted in that county, but only the tact to induce them to work; and we add the obvious corollary, that immigration is not required to supply numbers, but only as a remedy, and it is a very bungling one, for bad management. One of the worst features of the case is, that this concession to bad management past will too surely be a premium on bad management to come. What has driven one set of labourers from the sugar estates will as surely, after a short period, drive away another; and so the mischief at present recklessly pampered threatens to become interminable. A prompt and cordial reformation in estate management would be attended with the most beneficial results to the planters themselves. If they can succeed so well as according to the editor of the *Berbice Gazette* they can, with labourers purchased at the rate of 1500/- for every 350, how much better would they succeed with labourers who are already on the spot, and would cost them nothing but a little civility and fair dealing! But with respect to the slave-trade, it is evident that immigration is not wanted for the extinction of this mischief. Everton can undersell Cuba and Brazil already; and so, by consequence, can every other estate in British Guiana, if they will try. But, besides all this, what is to hinder the Brazilians from exchanging the old slave-trade for the new, and from purchasing the so-called free labourers at as cheap a rate as the planters of British Guiana?

We have received from British Guiana a copy of an important memorial to the Government of the agents of the London Missionary Society there, on the subject of the immigration of Coolies into that colony; and we regret that we have not been able to secure its insertion.

We are indebted to the *Antigua Observer* for a notice of some strictures, contained in one of the letters of our correspondent N., on the general administration of Sir Charles Fitzroy, as Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands. Our contemporary speaks of His Excellency in terms of high eulogy, which we shall not attempt in any measure to qualify. It affords us sincere pleasure to believe, upon the authority of our contemporary, that all is true. It is only the more to be regretted that, under so benign an administration, so angry an outbreak should have occurred as that which was witnessed in Dominica, and that Sir Charles's conduct in relation to it should have been in any measure less wise and considerate than that of his general government. With respect to our correspondent, we can only say that we did not insert his letter without being acquainted with his name, and assured of his respectability. We must add that the remarks of our contemporary do not at all reconcile us to the system of governing the West India colonies by "planter-presidents." That among those who have been planters very estimable and highly qualified individuals may be found, we do not question; but as a class, these gentlemen are, we are convinced, so deeply imbued with despotic sentiment, and so obnoxious to the dislike and mistrust of the labouring population, that it cannot be reconciled with wisdom to make a systematic choice of men for high office from among them. That the remedy of this evil lies with the Colonial Office we admit; and our correspondent is misunderstood, we think, in being supposed to affirm the contrary.

We are pleased to find that Lord John Russell has deemed the matter of immigration to the West Indies of sufficient importance to bring it, by some very pertinent questions, before the House of Commons. As to the statements made by Mr. Hope in reply, we are surprised that that honourable gentleman should venture upon them, in the face of published documents. He certainly draws largely upon the assumed ignorance of his auditory.

We insert, for general information, the circular which has recently been sent to our friends throughout the country, in relation to the Government scheme of immigration to the West India colonies. According to the recommendation given in it, a petition to Parliament on this subject has been adopted by the Committee, and has been placed in the hands of Sir Robert Inglis for presentation. That petition also will be found on another page. We need say nothing, we hope, to quicken the activity of our friends on this occasion.

It has often been observed that the pro-slavery spirit has deeply rooted itself among the social and religious institutions even of the northern states of the American Union. A more painful illustration of this remark has not for a long while come before us than that which is afforded by an article in our present number, headed "PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY." For nearly five years had Professor Cleveland held the presidency of that society, devoting himself laboriously to the duties of his office, and eminently promoting the interests of the society. At the late Presidential election, however, he, being an abolitionist, acted with his friends, and wrote the Address of the Liberty party to the citizens of the state. So much offence was given by this step to the members of the committee of the Bible Society, that Mr. Cleveland felt it his duty to tender his resignation, which, by a majority of fourteen to seven, was accepted. His letter of resignation is very interesting, and we have thought it our duty to insert it without abridgment. He says justly, that, if such things were not recorded, posterity would not believe them. We cannot pass the transaction by without declaring our utter amazement—we might, without doing injustice to our feelings, have used a stronger term—at the proceedings of the committee, and expressing our sincere sympathy with Professor Cleveland in the position in which his independent conduct has placed him.

OUR anticipations respecting the Free Church of Scotland are partly fulfilled. On the 12th instant, at a meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. Duncan brought forward a motion on the subject of American slavery, and the money received by the Free Church from slave-holders. He was supported by the Rev. Henry Grey. Drs. Cunningham and Candlish, and Mr. Guthrie, spoke in opposition, and the motion was ultimately withdrawn. We shall give the proceedings, if possible, in our next. We honour the men who have thus fearlessly come forward on this important subject; and we trust others will be found to follow their example.

THE frequent prosecutions in the United States of persons charged with aiding slaves to escape having been taken into consideration by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the following resolutions were unanimously passed by that body, on the 26th of February last:—

"That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for those estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage."

"That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence."

"That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

"That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

"That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire abolition, and the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that 'God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"Finally,—That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the 'God of the oppressed,' and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow-labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

(Signed) "JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, March 14.

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

In committee on the Sugar Duties Bill,

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that there was a subject intimately connected with the measures under discussion, relative to which he had addressed the house upon a former occasion, and with respect to which he thought that Parliament ought to have the fullest possible information. He alluded to the means used, or to be used, to enable proprietors in the West Indies and the Mauritius to command an increased supply of labour (hear, hear.) He considered this an especially important question to this country, which had done so much for the destruction of slavery, and the improvement of the condition of the labouring population in our West India colonies. The country had a right to know all the steps which had been taken on the subject. Now, he had received letters in reference to this matter from many parties who stated that they had relations acting as missionaries in the West Indies and Mauritius, and that these gentlemen were much afraid of the effect upon the present colonial population which the character of the proposed labourers would probably produce. When he spoke upon the subject before, he particularly adverted to Jamaica, and the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him that there existed no loan for the purposes of immigration into Jamaica. He believed that this statement was quite correct; but then, with respect to Guiana and Trinidad, he believed that there were ordinances sanctioning loans for immigration which had passed the legislatures of those colonies. He thought, therefore, that it was of importance that the House should have before them any measures for this purpose, and also full information as to the nature of the instructions which had been given by the Secretary for the Colonies, stating how far Government had approved of what had been done in this respect. It was stated that the noble Lord, the Colonial Secretary, had proposed, or rather had it in contemplation to propose, some guarantee to Parliament for the payment of the loans in question. He did not know how far this statement was correct; but considering how closely the sugar bill was connected with the subject, he took the opportunity of expressing his opinion that Parliament should have as much information relative to it as Government could give.

Mr. HOPKINS, in answer to the questions of the noble Lord, begged leave, in the first place, to say, that the alarm expressed by the noble Lord, in reference to the possible demoralization of the population in the West Indies and Mauritius, in consequence of the intended immigration, was quite unfounded. The fact was, that from the papers which he proposed to produce to the house, it was quite apparent that no such apprehension could reasonably be entertained, the number of labourers which could be drawn from Africa being so very limited. With respect to immigration, a statement had gone abroad that in the Mauritius there was no work to be found for the labourers introduced. This was, however, quite a mistake. There was an ample demand for labour there, but there had been some labourers carelessly introduced by the persons at one time charged with the management of the immigration system, who had not been found well fitted for the purposes of cultivation; but since the system had been conducted by the Government, all the immigrants had found ample employment. Another question of the noble Lord referred to the immigration ordinances. There would not be the slightest difficulty in producing the papers relative to all these ordinances. Ordinances had been certainly passed in Trinidad and Demerara, but no portion of the loans had been raised; and from the difficulties in the way, he did not think that any progress would soon be made in the matter.

Viscount HOWICK thought that the hon. gentleman had not answered one of the questions put to him by his noble friend; he alluded to the

intentions of Government in reference to any guarantee for those loans. He objected to the principle of raising loans and saddling future periods with their payment. Present expenses should be paid from presently provided revenues.

Mr. HOPKES should have stated that as to the guarantee no decision had yet been come to by the Government.

Mr. P. M. STEWART remarked that difficulties existed in the way of introducing labourers into our colonies. Some respectable mercantile houses in the city had obtained licenses from Singapore and Penang; but it was found that instructions had been contemporaneously issued from the Colonial Office to the effect that these licenses should not be allowed to be acted upon. Now, as numbers of willing labourers existed at Singapore and Penang, it was of great importance to know how they could be made available. The great point for the West India proprietors was to obtain labour; and that end accomplished, they might do what they liked with the protective duties.

Mr. JAMES added a few words in further explanation.

Mr. HOPKES could state with confidence, that it was quite a misunderstanding that any such instructions as those alluded to by the honourable gentleman had been issued by the Colonial Office. The instructions which had been sent out were laid before Parliament. He had, however, before heard the statement made by the honourable gentleman. He had made inquiries, and he had ascertained that any difficulties which might have existed in the way of procuring labourers had been originated with the Indian Government, and had not arisen from the nature of the instructions sent out. The real obstacle seemed to have been, that the persons obtaining licenses had not sent out ships from this country to convey the labourers, but had written to agents at Singapore and Penang to hire suitable vessels; and that these persons, not understanding the system, did not choose to enter into a venture, of the result of which they had little knowledge.

Literary Notice.

Western Africa; its Condition, and Christianity the means of its Recovery. By D. J. EAST. London.

THIS interesting and valuable work is the production of an estimable Christian minister, and is intended to supply fuel to the flame of missionary zeal, an object to which it is well adapted. That which brings it properly under our notice, is its reference to the topic of slavery, which forms a very prominent and affecting feature in the condition which the author has undertaken to describe, and to which the first chapter of his work is entirely devoted. On this subject he directs the attention of his readers to three points: slavery as involved in the despotic power of the chiefs, social slavery, and the slave-trade. After giving some affecting instances under the first of these heads, he proceeds to the second, which he treats at considerable length. With regard to the universal prevalence of the system, he says—

"All travellers, without exception, who have visited this unhappy country, confess its existence in every kingdom they have traversed. You cannot follow them in the descriptions they have given of the numerous states through which they have passed, without feeling yourself everywhere in a land of slaves. Slavery stares you in the face on every hand; in every town and village which you enter, and in every dwelling to which you may be introduced—from the palace of the prince, to the humble domicile of the meanest of his subjects. 'I know,' said Colonel Nicholls, before the West African Committee of the House of Commons—'I know no other characters in Africa than master and slave.' 'Slavery and a slave-trade,' says M'Queen, 'form the general law of Africa. These two evils reign acknowledged, sanctioned, known, recognised, and submitted to by all her population, of every rank and degree, throughout all her extended borders.'"

The author then notices in detail the sources of African slavery. After naming as its principal sources, war, famine, insolvency, and crime, he refers to the influence of Mahomedanism, and an idea on the part of the chiefs that it affords support to their own despotism. The uses to which slavery is devoted are next adverted to, and are thus stated by the author.

"1. Slaves are the principal article of barter in Africa.
"2. Slaves, with some few exceptions, are the artizans and agricultural labourers of Africa.

"3. Slaves are the principal property of Africa, and the chief means of subsistence to its free population."—Pp. 23—25.

Our author then asks "what is the condition of the slaves of Africa?" and he gives an excellent answer to this question which we would cite entire, if our space would permit.

In treating of the African slave-trade, our author throws the multitudinous and appalling facts which are extant on this subject under the following heads:—

"1. The slave-trade renders Africa a perpetual scene of bloodshed and rapine.

"2. The slave-trade operates to the discouragement of agriculture, and the suppression of legitimate commerce.

"3. The slave-trade fosters a state of barbarism—loosens all the ties of nature—debasces the morals of the people—and constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the progress of Christian instruction."—Pp. 31, 39.

The particulars enumerated are in all cases illustrated by facts derived from the best authorities, and we do not know that, in the space of about forty pages, a better general view of so large a subject could have been given. We are obliged to the author for this contribution to the anti-slavery cause.

THE PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY.

We copy from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* the following correspondence and observations, painfully illustrative as we deem the transaction to which they relate of the deep root which the pro-slavery spirit has taken in the social and religious institutions of the United States.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

After very mature deliberation, I have concluded that it is my duty to send to you for publication the following letter. I have waited till after the Presidential election, lest the allusion in it to one of the candidates might possibly be misinterpreted.

I send it now, for the purpose of adding my mite to the documentary evidence that will be sought for by the future historian of the anti-slavery enterprise of our day, when about to record the persecutions suffered, and the odium endured by those who have taken any prominent part in the great and good cause.

Some things, unless recorded, our posterity will hardly believe. They will hardly believe that while, on the one hand, a man who allowed his name to be associated, on the same presidential ticket, with a slaveholder and a duelist (to say nothing more), was not, thereby, deemed by Christians of the present day, in the least degree disqualified for presiding over the deliberations of the largest Missionary Board in our land; on the other, that an individual, if he had not for the sake of peace and harmony resigned, would have been unceremoniously thrust out of the presidency of a Bible Society, over which he had presided for nearly five years, because he opposed the election, for President of the United States, of a most wicked man, and advocated that of a pure and high-minded Christian philanthropist. If such things, I say, are not recorded, posterity will hardly believe them.

Grateful to you and thankful to God for all that you have done for our persecuted but righteous cause, I remain, with great Christian regard, your friend and brother,

C. D. CLEVELAND.

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1844.

TO THE MANAGERS OF THE PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY.

Philadelphia, June 3, 1844.

Christian Brethren,—I herewith tender to you my resignation as President of the Philadelphia Bible Society. To that post of honour and responsibility, in one of the great departments of Christian benevolence, I was elected in November, 1839. What the Society did for the years previous, and what it has done since; what changes, beneficial or otherwise, have been introduced; how many or how few plans have been devised and executed, for engaging the earnest co-operation of Christians of all denominations, throughout the sphere of our labours; how much or how little agency I may have had in what has been done; how much, or how little, I may have laboured in the many ways in which such a cause calls for continuous and efficient action; of all these things I have, of course, nothing to say. The record of a part, though but a part, is before you. It has become history, and history it will remain.

And here, wishing you, as a society, all wisdom in the choice of my successor; still greater success in all your future plans of benevolence; and for each of you, individually, the richest of all blessings—here I might close. But that plainness and Christian candour which, I trust, will ever characterise me through life, and which, at such a time, are due alike to you and to myself, demand that I should say something more.

Ever since you elected me to be your President it has been my fixed purpose that I would continue such no longer, certainly, than it appeared that I held the office by the unanimous wish of the Board. If there be any place where entire confidence, entire harmony, entire love, should prevail, it is where Christians meet together to devise plans for the circulation of that Word the very essence of which is love and good-will to man. Not that all the Board should have precisely the same views in morals, religion, or politics. To require that, or to expect that, would be as absurd as to require or to expect that all should look alike, or be of the same stature. While each claims for himself the right to hold his own opinions upon all subjects, without being amenable to the Board, each should have the justice and magnanimity, as well as Christian charity, to allow the same to all other members; never dreaming that diversities of opinion in individuals conflict with their duties as managers, or commit the Board, in the slightest degree, to their own peculiar views. But it seems that the time has arrived when there is to be an exception to this clear rule of action.

On the 17th of last month, when calling on Mr. Booth,* to consult with him, as one of the Committee, in relation to our anniversary, he said that he felt it to be his duty, as my friend, to say that a number of members of the Board had, within a few days, expressed opinions adverse to my being re-elected the President of the Society; and that there would doubtless be many votes given against me, at the next election; or words to that effect. The ground of the opposition, he said, was the charge of my being the author of "The Address of the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania to the People of the State." To that charge, with however much of odium it may be attended in this community, I would here plead guilty. But how it was that my being the author of that "Address" conflicted with my duties as your President, did not, I confess, so readily appear. The thought immediately occurred to me, that the most prominent member of the Pennsylvania Bible Society is, and has been for many years, a slaveholder. I say it not in the least spirit of unkindness to that gentleman, but merely state it as a fact, with which I know many of you are familiar. Yet I never heard it whispered, even, that such a relation constituted any objection to his being, year after year, elected to the responsible office of Corresponding Secretary.

How, then, my being the author of an Address to the People of Pennsylvania, advocating the eternal principles of truth and justice; an address, every moral sentiment of which is, I believe, in accordance with the truths

of that Bible which we have been labouring to spread; an address which calls upon all good men to exert their influence to elect such rulers as have the fear of God before their eyes; an address which holds up one man, the idol of a great party, in the light in which every moral man, not to say Christian, should view him; an address which speaks of slavery as Christian men, in growing numbers, all over the world, are speaking of it, whose moral vision is not obscured by the thousand selfish interests that ensnare the soul, and lead captive the understanding;—how, I say, my being the author of such an address disqualified me from being the President of a Bible Society, did not, I confess, appear so plain to me.

It is enough for me, however, to have been assured that a considerable portion of the Board seem to think so; and therefore, agreeably to the resolution, always formed in my own mind, to preside over you no longer than it seemed to be desired by a wish unanimous or approximating to unanimity, I deem it best to retire from your body, that you may select some one to fill my place in whom you can all harmoniously unite.

Allow me, however, to say that there are some questions connected with this subject, entirely independent of myself, which it may be well for the Board to ask and seriously to ponder. Are they prepared, as a body, before the world, to take what will seem to be pro-slavery ground, in deeming one unfit any longer to preside over them from his anti-slavery views? Are they prepared in this day of increasing Christian light, and in the face of the Christian public, to do anything that would seem, in the slightest degree, to countenance or strengthen a corrupt sentiment on the subject of slavery? What, then, I ask, will be thought of the offering up, as a peace offering, a brother, as a sacrifice upon the altar of its Moloch? I ask not what a Christian public, merely, may think of such things; but I ask what will high-minded men think? Will it not seem to them something like persecution for opinion's sake? And will it meet their sense of right action, to have any one, though they might not agree with him in sentiment, removed from a responsible station, for writing what he has written under a deep sense of duty and responsibility?

Such are a few questions which the Board may here ask. Others of a similar character will doubtless present themselves.

Let it be here borne in mind, brethren, that I have never asked you to espouse the opposite side; that I have never asked you to take anti-slavery ground, except by doing all you could to circulate the best of all anti-slavery books—the Bible. You will bear me witness, that notwithstanding my well-known views on the subject of slavery, I have never introduced them into the Board. Not that I was prevented by any considerations of unpopularity. Were I governed by such low motives, I never, in Philadelphia certainly, should have written that Address—nor ever have divulged the sentiments I hold. But having thought often and deeply upon the course which it was duty for me to take, I never could see what good could be done by bringing the subject of slavery before our Board, limited as our sphere of operations is to the city and districts. I have lamented indeed, and deeply lamented, that the American Bible Society, in its annual report, when giving its estimate of the destination of our country, has never mentioned the poor down-trodden slave. I have thought the course pursued by that Society a yielding to the prevailing corrupt sentiment of the day, certainly not in keeping with the spirit of the Gospel.

And here I am glad to be able to present to you some high confirmation of my views. My early and honoured friend, S. P. Chase, Esq., of Cincinnati, for many years the efficient President of the Young Men's Bible Society of that city, one of the most prominent members of the Liberty Party in Ohio; and who needs no eulogy of mine to his moral and intellectual worth, in a letter dated May 28, 1843, thus writes—“Our Young Men's Bible Society and yours are two most important auxiliaries. Can we not do something to arouse the American Bible Society from its apathy in regard to the destitution of the slaves? When they propose to put a Bible in every family, and omit all reference to the slaves; and when, giving an account of the destitution of the land, they make no mention of two and a half millions of people perishing, in our midst, without the Scriptures, can we help feeling that something is dreadfully wrong?”

This, brethren, is a most solemn question. It is a question which I verily believe the Board of the American Bible Society, so far as they may have yielded, directly or indirectly, openly or silently, to a corrupt public sentiment on this subject, will have to answer at the bar of Him who has declared, that “if ye have respect to persons ye commit sin;” and that, “inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.” The spirit of Christianity is a spirit of universal love and philanthropy. She looks down with pity, and if she could, she would look with scorn upon all the petty distinctions that exist among men. She casts her benignant eye abroad over the earth, and wherever she sees man, she sees him as man—as a being made in the image of God, whether an Indian, an African, or a Caucasian sun may shine upon him. She stoops from heaven to raise the fallen; to bind up the broken-hearted; to release the oppressed; to give liberty to the captive; and to break the fetters of those that are bound. She is marching onward with accelerated steps; and wherever she leaves the true impress of her heavenly influence, the moral wilderness is changed into the garden of the Lord. May it never be ours to do what may seem even to be the slightest obstacle to her universal sway.

Such, brethren, are a few of the many interesting thoughts that crowd upon me on this occasion. But I have already written more than I intended, and I cannot enlarge. In bringing this communication to a close, allow me to express to you individually, and as a Board, my most sincere Christian attachment. Whatever course any members may have taken in relation to this matter, I must believe that they have acted from what has seemed to them a sense of duty. Far be it from me to impeach their motives. Time, the great test of truth, may show them their course in a very different light from that in which they now view it. I may, as a Christian, lament that their views of duty are not more in unison with my own. I may, as a man, feel heart-sickened at the diseased, the deplorably diseased state of the public mind, in relation to two and a half millions of my fellow-men in bondage. I may, as a citizen of a free state, blush at the humiliating fact, that not only the tyranny, but the ubiquity of the slave power is everywhere so manifest, that it has insinuated itself into

* One of the Vice Presidents. A few days after that date, he told me that there would doubtless be a majority opposed to my re-election; which the subsequent vote on the acceptance of my resignation (fourteen to seven) fully proved.

our free domain to such a degree, that there seems to be as much mental slavery in the free States as there is personal in the slave States. I may feel all this, but I must not impeach the motives by which others have been governed.

And now let me, in conclusion, leave those points in which some of us may differ, and look only to those in which we have all agreed. Let me recur to pleasing recollections. Let me look back to the past five years, during which time we have all moved on so harmoniously together, in our labours to furnish the destitute with the volume of divine truth. I can truly say that our action together has ever been to me, one continued source of pleasure. If there have been differences of opinion (and these have been very few and very slight) they have been settled as Christians always should settle them, in the kindest and most confiding manner. I thank you for all your kindness to me. I thank you for your confidence so early shown and so long continued. I thank you for the cordial support you have ever given to the various measures proposed to increase the resources, and to extend the usefulness of our society. And let me assure you, that of all the pleasing reminiscences of my life none will ever be to me sources of more grateful meditation, than those connected with the five years in which we have moved on, hand in hand, so harmoniously together. If, during those years, in our labours to carry the gospel to the destitute, we have been the humble instruments of bringing even one sinner to turn from the error of his ways; of giving even to one, those consolations which the Bible alone can give, we may feel, indeed, most richly rewarded for any amount of time or of labour we may have devoted to the work.

Again, wishing you, from my heart, individually and as a Board, the richest of Heaven's blessings,

I remain very sincerely, your friend and brother,

C. D. CLEVELAND.

After a debate of more than two hours, as Mr. Cleveland was informed by the Secretary, the above letter of resignation was accepted, fourteen to seven. Lest those who do not know Mr. Cleveland should entertain the suspicion that some dereliction of duty on his part entered into the reasons for accepting it, it is due to him to state that the following resolution was passed "unanimously" at the same time.—

"Resolved, That this Board are mainly indebted to Professor C. D. Cleveland for the prominent and influential position it has attained in the regards of this Christian community; and that they bear an earnest testimony to the sound judgment and unwearied zeal which have ever characterized the discharge of his duties in his responsible office."

This settles the question. A gentleman, a scholar and a Christian, to whom the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society acknowledges itself to be "mainly indebted for the prominent and influential position it has obtained in the regards of the Christian community, and to whose "sound judgment and unwearied zeal" in the discharge of his duties, "they bear an earnest testimony"—such a one resigns his office, stating explicitly that he does it only because he learns that opposition will be made to his re-election on the ground of his having written an "Address" in opposition to slavery, and in behalf of honest and impartial freedom. Such a resignation, from such a man, and for such a reason, the Board, after long discussion, deliberately decide to accept. In so doing, they confess that the opposition supposed did exist. They confess that it existed for the reason supposed. Otherwise, they would at once have said to Mr. Cleveland, "You are mistaken. There is no opposition, or if there be, it is not on that ground. We beg you, therefore, to recall your letter and retain your office; or if, because of opposition on other grounds, you still insist on your resignation being accepted, we accept it, thanking you for your past invaluable services, and assuring you most solemnly, that the free utterance of your views and feelings, as a citizen, in respect to slavery, is the last thing we should ever think of as disqualifying you, or any one, for the Presidency of the Philadelphia Bible Society." But the Philadelphia Managers do no such thing. They accept the resignation as stated. They confess therein both to the fact of the opposition and the reason for it. In all this they deliberately proscribe free thought and free speech. They proclaim it to the world, that they and slavery are in such close and loving alliance, that he who touches it touches them, and is thereby an outlaw from favour and from office in the Philadelphia Bible Society! Christian men will by and by be sorry for such proceedings.

MR. MACAULAY ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

[The following is that part of Mr. Macaulay's speech in the debate on the sugar question in which he treated of slavery in the United States. We were unable, for want of room, to insert it in its place.]

The right honourable gentleman (Sir R. Peel) proposed to take away all the duty on cotton wool. He said he did so in carrying out a great principle, and he deservedly took credit to himself for it; but by whom was the cotton grown? It was all the produce of slave-labour. It was said that cotton was one of the less painful kinds of slave-labour, and less destructive to human life than the cultivation of sugar; but he met that argument by the fact that the Government gave very considerable reductions to the slave-grown sugar of the United States (hear, hear). In the United States there was a slave-trade going on in no respect less odious and demoralizing—nay, in his opinion, more odious, more demoralizing, than the slave-trade which was going on between the coast of Africa and the West Indies (hear, hear). Every one knew that the slave states in the United States of America were divided into two classes—the breeding states, where the human cattle were grown, bred up to the age deemed fitting for labour; and the sugar, cotton, and tobacco cultivating states, where they were sent to be worked to death (hear). North Carolina and Virginia, he need hardly mention, were two of the chief breeding states: upon a reference to the census in 1830 and that of 1840, he found that in these ten years the number of slaves in North Carolina was as nearly as possible stationary; while in Virginia the number had in the latter period decreased, though the increase all the while, by propagation, was notoriously enormous—though the births notoriously exceeded the deaths by hundreds and thousands. The anomaly was explained when you turned your eyes to the other states,

the cultivating states, where the negro, that human animal, was borne down to the grave by cruel labour. In Louisiana, at the census of 1830, there were 107,000 slaves; at the census of 1840 these had increased to 180,000. In Alabama, the number at the former period was 117,000, and at the latter 253,000. In Mississippi, in 1830, there were 65,000; in 1840 the number had more than trebled itself. There were then 195,000 (hear, hear). The process was this. The slave-jobbers made their periodical journeys into the former states, purchased all such slaves as had been bred up to the desired point, tearing asunder in their dealings all the dearest ties of blood and affection, as ruthlessly as ever did slavers on the coast of Africa, and when they had completed a gang of three or four hundred of these unhappy victims, drove them, handcuffed, fettered, and guarded by armed men, as you see driven, or rather as you would not drive, cattle to Smithfield-market, drove and dragged them to Louisiana and the other cultivating states, there to swell the number of wretches doomed to labour such as never fails to hurry them, in a few years, to their graves (hear, hear). God forbid that he should say one word in favour of slavery in any shape; but this he would assuredly not hesitate to say, that slavery in the United States of America wore its very worst form (hear, hear). Bad enough it was, monstrous, that civilized man should go to uncivilised lands to buy up wretched barbarians, and sell them as slaves in distant lands; but that civilised man, in the heart of his own civilised country, boasting of its civilisation, of its freedom, should breed up slaves—nay, for let the horrible truth be ever kept in mind—should beget children for slaves (hear, hear); that baptized men, frequenting Christian churches, after seeing their own offspring playing around them all the years of infancy and childhood, should then sell them at so much a head—should, for five hundred dollars, consign their own children to a life, the only consolation in which was, that, after the agonising labour of some five years, death would charitably come to end their sufferings—this, to his mind, bad about it something far more horrible, far more revolting, than even the revolting horrors of the slave trade in Africa (hear, hear). Nor let it be supposed that these were rare or eccentric atrocities. Every year were tens of thousands of American-bred slaves transmitted from the one class of slave states to the other, as regularly as pigs were traded in from Dublin to Liverpool, or coals from Tyne to the Thames (hear). The evils of the slave-trade to the Brazils presented nothing equal to the horrors, the frightful immorality and wickedness, of the slave-trade carried on in the United States of America. Evils there were, fearful evils, beyond all question, in slavery, wherever it existed; the peculiar feature in the slavery of the American continent, that which made it so especially horrible, so hopeless—that which, while it prevented, took away all hope that we could ever see a free community there, was the antipathy of colour (hear, hear, hear). Every one knew that this antipathy did not exist in Brazil, certainly not to any such extent. Every one knew that in Brazil there was a free coloured and black population, numbering many hundreds of thousands, very many of whom were highly respected and esteemed by the rest of the community; that they were not excluded from the learned and honourable professions; that, on the contrary, numbers of them were physicians and lawyers, and bore arms—nay, that many of them were priests; and when it was considered with how high a consideration the Roman Catholic religion invested its ministers, this last fact alone spoke volumes (hear, hear). There it was no unusual thing to see white penitents confessing themselves, and obtaining absolution from negroes—negroes dispensing the Eucharist to whites. He need not say how different was the aspect of things in the United States (hear, hear). This he would say, however, that if he were called upon to express an opinion in which of the two countries it was probable the condition of the African race would be better eighty or a hundred years hence, he should decidedly say it would be in Brazil. Again, as to a matter on which we laid peculiar stress: Brazil agreed to give us the right of search, America refused it (hear, hear). If we found it ultimately impracticable to effect the carrying out of that object, the power, of all the powers of the earth, responsible for that failure, would be the United States of America (hear, hear.) What the present Government felt as to the immense importance of that right, was known to the house and to the public, from Lord Aberdeen's letter the other day, wherein that noble Lord spoke of it as the effective means, the only effective means hitherto devised, of repressing the slave-trade (hear, hear). To that maritime police which we, with the utmost humanity and wisdom proposed to establish on the great highway of nations, for the suppression of the slave-trade, Brazil assented; the United States of America, on the contrary, absolutely refused their consent, and by that refusal imperilled the success of the whole plan (hear, hear); nay, not content with rejecting the right of search, that Government even contested the right of visit, which, he would venture to say, no publicist in Europe ever doubted for a moment was altogether consistent with the right of nations (hear, hear, hear.) More than this; in every country of Europe had the Government of the United States, by means of its diplomatic agents, attempted to get up an opposition to the right of search (hear, hear). The house had not forgotten the letter of General Cass on this subject (hear, hear.) The course pursued by the United States had already been fatal to the views of the Government of this country as to this right. Had the United States assented to it, we should have heard of no opposition to it in France or elsewhere; but the United States rejecting the right, it was hardly to be expected that a high-minded and tenacious nation like the French would submit to that which the United States refused to submit to (hear, hear.) The late President of the Board of Trade said, that the right of search would be gone if the noble member for London succeeded in his motion. Surely the right honourable gentleman could not be blind to the fact that the right of search was practically gone already, in consequence of the conduct of the United States, whose Government was even more responsible for the very slave-trade going on between Congo and Brazil, than Brazil itself (hear, hear, hear.) The Government of the United States had placed itself on a bad eminence, an eminence to which Brazil would never have aspired, and which, had she aspired to it, she would never have attained (hear, hear, hear.) The United States had publicly declared itself the champion, the apostle of slavery; that it took its stand on the principle of slavery as opposed to the principle of freedom; had, as though there were something grand, illus-

trious, ennobling, about the doing so, declared itself the evil genius—the Arianes—of the unfortunate Negro race (hear, hear). He, Mr. Macaulay, could understand people who were born in a country where slavery prevailed, saying: this is a bad state of things, we admit, but we were born and bred to it, and so it must go on. But this was not the feeling of the American Government. No. the feeling of the United States Government was a propagandist feeling, bent on continuing slavery as a principle—as a part of an immutable system—as a cause so holy as to sanctify all means in advancing, in extending it; and fully justifying it in clutching, to the right and left, upon provinces belonging to its neighbours, wherever the slightest gleam of freedom manifested itself—putting itself forward everywhere as the champion of the slave-owners, in the same way that our Elizabeth took the part of the Dutch, because they were Protestants (hear, hear.) For many years had the United States been acting with the most culpable, the most restless energy, to defeat every measure on our part for the prevention of the slave-trade, so that, in his opinion, the slave-trade, to whatever extent it might now exist between Brazil and the coast of Africa, was in a great measure to be ascribed to the United States (hear, hear.) Yet here came the right honourable baronet with a proposition which, the moment after a solemn protest against the admission of Brazil sugar, by reason of the employment of slaves in the Brazils, went on to admit the slave-grown cotton of the United States (hear, hear).

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES.—Extract of a letter from Joshua Tinson to Joseph Sturge, dated Calabar, Jamaica, Nov. 15, 1844:—"You refer to discouraging accounts received from certain quarters as to the moral conduct of the emancipated, and ask my opinion. Jamaica is not yet an Elysium, or, if that be too heathenish a word, a Paradise. But, if it be not Paradise, it is not Pandemonium. Perhaps some good people in England have indulged anticipations that sound judgment would hardly justify—anticipations cherished, no doubt, from implicit reliance on report, without sufficiently considering the history of mankind, and what human nature ever has been, and ever must be, till more entirely imbued with religious principle. With respect to the grand experiment in this island, as far as my observation and experience have gone, I should say the experiment has been decidedly successful. My sober and settled conviction is, that, all things considered, the result is quite equal to what we ought to have expected. We have had years of severe drought, unprecedented in the history of the country. This tried the planters, and tried everybody. It necessarily abridged employment to a very great extent; for the managers of estates, where they had the power, were unwilling to bestow labour on the properties with so little prospect of any return. The people were consequently without employment, and want of occupation is both morally and physically injurious; if, therefore, some of them, even of those who professed Christianity, evinced a spirit at variance with the maxims of the gospel, let us not think it strange or despond on account of it. Not a few of the employers, who needed nothing to render their tempers austere and oppressive towards the labourers, were chafed and fretted by circumstances over which they could have no control, and were ready to charge the people with indolence and immorality, instead of submitting to the hand of God which was heavy upon them. We have now beautiful seasons, and it will be seen who are in fault. Where there are means for working estates, and that vicious adherence to old prejudices, still far too prevalent, does not interfere, there can be little doubt of excellent returns. That foolish and wicked bubble, emigration, continues to be viewed by many as the panacea for Jamaica's afflictions; while nothing, I am confident, can be more fallacious than such an opinion. We have land enough, it is true, to sustain many thousands of immigrants, but labourers we do not want—there are enough here to cultivate all the estates to a much greater extent than during slavery, notwithstanding the vast amount of land brought into cultivation as the property of the emancipated. But the owners or managers of estates either cannot, or will not, pay for their cultivation, even at a much lower rate of expense than during slavery. Hence the country must be heavily taxed, and loans obtained from England to introduce labourers from India—a measure fraught with nothing but mischief, to say nothing of its dishonesty. To the planters it will be useless, if not ruinous; and to the morals of our native peasantry alarmingly destructive. Everything should be done that can be done to oppose it. Perhaps you hear that the people refuse to work, and sometimes leave estates in the midst of crop. These statements may admit of an explanation which, if not sufficient to justify, may very much lessen the supposed criminality of such conduct. With very few exceptions, the managers take every advantage they possibly can of the labourers, not only to reduce their wages, but to harass them by not paying their wages when earned. I hear complaints of this kind continually. Not a few of our congregation say they have been owed wages ever since last January. Some have had none for four or five months. They are offered flour by the barrel; but this they are unwilling to take, as they want other things, and the price is also very high. The pimento crop is just over. It was very abundant, and brought a high price. The people were paid well at the beginning of the crop; but as soon as all was picked the people were put off, and told they must wait for the balance of their money. This is not the thing for poor people who are dependent on their daily earnings for bread. There is a poor man in our congregation who engaged to clean a field for 5*s.* It was a heavy job, and he earned little more than 1*s.* a day. When the work was finished it was examined and approved of, and papers given acknowledging the debt: I have seen them, but no money has ever been paid. The poor man got credit for food during the performance of the work, on the strength of the agreement; the overseer has left the property, the money is not paid, and the labourer has been sued for the bread that he ate during the work. Another took a piece of road to mend; he employed others to help him; the parties who had the disposal of the money granted by the Assembly for the road, and who employed the person referred to, refused, when the work was done, to pay the money; and thus the poor fellow lies out of his money, has none to pay the hands he employed, and they are ready to devour him.

In this manner, and in various other ways, are the people teased. Can we wonder, then, at their occasionally going wrong? I know one case this year in which all, or nearly all, the people left the estate in the midst of crop. It happened thus:—It was pimento time; pickers were needed, and able hands, accustomed to the work, could earn 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* sterling a day—sometimes perhaps more, when the pimento was abundant. They were getting only 1*s.* 6*d.* a day at the highest on the sugar estate, and they left to go and gather pimento. This was trying to the planter; but it was only doing what the planters do by them—making the most of their opportunity. But then I ought to mention, that on a neighbouring estate, where the people were getting the same wages—1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and could have left, they all remained. And why? On the latter the manager was not only civil to the labourers, but sought to give them employment, as far as possible, out of crop; and therefore the people said they would not leave him. In the former case the overseer cared nothing about the interests of the labourers, and only employed them as necessity or caprice might dictate, and they acted on the same principle. I do not mean to say that the people are never wrong—far from it; but I do mean to say, that, on a serious review of the whole matter, the wonder is that we are doing so well, rather than that we are not doing better; and to sit down in despondency shows, I think, either a weak, sickly state of mind, or an ignorance of the world's history and of the nature of man.

"4th Feb., 1845. I have conversed freely on the state of the island; and, while I still feel that the people are not without their faults—(would it not be surprising if they were?) I have seen no cause for altering the opinions expressed in the previous part of this letter. My greatest concern is about the young, lest those who are now children, from the want of education or proper employment, should grow up with habits of indolence, and notions altogether erroneous about freedom. But we should not look for all at once. The old state of society, if society it might be called, has been completely dissolved, and it must take time to consolidate a new and totally different kind of society. Parties should not provoke disappointment by expecting too much."

ANTIGUA.—IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE.—We were very much interested by the perusal of the "Report of the Sub-Committee of Management on the Proceedings at Cochrane's Estate on the 12th Nov.", detailing the results of the various agricultural experiments submitted for inspection;—and we sincerely rejoice to find that the anticipations, which we have so often expressed, have been so triumphantly realized. We rejoice on account of the country, and on account of these islands generally, because we see here the germ, the first outbudding, of a system which, when fully matured, will enable our planters to grow and prepare their produce at an infinitely lower cost than at present, and to compete with any sugars in the markets of Great Britain, come from where they may. We call it the germ of a system, because, as yet, it is only in its very first stage of infancy, and because the principle which it involves embraces a far wider range than is yet contemplated—when fully carried out into all the operations of an estate, as it necessarily must, and, sooner or later, will be, it will reduce the demand for manual labour amazingly, and the price of wages, and the cost of the staple, in proportion to the double saving effected; and we should not then be surprised to find sugar made ready for the market, as the *Liverpool Paper* and the *Economist* say has already been done, at 8*s.* or 10*s.* per cwt. The grand exploit of emancipation will then have gained its great and enduring triumph, and slavery will be effectually overthrown, when the comparative cheapness of freedom is so completely and convincingly demonstrated.—The "Report" exhibits the following results:—1st, the success of the hoe harrow in the weeding of canes at a saving of nearly 50 per cent.; 2nd, the practicability of cultivating the cane without hoiling or crossholing, and the successful substitution of implemental husbandry, in the entire preparation of the soil at an average saving of about three fourths of the present expense; 3rd, the vast improvement obtained from ploughing between the rows of ratoon canes, and the consequent gain to the planter at a very trifling cost; 4th, the assurance of incalculable benefits which the country must reap, if the principle is fully and universally adopted. These follow as a necessary consequence, and need no particular illustration: hands will be disengaged, means and opportunities for extending the cultivation of the island will be afforded at a greatly diminished rate, the amount of productions will be augmented, larger exports will be made, and consequently capital and general property indefinitely increased. We look, indeed, upon the beneficial "results of machinery" as beyond all calculation; and they will, we doubt not, if skilfully taken advantage of, not only be the saving of these colonies against the consequence of all foreign competition, but will yet raise them to a pitch of agricultural and commercial greatness which they have not hitherto experienced. We have no hesitation in declaring our belief, that at this present moment Antigua is foremost in the field, and that she is now making greater efforts to economise labour, to substitute implemental for manual force, and thus to secure her success, than any other colony in this archipelago. It is certain that she has produced this year, with decidedly less than 10,000 pair of hands, a crop nearly equal to that of Barbados with more than 30,000. We speak of available hands actually brought into estate operations.—*Antigua Herald.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—LIBERATED AFRICANS.—A despatch of Lord Stanley, of date the 26th of Dec., communicates the intelligence, that measures have been taken by the Secretaries of State for Colonial and Foreign Affairs to sanction the removal of Africans, liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts established at Loando and Boa Vista, under a late treaty with Portugal, to this colony, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

The *Roger Stewart*, the emigrant ship chartered for Sierra Leone by some private speculators in Berbice, has returned with the full complement of 348 emigrants, two having died on the passage. All but about twenty-five of them are newly liberated Africans. They are to be distributed on the lands of the successful speculators, who are about chartering another vessel, the *Superior*, for a similar trip.—*Berbice Gazette.*

EDUCATION.—By direction of Government, a sum of nearly 6,000*l.*, remaining over and unclaimed from the slave compensation fund, is to be employed in educating the rising generation of the African race.—*Royal Gazette.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE VIRGINIA BAPTISTS ON SLAVERY.—A large Baptist Association in Virginia, the Rappahannock, lately held its annual meeting, and among other things took the following action on the subject of slavery. The matter came up in the form of query, to which the Association made the reply that is appended:—

Is it consistent with the Christian religion, for a member of the Baptist church to buy and sell negroes for speculation? If this query should be answered in the negative, then what course would the Association advise a church to pursue towards a member who persisted in trafficking in slaves for speculation?

Answer.—We think that the traffic referred to in the query is inconsistent with a profession of Jesus Christ. That member of the church engaged in such a speculation, ought to be admonished of the evil, and, persisting in the practice, ought to be excluded from fellowship.—*New York Evangelist.*

A FACT.—While in Georgia, Mr. C. took lodgings with a Mr. H., owner of some fifteen or twenty slaves. One of the number was a stout, intelligent young man; very bright, when his opportunities were taken into consideration. This young man was frequently punished in a cruel manner for his faults, however few they might be. After experiencing abuse and suffering year after year, which grew more and more intolerable, he chose to run the risk of enjoying liberty in the swamps and bogs of Georgia, with all their loathsome reptiles, or being released from his suffering by death, if taken, rather than to suffer such inhuman barbarity as he had been accustomed to. Consequently, one night, after having been the subject of his master's cruelty through the day, he fled, making his way to the nearest swamp. As soon as it was discovered he had fled, he was followed by Mr. H., his son, and Mr. C., my informant, who were led by a pack of hounds kept for the purpose. Mr. H., after following some time, however, concluded to return, being fatigued, and left his son and Mr. C. to pursue the human chattel. The hounds soon warned the poor fellow by their yelping, which told heavily and mournfully on his ears, that he was pursued. Expecting to receive more mercy from men than from dogs, he took shelter in a tree to secure himself from the ferocity of the latter, and that he might better plead for pardon or better usage with the former. On coming to the tree in which he was lodged, he was immediately ordered down; but not obeying so soon as the young man thought he ought to, he cast his oaken walking staff at him with such force that it brought him to the ground, when he immediately expired. Upon discovering he was really dead, a hole was dug in the ground, in which, freed from his sufferings, he was deposited with his rags. When the party returned, and informed the owner that they had killed his slave, he replied, "that it was a pity, really a pity, to lose him, as he was worth five hundred dollars, but he possessed too much intelligence to be a slave."—*Bangor Gazette.*

A HARD CASE.—A gentleman in whom we place implicit confidence, has informed us of the following affair, who was a witness of the facts:—In October last, the barque Hazard, Captain Clark, sailed from Providence for New Orleans, having on board a free coloured man, a native of Providence, as cook. After a dangerous passage, having arrived at the destined port, the vessel was considered unseaworthy, and of course the crew abandoned her. Among the number to seek for other employment was this honest, coloured man. There is a law in New Orleans, that no coloured person shall be found in the street after eight o'clock in the evening. This poor man, from the free, pure air of New England, knew nothing of this law, and was in search of business past the hour. He was taken up by the watchmen and put into prison, where he was confined six weeks; then taken out, and let out to work to pay his dungeon-fees, which were ninety dollars. Whilst thus at work, a passenger, who went out in the barque with him, accidentally met him. He was chained around the ankle and knee, under the lash of the task-master—emaciated and sick. He begged of him to give him a picayune, to buy some bread with; for, said he, "I am almost starved." Our informant states, that he then endeavoured to get him from the clutches of the field-driver, but being unsuccessful, he left him in agony bordering on despair. The coloured man had learned his fate, and was cast down, dejected; and thus suffering by the effects of the climate and the lash, was apparently approaching the confines of another more welcome-to-be-received country than that ruled by the tyrannic arm of the slaveholder.—When he has laboured long enough to pay his jail charges, he is, if living, to be put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder—sold into perpetual bondage!—*Youth's Cabinet.*

SLAVE AUCTION IN MOBILE.—Mobile, for a place of its size, is a great market for slaves, and slave auctions are frequent. I witnessed many of these sales in different parts of the south, but never did I have my sympathies more fully aroused than I did at a sale of slaves I attended here. These slaves had belonged to a kind master; and, as but few of them had ever been sold, they all appeared to be labouring under the greatest anxiety in reference to the future. A few hours before the sale the slaves are exposed for examination, &c. There were one or two old negroes who were disposed to be quite witty. One of them, an old decrepit negro, expressed to a gentleman, a desire to go back to Africa. Said the gentleman, "This is a good country, plenty to eat, plenty to drink, plenty to wear, make plenty of money here; you are a bad negro to want to go back to Africa. 'Eh! make a plenty of money. God know dat, but no make um for nigger, make um for white folk," was his reply. One old negro, who had a wife and two children, told a gentleman who asked him if he was good to work, "Yes, me strong stout nigger, me can work first rate; me don't care who buy me, me will work good for him, if he buys Dinah and de picaninsie; but if dey takes me from dem, I'll die before I work." And the compressed lip; and earnest decided voice told clearly that it would be so. When the sale begins, the auctioneer and slave to be sold stand on a platform, so that all can see them. Sometimes the auctioneer deals in the lowest slang and vulgarity, and sometimes they are gentlemen. When the sale began, you could see the negro offered for sale show the greatest anxiety; his eye followed that of the auctioneer; and as the bid came from a kind master, his face would lighten up and his eye brighten; but when again it rested on a doubtful or cruel

master, his face would change, the smile would disappear, and despair almost rest upon his countenance. If sold to the master he wanted, such a burst of joy as pealed forth from his lips I have never heard; no one could imagine that the human face was susceptible of such rapid changes from joy to sorrow, from storm to sunshine. All these slaves evinced the greatest anxiety, which was shown by the quivering lip, the convulsive twitching of the face, the suppressed tear, the heavy sigh, and the broken answer in reply to the different interrogatories put to them by the buyers.—*Jefferson Democrat.*

FRANCE.—THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—The Duke de Broglie is to set out for London this day (Thursday,) to regulate, with Dr. Lushington, the question of the right of search. Two systems are spoken of as likely to terminate this difficult affair. The first consists in establishing mixed cruisers, at the mouths of rivers and in front of the usual places of rendezvous for slaves, either on their departure or arrival: in this case the reciprocal right of search would be suspended. The second plan for repressing the slave-trade would be—first, to destroy the slave factories or depôts established on certain points of the coast of Africa; and secondly, to declare war on all the Negro chiefs who should for the future carry on the slave-trade. This will not probably be the final decision of the commissioners. When mixed cruisers are spoken of, it is not of course meant that the crews are to be half English and half French, but probably that two vessels—one French and the other English—are to chase the slavers and visit suspected craft, in order that, the reciprocal right of search no longer taking place, the vessel pursued may be visited by either one or the other of the twin cruisers, whatever flag it may display. Such a system is full of dangers and inconveniences. It would, first of all, be necessary to multiply the vessels on the African station, to such a degree as seriously to tax our budget. England says that the present number of vessels employed is insufficient for the repression of the slave-trade. What will she say when it will be necessary to reduce this number one-half, by joining two vessels together to perform the duty now expected by one? Either England, who has a greater number of vessels on the African station than we, will be obliged to reduce the number, or we shall be forced to augment ours considerably, to render the forces of the two countries equal. Likewise, it appears to us exceedingly difficult to unite in the intimacy of a long cruise, and under all political chances, the seamen of the two nations, the officers of the *Waspire* and the *Suffren*, for instance, particularly for the accomplishment of a mission likely to excite grave differences of opinion, without running the risk of serious conflicts, which would compromise the peace of the two nations. As to the second system, it must be observed that the destruction of the factories, or slave depôts, offers no other advantages to the slavers than that of rapidly taking in the cargo of human beings. The present plan of effecting the slave-trade is this:—An American vessel, we suppose, takes to the coast of Africa such goods as are suitable for purchasing slaves. After having discharged her cargo she retires, an interval elapses, and the slave-dealer, informed by a letter of the speedy arrival of a slaver, purchases and collects the negroes. The slaver then comes up in ballast, there is no discussion or hesitation about the price or quality of the human merchandize, all has been regulated beforehand. The slaves are heaped together on board in the space of a few hours, and the vessel departs at once. Thanks to the promptitude of this last-named operation, the slavers often succeed in escaping the watch of the numerous English cruisers. If, in consequence of the system to be adopted, the activity and danger of this surveillance at sea be diminished, the slave-dealers will cease to have an interest in rapidly loading their vessels. The slave-depôts will become useless. When once they are destroyed, the commerce in slaves will take place on all the points of the coast, or none in particular. The cruisers will, in fact, be completely puzzled and set at defiance. The slave-dealers will then carry on their affairs themselves, without any intercession; and, being able to remain longer at anchor, will treat directly with the black chiefs. They will thus gain more, and will, besides, be able to make choice of their human cargo, and see that it be of a good quality.

The destruction of the slave depôts will not hurt in reality any but the slaves. In these depôts, of which the immorality is incontestable, the negroes find at least shelter, regular nourishment, some clothes, and the care which it is the interest of the slave dealer to give to them. Should these factories be abolished, the slaves taken from the interior will be deposited in African huts, or concealed in woods, having the earth as their couches and the leaves as their canopy. A melancholy prelude to the sorrows of the voyage in the holds of the slave ships. It will, therefore, be seen that this measure, while it gives activity to the slave-trade, will augment its miseries. We do not congratulate ministers in having had to reflect for two whole years before arriving at this result. With regard to the declaration of war on the negro chiefs we have difficulty in believing that it will be seriously thought of. What, shall we begin to civilise Africa by burning its villages? Shall we have recourse to murder to impose a measure of humanity? Shall we commit immorality in the cause of morality? There would be neither glory nor profit in such a system. And upon what pretext can this system of ruin and massacre be supported? How will it prove to them that the slave-trade is wrong? How will it prevent that trade? Slavery is spread over the whole of Africa. The slave-trade is carried on in the interior for the necessities of the natives, in the same way that it is carried on on the coast for the use of Europeans. The accounts of travellers who have been present at razzias made in the centre of Africa prove that slavery is not promoted in Africa by European cupidity alone. First change the ideas of these poor savages. Initiate them into civilization by commerce, by missions, and by exploring. But it will give them but a sad idea of Christianity to establish a permanent system of massacres and incendiarism over the whole extent of the coast, under pretence of abolishing the slave-trade.—*Constitutionnel.*

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c.

Mr. LORD.—The high importance which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society attach to the proposed Commission, instituted by the Governments of France and Great Britain, with a view of substituting a new mode of suppressing the slave-trade, equally efficacious in its character with the right of search; and being most anxious to contribute to the removal of one great cause of irritation, if not of danger, between the two countries, they take the liberty of laying before your Lordship the views they entertain on this delicate and important subject.

The African Institution, composed, as your Lordship will recollect, of the most illustrious men of this country, for rank, talent, and philanthropy, after a protracted struggle of twenty years with the giant evil, closed its labours and its reports with these remarkable words:—"It is in *slavery*, that the slave-trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slaveholder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and confabulations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent." Having thus indicated the source of the evil, the Institution deliberately asserts that in the abolition of slavery alone can we reasonably hope for the extinction of the slave-trade.

Following in its course, though directing its efforts principally to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, the Anti-Slavery Society became confirmed in the conviction that, "slavery is the root from which springs the enormous—the dreadful accumulation of horrors incident to the slave-trade." In a pamphlet on the subject issued by its Committee, in 1837, the point is thus forcibly alluded to. After depicting the horrors of the slave-trade, adopting the language of their predecessors, they ask, "Who will venture to affirm, that, viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the slave-trade, though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh in the sum of misery they produce, the evils of slavery; of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual servitude, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children, and children's children to the latest generations? Let any man but think of the perpetually impending scourge, the interminable toil to which it urges, the stocks, the blows, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the agony of broken and bleeding hearts, and all the nameless, and scarcely conceivable inflictions which await those, whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relative—wife, husband, child—are bound up in the will of any individual who claims them as his slaves, without any effectual, nay, without any possible protection from law against his tyranny and caprice." "Let any one but think," they add, "of all this, and he will perhaps see no very cogent reason for exempting slavery from a moral reprobation, to the full extent as severe as we pass on the slave-trade, or for not exhibiting it alike as an outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion."

In pointing out the true remedy for the slave-trade, they observe:—"Once more we solemnly repeat, that by the total abolition of slavery only, can the slave-trade be annihilated. Destroy the demand of the slaveholder, and there will be no longer a traffic, carried on to supply wants which shall no longer exist; but whilst a demand, whether for merchandise, or for men, does exist, all experience shows that hopes of gain will tempt unprincipled men, despite of all laws, human and divine, to run every risk in order to supply it."

Guided by the experience of its predecessors, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was based on the principle "that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings." It was, therefore, resolved that its efforts should be concentrated on the universal abolition of slavery; and that no means should be resorted to, or measures adopted, in the prosecution of its great work, but such as were "strictly of a moral, religious, and pacific character."

Having thus glanced at the opinions entertained by the great body of Abolitionists in this country during the last twenty years, and the ground deliberately taken by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, your Lordship will not be surprised to find that it has never countenanced the suppression of the slave-trade by an armed force; and were its Committee wanting in proofs of the inefficiency, not to say impolicy, of that mode of suppression, the history of the traffic for many years past would abundantly furnish them.

That the British Government have been sincerely desirous of terminating "a scourge which has so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe and America, and afflicted mankind," there can be no doubt—that they have had no sinister object in view in the efforts and

the sacrifices they have made to accomplish that noble object is certain—and that they have failed, and will continue to fail, so long as the present mode of suppression is resorted to, appears to the Committee indubitably certain.

In support of this opinion the Committee submit to your Lordship's consideration, the following reasons:—

First, Though treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade have been formally negotiated with nearly all the powers of Europe and America, yet are many of them defective, either as it respects the equipment article, the limits within which the right of search can be legally exercised, or in respect of the duration of time; and the hope, they conceive, must now be abandoned by Great Britain, of ever being able to negotiate with foreign Powers one uniform and comprehensive treaty for the universal suppression of this great evil; and without such a treaty, honestly framed and faithfully executed, the expectations of terminating the traffic by such means is, in their judgment, utterly vain.

Secondly, Not only are the present treaties defective, but they are rendered almost a dead letter, either by a want of cordiality in their execution, or by the positive bad faith of foreign Powers. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty with any Power for the suppression of the slave-trade. France is desirous of receding from the stipulations in relation thereto by which she is bound. Brazil refuses to ratify existing conventions, or to proceed any further in the way of negotiation for giving them completion. Spain, after years of delay, reluctantly enacts a law for the punishment of her subjects convicted of having engaged in the inhuman traffic; and Portugal has been coerced into her present engagements. With respect to the South American republics, it is quite clear that most of them have acceded to treaties with this country, at the pressing instances of her Majesty's Government, most unwillingly, after repeated correspondence, and frequent remonstrance. This want of cordial sympathy and co-operation on the part of foreign Powers is, the Committee fear, ominous of defeat on this cherished object of the Government and people of Great Britain.

Thirdly, Supposing, however, there were cordial co-operation on the part of other nations, the vast extent of coast to be watched and guarded presents an insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of the object. No fleet of cruisers that this country could send forth to the various coasts of Africa, the West Indies, Brazil, and the Eastern seas, would be adequate to the service. The trade would go on in spite of all efforts to crush it, and terminate only with the demand. In this view of the case the Committee are fully sustained by the high authority of Lord John Russell. When Colonial Minister, his Lordship addressed a communication to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, in which he says:—"To repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

Fourthly, But instead of co-operation, there has been the most flagrant violation of the treaties on the part of Brazil and Spain, and hundreds of thousands of slaves have been torn from Africa to meet the demands of the markets in their respective territories and colonies, and the evil still goes on. Nor is there the least reason to hope that the future will be less pregnant of instances of bad faith than the past. It is admitted that the mortality on the slave population of Brazil is equal to five per cent. *per annum* beyond the natural increase by births; and that the ratio of deaths is greater still in the Spanish colony of Cuba. Here is the ground of an ever increasing demand. It may be, and is conceded, that the cruising system tends to check the traffic in some directions, or rather to render its prosecution more difficult, and its profits more precarious; but that it has, or can materially diminish its extent, there is no reason to believe or hope. The profits are always sufficient to induce the most desperate adventures, and the activity, energy, and skill of British seamen are continually overmatched by the cunning, fraud, and audacity of the slave-dealers.

Fifthly, It will, the Committee think, be admitted that the attempt to suppress the contraband slave-trade by an armed force, has increased its horrors. The most cursory glance at official papers will show that the greatest possible number of slaves are now crammed into the narrowest possible space, and that consequences at which humanity sickens, are the necessary result.

It is also clear that whilst the active vigilance of the cruisers has tended, occasionally to raise the price of slaves in Brazil and Cuba, it has diminished their value as articles of sale in Africa, so that the slave-dealer reaps a double advantage from every successful transaction in which he is engaged.

Sixthly, The cost to this country, of its efforts to suppress the slave-trade by an armed force, both in treasure and in men, has been immense; millions have been expended in this service inef-

fuctually ; the object aimed at has not been achieved, and is, in the judgment of the Committee, as distant of accomplishment as ever.

Looking then at the facts of the case :—the utter impossibility of obtaining the general concurrence of all nations in a uniform and comprehensive treaty ; the want of cordial co-operation on the part of those already in treaty with this country in the promotion of this great object ; the bad faith of those Powers most deeply implicated in the continuance of the traffic ; the evils which have arisen from the measures hitherto adopted for its suppression ; and the vast expenditure it has involved ; the Committee would respectfully ask whether the time has not come for a thorough consideration of the whole subject, and for the abandonment of measures which have been fruitless of good, and provocative of evil.

The Committee look to other means of suppression. They are desirous of creating, where it does not exist, and fostering, where they see the germs of it, a sense of humanity and moral rectitude on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade ; remembering that destitute of the support of public opinion, the due execution of any law is not to be expected. Even in this country, laws held in veneration by past generations have fallen into desuetude when a change in public opinion in regard to them has become general. Governments which are sincere in the laws which they may enact can, and doubtless will, do much to secure their being carried into execution ; but that new laws will be effectually executed in countries into which they have been introduced on the suggestions of a foreign Power, however just in principle and noble in design, for the purpose of putting down a profitable traffic, against which no moral feelings exist throughout the whole population, is not to be expected. Governments may enter into negotiations, engage in treaties, enact laws, and promulgate ordinances for the abolition of the slave-trade ; but the experience of thirty years has proved that all will be in vain if they are not in unison with the feelings, and not supported by the opinions of the people themselves. What then is to be done ? The Committee would respectfully reply—Direct all your energies and influence against the system of slavery. An opportunity is now afforded, by the appointment of two distinguished men, to whom their respective Governments have entrusted the consideration of a great question connected with the extinction of the slave-trade. France asks to be relieved from the right of search : in her case the equivalent should be the complete and immediate abolition of slavery in her colonial possessions. This would be a guarantee—the best guarantee which could be given—that her flag should not be surreptitiously employed in feeding them at least with slaves. And, in asking this great act of justice and mercy from France, no indignity would be offered ; for her Government, her Legislative Chambers, and her people have resolved that the abolition of slavery shall take place. It is then simply a question of time. Let that be fixed ; and the day which proclaims freedom to the unfortunate slave in Martinique and Guadeloupe, in Bourbon and Cayenne, in Senegal and Algiers, be the epoch fixed for the abandonment of the right of search ; and for the more intimate union of the two nations, in such other righteous and pacific measures as may tend to relieve the whole family of man from the curse and the degradation of slavery and the slave-trade.

Independently of the great question which so deeply interests the Committee, and which they know is equally appreciated by the philanthropists of France, they most sincerely desire that the relations between the two countries should be of the most intimate, honourable, and friendly character ; being thoroughly convinced that the cordial alliance of such powerful nations would not only be mutually advantageous, but be fraught with blessings to mankind at large.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, on behalf of the Committee,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

New Broad-street, March 1, 1845.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, March 20, 1845.

Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., written in the name of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and stating the views entertained by that body with reference to the Commission which the Governments of Great Britain and France propose to institute for the purpose of inquiring, whether any means can be adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade equally efficacious with the right of search.

Lord Aberdeen feels convinced that it cannot be necessary to assure you that the opinions and suggestions contained in that letter will receive from her Majesty's Government the respectful consideration which is due to the source from which they proceed ; and his lordship trusts that it will not be attributed to a want of attention to its contents if, in expressing his thanks for the communication, he forbears from entering into a detailed examination of the views put forth in it, and from discussing at length what may be the most proper, and, taking into account the state of circumstances and of public feeling in Europe, and in America, the most efficient means which this country can adopt for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

That there is too much truth in the opinion expressed by the African Institution, that nothing short of the abolition of slavery will effect a total and certain extinction of the trade, Lord Aberdeen is by no means inclined to deny ; and his lordship is therefore disposed to give due weight to your suggestion, that the energies and

influence of England should be directed against the system of slavery itself : neither has he any hesitation in assuring the Committee, that upon every legitimate opportunity, the exertions of her Majesty's Government will be employed honestly and zealously for that end.

But the influence of one country upon the domestic institutions of another, those institutions being recognised and upheld by the laws, and closely interwoven with the habits and interests of the people, can rarely be otherwise than slow and uncertain ; and it becomes a matter of grave consideration whether in the hope of being able to contribute to the eventual abolition of slavery in Cuba and Brazil, the Government of England would do wisely to abandon those means of direct action against the slave-trade, which, though far from complete in their operation, have not been without their good effect, and are likely, as Lord Aberdeen confidently trusts, to gain in efficiency.

For Lord Aberdeen cannot concur with the Committee in describing the execution by Great Britain of her engagements with foreign Powers, and her strenuous efforts to repress the slave-trade by force, as measures "fruitless of good, and provocative of evil."

It is undoubtedly true, though scarcely to the extent stated by the Committee, that one or two of the treaties in force with foreign Governments are incomplete in their provisions.

It is true, also, that in too many instances, jealousy and mistrust of England have had an unjust influence upon those treaties, and have cramped and counteracted their efficiency ; and that the vigorous execution of their provisions by Great Britain alone still leaves a vast amount of evil unremedied, and has even in some degree led to an increase of the horrors and sufferings which the trade inflicts upon its victims.

But on the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the perseverance and singleness of purpose with which England has pursued her course, have been without a good result ; nor should it be forgotten, that the suspicion or indifference with which her policy has been viewed by foreign nations, has in some places given way to a better feeling. Her Majesty's Government have of late had good reason to congratulate themselves on the sincere and effective co-operation of the Government of Portugal in the suppression of the traffic on her South African coast, and in the faithful execution by her Commissioners and other officers of the treaty of 1842.

The Government of Madrid have recently, and as her Majesty's Government believe, not reluctantly, but in a spirit of sincerity and good faith, redeemed the engagement taken in the treaty of 1835, for the enactment of a penal law of great severity against the slave-trade.

And, though the unhappy beings yearly landed on the coast of Brazil may still be reckoned by thousands, the increasing demand for labour in that country places it beyond all doubt, that but for the operation of British cruisers the numbers would have been many times multiplied.

The system, moreover, which has recently been adopted, of concentrating the cruisers upon the African coast, promises greatly to increase the efficiency of the force. The number of captures which have been effected during the short time that it has been in operation has been considerably more than usual : and even were the number no greater than heretofore, the saving of life and misery which results from the seizure of every laden slaver on this side of the Atlantic gives a value to success which the Committee are well able to estimate.

Lord Aberdeen directs me thus briefly to notice these points, in order that the Committee may not be led too hastily to decide, that the authority conferred upon our cruisers by the treaties with foreign Powers, is one which ought to be lightly abandoned.

His Lordship does not claim for the right of search any value beyond that which its efficiency as a means of suppressing the slave-trade gives to it. On the contrary, he is convinced, that the war which we carry on against the slave-trade by armed vessels, through the exercise of that right, is full of inconvenience and danger, and, at the same time, very far from complete in its results : but that, so long as slavery shall exist in its present form in the continent and islands of America, whether any other equally effectual method of keeping the trade in check can be devised, Lord Aberdeen is not at present prepared to say : and though to rob the slave-traders of their markets by a general emancipation of the negro race would be a higher and worthier victory over them than any that can be gained by physical force, Lord Aberdeen cannot flatter himself, that the accomplishment of that object in Cuba and Brazil is so near at hand, or so manifestly within the reach of British influence, as to reconcile the parliament and people of this country to the adoption of a course which would leave the slave-trader in the undisturbed possession of the African coast, and at full liberty to prosecute his iniquitous traffic, so long as it should hold out to him the smallest prospect of gain.

With reference, however, to the immediate occasion of your letter and the suggestion with which it concludes, Lord Aberdeen directs me to add that he entirely concurs with the Committee in their opinion of the value which would attach to the abolition of slavery by France in her Colonies ; not only as regards its direct effect upon her own possessions, but as an example to the rest of the world of enlightened humanity and justice.

Whether with a view to the general suppression of the slave-trade, such a measure would supply the place of that authority which England and France have conceded to each other over their respective flags ; or whether England, in the faithful execution of the task which she has undertaken, would be justified, according to the recommendations of the Committee, in accepting it as an equivalent for that authority, are points into the discussion of which

the Committee will not expect Lord Aberdeen at present to enter. His Lordship feels assured that it will be sufficient both for yourself and them to know that in consenting to the Commission which is about to commence its labours, the chief end which her Majesty's Government have in view is to secure to the cause of African freedom that active, lasting, and cordial co-operation of a great and powerful people, without which, whatever the exertions of this country may be, the true interest of the cause can never be fully and satisfactorily maintained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) CANNING.

To Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
etc. &c.

THE COLONIAL GAZETTE.

It is not always that an article is so candidly headed as that in the *Colonial Gazette* of last week, to which the title prefixed is—“The creature’s at its dirty work again.” Our contemporary has hit off himself and his doings to a tittle.

He begins his quarrel with us on this occasion, by undertaking the defence of Lord Stanley’s order for the discontinuance of allowances to liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, a piece of knight-errantry scarcely less than Quixotic. The order was so mercilessly severe that the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Fergusson, found it necessary to modify it in his proclamation of the 12th of June; and the proclamation was so severe that Mr. Under-Secretary Hope, in the House of Commons, found it necessary to say that it was meant only for the negroes, and not for the rule of the Government. In the judgment of our contemporary, however, this order is the very pink of humanity; as, no doubt, anything would be that should drive black men to the West Indies.

The *Gazette* proceeds to charge us with “effrontery” in asserting that the planters of British Guiana did not, even with slaves and the slave-trade, make sugar as cheap as Cuba and Brazil; and his proof is that, at one period, our West India colonies furnished sugar enough to send some to the Continent. There is no doubt of this; but the editor forgets (we cannot suppose he does not know) that at that time a bounty was attached to sugar exported, of from 8s. to 10s. per owt. It was this, and this alone, which enabled British growers to sell their sugar at a profit in the continental market.

Our contemporary thinks that the other plantations in Guiana would not be as successful in obtaining labour as Everton, even if they were to use similar means. We do not see why this should be. That there are many unemployed hands in the colony is strongly asserted by the *Berbice Gazette*, and admitted by the *Colonial*; why should not good treatment be effectual with these as well as with others? It is, at all events, too soon to affirm the negative, since the experiment has not been made. Might it not be as well to try it?

The editor of the *Colonial Gazette* vouches for the common sense of the Guiana planters and their knowledge of their own interests. We think he is somewhat venturesome in this. For our own part, we believe that those of them who are so eager for immigration are very much mistaken.

In fine, our contemporary brings against us some letters of the Rev. Mr. Wallbridge to the *Guiana Times*, of which he gives the sum in the following words:—“Why should I oppose the immigration of free black labourers any more than of other persons? In short, he opposes only a certain kind of immigration.” Now, this is exactly what we do also. As to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* contending (as the *Gazette* alleges) “that all or any immigration of blacks is uncalled for and noxious,” it is a pure fiction; an allegation not only without evidence, but made in defiance of most direct and repeated contradiction.

BRITISH GUIANA.—VOYAGE OF THE “ROGER STEWART.”

COURT OF POLICY, WEDNESDAY, Feb. 5, 1845.

A LETTER from the immigration agent-general inclosed a letter from the agent at Berbice, detailing the distribution of the immigrants arrived by the *Roger Stewart*, and stating that they had been landed immediately on their arrival, and distributed at once among the estates, on the advice of the Government Secretary.

Mr. STUART. The agent at Berbice certainly gives a most extraordinary reason for locating these immigrants in such numbers on a few estates. The hon. Secretary may have told him to land them as soon as possible after their arrival; but I am sure he never told him that he was to give 57 to one estate, 85 to another, and so on.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. The only point upon which he consulted me was, whether he should hire a house for the reception of the immigrants upon their arrival. I told him, certainly, it would be unnecessary to go to that expense, as those who were in good health could be sent at once to the respective estates on which they were to be located, and the sick could be sent to the hospital. That arrangement I considered preferable to either hiring a place for them, or suffering them to remain several days on board the vessel in the river.

Mr. STUART. It is most unjust to locate them in such numbers on a few estates, when other estates in the county are absolutely abandoned for want of hands; and that, too, without any instructions from the Governor. The estates which got them by fifties and more are not so much in want of labour as others which got none.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. But those who ran some risk are entitled to something for their money.

Mr. STUART. For what money? Have they not come up for payment of the expenses? They advanced no money.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS. Oh yes, they did.

Mr. STUART. For what?

GOVERNOR. They advanced the money to send the vessel.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. The charter money.

Mr. ROSE. I can’t help expressing my opinion on this occasion, for the communication which has been read is of too important a nature to be passed over in silence. No recommendation from Mr. Butts, however urgent, could induce us to sanction the charter of vessels at Berbice to proceed to Sierra Leone for immigrants to be distributed among a few favoured individuals in that colony. If any vessel is to be chartered, she must be chartered and sent thither on account of the colony of British Guiana. But certain parties, under representations which I believe to be not exactly in accordance with truth, have succeeded in sending a vessel on a voyage to Sierra Leone. I hold in my hand the copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Butts, at Sierra Leone, to Messrs. Laing, in Berbice. [The hon. member read the letter: it stated that the writer had received a copy of the *Royal Gazette*, in which he observed an editorial article asserting, on the authority of a private letter received by a gentleman in Berbice, that large numbers of Africans were at Sierra Leone anxiously awaiting the arrival of vessels to convey them to this colony; and, as the Messrs. Laing were the only persons in Berbice to whom Mr. Butts had written; and as such statements made, apparently, on the strength of information communicated by him, were calculated to place him in a false position with the Governor, whose agent he was, he called upon them to place at his Excellency’s disposal those paragraphs of his letter which held out such hopes as were expressed in the newspaper before him. Mr. Rose proceeded:]—Now there is, in a letter before this Court, a statement that information of this nature has been received from Mr. Butts; that on his urgent recommendation parties have not only again chartered the *Roger Stewart*, but they have also chartered another vessel to send to Sierra Leone for immigrants, and that they therefore hope his Excellency the Governor will renew the license for the one vessel, and grant another license for the other, to proceed to Sierra Leone for immigrants, not for the benefit of the colony at large, but for the benefit of a few individuals, or at all events, of the county of Berbice alone. I have said, on a former occasion, that I believed the parties had received no such communication from Mr. Butts. I say now, openly and publicly in this hall, that they had no such authority from Mr. Butts, and that I have it under his own hand that they had not. His Excellency the Governor has very properly withheld his license for the present, and I trust he will not grant a license for any vessel, chartered by individuals, to proceed again on a voyage for immigrants. I hold that it is not just to the colony, for half-a-dozen persons to be allowed to hire ships, and send them for immigrants to be located on their own properties. If this is to be done, let it be stated so publicly; let us all know how far we are to depend on individual enterprise, and do not let the advantage which may be derived from it be confined to any set of persons, or to any one county. Are half-a-dozen persons, residing in one county, to hire a vessel, send her off, get as many immigrants as she can bring, forwarded by the industry of an agent paid by the colony, divide them among their different estates, and then come up for the bounty, under the immigration ordinance, to pay themselves for doing that from which they have taken care they shall derive the exclusive benefit? If that is to be done, I am opposed to it. And let us look at the immigrants who were brought by the *Roger Stewart*. According to my calculation, there were but fifty-seven who were not captured Africans. Those fifty-seven were surely competent to select employers for themselves, and they ought to have been allowed to do so. But the others were captured Africans. They are not considered to be persons of sufficient intelligence to provide for themselves in that respect, and their distribution and location is confided to the Governor. Was the Governor consulted in the matter? No. On the arrival of the vessel, they were at once divided amongst a few parties, and sent off to the estates. They just went where they were told to go. In fact, the letter of the agent tells you that they were divided amongst the parties by whom the vessel had been chartered, *pro rata*, according to their risk. And then they come up to us to get the bounty, amounting to 2,000l. or upwards! It is preposterous. I say, if they get paid the bounty, I doubt whether they will not make a profit on the speculation, besides the addition of so much labour on their estates. With respect to what has been done, on the strength of any private information which may have been received by gentlemen in Berbice, I do say that a most irregular course has been adopted. I maintain that the gentlemen are not entitled to one farthing. Let them pay the expense out of their own pockets.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. I admit that the gentlemen who availed themselves of the information communicated in a private letter received from Mr. Butts, to get a vessel despatched to Sierra Leone for immigrants on their own account, proceeded without any authority from Mr. Butts, and not in a very regular way. The matter, however, was referred to the Secretary of state, and it was by him that the license was granted. The *Roger Stewart* having, then, been chartered by these gentlemen, they having obtained from the Secretary of state a license for her voyage, and she having performed a most successful voyage, and brought to this colony a large number of immigrants, I trust that the court will not refuse the bounty payable under the immigration ordinance. This is a case which is not likely to occur again. The system of private individuals chartering vessels on their own account, will not, in fact, be tolerated in future. We are told, by the Governor, that private parties will not again obtain a license to send a ship for immigrants. I should regret, therefore, to hear of any further differences about the location of the immigrants in this instance; and I think it better, for the colony itself, that the accounts should be passed. If the immigrants are comfortably settled, we ought to be satisfied. I trust now that honourable members will think with me, and withdraw their objections.

Mr. STUART. I never questioned the propriety of sending immigrants to the estates on which those by the *Roger Stewart* have been sent. But there are other estates, equally unexceptionable, which are more in want of labour. On the arrival of such people, I say, they should be distributed among those places on which they are most required. I am, however,

satisfied that the thing will not happen again; and I am much disposed to concur with the honourable Secretary, that it will be as well not to withhold the payment of the bounty.

GOVERNOR. I think the parties ought not to be allowed to make money by it.

CHIEF JUSTICE. If it were for the benefit of the colony, the people should have been distributed more equally; but it appears, by the distribution, that they are for the benefit of six individuals.

MR. ROSE. I have but a few words to say in reply. I am aware that lord Stanley disapproves of this mode of obtaining immigrants, and that he considered the application to him for a license rather extraordinary.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. Therefore I say that the thing will not occur again.

MR. ROSE. I did not object to any one of the estates which have been selected. What I objected to was, that they had been sent to those estates as a matter of right, and that his excellency the governor had not been consulted in the matter. I will withdraw my opposition to the payment of the bounty upon his excellency's assuring the court that no more licenses of the same nature will be in future granted.

GOVERNOR. You may depend upon it I will never grant a license, except I consider it for the public good. The agent has orders in all cases in which I do not give special directions, to distribute the people who may arrive in such a manner as will be for the benefit of the colony.

MR. WHITE. I believe the bounty will amount to more than the charter parties have paid. At that rate, they will have the immigrants and a pecuniary profit also. I would, therefore, pay only the expenses of embarkation.

MR. ROSE. If we pay anything, we must pay according to the ordinance. We are not to know anything of the private arrangement.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. It has been declared that the system will not be continued. The secretary of state, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, thought proper to grant the license, but no license will again be granted.

The accounts for introducing the immigrants by the *Roger Stewart* were then ordered to be paid.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-sellers throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slabery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 2, 1845.

THE readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* will perceive by this day's paper, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have not been unobservant of the attitude which has been taken by the British and French Governments in relation to the right of search. We have the pleasure of publishing to-day a letter which has been addressed by that body to the Earl of Aberdeen on the subject, together with the noble secretary's reply. The latter document will be read, we think, with sincere gratification. Admitting that there is "too much truth" in the opinion that nothing short of the abolition of slavery will effect a total and certain extinction of the slave-trade, Lord Aberdeen "is disposed to give due weight" to the suggestion that the energies and influence of England should be directed against the system of slavery itself;" and he assures the Committee, without hesitation, "that, upon every legitimate opportunity, the exertions of the Government will be employed honestly and zealously for this end." His lordship admits also that the exercise of the right of search is "full of inconvenience and danger, and at the same time very far from complete in its results;" and he adds, that "to rob the slave-traders of their market by a general emancipation of the negro race, would be a higher and worthier victory over them than any that can be gained by physical force." We are unfeignedly happy to hear such sentiments expressed in such a quarter, and shall not quarrel with the guarded and cautious expression of them, which, perhaps, diplomacy requires. The minister was justly entitled, under the circumstances of the case, to the reserve he has used in relation to the particular subject in view; and while, on the one hand, he says that he does not concur in thinking that efforts to suppress the slave-trade by force are altogether "fruitless of good and provocative of evil," it may be enough for us to say, on the other, that the Committee can scarcely be expected to be shaken in their opinion by the defence which he has set up for them. An article of intelligence among our miscellanies is a fearful illustration of the results of the coercive system.

We are pleased to record the fact that the friends of the anti-slavery cause are stirring in various parts of the country against the nefarious scheme of African and Asiatic emigration to the British colonies. Among the towns in which meetings have been held, or where committees have met, intimation has been given us of the following—Leeds, Exeter, St. Austle, Cotherstone, Aberdeen, Torquay, Stoke Newington, Birmingham, Coventry, Leicester, Derby, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North Shields, Kendal, Southamp-

ton, Youghal, Darlington, Colchester, &c. We may also add that arrangements are making for holding meetings in Nottingham, Sheffield, York, Sunderland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carlisle, Preston, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, on the same important subject. We trust our friends, in other parts of the country, will forward petitions as early as possible, for presentation to the House of Commons.

From the United States the important intelligence has arrived since our last, that the question of the Annexation of Texas has been decided in the affirmative in the Senate of the United States, by a majority of two; 27 voting in its favour, and 25 against it. The problem concerning which, according to our last advices, the friends of freedom and humanity in that country were cherishing so much anxiety, is thus solved, and the die is cast. This intelligence is to us, we confess, not only important but afflictive. It is not for us to remark on the character of this measure as an act of national policy, or to speculate on its general bearings; but, confining our view, as we necessarily do, to the question of slavery, we feel the most unfeigned sorrow. If, by the concurrence of the Government of Texas, the annexation should be completed, it can admit of no doubt that it will render this large and fertile region a theatre for a fearfully extended development of the slave system, that it will apply an extraordinary stimulus to the slave-trading and internal slave-trade of the Union, and that it will vastly augment the influence of the slave states in congressional affairs. On remoter and too probable consequences we will not at present speculate; but this much is certain, and we deeply deplore it. Whether the cause of humanity is, in the middle of the nineteenth century, amidst all its lights, and notwithstanding its hopeful progress, really to suffer the whole amount of injury apparently comprehended in so severe a blow, and from what quarter, if from any, a mitigation of its force may be derived, we shall not venture at the present moment to conjecture. So grave a measure must in the end produce consequences of no ordinary amount and complexity, consequences of widely extended ramifications, and stretching far beyond the present ken of the most sagacious eye. There is, at least, but One who knows them, and He is the Supreme Ruler, who, while He has been pleased to permit the event which we deplore, can not only limit its mischiefs, but overrule it for good. It must be our consolation that "the Lord reigneth," and that His administration of human affairs is not the less wise because it is mysterious. His justice, however, does not always sleep, and national crimes sometimes bring an awful, and even a speedy retribution.

We have inserted at length to-day the Message of President Tyler to Congress in relation to the slave-trade, as carried on by citizens of the United States. It will be seen that it contains an extended reference to the proceedings of British merchants also, and even to those of the British Government. This somewhat singular aspect of the Message gave rise to an inquiry in the House of Commons on the 16th ultimo, in reply to which Sir Robert Peel corrected one very obvious mistake into which the President had fallen; that, namely, referring to the condition of liberated Africans in the British West Indies. A correspondent of the *Times*, whose style is too familiar not in a moment to betray the author, rectifies another error which this high functionary commits, when he states that vessels built in America for the slave-trade in Africa make an intermediate voyage to Great Britain. We agree with Sir Robert Peel, that if American Presidents do think proper to talk officially about their neighbours, they should take care to be correctly informed. The correspondent of the *Times* is angry with the English minister for not contradicting President Tyler's intimation that British capital is employed in the slave-trade; but in this point we think the Premier manifested a sound discretion. The writer in the *Times* declares that he never either knew or heard of such a thing. He may have been so deaf, perhaps, as to have heard nothing even of the trial of Pedro de Zulueta; but we have our suspicions that some light might be thrown upon the point if he would communicate to the public only what he knows. The matter, however, is far too notorious to depend for its proof upon either the ears or the tongue of this unscrupulous partisan.

THE last West India mail brought, we are happy to say, highly satisfactory accounts in relation to the crops. The intelligence from the different colonies is thus summed up by our contemporary, the *Times*:

"From the very favourable season, as well as from the improving cultivation, a larger crop of sugar will be produced in the West Indies than has been obtained for many years. Jamaica, it is said, will make 50,000 hogsheads, Demerara 45,000, and the other islands one-third to a half more than usual. Agricultural improvements are paid considerable attention to, and the plough and other implements of husbandry are fast coming into use, beneficially replacing manual labour, and no doubt will in the end enable the West India planter to compete with slave-grown sugar."

From Jamaica we learn that there is by no means an unmixed feeling of congratulation, even among the planters themselves, in the prospect of Coolie immigration. The *Falmouth Post* thus expresses itself:

"Hill-Coolie immigration, it is said, will tend to restore us to our former prosperity! We doubt this much; for unless we can get labourers who will remain with us, and who will adopt our customs, manners, and religion, the cost of their introduction, and a provision for sending them

back to their native clime, will exceed any temporary advantage that may be derived."

In British Guiana, the voyage of the *Roger Stewart* has given rise to some interesting proceedings in the Court of Policy, which we have inserted at length in another column. The question raised was whether the charterers of that vessel should be paid the bounty assigned by the ordinance, amounting to nearly 2,000L; and objections were strongly urged by Mr. Rose, and other members of the Court, on the ground that the immigrants brought by her had been located, without any reference to the authority of the Governor, and in large numbers, on the estates of the speculators. "I hold that it is not just to the colony," said Mr. Rose, "for half-a-dozen persons to be allowed to hire ships, and send them for immigrants to be located on their own properties. Are half-a-dozen persons residing in one county to hire a vessel, send her off, get as many immigrants as she can bring, forwarded by the industry of an agent paid by the colony, divide them among their different estates, and then come up for the bounty under the immigration ordinance, to pay themselves for doing that from which they have taken care to derive the exclusive benefit? If that is the way that immigration is to be managed, I am opposed to it."

Yet Mr. Rose ultimately yielded to the payment of the bounty, by which the persons who chartered the *Roger Stewart* not only repay themselves all expenses, but put into their pockets a clear profit of nearly five hundred pounds. Something was said, indeed, about such case not happening again, and about Lord Stanley's disapproving this mode of obtaining immigrants by private speculation; but so little do the parties concerned think of all this, that they have re-chartered the same vessel for a twelvemonth, and have engaged a second for the same traffic. How far the persons thus transported are from having any choice in the matter of their location, appears from the following language, employed by Mr. Rose in his speech:—"According to my calculation," said this gentleman, "there were but 57 who were not captured Africans. Those 57 were surely competent to select employers for themselves, and they ought to have been allowed to do so. But the others were captured Africans. They are not considered to be persons of sufficient intelligence to provide for themselves in that respect, and their distribution and location is confided to the Governor. Was the Governor consulted?" This passage throws a clear light, both on the particular case before us, and on the general practice in the distribution of immigrants. It is evident that the immigrants by the *Roger Stewart* had no choice of place or of employer. They were marched off to certain estates just like so many cattle. And it is further evident that, if the whole matter had been referred to the Governor, he would have allowed no choice to any but the 57 who were not captured Africans, all immigrants of this class being considered incompetent to provide for themselves in this respect. So miserably opposed to its name is this miscalled system of *free* immigration! So false is the oft-repeated assertion, that, when the immigrants set foot on a British colony, they are really and practically freemen! We trust, however, that private speculation in the art of immigration will be put an end to, and that licenses will not be given to the two ships which the intoxicated Barbicians have now chartered for it.

It appears that Lord Stanley has recommended her Majesty to sanction (rather unexpectedly to the good folks of Guiana) the whole of the eight ordinances which have resulted from the revision to which the laws of the colony have lately been subjected. One of these new laws is likely to bear very hard on those of the emancipated class who have purchased land on bad titles—a class of persons, we are sorry to say, too numerous. The law in question enacts the peremptory re-sale of such properties, and the *Guiana Times* thus speaks of its operation:—

"The peasantry came to be implicated in this way.—They would go to the nominal owners of a place, and advance to them in silver, say a hundred dollars a-family, for land to build cottages on. This was but a part of the price of the land; the rest was to be paid as soon as the nominal purchasers, having obtained a legal title to the entire plantation, were in a condition to transfer a legal title to the several portions of it to the sub-purchasers. Many peasants struck such foolish bargains as we have described. And what a prospect the peasantry now have to face! They have invested their money, never to be recovered; built cottages; cultivated provision grounds. Within three weeks, the parties who pretended to sell them the land, will be themselves extruded from the occupancy of it. Within two months, a new purchaser will come in, disposed to pay no respect to the owners of the fictitious freeholds, whom, indeed, he will regard as mere squatters.—The reasons must be pretty obvious, which induce us to forbear from completing the sketch of what may be expected to ensue."

AN article of intelligence from Surinam indicates the existence of a ferment in that colony, arising from the opposition of the colonists to the plans of improvement suggested by the Government. It announces also that Mr. Schenley, the British Commissioner, is reaping the reward of a fearless execution of his duty in a prosecution for defamation of character, no doubt in consequence of some of the statements which have appeared in his despatches laid before Parliament. The writer of the letter from Paramaribo says that Mr. Schenley is prosecuted "deservedly," and that "his conduct, if allowed to go on, must give rise to discontent and revolt among the slaves." This is an unequivocal confession that the system of slavery in Surinam is too atrocious to bear the light. Mr. Schenley has spoken nothing but the truth, and a very small part of that, and he ought to be supported by his Government. No functionary can

act a humane part in Surinam without exposing himself to the rage of the colonists, who are, we have no doubt, as unwilling to be looked after and detected in their misdeeds, as any body of oppressors in the world. If there should be discontent and revolt in that colony, they will not spring from the revelations of Mr. Schenley, but from the intolerable cruelties he has revealed.

By the *Handelsblad* and the *Staats Courant* we find that the colonists are bringing their grievances forward in the States-General of Holland. A petition on the state of Surinam was a few weeks ago presented to the Second Chamber by G. C. Bosch Reitz and forty-five merchants, and in the usual course referred to a committee, upon the report of which an animated and important discussion has taken place. The pretensions of the petitioners are of the most extravagant description, and demonstrate the resolute tenacity with which the slaveholders of Surinam cling to their tyrannical power. The minister himself took part in the debate, and answered the arguments of the petitioners in a masterly manner. The committee on the petition recommended that it should be deposited in the registry-office, and that a copy of it should be sent to the Minister of the Colonies to obtain the necessary information. In the Chamber it was proposed to appoint a committee to investigate the affair. No resolution, however, was come to, and the discussion was adjourned till after the Easter recess. We are glad that the subject of slavery has come up for discussion in the Dutch Chambers in any form, since we feel assured that the cause of humanity and freedom must gain by it.

OUR file of *Mauritius* papers contains the ordinance after which Sir Robert Inglis inquired, when he mooted in the House of Commons the subject of immigration to the British colonies. Mr. Hope said the Colonial Office had received it only that morning, so that no time had been afforded to examine its provisions; but he gave an assurance that nothing should be sanctioned that could justly be regarded as a slave-trade. If Lord Stanley acts consistently with this assurance, it is impossible that this ordinance can be allowed to go into operation. It permits vessels to collect immigrants along the whole coast of Africa, excepting only such European settlements as are not British; and it must be obvious at a glance that, in many cases, this collection of immigrants can be nothing but the purchase of slaves. This is seen and acknowledged in the colony itself, as is clear from the following language employed by the *Mauritius Watchman*:—

"In our last number we have given the official ordinance for promoting African immigration, and we have nothing to object against its provisions; but we are by no means sanguine of the success of the scheme, under existing circumstances. It is well known that the whole of the eastern coast of Africa is occupied by native and foreign slave-dealers; and the trade has been so long carried on there, that it appears to us very unlikely that the native chiefs, who have been used to regard their subjects and prisoners in no other light than that of chattels, can be made to comprehend anything of the nature of our views in desiring to procure free labourers."

This is common sense, and ought to be decisive with the Government. As to the brig (the *Trois Frères*) which, it is stated, has been taken up by Sir W. Gomm for the purpose of going along the African coast, to open a communication with the native authorities, it is plain beforehand what the result of her voyage must be. She goes to ask for men where they are in the habit of selling men, and she will be supposed to be a purchaser. If the British agent makes himself understood to the effect that he is no purchaser, and that he will give nothing in exchange, he will, in so doing, just ask the chiefs to give him for nothing what they can sell to others for a price. In this case it is plain he can obtain no emigrants. If he would have any, he must offer something in exchange for them,—in other words, he must buy them, which, if there be any meaning in terms, is slave-trading. That such a traffic may be garnished over with certificates that the emigrants embark freely, and so forth, is possible enough; but such disguises will neither alter the nature of the fact, nor impose upon the public of Great Britain. We cannot but believe that the noble Lord at the head of the Colonial department will arrest this incipient mischief without delay, by refusing the sanction of her Majesty in Council to an ordinance which would clearly establish the slave-trade by British law, and set a most fearful and injurious example to other nations.

The *Cernéen* teems with accounts of the multitude of unemployed Coolies (he reports 10,000 of them,) and of the disorderly manner in which they perambulate the country; alleged evils for the remedy of which our contemporary loudly demands a general registry and an enlarged local magistracy. So oppression follows fraud. The Governor, however, takes a different view of the case, as expressed in an official minute presented to the Council. He does not rate the unemployed labourers at more than 1,700. The Minute mentions that many of the labourers were returning to India at their own expense, on the expiration of their first year's contract, particularly those who had come from Madras.

Our contemporary makes the pithy observation, that "the Treasury is short One Hundred and sixty Thousand Pounds."

IN the House of Commons on Monday night, on the navy estimates being moved by Mr. Corry, Lord Palmerston spoke at considerable length on the state of the slave-trade question. In the crowded state of our columns we prefer a fuller report of the proceedings in our next number to such a mere abstract as we could give in this.

**UNITED STATES.—PRESIDENT TYLER'S MESSAGE
ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.**

The papers contain the following Message from President Tyler, to the House of Representatives, on the subject of the trade in slaves by citizens of the United States and British subjects, accompanied by several communications from Mr. Wise, the Minister at Brazil, developing the means used and the devices resorted to in order to evade the existing enactments upon the subject, for which purpose there is stated to be a regular established system.

**"TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES.**

"I transmit, herewith, for the information of Congress, copies of certain despatches recently received from Mr. Wise, our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Brazil, upon the subject of the slave-trade; developing the means used and the devices resorted to, in order to evade existing enactments upon that subject.

"Anxiously desirous as are the United States to suppress a traffic so revolting to humanity, in the effort to accomplish which they have been the pioneers of civilised states, it cannot but be a subject of the most profound regret that any portion of our citizens should be found acting in co-operation with the subjects of other powers, in opposition to the policy of their own government; thereby subjecting to suspicion and to the hazard of disgrace the flag of their own country. It is true that this traffic is carried on altogether in foreign ports, and our own coasts are free from its pollution. But the crime remains the same wherever perpetrated; and there are many circumstances to warrant the belief that some of our citizens are deeply involved in its guilt.

"The mode and manner of carrying on this trade are clearly and fearlessly set forth in the accompanying documents; and it would seem that a regular system has been adopted for the purpose of thwarting the policy and evading the penalties of our laws. American vessels, with the knowledge, as there are good reasons to believe, of the owners and masters, are chartered or rather purchased by notorious slave-dealers in Brazil, aided by English brokers and capitalists, with this intent. The vessel is only nominally chartered at so much per month, while, in truth, it is actually sold, to be delivered on the coast of Africa, the charter-party binding the owners, in the meantime, to take on board as passengers a new crew in Brazil, who, when delivered on the coast, are to navigate her back to the ports of Brazil with her cargo of slaves. Under this agreement, the vessel clears from the United States for some port in Great Britain, where a cargo of merchandise, known as 'coast goods,' and designed especially for the African trade, is purchased, shipped, and consigned, together with the vessel, either to the slave-dealer himself or to his agents or accomplices in Brazil. On her arrival a crew is put on board as passengers, and the vessel and cargo consigned to an equally guilty factor or agent on the coast of Africa, where the unlawful purpose originally designed is finally consummated. The merchandise is exchanged for slaves—the vessel is delivered up—her name obliterated—her papers destroyed—her American crew discharged, to be provided for by the charterers, and the new or passenger crew put in command to carry back its miserable freight to the first contrivers of the voyage, or their employers in Brazil.

"During the whole progress of this tortuous enterprise it is possible that neither the American crew originally enlisted, nor the passenger crew put on board in the Brazilian ports, are aware of the nature of the voyage, and yet it is on these principally, ignorant, if not innocent, that the penalties of the law are inflicted; while the guilty contrivers—charterers, brokers, owners, and masters—in short, all who are most deeply concerned in the crime and its rewards, for the most part escape unpunished.

"It will be seen, from the examinations which have recently taken place at Rio, that the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, as well as our own citizens, are deeply implicated in this inhuman traffic. British factors and agents, while they supply Africa with British fabrics in exchange for slaves, are chiefly instrumental in the abuse of the American flag; and the suggestions contained in the letter of Mr. Wise (whose judicious and zealous efforts in the matter cannot be too highly commended), addressed to Mr. Hamilton, the British envoy, as to the best mode of suppressing the evil, deserve your most deliberate consideration, as they will receive, I doubt not, that of the British Government.

"It is also worthy of consideration whether any other measures than those now existing are necessary to give greater efficacy to the just and humane policy of our laws, which already provide for the restoration to Africa of slaves captured at sea by American cruisers. From time to time provision has been made by this Government for their comfortable support and maintenance during a limited period after their restoration, and it is much to be regretted that this liberal policy has not been adopted by Great Britain. As it is, it seems to me that the policy it has adopted is calculated rather to perpetuate than to suppress the trade, by investing very large interests in its favour. Merchants and capitalists furnish the means for carrying it on; manufactures for which the negroes are exchanged are the products of her workshops; the slaves, when captured, instead of being returned back to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling the amount of their products by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years; and the officers and crew who capture the vessel receive, on the whole number of slaves, so many pounds sterling *per capita*, by way of bounty.

"It must be obvious, that while these large interests are enlisted in favour of its continuance, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic, and that its results would be in effect but a continuance of the slave trade in another and more cruel form; for it can be a matter of little difference with the African whether he is torn from his country and transported to the West Indies, as a slave, in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transported to the same place, and made to perform the same labour under the name of an apprentice, which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted.

"It is to be hoped that her Britannic Majesty's Government will, upon a review of all the circumstances stated in these despatches, adopt more efficient measures for the suppression of the trade, which she has so long attempted to put down, with, as yet, so little success, and more consonant with the original policy of restoring the captured African to his home.

"JOHN TYLER."

"Washington, Feb. 19, 1845."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—WEDNESDAY, March 19.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

MR. ALDAM wished to ask a question of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, arising out of the Message of the American President, signed "John Tyler," addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, received two days ago in this country. The passage to which he wished to direct his attention respected the conduct of England in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade and the treatment of liberated Africans, and was as follows:—"The slaves, when captured, instead of being returned to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling their products by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years. It must be obvious, that while these large interests are enlisted in favour of its continuance, (referring to the slave-trade,) it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic, and that its results would be in effect but a continuance of the slave-trade in another and more cruel form; for it can be a matter of little difference with the African, whether he is torn from his country and transferred to the West Indies as a slave in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transported to the same place, and made to perform the same labour as an apprentice, which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted." He wished to know whether Mr. Tyler had been correctly informed, and whether he had any grounds for representing the condition of the liberated Africans as no better than that of slaves? (Hear, hear.)

SIR R. PEEL. I am obliged to the hon. gentleman for having given me notice of the important question he has asked; and I must say it is rather to be regretted that the President of the United States should send a formal message to the Senate and House of Representatives upon the subject of negroes (hear) intended to be reduced to the state of slavery, and captured at great expense by this country, without accurately ascertaining what is the condition in the British colonies of liberated Africans (cheers). I must also say, that if the President of the United States should think it expedient to appoint a commission for the purpose of going to the West Indian colonies of her Majesty, and ascertaining precisely the condition in which those who were slaves now are (hear, hear,) there will be every disposition on the part of the British Government to facilitate the inquiries of that commission (cheers), and enabling the President and Government of the United States to present to their own country the fullest and most accurate account of the condition of the negroes in the West India colonies (loud cheers). The message to which the hon. gentleman refers announces that on the capture of a negro intended for slavery, that negro is sent to the West India colonies, is subjected to an apprenticeship for a term of years, during which he is treated pretty nearly with the same severity and denial of free-will as in the state of slavery. Now, in point of fact, the state of apprenticeship is altogether abolished in the West India colonies (cheers). No negro, whether going there voluntarily as an immigrant, or sent there as a captured negro, is placed in a state of apprenticeship. Going there in whatever capacity, he is perfectly free and entitled to all the rights of freemen (cheers). Perhaps I may be permitted to state what is the course pursued by the British Government with respect to negroes captured by our cruisers. If they are captured on the coast of Africa, they are, generally speaking, taken to Sierra Leone, and there they are perfectly at liberty to determine for themselves whether they will go or not to the West India colonies (cheers). They are also at perfect liberty to determine for themselves whether they will go to the country of which they may be the natives (cheers). According to the provisions of the treaties we have with Spain, in the event of the capture of a Spanish trading vessel by a British cruiser, the slaves so captured are to be delivered up to the country to which the capturing cruiser belongs, and we have a vessel at the Havannah which in general receives the slaves captured in the neighbourhood of Cuba. It is true that individual slaves may not always be sent to Africa; it is quite impossible at all times to provide means of sending them thither; but if they are sent to the West Indies they are subject to no compulsion, and although they may voluntarily enter into contracts, there is no apprenticeship whatever (cheers). It is possible the mistake of the American President may have originated in this manner:—Our treaty with Spain was entered into in 1835; at that time the state of apprenticeship did exist, and the provision of the treaty was, that the captured negro should be sent to the British colonies and placed on the same footing as an apprentice; but since 1835 the state of apprenticeship has altogether ceased, and no captured negro introduced into the British colonies is now in a condition other than that of a free man (cheers.) In addition to the treaty with Spain we have a treaty with Brazil and Portugal. By the treaty with Brazil it was provided that the

captured slaves should be delivered up to the country on the coasts of which they were captured or to which the captured vessel belonged. It was the manifest intention of the treaty that captured slaves should become free men, but Brazil insisted on keeping them in a state of slavery, and declined to keep the engagements of the treaty with respect to the future disposition of the slaves. On repeated proof that such was the case, we signified to the Government of Brazil that the slaves, when captured, should not be delivered up to Brazil, unless Brazil consented to place them in a state of freedom; and we do keep a vessel at Rio Janeiro to recover the slaves captured on that coast, instead of delivering them up to Brazil, to be afterwards sent, as they may prefer, to the West India colonies, or back to Africa. Instantly on arriving in the West Indies they are in the condition of free men. I must say, I cannot but regret that this should have been the subject of a public formal message to Congress, and yet that the practice of this country should not have been understood (hear, hear). With respect to another allegation in that document—namely, that both the subjects of the United States and of this country are concerned in carrying on the slave-trade, I think that is a matter for very serious consideration (hear, hear.) I am not prepared to deny that fact; but I do hope, that if law can reach the application of British capital to the continuance of the slave-trade, it will be able to be enforced with a vigour that shall put an end to such practices (loud cheers).

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

Lord J. RUSSELL presented a petition from the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, signed by Thomas Clarkson, its venerable president, stating that, in 1834, 100,000 labourers from India had been introduced into the Mauritius; that the greatest immorality had prevailed among them; that very evil consequences followed; that a great part of them were brought thither by cramps; and that the new regulations would be insufficient to prevent abuse. They had heard that there was a proposal for a loan of £1,500,000 in Demerara and Trinidad, to be guaranteed by that house, and they prayed the house to refuse their sanction to such a proposal. They very much feared that the introduction of labourers nominally free, but in fact slaves, into these countries, would lead to imitation by other states holding slaves, and the revival of the slave trade. They suggested that the demand for labourers in the British colonies was fictitious; the real wants of those colonies were capital, a resident proprietary body, economical management of estates, a better mode of cultivation, the entire abolition of all remnants of the old slavery system, and the stimulus of wholesome competition in the home market (hear, hear).

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—ARRIVAL OF EMANCIPADOS.—We were yesterday glad to see the Mail Company's wharf thronged with passengers from Havannah; and on inquiry found that of these forty-eight were of the class of Emancipados, in search of a home and employment in this island. They seem strong, healthy people, and are chiefly composed, we understand, of tradesmen and domestics, with their wives and families.—*Jamaica Times*.

The *Jamaica Gazette* states that many more Emancipados were waiting for conveyance to that island; and that a great many had already sought refuge at Honduras, and other places in the Gulf of Mexico.

IMMIGRATION QUARRELS.—It seems that the clique in London who wanted Lord Stanley to send 5,000 Coolies to this island are exceedingly angry with the House of Assembly for putting their *veto* upon it. The *Jamaica Times*, as the organ of this body, has begun to clamour for the abolition of the constitution, as a measure of retaliation. On this topic we find the following in the *Falmouth Post*:

"Then came the boasted guarantee of 5,000 Coolies to Jamaica. As we have so lately exposed the infamous and dishonest conduct manifested in connection with this affair, we shall not dwell upon it again. If the chivalrous band require additional labourers for their estates, why not open their own purse-strings in order that their wants may be supplied? Why should we be burdened with oppressive taxation to enrich a few dozen of individuals, who drain the country, year after year, of its wealth, to enable them to 'live at home at ease'? They take from us all that they can get, but give us nothing in return; and when their deep-laid scheme to gain more than they already possess is frustrated, then forthwith, we are to be threatened with acts of vengeance."

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION.—A prize vessel, the *Ermine*, arrived yesterday, from Sierra Leone, with a cargo of rice and other commodities, after a passage of twenty-four days. The intelligence which she has brought, as it has been reported to us, is far from satisfactory or cheering. Our *Arabian* reached Sierra Leone on Christmas-day, and was to leave about the middle of January, but Mr. Butts, so far from being in need of supplementary vessels, could with difficulty procure a complement for that one transport. It is admitted, that in order to make it up, he was forced to accept of a transfer of 140 persons, liberated Africans, not resident for some time on the coast, but brought into Freetown on board of three recently captured slaves. Moreover, the gentleman himself was in bad health, worried to death by the almost unanimous opposition which he had encountered, and sick of the colony and everything connected with it. He was to take passage in the *Arabian*, and showed no inclination ever to return to Africa on the same service. When he makes his appearance here in person, we shall see what truth there is in this current representation of his condition and feelings. We apprehend the worst. From Sierra Leone we have but few immigrants, (two hundred and sixteen by the transport *Arabian*,) and, we believe, not very favourable news. The Berbicians, although refused a licence, and informed that they would not obtain the bounty, have persisted in despatching their vessel, the *Roger Stewart*, on a similar errand to that on which she was so successful before.—*Guiana Times*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE FLORIDA FUGITIVES.—We have a report of correspondence between the State Department, at Washington, and Mr. Everett, United States Minister to England, in reference to seven fugitive criminals, who, it is alleged, committed robbery, arson, and murder in East Florida, and afterwards escaped to Nassau. Their surrender is claimed by the general Government under the provision of the Washington treaty. The associate judges refused to deliver up the fugitives. Mr. Calhoun states that the position assumed by Great Britain is from the fact that the fugitives are slaves. The interview with the Earl of Aberdeen is considered unsatisfactory, and Mr. Calhoun urges a speedy decision by our Government, in strong and earnest language.—*New York Paper*.

From a late official document, it appears that the slave population of New Orleans, which in 1840 was 22,448, had decreased, in 1844, to 8,963.

EMANCIPATION IN VIRGINIA.—A worthy and intelligent correspondent, who resides in Orange county, Virginia, writes as under date of October 2nd as follows:—"One of our neighbours has recently died, liberating all of his servants, (I believe about fifty-four,) all of whom recently set out for Ohio, where they are to be comfortably located on land of their own, which is to be bought by the agent who takes them out. His character is a guarantee that they will be advantageously located, and thus be enabled to do well for themselves. A likelier company of coloured persons I have scarcely ever seen on one farm."—*Baltimore Saturday Visitor*.

A PETITION has been presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, praying that preliminary steps may be taken to amend the State Constitution, so as to confer the right of suffrage upon the persons of colour. An animated debate sprung up on the 8th inst. upon a motion to refer the petition to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report against the petition. The motion was finally adopted by yeas 17; nays 10.—*New York Evangelist*.

ANNEXATION.—The resolutions on the annexation of Texas were agreed to by the Senate, by a majority of two, the votes being 27 for, and 25 against. The bill was then brought in, and rapidly passed through both houses; it was returned with the signature of the President on the 1st of April. The measure is stated to have produced but little excitement, both parties waiting to see how it is received by Texas. The Mexican minister has protested, and sent the act to his government by a special messenger.

TEXAS.—THE SLAVE-TRADE.—A writer in the *Boston Atlas* gives the following very important testimony in regard to the origin of the Texan slaves:—"In Texas there are at present from 25,000 to 30,000 slaves. Nearly that number has been returned as taxable property. How came they there? The constitution prohibits their introduction, except from the United States. Has that number been transported from the South? It is in the power of Congress to obtain accurate information on this point at least. Let them apply to the collectors of New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston, and ascertain the number that have been cleared from those ports. It will be found that not one-third of the number now there ever saw these states. Prior to the revolution there were, legally, no slaves in Texas. Immediately subsequent to that event, the public returns rated the number at about 5,000. Can it for a moment be believed that in seven years the natural and imported increase could exceed 20,000? To answer the question, how they came there, I will refer to facts well known in Texas. A direct trade in slaves has been carried on between Cuba and Texas—in the early part of her history, almost openly—latterly, in secret. Two full cargoes were obtained in Havanna in 1836, and landed in Texas, under the following circumstances:—It is the practice of the British Government to apprentice, for a limited time, the slaves captured and carried into Cuba. These apprentices were, under some pretence, purchased at a trifling price, and shipped to Texas. There they were sold as slaves—nominally for a given time, but in fact for life—and they and their descendants are now slaves for ever. To what extent the trade has been carried on can only be judged by circumstances. The immense profit that it offered, and the facilities of landing them on the coast, would lead to the belief that it has been practised to a great extent. If one can judge by the number of fresh negroes to be found upon the plantations in Texas, the importations must have been large indeed. From this source alone could have been realised the great increase of slave population in that country."

CUBA.—Notwithstanding the proclamation issued by the Governor-General O'Donnell prohibiting the traffic in slaves, still the landing of slaves from slave-ships is carried on as brisk as ever. It is stated that the vessels do not now discharge their human cargoes so publicly in Havannah, but are moved along the coast, where they do not meet with the slightest hindrance. Of course O'Donnell winks at this outrage on the treaty, as he serves his own avaricious appetite by the exaction of a fee of a doubloon on each slave landed.—*St. Lucia Independent Press*.

The *Heraldo* (Madrid paper) states that the minister for foreign affairs had received despatches from London announcing that the British Government was inclined to remove the pontoon stationed in the harbour of Havannah.

MARTINIQUE.—CAUTION TO VOYAGERS.—Eleven persons have been detained in Martinique, and compelled to find security in a foreign country, because they had not a proper pass from this island! The authorities in Martinique have signified that it is their intention to prevent all persons landing there, unless they have the pass of the Governor's secretary, who is the only person duly authorized to grant such passes.—*St. Vincent's Gazette*.

SURINAM.—The *Berbice Gazette* contains the following from Paramaribo, dated Jan. 29th:—"The Colonial Raad (or council) has been dismissed, as well as those in office who have opposed the Governor. The Colonial Raad is now composed of officials: this unexpected change

has caused party feeling to run high. Some of the displaced members see nothing but dissatisfaction and desertion among the slaves, and a total ruin to the colony. The officials, on the other hand, fear nothing, but are confident things will improve while his Excellency is supported by the Dutch minister. In the midst of all this the British arbiter of the Mixed Commission is prosecuted for defamation of character, and it must be acknowledged, deservedly. His conduct has been most reprehensible, and if allowed to go on, must give rise to discontent and revolt among the slaves. He seems to forget the origin of his commission, and even the character of her Majesty's Government. He has been warned by Lord Aberdeen, in several despatches, without effect; and has acted so incautiously lately, and so far committed himself, as to have caused a direct complaint against him to the Foreign Office. No doubt the result will be his removal, and perhaps the loss of his pension. That the system pursued by the Governor here has been sanctioned by her Majesty's Government at home is a proof that the prejudices of the colonists must give way, and that plans of improvement will be adopted to which no wise or humane man will object."

PORTUGAL.—On the 12th ultimo the second reading took place of the Message to the Throne, lately presented to the Chamber of Deputies, by the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, respecting the existence of slave-trade, and a system of slavery connected with it, to which the negroes of that settlement—nominally free—were subject. The message is based on a report of a captain-general of Angola, in 1814, which is important for the light it throws on the slave-trade, as it is carried on at the European settlements:—"The commerce in slaves requires that the bulky and heavy merchandize and stores which serve for it, such as powder, firearms, aqua-vite, and blue cloth, should be transported from Loanda to the interior by negroes, the only means of transport there, and on expeditions often at enormous distances from the coast. The native vassal chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Loanda were compelled to furnish the carriers for the slave-traders from their people, who received for this service an insignificant compensation of 640 reis (under four shillings); a service on which they were employed several months, and sometimes even years elapsed before it was concluded. The negroes naturally hated this employment, which took them away from their industrious pursuits, and engaged them in others of toil and peril, miserably paid, and subject to all kinds of hard usage. To escape from this occupation the people were constantly flying from their homes, sometimes before the requisition was put in force, sometimes during their service (as beasts of burden) in the caravan. The number required for this service was enormous. The decrease of population necessarily corresponded to it, and agriculture was deprived of the labourers requisite for it, sometimes temporarily, often permanently. This abuse, says the report, ought to be put an end to at once, notwithstanding the opposition of the merchants of Angola, who create commotions, and consider the interests of commerce destroyed, if the least alteration is made in the routine of their usages." Notwithstanding the representations of this upright Governor, the practice continues to the present hour. The project was enforced in a very able speech, and at considerable length, by the Viscount Sa de Bandiera. The Minister of Marine, a *soi-disant* anti-slave-trade minister, voted and spoke strenuously against the proposed address. He observed that the noble viscount, when in office in 1839, issued a decree against the practice referred to, but limited the prohibition to private persons, and allowed the Government to seize on the Carregadores, as heretofore. This, the minister truly observed, was an inconsistency and an injustice, and the explanation of the noble viscount did not get rid altogether of that charge. The noble viscount, no doubt, felt the inconvenience of the remark, and the truth of the old axiom, that there is no compounding with injustice. If it was unjust for slave-traders to rob these free men of their labour and their liberty, it was no less unjust for Government to deprive them of either. The speech of the Minister of Marine was an ingenious defence of the system he reproved in words, and upheld with all his official might in arguments setting forth the difficulties and inconveniences of putting an end to the practice. The project was withdrawn by Viscount Sa de Bandiera. So much for the anti-slavery disposition of the existing ministry. The Minister of Marine said in his speech on the question above referred to, that the ministry had just received a communication from the English Government, wherein testimony was borne to the honest efforts of the Portuguese authorities to conciliate the exertions made to put an end to the slave-trade in the vicinity of Angola and the Cape de Verds. It would be better for the character of the liberal ministry, if testimony could be borne to the honesty of the efforts of Government to suppress the traffic in regard to the insurance of slave-trade vessels at Lisbon—the existence, in that city, of a company whose capital is principally devoted to slave-trade speculations—and the facilities afforded at the Custom-house for the despatch of vessels cleared out nominally for the Cape de Verds, or for Principe and St. Thomas, in the prosecution of legal trade, but which may be reasonably suspected, nay, certainly known in many instances, to be intended for the coast and for the trade in men.—R. R. M.

Egypt.—The Rev. W. Krusé, of the Church Missionary Society, in his tour along the Nile, between Cairo and the Cataracts, has journalized the following passages on slavery:—

"February 24th, 1844.—At Assouan. I called on Muallem Chaleel, but he was not at home. I was directed to the Divan of the Custom-house, where he was engaged in counting the slaves, for which the dealers here pay duty, this place being the frontier of Egypt. The importation of slaves into Egypt, I was told, upon inquiry, was annually decreasing; not on account of a change in the minds of the buyers and sellers in general, but from most of the inhabitants, who were formerly in good circumstances, having been reduced to poverty, and being, consequently, unable to buy slaves. Besides this, the heavy duty levied on the importation of slaves makes them dearer in the market; so that common people, who used formerly to keep a female slave as being cheaper than a servant, find it now too expensive."

"March 19th.—At Siout. About sunset we took a short walk toward the garden of Selim Pacha, near the river-side. On our way we passed a slave-boat fastened ashore. The poor creatures, who were all females,

were seated upon the bank, together with their overseer. Two women had infants. One was a sweet little black boy. They were all merry, and apparently quite contented with their lot. It is generally observed that these slaves are trained, either by promises or threats, to assume cheerfulness whenever people approach them."

Miscellanea.

GALLANT, BUT DISASTROUS ENCOUNTER WITH A SLAVE FELUCCA, ON THE COAST OF AFRICA—Extract of a letter, dated Her Majesty's steam-vessel Growler, Jan. the 19th, off Sea Bar:—"On the 12th of this month Lieutenant Lodwick, (the first lieutenant of that ship,) who had been away some time, cruising in the pinnace, on the look out for slavers, off this place, (the Growler being left to go down to Gallinas,) while he was guarding, during our absence, fell in with a felucca, which, on seeing the pinnace, hove to: and of course Lieutenant Lodwick thought, as she might have got off if she had chosen, she would show no resistance. When the pinnace, however, was within thirty yards, they observed a whole range of muskets, fore and aft the felucca. After this Lieutenant Lodwick cheered his men on to get up before she discharged this fearful battery; but no sooner was the cheer out, than the felucca opened on the boat. This was a staggerer for the poor boat, but fortunately this time they fired too high (the felucca had now filled, and was going just as fast as the boat could pull). Lieutenant Lodwick now returned this with a round shot and one hundred and eighty balls in a bag. In the first volley from the felucca the rim of Lieutenant Lodwick's hat was shot through; but their second volley told with mortal effect; two men were shot dead, and Lieutenant Lodwick and two men severely wounded, Lieutenant Lodwick having been struck on the left knee and thigh. This left the pinnace with so few men, and having had six of its oars shot away, it was obliged to leave the field. We picked the boat up standing towards the Gallinas. I am happy to say Lieutenant Lodwick is reported out of danger, and that he will also save his leg. The other two men are doing well. Captain Buskile has represented to the commodore, in glowing terms, the gallantry of Lieutenant Lodwick on this occasion. The boat and gear were literally riddled. There are about seventy men on board this felucca; and the crew of a prize, captured a short time since, say that she is commanded by an Englishman, the crew consisting of English, French, and Americans. She was here about four months ago, and chased by every vessel on the coast, but always got clear. She carried away her rudder going over a bar, and was obliged to return to Havanna. There must have been a great many killed and wounded on board her, as the crew of the pinnace could hear the groans."—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—From a letter from St. Anne's Bay, dated the 5th ultimo, we glean the following: a British man-of-war brig, on a cruise, and last from Chagres, reports that on her former cruise she fell in with a slaver bound to Bahia. When first discovered by the brig, American colours were flying at the peak, and she appeared like an American merchant brig, and had she kept her course, no suspicions would have been entertained otherwise; but in consequence of her suspicious manoeuvres, chase was immediately given, and the next morning she was overtaken, when she hauled down the American ensign, hoisted the Spanish flag, and prepared for fight. She was, however, captured without any loss of life on board the British brig, and five killed on the slaver. She proved to be a brig of 180 tons, with an American bottom, and had 340 slaves confined on board from the east coast of Africa, bound to Bahia. She was carried into Chagres, and taken charge of. Information had been received from her that a schooner had sailed in company with her, with a cargo of slaves for the same port. The brig, when she touched at Jamaica, was then in search of the schooner.—*American Paper*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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DOMINICA.

AMONG the papers recently laid before Parliament we find one referring to the late outbreak in Dominica.

Our readers will remember that, on the 30th of October last, we inserted in the columns of the *Reporter* an important document addressed to Lord Stanley by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, giving their views of the causes which led to the outbreak, urging upon the Government the duty of removing from office Mr. President Laidlaw, the acting Governor of Dominica during the period, and calling upon them to institute a full and impartial inquiry into the whole of the transactions connected with that melancholy affair. That document, we perceive, has been subjected to a rigid scrutiny by the parties whose conduct it arraigned and denounced; but we are warranted in saying that substantially all its allegations have been made out, if we except one or two matters of detail which are of comparatively small importance, and which do not really affect the main question. For instance, it is quite clear, from the evidence adduced, that the real cause of the outbreak was the impression which the Dominican peasantry had that the design of the Census Act was to reduce them again to the state of slavery—that the necessary precautions had not been taken to remove this unfavourable impression—that the execution of Motard was unwarranted, either by the facts of the case or the evidence adduced before the Court which tried him; in fact, that the law was strained to secure his conviction—that the shooting of Jerome and Jean Charles, and their subsequent decapitation, were unnecessary and barbarous—that, notwithstanding the attempt made to the contrary, the Court by which the alleged rioters were tried was not impartially constituted, and that the Grand and Petit Juries were composed, among others, of planters and malitiamen, who ought to have been carefully excluded from the panel.

It has also become evident that Mr. Blanc, who, as well as Mr. Letang, inhumanly refused to defend poor Motard, was secretly retained to assist the Attorney-General in drawing up the indictments, and otherwise to aid him on points of law which might arise during the trial; and that the stipendiary magistrates belonging to the disturbed districts had grossly neglected their duty.

The points at issue between the Committee and Sir Charles Fitzroy, who writes somewhat too indignantly for the occasion, are as to the extent of the outbreak, the general conduct of President Laidlaw throughout the affair, the conduct of the militia, whether the Attorney-General of Dominica ever received a legal education, the period when Sir Charles arrived in the island and his subsequent "complimentary visit" to Martinique, the "harangue" to the prisoners in the gaol, the proclamation issued to the negroes who had fled to the mountains, and sundry other matters on which his Excellency appears to feel extremely sore. We are, however, happy to find that he so far coincides with the opinion expressed by the Committee of the necessity of removing Mr. Laidlaw, as to say, in one of his despatches to Lord Stanley, "I feel it incumbent upon me to state, that I consider the early arrival of Major Macphail's successor, if your lordship has appointed one, is an event extremely to be desired, for the sake of the tranquillity of the island." We understand that Colonel Macdonald, late governor of Sierra Leone, is appointed to succeed Mr. Laidlaw, and that he has already sailed for the island.

As we have no doubt that a full reply to Sir Charles Fitzroy will be prepared, we will not anticipate it, further than to state that we believe it will fully vindicate the course which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have felt it to be their duty to pursue.

MAURITIUS.

OUR file of the *Cernéen* supplies the following document. It is a minute on the subject of immigration, which the Governor had just laid before the Council of Government, and then ordered to be published for general information.

"MINUTE.—While a Committee of the Council is engaged in the investigation of causes to which we are to attribute the eager demand manifested by the agricultural interest for engaging fresh labourers with every successive arrival; notwithstanding the abundant supply introduced into the colony in the course of the last eighteen months; I have thought that it would materially assist the endeavours of the Committee if I made dispositions for furnishing it with an authenticated return of the number of immigrant labourers absent from estates throughout the Colony, and whose labour may be considered as lost to the estates upon which their services have been engaged.

"This return I am now enabled to lay before the Board.

"On a former occasion, some seven months since, when it was represented to me by the honourable unofficial Members of Council, that the number of such absentees was rated very high in public estimation, I had recourse to a similar proceeding. The number of such delinquents at that time was estimated in the Memorial made to me at between six and eight thousand.

"The number returned by the Civil Commissioners of Districts amounted to 1747.

"On the present occasion, the return called for has been drawn up with considerable deliberation by the Civil Commissioners, and is still more specific; inasmuch as it has been required to be a nominal one, with the number borne on the roll by the absence from each estate.

"The estimate formed at the present moment by the public appears to me to be vague; fluctuating perhaps between 10,000, and various higher ratings. The numbers shown by the returns amount to 1699, exclusive of Port Louis, which may be about 50 more.

"But, Gentlemen, neither on the present occasion, nor on that above cited, are the absentees so reported to be regarded as absolutely wandering in a state of vagrancy about the country or among the purlieus of Port Louis, (although it would be wonderful indeed if some license of this sort were not discoverable under the circumstances,) or leading a life of sluggish and encouraged idleness at the dépôt, as is not unfrequently alleged.

"The Indian who has completed his engagement, without finding other employment on the spot, or neighbouring estates, it is notorious, makes his way to Port Louis; and it is the Protector's distinct declaration, that however large the number of those constantly presenting themselves there, scarcely an individual remains eight-and-forty hours in the dépôt without re-engaging from thence.

"The mass of absenteeism from regular work is therefore to be sought for, I apprehend, not in 'vagabondage' about the country nor town, or in the pampered indolence at the dépôt; while it may be shared in nearly equal measure between those whose first term of service has expired.

"The Reports which I have received from the Stipendiary Magistrates of Districts enable me to furnish some information to the Committee which may assist it towards arriving at a right conclusion on this point, and even enable it to probe to the root of the evil.

"And while introducing the authority of these official gentlemen to the notice of the Board, I feel it due from me to them, to express my sense of the services that they are, as a body, rendering to this hour to the colony by the attention they are paying to their arduous, and, not unfrequently, invidious duties; the moderation, impartiality, and general justice of their decisions, vouches for to me from among the highest legal authorities in the colony.

"From the Reports, then, of the Stipendiary Magistracy, I gather that the earnest recommendations of the Government to employers, diligently to denounce their absentees on the one hand, in the quarter specially appointed to receive and attend to their Reports, and, on the other, to refrain from engaging upon job-work the services of any labourers out of employ, without evidence produced of their being legally discharged, or for a term not involving a regular and settled course of labour, are far from being generally acquiesced in, and the abduction by an influential Sirdar from one estate to another, not only on the expiration of a first engagement, but while it is still subsisting, is an event of no rare occurrence; and thus the lists of absenteeism are crowded to a great extent with the names of those not in a state of vagrancy, but of misemployment.

"But, while this collusion exists between the rovingly disposed labourer, and any portion of the employers, the exertions of Government and Police and Magistracy must be rendered ineffectual through its operation.

"From the proprietary body itself, then, will emanate the saving remedy, in the discouragement which it will universally give to unfair employment—and I cannot relinquish the hope that the temperate administration of the vagrancy law and the wholesome exercise of authority by the Magistracy so seconded and supported, will be found sufficient to answer every reasonable expectation in this important matter.

"The Committee will doubtless observe in the return which I am about to lay before it, the marked difference in the number of absentees from estates having an equal or nearly equal number of labourers under engagements:—such are the Louisa, L'Unité, Union, Woodford, Mont Mascam, Mont Choisy, Belle Alliance, Queen Victoria, Nouvelle Caroline, Le Hangard, Bassin estates, as compared with—Grand Baie, Belle Vue, Mon Espoir, Forbach, Goodlands, Schenfelds, Virginia, Mon Tresor, Long-Champ, Stanley, and Beau Sejour.

"But, I have to draw the further attention of the Committee to the earlier report on the same matter furnished me by the Civil Commissioners of districts five months since;—in which it will be found that the same disproportions are observable with reference to very many of the same estates.

"The Committee will perhaps consider it important to endeavour to arrive at some satisfactory explanation of this apparently systematic disorder prevailing among the labourers upon particular estates;—whether attributable to local position of the property—proximity to, or remoteness from, the capital—loneliness of situation—reported unhealthiness—defective supply of water—or to whatever other causes. It can hardly be assumed, of any one instance of comparison, that ALL the vagabonds happen to resort to one estate for engagement, while all the men of industry flock to another neighbouring.

"Local or administrative causes there must be to account for the discrepancy thus shown not to be casual or fluctuating, but fixed and permanent; and I cannot but hope that a very principal portion of the labours of the Committee will be directed to the investigation of the causes in operation for the production of such results.

"I feel it to be further incumbent upon me, to lay before the Council for reference to its Committee, a communication recently made to me by the Protector of immigrants, relative to the already extensive departure from the colony at their own expense, of Indians introduced from Madras, after the expiration of their first year of engagement, and the large addition to these departures anticipated by the Protector; while those returning to Calcutta under the same circumstances are few in number.

"An investigation into the causes to which this eager return of the emigrants to one presidency upon the first opportunity open to them, while to the other it is rare, is of the utmost importance to the colony, both in a financial point of view and with reference to a steady supply of labour, and may determine how far the renewal of introduction of immigrants from Madras into the colony should be encouraged.

"To assist the Committee in prosecuting this inquiry, I have directed reference to be made to the late employers of labourers so departing, with a view to obtaining such information as they may be able to afford, and the replies from the several parties so addressed shall be laid before the Committee.

(Signed) "W. M. GOMM."

JAMAICA AS IT IS.

ONE who ought to know gives us the following graphic sketch of the social condition of Jamaica, and thus faithfully opens the real sources of its depression. The writer is no other than the editor of the *Falmouth Post*, from a recent number of which paper we have taken it. Testimony from such a quarter may be believed when other evidence would be rejected.

"The love of self is the ruling principle in Jamaica, and so long as our individual interests can be secured, we appear to care little or nothing for the general interests of society. And yet the cry is always to be heard—'Oh, the island is going to destruction!' To be sure it is, and the inhabitants have to blame themselves; they are the workers of their own ruin. They are continually crying out for help, but are too lazy to help themselves. Let a proposition be started for an improved system of cultivation. What will be the result? The manager of one property will exclaim—'There is no system like the old one; it answered well in the time of slavery, and ought to do so now.' A second will say,—'Why should I sow, that another may reap?' Is the introduction of modern machinery advocated by a scientific gentleman? He meets with opposition from the very individuals who should support him. One will call him a man of 'wild conceits, and foolish notions:' another will shrug his shoulders and say, 'His suggestions may be very good, and I have no doubt that they are; but before I adopt them, I should like to see the experiment tried by some one of more experience than myself.' And thus it is with our agricultural societies; all acknowledge that they are calculated to be of service, but there are few indeed who will devote a portion of their time in doing that which is indispensably necessary to insure success; and Hanover is not the only parish in which this negligence is observable. Trelawny is just as bad. We boast a great deal about the number of our subscribers, the practical knowledge of our managing committee, and the regularity with which the secretary advertises the days on which the monthly meetings are to be held; but these meetings are seldom attended to, and the Society appears to be as inefficient in its operations as its neighbours. Certain rules and regulations are agreed to annually; a large amount is expended for the provision of a sumptuous dinner; speeches are spoken, and 'promises are as plentiful as blackberries;' but we look in vain for those benefits which are sure to follow an agricultural meeting in the mother-country. The attorney consults not with the overseer, and the overseer thinks it 'beneath his dignity' to converse with his book-keepers and the peasantry on subjects connected with the future well-being of all. How then can our agricultural societies succeed? The very parties on whom their success principally depends are ignorant of the objects in view, because those whose duty it is to instruct them are either too careless or unwilling to do so. There is no union of feeling between the employers and the employed, and not the slightest attempt is made to bring such a feeling into existence. So long as this state of things exists, and so long as the island is cursed with 'absenteeism,' the root of all the evils we endure, we cannot en-

ertain a reasonable hope of permanent prosperity. Our present state of society is opposed to improvement, either in agricultural or commercial affairs. Both are in a most unhealthy and unsatisfactory condition, and we see no prospect of a change for the better. Our aristocracy (such as it is) keeps at a respectable distance from those who are looked upon as the inferior animals of creation; our peasantry are self-willed, and independent of the proprietors of the soil; and the middling classes have been so accustomed to that 'liberty and equality system,' which on a former occasion we severely reprobated, that they think they would degrade themselves in being employed in the cultivation of the little settlements inherited by them from their forefathers. Every youth apes the character of a 'gentleman,' and gets into debt without bestowing a thought on the payment of his accounts. Every female must dress in silks and satins, no matter how obtained. Both look upon honest labour as a disgrace; and the merchant, from whom credit is procured, is almost certain, in nine cases out of ten, of being cheated of his property. Hence the high prices demanded for the necessities of life; the honest are expected to pay for the dishonest. The former, in possession of a limited income, find it hard to live, while the latter enjoy all the luxuries that the isle affords, and content themselves by saying, 'Well, if we cannot meet our engagements, we must avail ourselves of the act for the relief of the insolvent debtors.' How is it possible that the colony can thrive under such circumstances? Ruin and misery stare us in the face, and can only be averted by that wholesome reformation in our everyday affairs, the want of which is so much felt and deplored. When will that reformation be effected? 'That is the question.'

THE MENDI MISSION.

(From the *Union Missionary*.)

*Mendi Mission House, Little Boom River,
Sherbro, West Africa, Aug. 27, 1844.*

DEAR BROTHER TAPPAN,—It becomes my duty at this time to give you the painful intelligence of the death of our beloved sister and fellow-labourer, Miss Harnden. She died on the 8th inst., of inflammation of the stomach. I did not consider her case immediately dangerous till a few days before she died. I need not say that by her death we have met with a very great loss. She was a whole-souled Christian, and seemed remarkably fitted for the place which she was called to fill. Why our Father has so soon called her to her reward is known only to himself. Of this we are sure, however, that he doeth all things well. By this providence our hearts are made to bleed at every pore; but we find there is balm in Gilead, and a physician there.

This will be a heavy stroke to her poor mother. Write to her and pour into her wounded heart the oil and wine of the Gospel.

Ann never heard from her friends. Two letters came for her the next day after she was buried. She felt to the last the witness that God had called her to this work. She was always cheerful and happy. Her whole soul was in the work. Her only inquiry was how can I do something for God and these poor heathen about me? If ever she had a desponding thought it was because she did so little for her blessed Master. I need not say she was a faithful labourer and fellow-helper. Perhaps my faith is too weak on this point, but I fear her place will not be soon filled.

In respect to the present state of my family, I would say that my own health is now very good, though I was quite unwell for several days after sister Harnden's funeral. If anybody ought to praise God for good health, surely I ought. Had I been sick also, what would have become of us the Lord only knows. I am sorry to say my dear wife is very low. She seems prostrated both in mind and body. She grows weaker and weaker every day, and unless there is an alteration for the better soon, it will, to all human appearance, be impossible for her to live long. I leave her in the hands of my Father, and can say, "Thy will be done."

In respect to discouragements, they seem to be growing less and less, while the encouragements seem to brighten every day. I never felt such an assurance that this mission was emphatically God's mission, and that it is located in the very place where it will effect the greatest good. The slave-trade is now carried on quite briskly all about me. There is, however, one singular and very interesting fact connected with it, and that is, that all engaged in it agree, that its days are numbered, and that this mission is going to destroy it. This is their own inference drawn from what they see of the nature and character of the mission. * * * The freedom and frankness with which the native traders converse on this subject, and the readiness with which they acknowledge it is wrong, has surprised me. Although I have talked thus plainly with every one that has come in my way, I never have had one man get vexed or angry with me. They take it all in good part and frankly say I am right. Would that American slaveholders would do as much!

In respect to my present need of money, I would say that I now owe Mr. Dove two hundred dollars, and Mr. Raston about sixty-five. I shall have to send for more at this time. My men's wages must be paid. I think that one thousand dollars is the least sum we ought to think of expending the coming dry season. The mission-house is in a very unfinished condition, and I have necessarily got a great deal of building to do before I commence operations at all. The bush has to be cleared away, &c., &c. I spoke in my last of our need of a large canoe. The canoe we have is very small, and when it is fixed over, it will be made still smaller. It will not then carry more than one ton, and will take about as many hands to manage it as one of three or four tons would require. The wants of the mission demand that we should have a canoe of three or four tons; or a boat of that size. I am inclined to think a boat will be cheapest in the end. A canoe is for ever wanting repairs—much more so than a boat, and is very short-lived compared with a boat. A boat would be much the most comfortable for conveying missionaries back and forth, from Sierra Leone, especially the women. Our boat, women. Think of women making a journey of one hundred miles in an though just such a one as we need, is far too small to be comfortable for the open boat, twenty-five feet long and five wide, and some of the way nearly out of sight of land, and scarcely a comfortable stopping-place the whole

distance. Every night we are liable to be under the necessity of sleeping in the boat. I think as the mission gets able, it ought to make such provisions as will prevent the necessity of the missionaries, especially the women, from undergoing such privations. It greatly endangers their health, while no good is done. A large boat would answer this purpose, and at the same time answer for conveying goods. As soon as the rain ceases, there ought to be at least twenty men at work on the mission premises. I shall not dare, however, to go forward till I get a remittance from home.

There are two or three facts connected with this mission of which I have thought considerably of late.

First,—the fact that it is located just where it is, near to and under the protection of the king, at whose word the slave-trade lives or dies. The only suitable place for a slave factory in Sherbro is in the king's dominions, and it is at his option whether the Spaniards come or not. Connected with this is the fact that the king himself is troubled about it, and says he is ready to give it up, provided he can see some other way of getting a living.

Second,—the fact that we came here just at the time we did. Had the Spaniards got their foothold first, there is at least some fear that the opinions of the other chiefs would have turned the scales against us. As it is, as near as I can find out, we are greatly indebted for our location to one man, Mr. Gomez, who was educated in England. When the king was at a stand whether to let us come or not, Mr. Gomez said to him, "Let them come, and if you have sent them away send for them to come back again." This I heard when first I came to Kaw-mendi, and I have since heard it from Mr. Gomez himself in the presence of the king.

The fact is that this place was shut to the English. The king has suffered so much loss of property from the English men-of-war, and from English soldiery, that his opinion of them is not very good. He told me himself if I were an Englishman he would not have allowed me to come.

When I converse with the traders about the trade, they readily acknowledge it to be wrong, but say they are obliged to carry it on. They say that the Sierra Leone trade has spoiled the country. In this last I confess there is a great deal of truth. The Sierra Leone trade is badly conducted; at least I think so. And I think this has a very important bearing on the slave-trade. I verily believe that should there be a well-regulated trade established the slave-trade could not exist. There are difficulties in the way of doing this, and it cannot be done in a moment. The productions of the country, which are made articles of trade, are too few. Rice and palm oil are the only ones that have any permanence—camwood is fast disappearing. Now it seems to me, that it is our duty as missionaries, while we stand aloof from trade ourselves, to do all we can to establish a well-regulated trade. It seems to me that the first thing we have to do is to try to correct the evils, if possible, connected with the present trade, and then introduce the cultivation of such things as will give a permanence to the trade.

The question arises, what shall we introduce? Tobacco we cannot conscientiously. Coffee, if there were no other objection, is too tardy for this people. The indigo plant is indigenous here, and grows in great abundance. Now if there could be such a thing as manufacturing indigo from it, it would be well to cultivate it. Rattan also grows in abundance. I intend to write an article for the *Sierra Leone Watchman* on the trade of this country—its influences, &c., as soon as my time and information will allow. I am now collecting facts for this purpose. I am well satisfied that the influence of the Sierra Leone trade is decidedly bad, both in reference to the morals of the natives and the slave-trade.

I have for some time past felt a greater spirit of prayer for this mission than I ever felt before; especially that God would raise up friends at home who would contribute to its support. The receipt of the *Union Missionary* put new life into me. I saw there, by extracts from letters and from the receipts, that my prayer was being answered. This mission is evidently planted by God himself. I am more and more satisfied of it. It will prosper.

My coxswain, George Hayes, of whom I have already written before, is an invaluable man to the mission. He takes a great burden from me. He is every way trustworthy, or at least I have thus far found him so. His whole soul seems to be in this mission. I never hear him pray without mentioning it. He does not go about his work like a hireling, but like one interested in it. I have now a first-rate set of men (six), though none of them are Christians. I have none of the Mendi people to work for me now, except the girls, and I find it much to the profit of the mission, as well as a great relief to me.

I should not send my boat to town so soon were it not to carry the letters respecting the death of sister Harnden. I am expecting the Lord will send me a fellow-labourer, and I hope and pray that he may understand business, so as to relieve me from the business part of the mission.

Remember me to your dear family, to brother Jocelyn, and the rest of the Committee. Your brother in the Gospel,

Wm. RAYMOND.

CASSIUS M. CLAY ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

(From his *Address to the People of Kentucky*.)

WHAT though I be "a fanatic or an enthusiast" in holding that slavery is contrary to the Declaration of American Independence; the Constitution of the United States; the common law of our English inheritance; and in violation of the laws of Nature and of God?—the effects of it are beyond all controversy; the monumental hand of time has written them in characters of horrible distinctness; turning the dewy heavens into brass, and scathing the green earth with sterility and decay. The whole South cries out with anguish against this and that measure of national injury; implores and denounces in alternate puerility; makes and unmakes presidents; enacts and repeals laws with a petulance and recklessness more worthy of manly indignation than the pitiable forbearance of the North. Yet no relief comes to the sinking patient; her hypochondriacal illusions are not dispelled; she cannot, she will not see that slavery, nothing but slavery is the cause of her ruin. Her fields relapse into primitive sterility; her population wastes away; manufactures

recede from the infected border; trade languishes; decay trenches upon her meagre accumulations of taste or utility; gaunt famine stalks into the shattered portals of the homestead; the hearth-stone is invaded by a more relentless intruder than the officer of the law; and the castle that may stand before the sword, falls by this slow, secret, and resistless enemy; the blood of the body politic is frozen at the core; atrophy paralyzes all its limbs; sullen despair begins to display itself upon the care-worn faces of men; the Heavens and the earth cry aloud—the eternal laws of happiness and existence have been trampled under foot; and yet, with a most pitiable infatuation, the South still clings to slavery. The competition of unrequited service, slave labour, dooms the labouring white millions of these States to poverty; poverty gives them over to ignorance; and ignorance and poverty are the fast high roads to crime and suffering. Among the more fortunate property holders religion and morality are staggering and dying. Idleness, extravagance, unthriftiness, and want of energy precipitate slave-holders into frequent and unheard-of bankruptcies, such as are unknown in free States and well-ordered Monarchies. The spirit of uncontrolled command vitiates our temperaments, and destroys that evenness of temper and equanimity of soul which are the sheet-anchors of happiness and safety in a world of unattainable desire and inexorable evil. Population is sparse, and without numbers there is neither competition nor division of labour, and of necessity all mechanic arts languish among us. Agriculture drags along its slow pace with slovenly, ignorant, reckless labour. Science, literature and art are strangers here; poets, historians, artists and machinists; the lovers of the ideal, the great, the beautiful, the true and the useful; the untiring searchers into the hidden treasures of unwilling nature, making the winds, the waters, the palpable and the impalpable essences of things tributary to man; creating gratification for the body, and giving new susceptibility and expansion to the soul; they flourish where thought and action are untrammeled—ever daring must be the spirit of genius; its omnipotence belongs only to the *free*. A loose and inadequate respect for the rights of property, of necessity, follows in the wake of slavery. Duelling, bloodshed and Lynch-law leave but little security to person. A general demoralization has corrupted the first minds in the nation; its hot contagion has spread among the whole people; licentiousness, crime and bitter hate infest us at home; repudiation and the forcible propagandism of slavery is arraying against us the world in arms. I appeal to history, to reason, to nature, and to conscience, which neither time nor space, nor fear nor hate, nor hope of reward, nor crime, nor pride, nor selfishness can utterly silence—are not these things true? A minute comparison of the free and slave States, so often and ably made, I forbear. I leave this unwilling and bitter proof to each man's observation and reflection. There is, however, one consideration which I would urge upon all, because it excludes all "fanaticism and enthusiasm"—Kentucky will be richer in dollars and cents by emancipation, and *slave-holders will be the wealthier by the change*.

I assert, from my own knowledge, that lands of the same quality in the free are from 100 to 150 per cent. higher in value than in the slave States: in some cases, probably, 600 per cent. higher! Lands six miles from Cincinnati, in Ohio, I am credibly informed, are worth 60 dollars per acre, whilst in Kentucky, at the same distance from that city, and of the same quality, they are worth only 10 dollars per acre! Now the slave-holders of the State are, with rare exceptions, the land holders of the State: they, therefore, absolutely increase their fortune by liberating their slaves, even *without compensation*. Thus, if I own 1,000 acres of land in Fayette, it is worth 50,000 dollars; say I own twelve slaves worth 5,000 dollars, the probable ratio between land and slaves; if my land rise to the value of the free State standard, which it must do, my estate becomes worth, (losing the value of the slaves, 5,000 dollars,) 95,000 dollars. If it rises to 150 dollars per acre, three times its present value, as I most sincerely believe it would do in twenty years after emancipation, the man owning 1,000 acres of land, now worth 50 dollars per acre, would be worth, under the free system, 145,000 dollars. Now, this assertion is fully proven by facts open to all. Kentucky was settled by wealthy emigrants; Ohio by mere labourers mostly. Kentucky has 42,000 square miles in area; Ohio but 40,000. Kentucky is the senior of Ohio by nearly one half of the existence of the latter. Kentucky is the superior of Ohio in soil, climate, minerals and timber, to say nothing of the beauty of her surface—and yet Ohio's taxes for 1843, amounted to 2,361,482 dol. 81 cents, whilst Kentucky's tax is only 343,617 dol. 76 cents; thus showing Ohio's superior productive energy over Kentucky. Ohio has 23 electoral votes to our 12, and outstrips us in about the same ratio in all things else. A comparison of the older free and slave States will show a much more favourable balance-sheet to the free labour States; whilst the slave States have greatly the advantage in climate and soil, to say nothing of the vastly greater extent of the territory of the slave States.

Massachusetts produces more in gross manufactures yearly than all the cotton in the Union sells for! Let Louisville look to Cincinnati, and ask herself how many millions of dollars slavery costs her? All our towns dwindle, and our farmers lose, in consequence, all home markets. Every farmer bought out by the slave system sends off one of the consumers of the manufactures of the towns: when the consumers are gone, the mechanist must go also. A has acquired another 1,000 acres of land, but B has gone to Ohio with the 50,000 dollars paid for it, and the State is that much the poorer in the aggregate. A has increased his apparent means, but his market has flown to lands governed by wiser heads than the land of slavery can boast. Beef from Fayette sold this spring in the city of New York for six dollars per hundred, but the expense of carriage was three dollars per hundred; thus, for want of a home market, which cannot exist in a slave State, the beef raiser loses one half of the yearly proceeds of his farm. Slavery costs every man in the community about the same price—one half and more of the proceeds of his labour, as the price of lands has already shown!

Political difficulties thicken around us; war for the perpetuation of this curse threatens us in the distance; dark clouds of bloodshed, dissolution, and utter ruin, lower on the horizon: the great national heart lies bleeding in the dust, under the relentless heel of the slave power! It requires no very quick eye to see that the political power of Kentucky is gone for ever, unless she take a new tack, and revives under the free-labour system.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The editor of the *Trinidad Standard* requests us to state that an article of intelligence on the immigration of Coolies into that island, inserted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of the 22nd of January, was not taken from his paper.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 16, 1845.

We have the pleasure of announcing that, since our last, petitions on the subject of Coolie and African emigration have been presented from the following places:—Leighton Buzzard, Ipswich, Preston, Brill, Leeds, Norwich, Dublin (two petitions), Torquay, North Shields, Darlington, &c. We have to report also that the treasurer of the Society, Mr. G. W. Alexander, has been for some time past engaged in a tour through the north of England, with a view to awaken public attention to this important subject. We have been favoured with the following diary of his proceedings.

"March 28. Attended public meeting at Friends' Meeting-house, Coventry, in which J. Sibree, and also an Independent minister, took a part with G. W. A. A petition was adopted relative to Hill Coolies and African immigration; and resolutions expressive of sympathy with persons imprisoned in the United States of America for assisting slaves to escape from bondage.

"March 29. Met a small number of female friends at Coventry to converse on subjects relative to the anti-slavery cause, who manifested a disposition to promote that object in such ways as they were able. In the afternoon had a similar conversation with the Committee of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, who had already taken steps in reference to the two subjects particularly brought under notice at Coventry.

"March 31. Met some female friends of the Anti-Slavery Society at Birmingham. In the afternoon attended a meeting at Leicester, where Isaac Hodgson presided, and several ministers of religion took a share. Petition and resolutions agreed to of the same description as at Coventry.

"April 1. At a meeting of female friends at Leicester it was decided to recommence their operations. Public meeting at Derby, in the Town-hall, in the evening, at which the Mayor presided. Several ministers spoke on the occasion. Petition and resolutions adopted as at other similar occasions.

"April 2. Female friends at Derby were met by G. W. A. in company with J. Gawthorne, and — Browne, Independent ministers, when it was determined to resume the labours of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association there. Meeting of a few friends at Nottingham in the evening, with same result as in other places named.

"April 3. Public meeting in the evening at Friends' meeting-house, Sheffield. Edward Smith commenced the business, and other friends took part. Resolutions of a similar kind to those at Coventry, and a supplemental one moved by E. Smith, expressive of the opinion of the meeting that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society deserved its support.

"April 4. Met female friends at Sheffield, who agreed to resume the anti-slavery work.

"April 7. Met the Committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, and in the evening attended a public meeting at York in the Friends' meeting-house, when Samuel Tuke presided, and John Candler, James Backhouse, and others, took part in the proceedings.

"April 8. In the morning met a few female friends at York, when it was concluded to form a Female Association, to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in connexion with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to assist in the extension of education in the British emancipated colonies, Hayti, and Africa. In the evening was present at a public meeting at Sunderland, held in the Athenaeum. Thomas Mounsey, Edward Backhouse, jun., and several other friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, moved or seconded resolutions relative to the subjects brought under notice.

"April 9. In the evening a meeting was held at the Friends' Meeting-house, North Shields, when some short addresses were delivered besides that made by G. W. A.

"April 10. This morning had the satisfaction of meeting the Female Anti-Slavery Association, who had for many years laboured in the cause. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Friends' Meeting-house, Newcastle, in which several long-tried friends took a share. James Finlay, the Treasurer of the Society, was in the chair.

"April 11. Met the female friends belonging to the Negroes' Friend Society in this place. At all the public meetings held resolutions were passed expressive of sympathy with those who are suffering imprisonment in the United States for assisting slaves to escape. It was also determined, wherever this had not been done, to petition Parliament against Coolie and African emigration. The conferences with the Committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, and with the female friends in the different places where such an opportunity was afforded, were highly satisfactory; evincing a continued interest in the objects which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has in view, and a disposition to renew and increase their exertions."

To the petitions presented against Coolie and African emigration, we should add one from Berbice, British Guiana, to which there are affixed 4,116 signatures.

THE correspondence with the Earl of Aberdeen which appeared in our last has given occasion to a snarl from the *Morning Chronicle*, which must be sadly in want of argument, since it has recourse to calling nicknames. We have a strong distaste for this sort of warfare; and shall therefore content ourselves on the present occasion with extracting the following passage from another of our contemporaries, the *Times*.

"It is a malicious falsehood to impute to any public man in this country indifference as to the suppression of the slave-trade; it is an absurd assumption to boast that there is more zeal in this cause on one side of the House of Commons than on the other; but although the motives of Ministers may be odiously misconstrued, their views on the subject of the right of search certainly fall very short of those which have been openly expressed by Lord Howick on the first night of the session, and in the remarkable letter of the Anti-Slavery Society, which bears the signature of 'Thomas Clarkson.' We do not concur in the readiness which has been shown by these high authorities to give up the right of search and the system of cruisers on the coast of Africa as ineffectual and unsatisfactory. But we certainly do not impute to the son of Lord Grey, or to the venerable promoter of the abolition of the slave-trade, any but the purest motives; and it is disgraceful to the press of England that an opinion cannot be expressed by such men on such a subject without exposing them to be accused of a culpable subserviency to a foreign Power for the purpose of encouraging that traffic which they of all men most abhor. The right of search has not proved an effectual mode of prevention; and it will probably turn out that an irrational and exclusive perseverance in a system which has comparatively failed, has not only aggravated the horrors of the traffic, but has diverted the public attention from more novel and important means of action."

The venerable Thomas Clarkson has produced another paper on the subject of slavery, characterised by surprising energy, both of thought and diction. It is a reply to the allegation, so ripe in the United States, that Abraham was the founder of slavery. We regret that we have not room for it in the columns of the *Reporter*.

We perceive by the papers that what is called the Colonial Bill—the measure of the French Government for the amelioration of the condition of slaves in the French colonies, which was brought forward during the last session by Admiral de Mackau—has been passed by the Chamber of Peers, by a majority of 103 to 56. It is to be immediately introduced into the Chamber of Deputies. Our interest in this worthless measure is confined to two sentiments: the one of astonishment that such men as the Prince of Moskwa and the Marquis d'Audifret should be capable of uttering such opinions as are reported to have fallen from their lips; and the other of regret that the abolitionists of France can do nothing more effectual for the advancement of the great interests which are at stake.

The papers from the United States by the *Cambria*, which are to the 1st instant, bring intelligence of the manner in which the measure of annexation, as carried in Congress, has been received in Texas. The following summary of their contents is given by the *Morning Chronicle*.

"It does not appear that Texas is half so enamoured of America as the Americans are of Texas. The tone of feeling in the papers of that country upon the first receipt of the news of annexation was decidedly unfavourable, almost hostile; and as the President, by a secret vote of the senate, is precluded from seeking annexation, except by the terms lately made known, there may after all be no annexation of Texas whatever. This fact of the tone of feeling in that country being opposed to the project, is in a great measure suppressed in the American papers, who are in favour of annexation, to whom, as well as to the majority of their readers, it is an unpleasant truth."

One of the papers which has noticed the subject, the *New York Herald*, expresses its opinion in the following terms:—

"We give, in another column, late and highly important intelligence from Texas, from which it would appear that annexation is as far off as ever. The organ of Government, the *National Register*, is, it will be seen, exceedingly bitter and determined in its expression of hostility to the house resolutions, and it is quite apparent that so far as the executive of Texas is concerned, the terms offered by the Congress of the United States will be rejected with the utmost scorn. We are strongly inclined to believe that the article in the *Register* was written by President Jones himself. It is couched in his style, and there can be no doubt that it expresses his sentiments. How the mass of the people are disposed to treat the matter remains to be seen; but whatever the decision of the popular will may be, the completion of the measure may be now regarded as indefinitely postponed."

"It would appear, from a recent vote in secret session of the Senate, made public the other day, that the President is prohibited from selecting any other mode of annexation, so that in every point of view, and on all hands, the question is afloat again. When we take all this into consideration, the movements in South Carolina hostile to Mr. Polk, the determination of the Whig party to resist annexation to the latest gasp, and various other matters, we are very much inclined to believe that annexation is as far off as ever, and that the battle must be fought over again."

The extract from the *National Register*, the organ of the Texan Government, we give below; and we may add, that the *Galveston Gazette* and the *Galveston Weekly News* speak in a similar tone.

"If the people of Texas choose to revolutionise their Government, and institute some new and different republican organisation, they may do so without the leave of a foreign Government 'first had and obtained.' But the United States have acknowledged our title to be recognised as an independent nation, both *de facto* and *de jure*. Should we adopt the course designated by their resolutions, we at once lose the benefit of that acknowledgement. We pass into a state of imbecile and hopeless dependence upon that power—to be annexed—certainly never, until their aspiring partisans shall cease to need the material we now furnish them for the manufacture of political capital. Our relations with other Governments dissolved, and our own nationality renounced, the United States may consent to hold, as they shall have consented to place us, in a state of penultimate but unaccomplished annexation.

"But even this consent of the American Congress, meagre and valueless as it is to the people of Texas, but for which we are required to give to the United States a lien upon our country's sovereignty—this worthless consent, as if begrimed to Texas, is ecked out to her at a miser's usury, and is shackled with what lawyers call 'conditions precedent.' Passing by the required sacrifice of our right to adjust the boundaries of our territory, the consent of that congress, even once more to entertain the Texas question, is coupled with the cold assurance, that if we are ever admitted into the Union at all, we must cede to the United States 'all our mines, minerals, salt lakes and springs, also all our public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports, and harbours, navy and navy yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence.' We must also yield up our revenue and our capacity to raise one; which single item, under the financial regulations of our fostering stepmother, would bring into her treasury at least three hundred thousand dollars per annum, for which we have her kind permission to retain our public debt and keep our public domain, subject, however, to the payment of the debt, and circumscribed within such limits as she may, hereafter, be pleased to assign to our territory, in the exercise of her characteristic and far-stretching diplomacy, which once reached even to the western banks of the Sabine! We must, moreover, truckle to her pet abolitionists, by obliging ourselves to prohibit slavery north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, known as the Missouri compromise line.

"We have always been a warm and hearty advocate for the cause of annexation; but never did we dream that the approval of the people of Texas would be required to a proposition so absurd, so degrading, as the one propounded by this resolution. Our space does not now admit of further detail. Suffice it, that we contrast our present elevated position, as a people, secure in the enjoyment of peace, and in the speedy acquisition of acknowledged independence; secure in the wealth which the commerce of Europe is about to pour into our lap, and in the increasing value of our lands, arising from extended occupation, and the investment of foreign capital; secure of becoming 'the most favoured' by those powerful and wealthy sovereignties, whom both interest and policy impel to cherish our prosperity and growth, that their markets may be supplied with our staples; and secure that the increase of commerce will speedily render no less consistent than desirable, a great diminution of the present tariff;—with the alternative presented by this resolution, of Texas divested of all these high privileges and advantages; shorn of her attributes as a nation; crippled in her commerce, in her prosperity, in her domestic resources; depressed by the burdens of public debt and direct taxation; her land in consequence depreciated in value; and in the event of final annexation upon the proposed basis, our public domain not only razed and mortgaged to secure the payment of our debt, but even eviscerated of its mineral wealth, to swell the federal treasury.

"This is, indeed, but a dim and totally inadequate view of the actual pit and grave of insignificance and infamy into which the House of Representatives of the American Congress have proposed to plunge this nation.

'Since he, miscall'd the morning star,
Nor man, nor fiend, hath fall'n so far!'

The New York Courier and Enquirer thus speculate on contingent possibilities:—

"We think it quite possible that before the Government of Texas shall have decided upon the course it means to pursue, occurrences in Mexico may modify that course materially. What if Mexico should at once and unconditionally recognize the independence of Texas? and what if Russia, France, and England should jointly, or severally, interpose their good offices to promote such a result and to give full effect and support to it?

"In such a course, all parties would be acting in their perfect right, and without giving just cause of complaint to us, or to any one else. Mexico would only do tardily, but at last fully, what Texas has long been soliciting her to do, and all nations may rightfully use friendly offices in support of the independence of any other nation.

"Upon the supposition of such a course of events, how would Texas stand affected thereby? There is the whole question. It is one we propound, without, for the present at least, undertaking to speculate upon it, much less to solve it. It is, however, a course of events so much within the range of probability, as in our judgment to entitle it to be gravely considered."

We find by these papers that both Mr. Work and Miss Webster have been released from confinement. We learn by them also that the state of Florida has been seriously agitated by the resolution and letter of condolence forwarded by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Captain Jonathan Walker, in common with his fellow-sufferers in the cause of humanity and freedom. It appears that the Marshal of the United States (having got possession, we suppose, by a process of Grahaming) forwarded these terrible missiles to the governor of Florida, who, in his turn, brought them before the Senate and House of Representatives of that State, with the following solemn accompaniment:—

"From their perusal you will see, that the 'British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade throughout the World,' has been clandestinely co-operating with the authorities of Massachusetts in fiendish machinations against our domestic institu-

tions. Under such circumstances, farther forbearance on our part not only ceases to be a virtue, but would be in effect an abandonment of our vital interests.

"I therefore recommend the subject to your dispassionate investigation, with a decided opinion on my own part that the time has arrived when Florida has a right—nay, would be false to herself, were she not to demand from the Federal Government a prompt enforcement of the Federal Constitution.

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

"JOHN BRANCH."

Our contemporary of the *Cincinnati Philanthropist* remarks on this amusing affair in the following strain:—

"Whew! What shall be done for our little sister? She must throw herself upon her reserved rights. A Pensacola Jury must find true bills against John Scoble and Thomas Clarkson, as fugitives from justice. John Branch must transmit the requisite documents to President Polk, demanding the prompt enforcement of the guarantees of the federal constitution; Secretary Buchanan must make the formal demand on Lord Aberdeen, for these vile incendiaries and fugitives from justice, Messrs. Scoble and Clarkson, charged with fiendish machinations against the domestic institutions of Pensacola;—and don't you think they would be given up? Ah! how the British lion would crouch, and smooth its mane, and still its roar, when it heard the voice of John Branch, saying, 'Forbearance on our part has ceased to be a virtue!' Try it, Governor!"

THE last West Indian mail brought no news of importance. From India, however, there is an item of intelligence, through the Mauritius papers, which may be of some interest to those gentlemen in Guiana and Trinidad who are looking with so much eagerness for the long-expected Coolies. We copy the following from the *Cerneen* of December the 6th.

"Letters from Calcutta announce that the attempts hitherto made to induce emigration from India to the West Indies have been unsuccessful. Whatever may be the cause of this check, whether it is to be attributed to the Indians themselves, or to the intrigues of party spirit, we cannot but profit by it for the moment. Let us not, however, too hastily rejoice in the misfortune of our neighbour. Not only would this be unchristian, but a deficient sugar crop in the West Indies, occasioned by a want of hands, might ultimately bring us into competition with foreign slave countries."

Whether intelligence to the same effect has arrived in this country direct we do not know; but we give the extract as we find it.

The *Jamaica Times* supplies a table showing the number of landed properties in that island above and under ten acres respectively. It appears that those exceeding ten acres amount to 6,784; while those under ten acres are no less than 19,397. Nothing is said of the time of purchase; but it seems probable that a very large proportion of the smaller properties have been created since emancipation.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, March 31.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

On the navy estimates being moved,—

Lord PALMERSTON said:—The right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, in stating on a former night the grounds of this increase, mentioned one head of the service, and it has also been dwelt upon this evening—the augmentation of the force stationed on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. I should most cheerfully—no man more so—concur in any reasonable augmentation of a force intended to be employed for a purpose so honourable to this country, and so entirely in unison with the sentiments and feelings of the British nation for a long course of years; but I must own there does appear to me a great and manifest inconsistency between the proposal the Government now makes and the language it holds on the subject of the slave-trade, and the course of action which has marked, and which does now mark, its proceedings on that question (hear, hear). The present Government, I may say, without exaggeration, turned out its predecessors and came into power on the pretence of a desire to extinguish the slave-trade. "Do not admit Brazilian sugar," said they, "for such an importation must give encouragement to the slave-trade." Well, sir, what happened? The very first thing they did after they came into power was to acquiesce in the refusal of France to ratify the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade (hear, hear). The next thing was, they left the United States out of their engagement to co-operate for the suppression of that trade. And now they are about—indeed, they have done it—to cancel the treaty with France altogether (hear, hear). Here is certainly an inconsistency; when asked to encourage commerce and give a scope to native industry by a greater importation of foreign sugar, then they told you that they were apprehensive you would thereby encourage the slave-trade. But when the question is as to maintaining the powers absolutely necessary for its suppression, then, either from some motive of their home policy, or from a desire for the easiness of other Governments, they throw to the winds everything which their predecessors considered essential to accomplish that object (hear, hear). Am I the only person who thinks this mutual right of search essential to the suppression of the slave-trade? Am I the only person who attaches great importance to the condition of France joining in the steps necessary for the suppression of that trade? Why, there are authorities on that subject which the right hon. baronet, and some other members of the cabinet, must admit to be deserving of some weight. [The noble Lord here adverted at great length to the proceedings of former Governments in relation to the slave-trade; and then proceeded as follows:]—I have established that which I think no man of common

judgment could possibly doubt, even if no authority whatever had been adduced to prove it, that it is perfectly impracticable, unless you have a mutual right of search, to put down the slave-trade carried on between the two continents of Africa and America; and consequently, the Government having virtually given up the mutual right of search with France, are acting in a manner totally inconsistent with their own declarations, and are now founding an augmentation of the navy on grounds utterly and entirely fallacious (hear, hear, hear). For I entirely agree with my hon. and gallant friend the member for Brighton, that the moment you cancel the mutual right of search with France, you reduce your squadron on the coast of Africa to a state of complete inefficiency and imbecility (hear, hear). A slaver starting from the mouth of an African river meets a French cruiser, and hoists an English flag, and thereby evades all search; she meets an English cruiser, and hoists a French flag, and thus she escapes with impunity from the pursuit of either, and laughs at their impotent attempts (hear, hear, hear). Sir, I think it would be better for members of the Government not to boast again of their great anxiety to put down the slave-trade, because, though I dislike using any strong expressions, I may at least say that those declarations, made by them under present circumstances, are calculated to excite a very painful feeling in the minds of those who hear them, coming as they do from the Government of this country. But I shall, perhaps, be told that my alarms are unfounded, because those despatches which have been laid on the table mean nothing decisive, and all depends on the result of the labours of the commission, which is composed of two most distinguished men, enjoying deservedly the highest possible reputation. I place no confidence in any man living when I see him placed in a situation in which it is impossible for him to come to any other than one result. If this commission had been appointed to inquire what means could be adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade, in addition to the right of search, then I should have said that the respectability and high character of the two commissioners inspired me with perfect confidence that they would either say that nothing more could be done, or, if they did suggest anything, that it would be a desirable addition to the right of search. But it is stated here in a despatch of Lord Aberdeen that, pending that measure, whatever it may be, the right of search is to be suspended; and any child may see, if that right of search is suspended by the mutual consent of the two parties, it cannot be revived without the mutual consent of the two parties, and for all practical purposes it is entirely done away (hear). They have not the discretion to determine whether this or that measure shall be substituted for the right of search; they are required to find some measure equivalent, or nearly so, and the Government decide for them, that pending that experiment—and for all time to come, though it is not so said—the right of search shall be placed in abeyance. And, to make the matter more humiliating to this country, the proposal to suspend the right of search, though obviously manufactured by the French Government, appears to be a condition arising from England, and imposed by the Government of England on that of France (hear, hear.) Why, then, I say, it is painful for me to see any two men of such high calibre as those appointed by the French and English Governments placed in a situation in which they are compelled to do work so little worthy of the character they have hitherto maintained; and I think it adds to the blame to be attached to the Government. When you mean a thing which cannot redound to the honour of the parties concerned, you had better not choose men of such high and respected characters as those whom you have now selected. Sir, I have only to say that if the Government pursue in this matter the course they seem to have determined to pursue, it is quite manifest that the result will be an enormous increase to the slave-trade. I asked last July for returns, to show whether the number of slaves landed on the coasts of the continent and islands of America had not increased since we left office. My belief is that it has increased. The measures we adopted had reduced the number to a very small amount. Government say that it was owing to the exertions of General Valdez, and some sudden light which burst on the Brazilian Government, that the increase of slaves was tending to endanger the tranquillity of that country—it was owing to the spontaneous efforts of the Governments of Cuba and Brazil. I believe that this may have operated in some degree, but the real cause of the diminution in the amount of slaves carried from Africa to America was first of all the bill of 1839, by which this house empowered the Government to exercise, with respect to Portuguese vessels, both north and south of the line, those powers previously confined to the region north of the line, and extended those powers to vessels equipped for the slave-trade as well as vessels having slaves on board. That was one great cause of the decrease of the slave-trade. Another was the measure so much sneered at in official despatches, the attacks on and destruction of barracoons on the coast of Africa. Those two measures dispirited the Portuguese, Brazilian, and Spanish slave-traders, induced many to withdraw their capital from the pursuit, and diminished suddenly and to a great amount the number of slaves brought over. If those measures had been persevered in, if that system had been continued, we might have hoped that the number of slaves would have been now reduced within very narrow limits. The papers for which I moved have not yet appeared. I blame nobody for the delay, which was, no doubt, occasioned by other more pressing matters preventing them being printed; but I shall be curious to see what information they afford. Whatever has been done, if the Government proceed in their design of relinquishing the mutual right of search with France, there must be an enormous increase in that great and abominable crime of slave-trading. When I look at what has passed, it is curious to see how the weakness of the Government in all their dealings with foreign powers leads them from one step towards another. What has passed in reference to this particular subject? First, the treaty of 1841 between the five powers was signed by a satisfactory authority from M. Guizot, who himself negotiated the treaty in this country, ardently supporting it in the conference, and, indeed, proposing it to the ambassadors of the great powers. In six weeks afterwards he turned round and refused the ratification. Government allowed that breach of international usage and good faith, for so I must call it, to pass altogether without remonstrance. The French Chambers, instigated by this weakness, immediately encouraged M. Guizot to demand the cancelling of the treaties of 1831 and 1833. What was his reply? He said, "Ask me to negotiate for the cancelling of existing treaties, I shall be met by a distinct and positive refusal; they will not even entertain the proposal; it will be an affront to France to

have such a proposal rejected contumeliously; do not call on me to expose the country to such an insult." That answer would have been accepted by, and satisfactory to, the French Chambers, and they would have prosecuted the matter no further; but they very soon found they had mistaken the materials of which the men with whom they had to deal were composed (hear, hear). There was the Ashburton capitulation; there were concessions to France on the affairs of Spain; surrenders here, surrenders there; and M. Guizot—finding he had to do with men who, to use the expression employed by my honourable friend the member for Finsbury, were made of squeezable materials—said next session, "I have been taunted with backwardness, and I will negotiate. The case is not quite so hopeless as it was last year. I shall perhaps not expose myself to such a decided and peremptory refusal." He did negotiate; he judged rightly of the men with whom he had to deal; the negotiation, though protracted somewhat longer than he expected, has been successful, and this Government, out of complaisance to a foreign power, and to maintain in his post a foreign minister some six months longer than he might otherwise remain, to catch in fact a few stray votes for him in the Chamber of Deputies, are going to sacrifice all those principles which this Parliament and nation have for years held most sacred, and to condemn the innocent and unoffending inhabitants of Africa to an increase of those atrocities which necessarily accompany the slave-trade (cheers). Sir, I shall only say, if they pursue that course, it will be for all men to determine, and I shall leave them to choose whether they are more justly chargeable with the most miserable weakness, or the most hateful and detestable falsity (loud cheers).

Sir R. PEEL. The noble lord appeared disturbed because the most eminent men, each of them known for his hostility to the slave-trade, the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, had united together for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it were possible to substitute some other measure on the part of England and France for the suppression of the slave-trade, that should be more efficacious than the right of search. No doubt it was to be lamented that a public feeling should have arisen in France which tended to paralyse the efforts made to carry out the right of search. If England and France cordially co-operated, it appeared to him that that measure was more efficacious than any, but its efficacy must greatly depend upon the cordiality with which it was carried on. The treaties alluded to by the noble lord, in the case of countries not very willing to act upon treaties, were not very specific and particular. It is true that at a certain period there was a strong disinclination on the part of France to exercise this right of search, and a strong opposition arose against it. But when had that opposition arisen, and who had been the cause of it? It was after the events of the Syrian campaign in 1840, when the noble lord was Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the opposition to the right of search arose. Nothing of it was heard in 1838 or 1839; and without entering into the question of who was to blame, it was certain that in 1840 there was an interruption to our amicable relations with France. It was no inherent opposition to the right of search which led first to the vote in the Chambers, then to the non-ratification of the treaty, and then to the strong exhibition of feeling in France for the substitution of some other mode of suppressing the slave-trade. The Government were not to blame that they found that feeling prevailing when they succeeded the noble lord in the administration of foreign affairs; but if that feeling was in existence in France, it was the policy pursued in France and England which was the exclusive cause of the opposition manifested in France to the right of search (hear, hear). If the noble lord thought the Government were wrong in not resenting the non-ratification of the treaty, there was a period in which he should have called the attention of the house to it. The noble lord, as he (Sir Robert Peel) understood, said that the right of search was now suspended. It was not so. Did the noble lord believe that those two eminent men, the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, would have assumed the functions they had consented to undertake, if they were not animated by the sincerest desire to put an end to the slave-trade? Dr. Lushington could not be charged with a desire to promote the political objects of the present Government; he saw that the right of search had become ineffective, and he had only consented to accept these duties in the earnest hope that it might be possible to devise something more effectual. He (Sir R. Peel) believed, in spite of what had been advanced by the noble lord, that the efforts that had been made on the coast of Africa had been most beneficial, and he trusted it was needless to say that the Government would not give their consent to the substitution of any plan that should be less effectual for its object than the right of search (hear, hear). If some other plan should be found, then it was an agreement with France that the right of search should be suspended, not abandoned, until it could be proved by experience whether or not the new experiment were efficacious. If France would consent to keep a very large naval force upon the coast of Africa, cordially acting with us in the determination to make every effort for the suppression of the slave-trade, and if no consideration on the score of expense were suffered to interfere with this cordial union, he believed that that course might be more efficacious than the right of search as it now existed. It was in the hope of devising some such means that the commission had been constituted.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL. With respect to the commission on the right of search, he understood that the Duke de Broglie had signed one of the treaties of 1831 or 1833, and that both he and Dr. Lushington had declared that the right of search was one of the most efficacious means in which the two countries could agree for the suppression of the slave-trade. What then was the reason that these two persons were sitting on a commission to devise other means in place of the right of search? The ground was this: it was said that there was such an excitement in France on the subject of this right of search, that it was inexpedient that that topic of irritation should be continued to disturb the harmony between the two countries. He must say, that he did not think that that feeling existed to such an extent. Of the three eminent persons, M. Guizot, Count Molé, and M. Thiers, he found that only M. Guizot laid great stress upon it. Count Molé said that there was no necessity for making the right of search a cause of disagreement between the two countries. If he was wrong in this, and if it was true that this question of the right of search prevented the union of the two countries being complete, then he would say that it was a subject which should be treated as between Government and Government; that it was a political question in which the Government should weigh in the balance, on the one hand, the advan-

tage of a suppression of the slave-trade by means of the right of search, with, on the other hand, the great political advantages of a thorough and complete alliance between the two countries. It was not a question on which any two gentlemen should be chosen as a commission to whom it should be referred. He could not believe that, in giving their own opinions, they would come to any other conclusion than that the right of search was a most valuable right to be maintained. If they gave up that right, he believed it would be on those political grounds which he had stated. Why then should not the Government come forward and claim the responsibility of giving up the right of search (hear, hear), and propose the adoption of those other means of which the right hon. gentleman had talked? The right hon. gentleman had said, that if there were an increased number of cruisers kept up by the two nations—if France were disposed to go to that expense, it would be found more efficacious than the right of search. If that was the right hon. gentleman's opinion, why should he not, as the minister of this country, act upon that opinion? (hear, hear.) For his (Lord John Russell's) part, he promised the right hon. gentleman that he should bring forward no motion; nay more, he would vote for no motion which would condemn his conduct upon that subject. But if this matter was to be referred to a commission of two gentlemen, with a view to shift the responsibility from the right hon. gentleman's shoulders, then certainly he (Lord John Russell) should not enter into any such engagement, for he could not help thinking that such a mode of treating this great question was unworthy of the Government of this country (cheers).

SIERRA LEONE.—EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

LORD STANLEY has communicated the following interesting correspondence to the Governor of British Guiana, and it appears in the *Royal Gazette* of that colony.

Extract of a Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor FERGUSSON to Lord STANLEY, dated Government-house, Sierra Leone, 13th Jan., 1844. No. 9.

"It was agreed, that on the arrival here of the first emigrant ship from the West Indies, the alternative of going there, or of remaining in Sierra Leone, should be offered to all such liberated Africans as might then be maintained from the funds of the Liberated African Department; having first clearly and fully explained to them the advantages prepared for them at great expense by the British Government, in the measure of emigration, the means which it secures of immediate and continued employment and maintenance, a free passage, and a high rate of wages; and, on the other hand, the distress to which they would inevitably be subjected in the refusal of so great a boon, by having, should they remain in Sierra Leone, to enter on immediate measures for their own support.

"In discussing this point, it occurred to the Board that, however equitable the offer of this alternative might be in the case of persons of adult age, capable of judging for themselves, or at all events capable of maintaining themselves by labour, its proposal to infants and persons of tender age, and the enforcement of the letter of the instructions in respect of such of them as should refuse to emigrate, would practically involve consequences neither expedient nor advisable, as such persons could not reasonably be called on entirely to provide for themselves, nor expected to be capable of doing so.

"After much discussion on this point, it was resolved, that as it did not appear to be expedient to offer this alternative to persons of either sex under the age of twelve years, it would be proper to refer that part of the subject for your Lordship's consideration and decision, and that the charge for the maintenance and clothing of such children under the age of twelve years, should continue for the present, and until your Lordship's further directions thereon shall have been received, to be provided from the funds of the Liberated African Department."

Extract of a Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor FERGUSSON to Lord STANLEY, dated Government-house, Sierra Leone, 13th June, 1844. No. 9.

"The indifference and repugnance shown by the school children generally to the measure of emigration, will continue to render their disposal, in a satisfactory manner, a matter of some difficulty, and not readily to be obtained by any other mode than that now in use, viz., of keeping them at school. Their numbers have indeed been, to a certain extent, reduced by the exclusion from school of all persons above twelve years of age; there nevertheless remain above 300 children of tender years to be provided for."

Extract of a Despatch from Lord STANLEY to the Officer administering the Government of Sierra Leone, dated Downing-street, 30th Nov., 1844. No. 194.

"I approve of your having exempted children of either sex under the age of twelve years from the alternative offered to the liberated Africans generally of emigrating to the West Indies, or of providing for themselves should they remain at Sierra Leone.

"If, however, the parents or other natural guardians of any such children should be prepared to emigrate, you would, in that case, cause timely notification to be made to them that their children must also accompany them.

"In sanctioning this relaxation from the general rule, care must be taken that these children will not be maintained at the charge of the Government after they have attained the age specified."

Government-house, Sierra Leone, 3rd July, 1844.

My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the Spanish brigantine *Cyrus* was condemned in the Courts of Mixed Commission on the 29th June ult., and that the following number of Africans have accordingly been handed over to the colonial authorities, viz.—

Men	143
Women	62
Boys	115
Girls	16
Total	336

The *Glen Huntley*, emigration transport, having been here when the *Cyrus* was brought in, and being then about to sail for Jamaica with somewhat less than half her complement of emigrants, I concurred in opinion with Mr. Cathcart, the Jamaica agent, and Lieutenant Leary, the agent of the transport, that it would be prudent to await the adjudication of the slaver, in the hope of procuring emigrants from among the newly emancipated people.

Pending the adjudication of the *Cyrus*, I established a rigid system of non-intercourse betwixt the new people and the inhabitants of the colony generally, having been for some time fully persuaded that the main obstacle to the successful progress of emigration arose from the representations of the liberated Africans themselves, sedulously instilled into the minds of all those over whom they possessed any influence. Free intercourse was, however, permitted between the emigration agents, their delegates, the recruiting parties of the West India regiments, and the newly landed Africans. The issue of this arrangement, as regards emigration, has clearly shown that the apprehensions on which it was founded were not groundless.

The main difficulty to be overcome, in the minds of the new people, existed in the fact that the change proposed to them as being a measure so greatly for their advantage, necessarily involved embarkation on board ship. All their experience of ship-board tended only to show that it was a scene of the greatest horror, privation, and suffering, and therefore a situation to be avoided.

It appeared possible, however, to overcome these feelings of repugnance which were so natural to persons in their condition, by a judicious management of the candid and fair statements of the delegates, offered to them unbiassed by the false representations of the liberated Africans of the colony, aided by the actual inspection of the ship in which it was proposed that they should embark, and by an actual participation in the kind of diet that would be their every-day fare on board.

This experiment was accordingly tried, and the result has been that, for the first time since the measure of emigration was propounded, 125 newly arrived Africans have consented to embark in an emigrant ship. With the assistance derived from this source the number of emigrants embarked in the *Glen Huntley* will amount to 233 persons, including nine delegates, the first full cargo that has been procured since the protection of Government has been extended to the measure of emigration.

In reference to the number of persons embarked in the *Glen Huntley*, I would request your Lordship's attention to the fact that although it was determined by the Board of Council to be inexpedient to offer the alternative to emigration, or (in the event of their remaining in the colony) the necessity of maintaining themselves, to persons under the age of twelve years, yet many of the children embarked are actually under that age; in fact, they have received the same encouragement to emigrate that has been offered to their seniors.

I may also here mention that 125 adult males of those landed from the *Cyrus* volunteered as recruits for the West India regiment, all of whom, save thirty, were rejected at the medical inspection, the chief cause of rejection having been that the candidates were men under the regulated size.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) W. FERGUSSON, Lieut.-Gov.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c., &c., &c.

Government-house, Sierra Leone, 9th July, 1844.

My Lord,—Adverting to my despatch, No. 9, of 13th ult., and more especially to that part of it which relates to your Lordship's directions, concerning the future disposal of liberated Africans, viz., that such of them as should refuse to emigrate by the first opportunity that may offer after their adjudication by the Courts of Mixed Commission, are to be placed on their own resources for maintenance, clothing, and such other allowances as have heretofore been supplied them at the expense of the British Government, I have now the honour to acquaint your Lordship with the issue of the first practical trial of this measure.

When this determination on the part of her Majesty's Government was announced in the Proclamation and Government notice, copies of which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship, in my despatch, No. 10, under date the 15th ult., it excited considerable commotion in the public mind. Grave apprehensions were entertained by many persons as to the perfect safety, as a measure of police, of turning loose on the public some hundreds of Africans, houseless, penniless, and in a condition of great barbarism: scenes of violence and bloodshed were anticipated as likely to ensue in the defence of private property.

There were at that time 180 persons, adult males, in the Liberated African Yard, at Freetown; these had been frequently canvassed, but always unsuccessfully, by the respective agents for emigration; they steadily persisted in their refusal to emigrate, notwithstanding the manifest evils of the position in which by such refusal they were about to be placed. The *Glen Huntley* transport arrived from Jamaica on the 7th June, and shortly thereafter I took steps for their dispersion.

An addition of twenty persons had recently been made to the constabulary force of Freetown, and in order that the dispersion of the liberated Africans should partake as little as possible of the nature of a grievance inflicted on the public, I directed that parties of from twenty to forty should be sent to the several rural districts of the colony, having regard to the density of the population, the pecuniary means of the inhabitants, and other considerations by which their quiet settlement might probably be effected.

This measure was not, however, followed by any of the anticipated causes of alarm. The persons thus placed on their own resources were received with much gladness wheresoever they were sent, and, as a separate body, they were almost instantly lost in the general mass of the people.

The great eagerness with which they were picked up in the rural districts by the liberated Africans already settled there, has added another to the reasons under which I expressed to your Lordship in a former despatch, (No. 12, 3rd July, 1844,) my opinion that the main obstacle to the success of transatlantic emigration from this place, has arisen from the unfounded representations of the liberated Africans themselves.

Those persons who have thus refused to emigrate, and have been so readily picked up by the already located liberated Africans, are employed

by them altogether as unpaid servants ; they are fed ; scantily, if at all, clothed ; and have no pecuniary allowance whatever.

It thus becomes a matter of individual interest with the liberated Africans already settled in the colony, to represent emigration in a light so unfavourable as effectually to prevent the new comers from viewing it as a measure calculated for their advantage, and their zeal in this respect has met with a measure of success which it may be found difficult to counterbalance.

A judicious management, however, of the system of employing delegates might, I think, go far to counteract this influence.

In many instances, little or no discrimination appears to have been exercised by the West India authorities, in the selection of delegates. Idle and dissolute persons have to my knowledge gone away as emigrants, have returned as delegates, and have been employed in that capacity during several successive voyages.

It is obvious that the moral influence of such persons, in aid of emigration, can be of no great weight in a community where their idle habits are so well known. I pointed out this to the emigration agents, as an obvious bar to the full success of the measure, and was told in explanation and reply, that the evil was known and admitted, but that persons really industrious found their condition in the West Indies so very comfortable, that no ordinary inducement could prevail on them to go away ; individual advantage was what they sought for, and they could not comprehend emigration in its larger sense, as a measure of national importance.

The obstacle which emigration has thus met with in the misrepresentations of our old settled liberated Africans, is, I believe, only to be counteracted by a great body of evidence on the other side of the question, and derived from persons of a description similar to themselves.

For this purpose a careful selection of intelligent and industrious persons of good moral character is necessary, and it is not less necessary that such should be sent in greater numbers than it has hitherto been the practice to send them.

In such a case, and among such people, an apparently fixed resolution is often readily staggered by the multiplied evidence of mere numbers. I am persuaded, that the evidence of twenty-five or thirty such persons as I have described would materially alter the existing current of feeling among our labouring classes respecting this measure. Their known characters would warrant the fidelity of their statements, and their determination to return to the West Indies would be the best evidence of their sincerity and truth.

I am therefore of opinion, that until emigration shall have been tried in this mode, it has not been tried, as it might have been tried, with a fairer prospect of success.

Another circumstance to which the failure of transatlantic emigration is, in some respects, owing, is the system adopted of late years by bodies of liberated Africans, of returning to their own country. This, which commenced in 1838 or 1839, has of late years grown more and more a favourite measure.

Between six and eight hundred persons, liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, are now established in the Yarriba or Aku country ; and so recently as the 12th of May, ultimo, some families, numbering in all 162 persons, left this for Badagry on their return to their own country, in a vessel which they had chartered at an expense of 1,000 dollars.

The obstacle arising from this source, though obviously difficult of removal in its whole extent, may nevertheless, I think, be materially modified by the judicious management of the system of employing delegates.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. FERGUSON, Lieut.-Governor.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c., &c., &c.

Colonial Intelligence.

ANTIGUA.—If our private letters are to be relied upon, the Government of Sir Charles Fitzroy is far from being so popular as our contemporary of the *Antigua Herald*, in a late number, represented.

TRINIDAD.—The weather has continued throughout the month very fine and dry, and considerable progress has been made in getting in the crop in consequence. The arrival of the expected immigrants from India is anxiously anticipated. Increased wages have been given to the labourers, and we believe, on the whole, they are conducting themselves satisfactorily.—*Trinidad Standard*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION.—The Court of Policy has put a stop, for the present, to immigration from Sierra Leone, by discharging from the public employ the Arabian transport.—*Guiana Times*.

CONVERTING THE COOLIES TO CHRISTIANITY.—“I will assert, as my deliberate opinion, formed after an acquaintance with West India society of nearly ten years’ standing, and extending over nearly every colony ruled by the British crown, that a more irreligious and immoral body than are West Indian planters, in general, can scarcely be found amongst men laying any claim to the name of Christian. They are about the last men under the sun to whom the task either of evangelizing or of civilizing heathens could be safely committed.”—Rev. J. Wallbridge, in the *Congregational Record*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—Extract of a letter from Judge Jay to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, March 4th.—“A heavy calamity has befallen our country. Texas is now virtually admitted into the Union ; and this act, originating in motives disgraceful to human nature, will be visited upon our sinful country by the domination of the slave power, by intestine divisions, the dissolution of the Union, and the ultimate establishment of a military despotism : at least, such are the natural consequences of this accursed measure.”

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated March 31st, 1845.—“Well, the Texan annexation resolutions passed the Senate by a majority of two ; if, therefore, one senator who said ‘Aye’ had said ‘No,’ the measure would have been defeated. What a tremendous responsibility ! But Texas is not yet annexed. Our Congress, it is true, have made a proposition to Texas, but it is merely a proposition. Texas, it seems, is offended with its terms ; and the probability now is, that a negotiation must be entered into, which may bring the whole subject under the treaty-making power. If so, two thirds of the Senate will be required to sanction the outrage made upon the constitution and upon humanity.”

Extract of a letter from John G. Whittier to Joseph Sturge, dated 2nd month 28th, 1845.—“Our minister at the court of Brazil, Henry A. Wise, a Virginian slaveholder, has written home, complaining of the employment of British capital in the foreign slave-trade. I presume his statements are substantially correct. By this packet thou wilt doubtless get the message of President Tyler on the subject, in connection with that of American vessels engaged in the traffic. Some of us are uncharitable enough to regard the zealous attack of our chief magistrate upon the foreign trade, as a movement to protect the Virginian negro-raisers, of whom the President is one, from foreign competition. Be that as it may, the fact that British capital is largely embarked in the monstrous traffic should continue to claim the attention of the abolitionists of Great Britain. I notice, with pleasure, that the Complete Suffrage Committee have prepared an address to the democratic party in this country, on the subject of their subserviency to the slave-power. Everything of the kind helps us. The better portion of that party are beginning to take abolition ground. On the Texas question, out of the twenty-four democratic members in Congress from New York, fifteen were against the annexation. Even in New Hampshire, where the democratic leaders have heretofore gone entirely with the South, one of their members in Congress, John P. Hale, has come out with a noble letter to his constituents, taking a decided anti-slavery position. Attempts are making, in consequence, to defeat his re-election, and a new candidate has been nominated ; but the people are taking up the matter, and, for the first time, the dictates of the party managers are disregarded.

“A great convention of democrats, opposed to Texas, was held last seventh day, at Exeter, N.H., about ten miles from this place, by which Hale was sustained in his course, and slavery denounced in the strongest terms. The New Hampshire election takes place on the second third day of next month. Our Anti-Slavery Convention is deferred until next session. We had not time to get up a meeting this winter.”

Extract of a letter from Joshua Leavitt to Joseph Sturge, dated Boston, April 1st, 1845.—“I can hardly say, in a few words, what I would in regard to Texas. The annexation is not yet consummated, nor apparently very near to it. But we hear nothing from Texas since the actual passing of the bill through Congress. I do not think that the Texas Government will assent to the terms proposed, especially now that there is so little to fear from Mexico. But I was so disappointed in my calculations about the course of our public men in Congress, that I put less confidence than ever in the anticipations which my rather sanguine temperament leads me to make on the subject. At any rate, our work is the abolition of slavery, and it looks now like a very long and difficult work. Yet we ought not to be discouraged. It is a work that must be done, whether it be five years, or ten, or twenty, or fifty. I have no doubt the cause of liberty is advancing in both countries, although there are many drawbacks and hindrances to be encountered.”

FRANCE.—In the Chamber of Peers, on the 3rd of April, the Minister of Marine introduced a bill for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in the French colonies. The same bill was brought forward last session, and sent to a committee of the chamber, which made important alterations in it. To some of these changes the ministers have now adhered, but to others they dissent. The bill professes to ameliorate the condition of the slaves ; to introduce the elements of comfort in the colonies ; to encourage marriages ; to afford moral culture ; and, in short, to prepare the slave population for emancipation. The principal point upon which the committee and the Government differed was as to the proper time for introducing the proposed improvements. The committee wished them to be introduced all at once, while the Government wished to proceed gradually. The Government also wished to make the proposed changes by royal ordinance, while the committee thought they ought to be made by the legislature.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Miscellanea.

FREE LABOUR SUGAR.—A cargo of free labour sugar has arrived at Liverpool from Manilla, consisting of not less than 20,000 bags ; the largest importation by one ship ever received at that port from the same place.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—It is stated in the papers that the commissioners have been examining witnesses. The *Presse* says it is assured “that the result of the conferences between the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington is, that the French and English Governments have agreed to suspend the right of search for two years, withdrawing for this period the commissions given to their respective cruisers.”

The Pelican sloop of war, left at St. Helena, on the 8th of December, a slave prize belonging to the *Albatross*, in charge of Lieutenant Elliott.—*Morning Chronicle*.

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION IN TUNIS AND ALGIERS.

TO THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.

SIR,—At the moment when the French Chambers are again discussing the question of the occupation of Algeria by France, and voting the necessary funds for the maintenance of that occupation, I am anxious to remind you of the present state of the anti-slavery question in Tunis and Algiers, and to urge the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, whose most venerable and pre-eminently accomplished President you are, to make some decisive demonstration in favour of the unhappy beings now groaning in the bondage of a cruel slavery under the immediate but *funeste* auspices of the French Government and its Royal Ordonnances. At least France and Frenchmen shall know what is our opinion of them and their Government, for continuing the accursed traffic in human beings, in spite of the severest reclamations of their own and foreign philanthropists—in spite of the holy and merciful principles of the Christian religion—in defiance of the universally acknowledged rights of human kind, and in impious violation of the laws of God, who has denounced death against every man who steals or enslaves his fellow. In the name of Christian Europe, in the name of humanity itself, we declare that if, notwithstanding, France and Frenchmen persist in maintaining the diabolical system of slavery in Algeria, to the scandal of Christendom, to the scandal of a Mussulman neighbouring prince who has magnanimously abolished the inhuman traffic, it shall not be done with impunity of censure, or any want from us of the most emphatic and persevering condemnation.

But, sir, I shall not detain you further with a declamatory introduction, but proceed at once to a statement of facts, giving you first an account of the state of the anti-slavery question in Tunis, and afterwards that of Algeria.

I begin by stating the conduct of his Highness the Bey of Tunis, and the measures which he has successfully adopted for the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade in his territories. I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Thomas Reade, British Consul-General at Tunis, contained in a despatch addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated December 1842, and published in the Anti-Slavery Parliamentary Papers or Correspondence, of 1843. (See Class D., *Barbary States, Tunis*, p. 149.) These words are, “ His Highness said at my last interview with him, he had long reflected on the manner of meeting the question as he could wish, by indemnifying the slave-holders for their property, and destroying at once the slavery system; but I was aware that his treasury was far from being equal to such an effort, and he could not, on the other hand, force on his subjects the injustice of liberating their slaves without an equivalent.”

“ That, however, he could safely adopt my proposal of declaring free all negro children after a certain date; and he would give it force of law that same morning by issuing proclamations to the authorities under him, ordering that all infants born of slaves from the 8th inst. should be considered as free, and treated as equal to any other Mussulmans.

“ Your Lordship is already aware that his Highness had successfully prohibited the introduction of slaves by land and sea, as well as the public sale of slaves now existing in the regency, accompanying the prohibition by the destruction of the market where they were exposed for traffic. Those may be considered, and indeed were, preparatory measures to conciliate the spirit of the Tunisian people to the innovation, of which the last is the effective and conclusive one, and it affords me the greatest satisfaction in assuring your Lordship that in a few years slavery will only exist in the memory of man.”

These paragraphs, quoted from Sir Thomas Reade’s despatch, require no comment. They present to us the most extraordinary fact of the first Mussulman prince in the history of Islamism who ever abolished the traffic in the bodies, nay, even in the souls of human beings. May the memory of this merciful and enlightened prince live in the ages to come as the benefactor of his species, and the friend and liberator of the African slave!

As, however, sir, there are still slaves existing in Tunis, who, in the ordinary course of nature, will remain so for several years to come, unless liberated spontaneously by their masters; and likewise as there are sometimes slaves belonging to Mahometans not of Tunis passing and repassing this country, many cases occur daily in which the vigilance and powerful influence of her Britannic Majesty’s Consul are constantly required, to protect sometimes the liberated slaves, and at other times to assist in the emancipation of fugitive slaves. It was impossible to have had a more amiable or enlightened guardian of the anti-slavery interests of Tunis than our Consul-General Sir Thomas Reade, whose untiring perseverance and signal generosity have obtained the freedom, since the final

measures of the Bey about two years ago, of no less than a thousand slaves, many of them being whole families together. Besides this, (the simple liberating of the slaves,) Sir T. Reade has spent out of his own pocket no small sum of money in providing for the various wants of those poor creatures, thus saving many of them from absolute starvation. And I cannot help adding that I hope such unusual benevolence, in so pure and noble a cause, will not pass unnoticed, either by the British Government, whom he so faithfully serves, or by the British public, so profoundly interested in promoting the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in every part of the world.

In illustration of the unwearied perseverance in the cause of abolition, and the great influence of the British Consul-General of Tunis over his Highness the Bey, I shall take the liberty of mentioning two or three facts, which have already been reported to the Foreign Office. The first case I take from a Report in the Parliamentary Papers of 1843. (*See Barbary States, Tunis*, No. 73, page 151.) This is the case of a negro boy who took refuge in the British Consulate; and although a Maroquine subject, he obtained his liberty. He had been brought from Morocco in a Sardinian vessel, touching at Gibraltar; (another proof of the practice of transporting slaves on the waters of the Mediterranean, and these slaves touching occasionally at British ports—a matter for the still further serious investigation of our Government.) Sir Thomas Reade says of this case of the Maroquine slave:—“ As the late regulations, established by the Bey, prohibited any introduction of slaves in this regency under penalty of losing all right over them, I have not hesitated in accepting him, and giving him in charge of my Vice-Consul, in whose house he is free and unmolested.” In this case we see the excellence of the Bey’s regulations, in declaring “that every foreign slave who should touch the territory of Tunis became immediately a freeman;” thus following the glorious example of Great Britain, who long ago declared to the universe of nations “*that a slave cannot exist on her native soil.*” It is, however, very melancholy that these grand regulations of the Bey have an exception in favour of a powerful Christian neighbour, France, which the Bey, for the sake of peace, is most unwillingly obliged to concede, as will appear in the following case:—An Algerine slave, a negro boy, a short time ago ran away from his master on account of his extreme cruelty towards him, and took refuge in the British Consulate. The British Consul protected him, and the conduct of the Consul was approved by his Government. However, Sir Thomas Reade was obliged to keep the poor boy a sort of prisoner, to save him from the slave-holding grasp of his French Algerine master; and he determined at last to purchase the boy, at his own private expense, from the French Algerine, and give the boy his liberty. Thus the generous Consul proceeds in his noble career of doing good to the poor slaves; and many other examples could be given, but let these suffice.

It might be expected that our Consul would not only excite the jealousy of the foreign Consuls of Tunis, as actions of sterling good always do, but also opposition from those of them whose Governments have not yet abolished the flagitious traffic in humankind; and it has been so to a very great extent. The case of Mr. Gaspary is very familiar to most persons in the Mediterranean,—a notorious and most criminal slave-embarker before the anti-slavery measures of the Bey were enacted; and, nevertheless, at the time, the Goletta agent of all the European Consuls at Tunis. However, when the bad practices of this slavery agent became known to the British Government, he was forthwith dismissed. Also, we learn from a dispatch of Sir Thomas Cartwright, dated Stockholm, 13th May, 1842, and referred to in the public dispatch of Sir Thomas Reade, No. 75 of the Slave-Trade Papers of 1843, “That the Swedish Government, satisfied that Mr. Gaspary was implicated in the transaction of embarkation of slaves, had instructed the Swedish Consul at Tunis to discharge him from the office he holds, of Vice-Consul at the Goletta.” But it is greatly to be regretted that the rest of the European Consuls still employ this Mr. Gaspary; and some of them, I fear, simply because of his having been dismissed by the British Government, or in defiance of his being convicted of slave-holding malpractices and crimes. I fear, also, that notwithstanding the unequivocal dismissal of this Mr. Gaspary by the Swedish Government, Mr. Tulin, the Swedish Consul at Tunis, has the effrontery still to employ him, through the underhand means of his (Mr. Gaspary’s) clerk and nephew. How painful a sight is all this! Here we see a number of Christian Consuls in a Mussulman country, ruled over by a sovereign who had the amazing courage, in the face of all the difficulties and prejudices from his own subjects, to abolish the slave-trade, shamefully caballing together to thwart the anti-slavery measures of his Highness the Bey, and the British representative at his court!

The Bey, nevertheless, to his immortal honour, powerfully

assisted by Sir Thomas Reade, pursues with undeviating rectitude the even course of his way : and, whilst he cannot forcibly insist upon his subjects liberating their slaves—these being their *bond-side* property consecrated by the usage of ages, and whilst, also, his treasury is not sufficiently abundant to purchase the slaves of his subjects, and give them their freedom, his Highness scrupulously receives complaints of all the slaves in his territories ; and, whenever a master is found to have maltreated his slave, that slave is, by the severest orders of the Bey, immediately set at liberty. Moreover, in this mighty work of humanity, his Highness is most cordially seconded by many of his distinguished subjects, those especially who enjoy his confidence at court. Several Moors of distinction have liberated their slaves, in some cases to the amount of one hundred, giving them, with the inestimable blessing of freedom, small plots of ground for their use and cultivation, wherewith they may earn a goodly and independent livelihood. In this way, under the favour of an all-merciful Providence, we may reasonably hope to realize speedily the words of our Consul at Tunis, "that in a few years slavery will only exist in the memory of man" in that country.

It is time, however, sir, that we come to the statement of facts relating to slavery and the slave-trade in Algeria. You will recollect that, a few months ago, M. Le Duc de Montmorency, the president of the Institut d'Afrique at Paris, wrote a letter to Marshal Bugeaud, Governor-General of Algeria, calling upon the Marshal to adopt immediate measures for the abolition of slavery in the markets of Algiers, Oran, and Bona.

The Marshal Duke replied to this in a letter dated 4th October last, which first appeared in the London Journals, and in which he says, amongst other various, and some very egregiously foolish matters,—“That though not differing from him as to the desirability, or even justice, of abolishing the traffic in human beings, it is not now the time for legislating on such a subject in Algeria.” To use the words of the Marshal:—“*Nous ne différons pas vous et moi que sur l'opportunité du moment.*” This good beginning has a sorry ending, and is, alas ! wofully neutralized in the winding up of the incoherent Marshal; for he has the extreme kindness to tell us in a postscript:—“I forgot one argument. We desire to open commercial relations with the interior of Africa. Is this project practicable, if we deprive those distant countries of one branch of their trade?” To paraphrase a little the Marshal's postscript:—“Our war in Africa has cut off the commercial relations of Algeria with the interior of Africa. The caravans now take the routes of Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco. We wish to restore these ancient relations between Algeria and the commerce of the Great Desert; and our best way of doing so is, by maintaining, nay, encouraging the traffic in slaves, which is a branch of the commerce of the caravans of the interior. If we abolish slavery, we shall deprive ourselves of the means of restoring these relations, which will be so beneficial in the future to our Algerine possessions.” Thus reasons the Marshal upon the most despicable slave-dealing and slave-holding principles.

But there is such a thing, or such a principle, that, whilst we do what we like with our own, we have no right, in so doing, to injure our neighbours. Now, his Highness, the Bey of Tunis, has made immense sacrifices of both interest and policy, at the reiterated instance of her Majesty's representative, for the abolition of slavery in his states. Is it, then, just, or honest, or neighbourly, of the French Government of Algeria, to enter into an invidious and formidable competition with the Bey, simply because his Highness has done a great act of mercy towards the poor African slave? Shall a European and a Christian power drive out of the field of fair and lawful commerce a Mussulman prince, who has set an example of justice and mercy to all the Mussulman princes in the world, in liberating his own slaves throughout his states, by reviving, encouraging, and maintaining this detestable traffic? I ask, indignantly, is this the mission of the French in Africa? Is this the recompense to the British Ministry, for having “no objection to make” to the occupation of Algeria by the French? Shame to Christendom, and to Christian Europe! Injustice and ingratitude towards the enlightened Mussulman prince in Tunisian Africa! This is not all, sir,—the conduct of the French Marshal might endanger the great work of emancipation in Tunis. Happily, his Highness the Bey is a young man, and, with a gracious Providence watching over him, he may be spared to see the glorious day when not a single slave will deform the society of his fertile and beautiful dominions. Nevertheless, who does not see that some Tunisian merchants may murmur and complain, that the Christians and Mussulmans of Algeria buy and sell slaves, and that the merchants of Soudan and Central Africa, who ought to come to Tunis and purchase goods, go to Algeria, because there they can take with them slaves to exchange for merchandise? Is it possible, sir, for your Society to see such monstrous injustice practised by one state towards another, because, forsooth, one of them has been so humane and so noble as to abolish a traffic of crying iniquity and inhumanity, without remonstrating with the Government of the King of the French? And I might add, why are all the anti-slavery labours of her Majesty's consuls in Northern Africa thus to be placed in jeopardy, and all the money of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to be thus wasted, because a French Governor-General of Algeria has taken it into his head to adopt, or suggest, so unjustifiable, so criminal a means of re-establishing the commercial relations of Algeria with the interior of Africa?

I shall now, sir, endeavour to prove that the terms “re-establishing the slave-trade,” are in substance correctly applied to the project

of Marshal Bugeaud; and from a most unprejudiced source, at any rate a source *not English*, and therefore an apparently better authority on a French question. M. Subtil, a Frenchman, who resided many years on the coast of the Syrtis and other districts of Tripoli, principally with the object of exploring for sulphur, has lately published a “Memoire” in the “*Revue de l'Orient*,” (see the Number for last October,) upon the city of Ghadames, which is the grand entrepôt of the commerce of the North-eastern Sahara, situate between Tripoli and Tunis, on the borders of the Great Desert; and, according to this gentleman, under protection of the Porte, being also garrisoned by Turkish troops. In this “Memoire,” M. Subtil states most fully and explicitly,—“that, on account of the abolition of slavery in Tunis, and the occupation of Algeria by France, the infamous slave-trade of the interior had greatly diminished:—that, moreover, the merchants of Ghadames, who formerly had an immense share in this traffic, had given it up as a bad speculation; that the number of free negroes daily increased in Ghadames and other cities or oases of the Desert, and were preferred to slaves; that the emigration of free negroes from central to northern Africa was greater in proportion as the traffic in slaves was less; that many towns and villages had been formed of these emigrants in the provinces of Tripoli: and that, in fact, everything announces the gradual, but speedy extinction of this inhuman traffic.”

Now, this important, and, for humanity's sake, most cheering statement of M. Subtil, appears, from the evidence adduced, established beyond doubt. I have, therefore, sir, every right and reason to say, that the commercial schemes of the Governor-General of Algeria (however patriotic for lessening the expense of the colonial budget) amount to the baneful attempt of re-establishing this odious traffic through the dreadful deserts of the boundless Sahara, where full ONE-THIRD of the poor slaves brought across the “middle passage of this ocean of sands” invariably perish. But will Christian Europe permit France to establish herself in Northern Africa? for and by the maintenance of this system of periodic and wholesale murder? Apart from Marshal Bugeaud's pro-slavery projects, the present state of slavery in Algeria is sufficiently afflicting, and covers with shame French European civilisation.

For a long time the fact was not believed in England. But some French writers, feeling the disgrace insufferable, were at last determined to break silence, and the daily press followed in support of these isolated writers, bearing their testimony against this iniquity, which indelibly sullies the French arms and the French Government in Africa. I shall content myself with citing a single, but very respectable authority. M. Desjober, a French deputy, says, in his *brochure* entitled “*L'Algérie en 1844*”—“We should have thought that France had renounced the idea of counting men amongst the number of its merchandise, since experience has proved that to buy prisoners from the African people was to provoke them to war: it was to render still more merciless the barbarism of their chiefs; it was to sow in the bosoms of their families the most selfish and most infamous passion. But, nevertheless, M. Lawrence, senior director of African affairs, speaks to the ministerial commission instituted in January, 1842, of projects upon slavery. He thinks one could not hinder the natives from having slaves (*noirs*.) In this respect,” M. Desjober adds, “the Regency of Tunis marches quicker than France in the way of civilisation. Slavery was abolished there two years ago.”

The latest fact recorded by the periodical press, is the case of the native Jews, of the province of Oran, being extensively engaged in the traffic of slaves. The journal called *L'Afrique*, in its number of the 2nd December last, mentions that the chief magistrate of the Jews resident at Oran, notwithstanding he has received a stipend from the French Government, and is therefore a *bona fide* government employé, was very actively engaged in this traffic; and that, although this fact was fully known to the French authorities in that city, they connived at it. Indeed, a French military captain of that city very lately purchased a little slave, a negro boy, for the delicious gratification of his wife; this boy was purchased for about 200 francs, and the only punishment which the captain can receive is, that, in the event of the boy running away, he cannot claim him by right, or by law. I shall conclude my statement of facts respecting the slave-trade in Algeria by relating a fact which occurred last August in Oran, showing, that under the auspices of French military occupation, the poor slaves in Algeria are not a little better treated than in the most slaveholding countries in the Indies or America. This was the case of a negress, who ran away from a new master to whom she was sold against her will. The old master then sold her again and again, and every time she ran away, and returned home to him. He then lost all patience, seeing that his negress would not be sold, and he should lose the purchase money; and, seizing her with horrid violence, he tied her up by her heels, stark naked, and with head downwards to the floor, and in this outrageous position the beast in human shape beat her till she was senseless!! This piece of fiend-like wickedness was repeated during several days, and was never reported to the police authorities; or, if so, no notice was taken of it whatever.

I ought to observe here, before closing this hideous picture, that the native Jews, under the Turks of Algiers, were never permitted to trade in or hold slaves. It is altogether a new privilege, which the native Jews have acquired under the sanction of the French administration, as propagating European civilisation in Africa. The native Jews also purchase many negroes for the infamous purposes of prostitution, and these wretched women are registered as such at the police. Unutterable shame to Christendom!

You well know, sir, that, in the early struggles for emancipation in England, the clergy took a very active and prominent part in the great work. How different is it in French Algeria! There the priests, both Catholic and Protestant, abet or excuse the Governor-General in his pro-slavery measures, thus lending the sanction of the priesthood to a traffic denounced by the holy book of Christians as punishable with death!

But it is necessary to conclude. The subject, however agreeable it may be in its Tunisian aspect, is still very painful, viewed in its relation with Algiers, and the conduct of men calling themselves Christians in that country. We still, however, will hope, that there is sufficient anti-slavery feeling in France to rouse the public attention, and excite in them sentiments of humanity towards the African race, and to urge the French Government to wash away this dark stain upon the fortunes of their army in Northern Africa. I repeat it, we will hope, that nor France nor Frenchmen can desire the reviving and the re-establishing of the wearing-out, dying-out, and odious traffic in slaves on the Saharan frontiers of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers; and that, as an immediate consequence the pro-slavery projects of the Governor-General may be nipped in the bud, and the friends of humanity and the African race may be reassured and encouraged to go on in their good, their just, and holy work of emancipating the poor desolate slave of these unfriendly and benighted regions. I have the honour to be, sir,

A CORRESPONDENT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE STATE OF WEST FLORIDA AND THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We mentioned in our last that the letter of sympathy some time ago addressed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Captain Jonathan Walker had given rise to some grave proceedings in the Legislature of West Florida. We now learn by the papers that this document was taken from his person after an unsuccessful attempt to escape from confinement, and transmitted to the Governor by the Marshal of the State. We have received also the official Report presented to the Legislature by the joint Committee of the two Houses to which it was referred, and we think it of sufficient importance to give it entire.

REPORT OF THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE CASE OF JONATHAN WALKER.

Mr. Anderson, from the Joint Select Committee, to which was referred the communication of his Excellency the Governor, and accompanying papers, respecting Jonathan Walker, made the following report:

The Joint Select Committee, to which was referred the Governor's communication in relation to the correspondence of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with Jonathan Walker, with the accompanying papers, beg leave to report—

That they regard the right of defining crimes and passing laws to prevent or punish such crimes as amongst the clearest and most valuable rights of a free people, and the interference of foreign states with the exercise of that right, as insulting and unwarrantable, and that it should be repelled promptly and indignantly.

This principle, so undeniable in the abstract, acquires additional interest and importance from the circumstances of the particular case to which the duty of the Committee has directed its attention. It can no longer be denied that systematic and powerful influences are at work throughout a large portion of Europe and many parts of our own country, the direct tendency of which is to impair our rights of property, and to involve ourselves and the unconscious objects of this false philanthropy in one common ruin. A vicious fanaticism, clothed in the garb of religion, is prowling around our borders, and by means of its more reckless and abandoned instruments, invading our inmost sanctuaries, whose direct purposes, scarcely concealed, are to deluge our very hearth-stones in blood, and to rear an altar to its false principles upon the ruin of all that is precious to us as freemen and dear to us as men.

The most sanguine and forbearing amongst us must long since have been painfully convinced of the existence of this unfriendly feeling towards us among some of our own countrymen; and the public mind throughout the whole of the Southern States has been roused to a state of distrust and watchfulness, which augurs ill for that harmony which is becoming between members of the same great family. The South has no cause for self-reproach, growing out of this feeling of estrangement. Their position has been eminently that of self-defence; and they are prompted to maintain that position by every consideration of duty and of self-interest. They would be recreant to themselves and unworthy of the rank which they hold among the nations, if they were to falter in the assertion of their rights and in their resistance to this foul injustice.

In the unhappy dissensions which have grown up between ourselves and our countrymen of the North there are, however, considerations prompting us to still longer forbearance. It is not easy to forget that we are brothers, enjoying the same great heritage of liberty which was purchased by the blood of our common sires. We are reluctant to let go our confidence in the returning sense of justice of those who are bound to us by such endearing ties, and we will not willingly disserve from our soil the blood-honored fields of Lexington, of Bunker Hill, and of Saratoga—we will "suffer long and be kind"—will bear many things, hope many things, and endure many things. And we do this the more readily because there is no hesitation amongst us as to the limits of this endurance. Among the millions of bosoms that are throbbing under sense of the injury and outrage which have been so wantonly inflicted upon us, by our Northern brethren, though there are many that plead for longer forbearance and forgiveness, there is probably not one that does not feel that here is a point beyond which forbearance would be ruin and dishonour—

there is not one that would not unhesitatingly fling to the winds all the cherished recollections of the past, and all the exulting hopes of the future, rather than bow down in slavish abasement to the demands of those who seek to sacrifice us upon the shrine of their unholy fanaticism.

But the feelings which thus prompt us to forbearance under the injury done to us by the abolition incendiaries of the North, teach no such forbearance towards the foreign incendiaries who intermeddle with our domestic institutions, and seek to interfere with the administration of our laws. We regard their false and intrusive philanthropy with unmixed resentment, and it becomes us to resist at once, and in the most effectual manner, all their efforts to control us in our internal police. The Committee regret that the only means which are within our reach to counteract their hostile designs, and to avert danger from ourselves, consist of increased penalties for the violation of our laws, and in stricter police arrangements in regard to the negro population. It is to be regretted that the punishment for such flagrant crimes should fall rather upon the less responsible agent, who is induced by a desire of gain or by an ignorant fanaticism to come among us on his unholy crusade, than on the more wicked and intelligent felon, who plots his cowardly schemes of mischief in the security of a foreign country; and still more is it to be regretted that we are constrained, in self-defence, to cut off some of those indulgences to our slaves, which has made their situation hitherto one of happy contentedness.

But the responsibility is not with us. Heavy is the accountability of the abolitionist, both in Europe and at the North, not so much for the happiness and harmony of a great nation which he has disturbed and periled by his ignorant and wicked intermeddling with affairs of which he knows but little, as for the new burdens which he has imposed upon the slave, and the new obstacles which he has interposed to the gradual amelioration and improvement of his condition.

Self-protection is the primary law, and we shall stand justified in the eyes of God and of man, in defending ourselves from unjust aggressions, though the means of safety may bring punishment and suffering where it is not most deserved.

The crime of negro stealing has heretofore been punished by our laws with exceeding leniency, and in the very striking case to which the attention of the Committee is now directed, where the offence was flagrant, and the evidence conclusive, the punishment of the guilty man was so slight, as to prove that heretofore, in punishing this crime, we have not in any degree been moved by undue resentment. Henceforward we are compelled to regard negro stealing, by the instruments of the abolitionists, as a crime of a different character. It is no longer a mere larceny, but a species of treason against the state—a direct assault upon the very existence of our institutions. The negro stealer, too, is now armed with new powers—he is upheld, encouraged, aided, and almost canonized, by men in high places, whose commendation and sympathy inspire new vigour and fresh perseverance. The thief is taught to regard himself as an agent in the hand of Providence, and he encounters danger with the spirit of a martyr. Slight punishments will not deter him from renewed offences, for he is taught to believe that his sufferings excite the sympathies and bring down upon his head the blessings and the prayers of the Christian world.

In obedience, then, to the rule which requires that the punishment of an offence should be commensurate with the difficulty of preventing it, as well as its enormity, the Committee feel constrained to recommend that the crime of negro stealing and of aiding and abetting negro stealing, be made punishable hereafter by death. They make this recommendation not lightly, but with a deep and impressive sense of the responsibility which they assume; but they feel that the responsibility, in its heaviest extent, rests elsewhere. They believe that such a law is necessary to the safety of the country in the new aspect in which this crime must now be regarded; and if blood be the penalty which the negro stealer has to pay for his crime, it will be upon the skirts of those whose incitements and applause have driven him to his doom.

As there is a bill now before the Senate making negro-stealing punishable with death, the Committee content themselves on this head with earnestly recommending its enactment into a law*.

Some of the circumstances developed in this case of Jonathan Walker have satisfied the Committee that there are evil disposed persons amongst us who permit themselves to be made channels of intercourse between the convicted felons in our prisons and their accomplices abroad, and in other ways lend their aid to the dissemination of unsound and dangerous doctrines on the subject of slavery. Towards such offenders, the law should be unspairing in its penalties. To punish such of this class as are found amongst us with sufficient severity, and exclude those who may be officially intruded upon us, its most solemn sanctions should be invoked; but the Committee apprehend that while we remain in a Territorial Government some embarrassment might arise in the enforcement of police laws adequate in their rigour to the suppression of the mischief; and as we are about to assume, under the blessing of God, the privileges and the powers of a free sovereign State, the Committee recommend that this subject, together with that of new police regulations, with regard to the slaves themselves, be postponed till the meeting of the first General Assembly of the State of Florida, and they earnestly invoke its serious attention to the whole subject in all its relations and bearings.

The Committee having considered all the subjects referred to them, beg to be discharged from their further consideration.

WALKER ANDERSON, Chairman of the Senate Com.
I. FERGUSON, JUN., Chairman of the House Com.

DOCUMENTS.

"Executive Department, Tallahassee, Feb. 15th, 1845.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"With my opening message, I submitted a letter from the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in relation to a certain Jonathan Walker, convicted of stealing negroes, and who was then, and is now, confined in the jail of Pensacola for said outrage; to which I again par-

* Our correspondent adds, this bill has become a law, and will certainly be enforced.

ticularly invite your attention, in connection with the accompanying letters, which I received by the last mail from the Marshal of the United States, for the Western District of Florida. From their perusal, you will see that the 'British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World,' has been clandestinely co-operating with the authorities of Massachusetts, in fiendish machinations against our domestic institutions. Under such circumstances, further forbearance on our part, not only ceases to be a virtue, but would be in effect an abandonment of our vital interests.

"I therefore recommend the subject to your dispassionate investigation, with a decided opinion on my own part, that the time has arrived, when Florida has a right—nay, would be false to herself, were she not to demand from the Federal Government a prompt enforcement of the guarantees of the Federal Constitution.

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,
"JOHN BRANCH.

"As the original letters are herewith sent, the Honourable Senate will please transmit them to the House of Representatives after such orders shall be given, as are deemed necessary concerning them, together with this communication.
"J. B."

"*Marshal's Office, D. W. Florida,
Pensacola, 9th Feb., 1845.*

"Dear Sir,—Jonathan Walker, imprisoned in this city for stealing slaves, made an attempt last evening to break jail, but was discovered before he could make his escape; on his person was found the inclosed communication from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which document might be viewed by some, of little importance; but to my mind, taken in connection with the other facts, is further evidence of the interference of a foreign power with our institutions, under the fictitious garb of anti-slavery. Actuated by this impression, I transmit this specimen of British vituperation to your Excellency's inspection.

"I have the honour to be, sir, very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"EBEN DORR, U. S. Marshal D. W. Florida.

"His Excellency Gov. Branch, Tallahassee."

"BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

"27, New Broad-street, London.

"At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at No. 27, New Broad-street, on Friday, Oct. 4, 1844, George Stacey, Esq. in the chair, it was resolved unanimously—

"That considering the enormous wickedness of American slavery, whether viewed in relation to the iniquity of its principle, which deprives nearly three millions of human beings of their personal rights, or to the atrocity of its practice, which subjects them to the deepest degradation and misery, this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly and warmly, to express their sympathy with those devoted friends of humanity, the Rev. C. T. Torrey, and Captain Jonathan Walker, who are now incarcerated in the prisons of Maryland and West Florida, for having aided, or attempted to aid, some of their enslaved countrymen in their escape from bondage; and to assure these Christian philanthropists, that they consider the cause for which they may hereafter be called to suffer as honourable to them as men and as Christians; and the laws under which they are to be arraigned, as utterly disgraceful to a civilized community, and in the highest degree repugnant to the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

"On behalf of the Committee,
"THOMAS CLARKSON, President.
"JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

"To Capt. Jonathan Walker, Oct. 8, 1844."

"27, New Broad-street, London, Oct. 9, 1844.

"Dear Sir,—The painful circumstances in which you have been placed by your humane and Christian attempt to deliver some of your fellow-men from the sufferings and degradation of slavery, are not, as you will perceive by the accompanying resolution, unknown to the Abolitionists in Great Britain. They truly sympathise with you in your affliction; and they trust that the efforts which are to be made for your deliverance from the power of evil men and evil laws, will be succeeded by the divine blessing.

"Your faith and patience may be greatly tried, but I trust you will be divinely sustained through the conflict, and that you will have a large share in the prayers, as well as in the sympathies and assistance, of your friends.

"Trusting that you will meet with becoming fortitude your approaching trial, and that, whatever may be its issue, you may find the 'joy of the Lord to be your strength.'

"I am, dear sir, with great respect and esteem,
"Yours very truly,
"JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

"To Capt. Jonathan Walker."

It is evident from these papers that the expression of British sentiment does not fall powerless on Southern slaveholders; and, notwithstanding the immediate resentment of it, we are convinced its ultimate effect will be salutary. Resolved as, at the present moment, the slaveholders of West Florida may be to hang the next person who comes under suspicion of aiding a slave to escape, and steeled as they may now imagine themselves to be against the indignation which would be expressed by the whole civilized world against such an act, we do not believe them to be so deeply degraded. Of this, at least, we are well assured, that the severest possible condemnation of slavery itself is written in these bloody laws; and that it wants only an execution or two under their authority to arouse a feeling of horror, and a spirit of determination, before which the entire system would be forced to give way.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-sellers throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 30, 1845.

We have the pleasure of laying before our readers the following details of the progress of Mr. G. W. Alexander, in continuation of our last :

"April 14. Attended a public meeting at Edinburgh, in one of the places of public worship, the Lord Provost in the chair. Several ministers, including one who had laboured for fifteen years in Jamaica, took a part in the proceedings. The subject of slavery in the United States of America was prominently dwelt upon by W. L. Alexander, Independent minister, in an able speech. Other highly interesting addresses were delivered. A petition against Coolie and African emigration was agreed to, and a resolution expressive of sympathy for those persons in the United States who are suffering imprisonment for aiding slaves to escape.

"April 15. Met a few female friends of the anti-slavery cause, when it was determined that they would renew their labours. In the afternoon proceeded to Glasgow, and had a conference with the Committee of the Emancipation Society in that place. Our friends at Glasgow, some months since, passed resolutions expressive of sympathy for those who were at that period incarcerated in the southern states of the American Union, for assisting fugitive slaves. They have concluded to renew a similar expression as respects all who are now suffering imprisonment for the same cause. They have also determined to petition against the abuses that have occurred in Coolie and African emigration. It is highly interesting and satisfactory to find that the Committee of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, and the Glasgow Emancipation Society, have directed their attention to the conduct of the Free Church of Scotland in receiving the gold of American slave-owners, and to the apologies offered by some influential members of that body for the slave-holders and abettors of slavery in the United States. Publications have been issued at the request of the Societies named, or with their aid, setting forth the dreadful and wholly indefensible character of American slavery; and I confidently anticipate that the public attention which has been directed to that subject in Scotland, by the painful circumstances connected with the proceedings of the Free Church, will be overruled to serve that cause which it appeared likely to injure. How delightful and cheering is it to believe, that the anti-slavery cause is one which is not of man, but of God, and that the blessing of the Almighty will rest upon it in America, as it has done in our own land! We are, indeed, aware that human weakness and imperfection have been at times seen amongst its friends, as they have been found largely among its opponents; but this does not affect the Christian character and imperative duty of judicious, earnest, and persevering efforts for the deliverance of a cruelly oppressed class of our fellow-men.

"April 16. Attended a public meeting at Carlisle, Joseph Ferguson in the chair. The committee at Carlisle had petitioned on the subject of Coolie and African emigration; and had passed resolutions of the kind referred to in the notice of proceedings at Edinburgh and Glasgow. This conduct of the committee was sanctioned by the meeting, on being submitted to it for approval or otherwise.

"April 17. Meeting at Kendal, held in the Friends' Meeting House, in which several persons, including our friend W. D. Crewdon, took a part. An elderly Wesleyan minister, who had resided at Bermuda during the period of slavery, confirmed statements that had been made, relative to the importance of using a moral influence for the abolition of slavery in slaveholding countries, rather than trusting for the accomplishment of that object to a competition between free and slave labour. Remarks on this subject were called forth by some questions and remarks addressed to G. W. Alexander.

"April 18. Met female friends at Kendal, where a ladies' association has long existed, and has not been inactive. A disposition to increase their efforts in the anti-slavery cause was manifested.

"April 21. Morning meeting at Lancaster, in the Friends' Meeting House, when Edward Dawson and other friends were present. It was determined to form an Anti-Slavery Society, and put in circulation some copies of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. It was determined to adopt a resolution expressive of sympathy with imprisoned friends of the slave in the United States of America. Evening meeting in Friends' Meeting-house, Preston. M. Satterthwaite, George Edmondson, and Charles Wilson took a share in the proceedings. The committee at Preston had previously adopted a petition on the subject of Coolies and African emigration, and had passed resolutions relative to our imprisoned friends in America. A resolution on the latter subject was nevertheless submitted to the meeting, and, as on all similar occasions, had its unanimous concurrence.

"April 22. Met a few female friends at Preston, when it was determined to form a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association.

"I think some damage has been done to the anti-slavery cause in some places that I have recently visited by statements contained in some popular works, which represent the abolition movement that has so long existed in this country as having been productive of little benefit. This is affirmed on the ground of the great extent to which slavery and the slave-trade still exist, and the dreadful enormities with which they are accompanied. It should, however, be recollect, that the magnitude of these

dreadful evils—great as they now are—would have been far greater had not slavery been abolished in a large number of British colonies, and in the northern states of the American Union; and that the African slave-trade would embrace a larger region for its nefarious deeds, were it still prosecuted by all the great maritime countries that were once involved in that horrid traffic. Neither should it be forgotten that a blow has been struck at the system of slavery by the example of Great Britain in emancipating nearly 800,000 slaves, that will probably greatly accelerate its universal downfall. It is cheering to me to reflect upon the rapid growth of anti-slavery principles—or, in other words, of Christian views on the subject of slavery, in almost every country in which slavery is yet sanctioned; and to find everywhere in my travels in England and Scotland—hearts that feel for the cruel sufferings of the bondman, wherever he is to be found, and who are willing to exert themselves to promote the great objects of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

"April 23. Met the committee of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society, and the Ladies' Negroes' Friend Association of the same place. It was satisfactory to find that there are at Liverpool some who take a lively interest in the welfare of a deeply oppressed race. I cherish the hope that more active efforts will be made than has recently been the case, to promote the objects of the Anti-Slavery Society in the great commercial metropolis of the north.

"April 24. At Manchester met a considerable number of members of the Society of Friends, who were addressed on the importance of continuing to labour on behalf of the slave—a cause in which the society to which they, with myself, belong, has long taken so useful a part. It was also suggested that pains should be taken to increase the number and efficiency of the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society at Manchester, and to organise a Female Anti-Slavery Association. My labours here ended. I have in a former letter expressed the gratification afforded me by evidences, in almost every place visited, of the interest felt in the great and Christian work of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. At the same time I may express my conviction of the advantage which would result to the anti-slavery cause, from the existence of societies in connection with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as extensively as possible throughout the country. This is needful in order to maintain a proper knowledge and interest in subjects of the deepest importance to humanity, and to aid the parent society in the great and arduous work in which it is engaged. There are hopeful indications that public opinion is increasingly directed against the continuance of slavery, in nearly every civilized country implicated in that criminal system. At such a time it would be painful indeed, did the friends of the slave in England decline in any degree from their former zeal and efforts in this righteous cause."

Our home readers, who know how ordinary an affair is the presentation to the British Parliament of petitions against the support of religion by the state, will learn with surprise that a similar proceeding in British Guiana has caused quite a commotion among the legislators of the Combined Court. Two petitions of this tenor, the one by the Rev. E. A. Wallbridge and his congregation, the other by the Rev. Joseph Ketley, having been recently presented to that body, they have been construed not only into a "studied insult" of the legislature, but into sedition itself. One honourable member gravely affirmed, that to present such petitions was "against the law;" and another stated it to be "inflammatory, and tending, perhaps, to sedition." Mr. Rose went so far as to propose that the petition of Mr. Wallbridge (Mr. Ketley's escaping by the accident of not being signed,) should be referred to the law-officers of the crown, for their opinion whether the language was seditious or not, courteously adding, that he did not wish to go farther until their opinion was before the Court; and this motion, notwithstanding a sensible speech against it by the Attorney-General, was actually carried! So, perhaps a prosecution may be involved in the further proceedings. Even our friend of the *Colonial Gazette*, who, we see, is very angry with us on another account, maintains that this is very bad policy. It is clearly also an outrage on all liberty, in which latter view alone we notice it. And if a little reflection does not bring these very sensitive gentlemen to a different mind, there can be no doubt of their receiving from Downing-street a *quietus* for so morbid and absurd an irritability.

In another column we have inserted an interesting extract from the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, in relation to the prospects of the annexation scheme in Texas. We rejoice to see that a strenuous opposition is likely to be made to it.

We observe in the papers an admirable letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson to the people of the Northern States of the American Union, in relation to the annexation of Texas, and encouraging them to oppose, in such manner as they yet may, the consummation of that iniquitous measure.

We regret that we are not able to find room in the present number of the *Reporter* for extracts from the recent Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, in relation to the importation of Indian labourers into Mauritius and the British West India Islands. We may venture, however, to say that, bare as is the information which the Report contains, it nevertheless presents several startling facts, which, we think, should lead the Government to pause before it contracts additional responsibility in connection with the supply of this species of labour to the British emancipated colonies.

From the Report, so far as Mauritius is concerned, the following facts may be gathered. First, that in a period of 21 months, namely, from 1st January, 1843, to the 30th September, 1844, upwards of 44,000 Coolies were introduced into the island under the bounty system, which must have cost the Colony upwards of

£300,000, exclusive of the premium paid the importers by the planters, which may be reckoned at from 10 to 15 dollars per head. Secondly, that the mortality upon the voyage was no less than 480, which greatly surprises us when we recollect that the Coolies, previously to their departure from India, were subjected to medical inspection by Government, had the care of a medical officer on board, and were selected from that part of the population whose average age gives the lowest rate of mortality. Thirdly, that, of the invalids placed in the public hospital on arrival, 154 died from diseases engendered on the voyage; and that, subsequently to their being placed on the estates, 3,288 rapidly followed their ill-fated companions to the grave!

We have thus a loss of life, on the importation of 44,000 Coolies, of nearly 10 per cent. in the course of one year and three quarters during which it was going on, notwithstanding the reputed vigilance with which the whole affair was superintended by the authorities in India and Mauritius, and the array of immigrant agents, protectors, medical men, and stipendiary magistrates, employed to prevent abuses, and to secure the immigrants from injury and fraud.

Of course, causes must be suggested to account for this enormous waste of life on an undertaking which Lord Stanley pledged himself should be unexceptionable throughout all its stages, and every part of which was carried on avowedly, on the part of the Government, with scrupulous care. But what are the causes assigned? Change of habits on board the emigrant vessels, dysentery consequent on that change, and bilious remittent fever, which is reported to have been prevalent in the island. But the Governor is not satisfied with his own statement, and has therefore drawn "the attention of the local Legislature to the subject of the labourers' wages, their diet, lodging, and hospital treatment;" and he hopes "much good will ensue from the precautionary measures adopted." Precautionary measures! Why, we were taught to believe that such measures had been taken before the Coolies were introduced into the colony; at least, the British public and the British Parliament were distinctly promised that they should be taken. But we now learn that they are to be taken after a frightful waste of human life has occurred, and when they could no longer be delayed. To call them precautionary measures is absurd.

From the same Report we learn that there had been a mortality of 60 Coolies on 410 on their return voyage to India. Of course, this also has given rise to inquiry; but had precautionary measures been taken to prevent the vessels which conveyed these returning emigrants to their homes from being over-crowded, as they confessedly were, this large amount of deaths would not have taken place.

The total number of Coolies in the colony was estimated by the Governor in March, 1844, at 50,000, of whom 40,000 had arrived since the recommencement of immigration in 1843. It is probable that since that period 10,000 additional labourers have been added to the number.

THE editor of the *Colonial Gazette* cannot whitewash the moral character of the West India planters, by casting dirt at either Mr. Wallbridge or Mr. Philippo. No doubt these devoted men are far above the reach of his shafts of calumny. But, even if it were not so, how could their vices establish a claim to virtue on the part of the planters in general? This is one of the most pitiful artifices of polemical writing. Our contemporary values his time too highly, he tells us, to waste it in defending the West India planters as a body,* and he adds that their character is too generally known, too well established, to require it—we would rather say, to permit of it. Why, all through the anti-slavery controversy, England has rung with denunciations of the demoralizing influence which the state of slavery exerted on general manners, and of the all but universal system of concubinage and debauchery by which the honour due to marriage and the general decencies of domestic life were superseded. All of a sudden, we suppose, this Augean stable is cleansed, and become as free from pollution as Paradise itself. Bah! We know better; and so does the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, only he has not time to tell us so. His joke upon Mr. Scoble does credit to his invention.

Literary Notice.

The Fifth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World, presented to the General Meeting in Exeter Hall, on Friday, May 17th, 1844. With an Appendix.

We have great pleasure in introducing this document to the attention of our readers. The Report itself has long been in circulation, through our pages; but the Appendix is entirely new, and contains a large amount of important and interesting matter. We have not room for even an abstract of the contents of the Appendix, but we may say, in one sentence, that it presents the most perfect view of the progress and present state of the anti-slavery question throughout the world, that can anywhere be found. It is a most valuable record of official documents on this interesting subject, as well as a complete storehouse of information. When our friends receive their copies of the Report, which will be forwarded to them immediately, they will do well to direct their attention to the several articles which give so striking an account of the slave-trade, and of slavery, in the different states of the world.

* Mr. Wallbridge, of course, speaks of the *resident* planters only.

TEXAS—THE PROSPECT OF ANNEXATION.

(From the *New York Courier and Enquirer.*)

THE friends of the immediate and unconditional annexation of Texas are become exceedingly alarmed at the prospect that Texas herself may refuse to be thus annexed. The articles so extensively quoted from one or two of the Texan papers, in opposition to annexation, taken by themselves alone, would scarcely warrant the conclusion that this hostility was either very general or very decided among the people. The President of Texas has long been known to be opposed to the proffered union, and the *Register*, in which appeared the first of the hostile articles upon the subject, is his organ. But it has always been understood that the Congress of Texas, which represents more directly and truly the will of the people, was as ardently in favour of annexation as President Jones was against it. So far, indeed, has that body carried its enthusiastic espousal of the measure, that it has refused to receive a few petitions that have been presented in opposition to it.

But it is becoming evident that there is a deeper and more formidable opposition to annexation in Texas than that which arises from the personal feelings of the Executive. The Richmond *Enquirer* of Friday last publishes a letter from Washington, said to be from a "gentleman of high standing," of which the following is an extract:—

"Letters received by this evening's mail direct from Texas, and from those fully acquainted with the state of things there, leave not the least doubt that an extraordinary struggle is going on in Texas between the friends of annexation and the English party, headed by General Houston. Every possible inducement is held out by the English Minister and agents to the people of Texas to reject the proffered terms. Magnificent offers are made, a reaction has taken place, and I feel warranted in saying that the issue is doubtful."

The Texas *Register*, in the article expressing its hostility to the proposed measure of annexation, declared that Texas was "secure in the enjoyment of peace, and in the speedy acquisition of acknowledged independence." These, and other declarations of similar import seem to give colour to the presumption, that a recognition of the independence of Texas has been proffered by Mexico, provided she will maintain her independent position, instead of becoming part of the American Union. That Mexico, notwithstanding her repeatedly-declared intentions to re-conquer her revolted province, may see, in the present posture of affairs, reasons for making such an offer, seems not at all unlikely. It is now sufficiently evident that she must lose Texas. All hope of again subjecting that country to her dominion must by this time have faded away. She has only, therefore, now to consider the practical question, whether the boundary of the United States shall be advanced to the Rio del Norte, and thus the way be opened to California and the Pacific, or whether Texas shall exist as a weak but independent nation between Mexico and the United States, not powerful enough of herself to conquer Mexico, but offering a barrier to the dreaded designs of the United States. There certainly can be but slight doubt as to which of these alternatives she would choose.

In effecting this arrangement, the services of the English and French Ministers may have been employed. It is well known that they have repeatedly been tendered to both Texas and Mexico, for the accomplishment of this object—namely the termination of the war, and the full recognition of Texan independence. Mexico hitherto has rejected them, because she persisted in her intention of subjugating her revolted province. The imminent peril of annexation, whereby it will be lost to her for ever, with the exposure, too, of her other possessions, may easily have induced a change of conduct; and she may now be as eager to accept as hitherto she has been to reject the proffered good offices of the European Powers.

Should this prove to be the case, and should Texas accept the recognition of her independence, she, of course, is lost to the United States beyond recovery, and the whole project of annexation must fall to the ground. It is very easy to clamour against this "interference" of France and England with the affairs of this continent, and it may be difficult to acquiesce in its propriety; but it certainly is not easy to find in it any cause of serious complaint, much less of war. If Texas declines to come into the Union, it is her own act—one which she has a perfect and undoubted right to perform. The motives which induce her thus to decide, are matters with which we have no concern. Every nation pursues that course which she deems most conducive to her interests, and this case forms no exception.

The *Galveston News* is quite as decided in favour of annexation as the *National Register* is against it, and yet the following article from that paper, though urging the measure, indicates that it is doomed to encounter a very decided opposition:—

"The Prospect.—We have already furnished incontestable evidence that the British policy, in opposition to annexation, has so far succeeded, that her Britannic Majesty's Minister has obtained the pledge of President Houston to use his best endeavours to defeat that measure."

"We are told that, upon condition of our renouncing the American Union for ever, the monarchical powers of Europe will then terminate our formidable war with Mexico 'forthwith and compulsively.' The same friendly promise has been made from time to time, for the last seven or eight years, and its repetition just at this particular crisis, when the speedy success of annexation is beyond all reasonable doubt, is exceedingly well timed, in order to create a reaction in the public feeling in this country. We are not told whether the friendly mediation is again to be attended by another 'armistice,' as a necessary preliminary step, to be afterwards 'improved into one of more convenient duration.' We are, however, assured that 'France and England will openly submit to the consideration of our Government and people inducements for us to remain independent.' Such information as this is usually confined to the chief agents of government, as a matter of state secrecy, and is rarely furnished to the public journals, except for the purpose of political influence and foreign counteraction. This announcement is made in the positive and unqualified terms of a negotiator, who has participated in all the cabinet secrets and intrigues of both hemispheres.

"The public need not be surprised should this singular manifesto prove to be the harbinger of party organization, and of great exertions in this country to counteract the labours of our friends in the United States, and to defeat this great measure here, after it has triumphed there. 'We shall see.'

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

(From the *Scotsman.*)

On Monday evening, April 13th, a public meeting of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, and others interested in the anti-slavery cause, was held in the Rev. Mr. M'Gilchrist's church, Rose-street, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the abolitionists who are suffering imprisonment in the United States for aiding their fellow creatures to escape from bondage, and also of denouncing the entire system of slavery throughout the world; but especially of condemning the Coolie emigration and the importation of native Africans into our West India possessions. The meeting was very numerously attended. The Lord Provost was called to the chair. Among those present we observed Bailie Duncan; Councillors Drummond, Neil, Stark, Cruickshank, and Hay; Robert Grieve, Esq., of Noble Hall, George Wilson, Esq., William Alexander, Esq., Dr. Purdie, John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch; Revs. Dr. Ritchie, W. L. Alexander, J. R. Campbell, Jonathan Watson, and W. H. Goold.

The Lord PROVOST said he considered it not only an honour but a high privilege to lend his aid in a cause that had for its object the breaking off the fetters from the slave. It was a melancholy retrospect when they thought of the great efforts which had been made to effect the extinction of this obnoxious system, and that when they were in the hope of this monster evil being swept from the face of the earth, they should feel themselves called upon to deplore its continuance, in its worst state, not in a country under despotic sway, but in a nation which boasted of its liberty, and the foundation of whose constitution was based on the maxim that every man was born equally free, and entitled to the enjoyment of the same civil and religious liberty. Instead of putting slavery down, the Americans had thrown obstacles in the way of its removal. They could not, therefore, but feel grief and indignation that the principles of national liberty should be so outraged in that country as to become almost a recognised and aggravated hypocrisy. It was still more melancholy to think that there was no likely prospect of alleviation from this enormous evil; but while he said this, he trusted in the power, the sovereignty, and government of Him who looked upon oppression with hatred, and who would not permit it to go unpunished. (Applause.) He believed there were none in the meeting but sympathised with those Christian philanthropists who had been exerting themselves to deliver their country from this detested pollution; and he had no doubt that they would readily express their sympathy for them in the sufferings which they had, on that account, been called upon to endure. (Applause.)

The Rev. W. L. ALEXANDER moved the first resolution, which was to the effect that the meeting deplored the degraded condition of nearly seven millions of human beings held in slavery, and that they felt themselves bound to use their best efforts for its removal; and, further, that they protest against the iniquity of slavery in the United States of America, upheld as it was by the churches in that country, and which condemned to unmerited bondage nearly three millions of men entitled to the just protection of the law. He said he would not detain the meeting by entering on the general subject of slavery. He was sure that no audience convened in the city of Edinburgh, after what had passed in former years, required to be enlightened in regard to the enormous evils of slavery. He would assume, therefore, that slavery was a great evil—that it was an encroachment on the rights and liberties of man, and an assumption, on the part of the slave-holder, of a right he never could have received unless by the strong arm of power. (Applause.) It was most melancholy to think that in countries professing Christianity, seven millions of men should be unrighteously held as slaves. It was a terrible fact, after all that had been done in order to put down the slave trade, there was going on at this moment an enormous traffic in that inhuman system—that there were upwards of a hundred thousand Africans annually transported from their native land, in addition to a vast internal slave trade. After referring to the numbers annually imported into the Brazils and Cuba, he alluded to the horrors of the slave trade as portrayed in the writings of such men as Clarkson and Buxton. It depopulated countries—it armed every man's hand against his fellow—subjected the poor slaves to the most intense suffering in the middle passage, and afterwards consigned them to a hopeless bondage, until death, the great deliverer, set them free. All things considered, the system of American slavery was one of the most abominable to be seen on the face of the earth. A most respectable minister in this country, who recently paid a visit to America, had declared that slavery existed there in a more mitigated form than it had done in our West Indian colonies; and that in regard to domestic slaves much kindness was shown to them by their masters. He (Mr. A.) had not been in America, and had consequently no means of observing the truth of this statement; still he must assert, if credit was to be given to accounts given by Americans themselves—by persons of the highest and most unimpeachable authority in that country—this description could not be received as correct. (Applause.) He had before him a series of replies to queries which were addressed by the Anti-Slavery Society in London to persons competent to give correct information on the subject of American slavery. These detailed facts, and nothing but facts. There was no declamation—plain facts were stated, and calculations entered into; and he must say, after reading that book, that he had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that American slavery was not a more mitigated form of the evil which at one time prevailed in our West Indian colonies. There were three things to which he would direct their attention connected with American slavery. There was, first, the internal slave trade; second, the cruelties practised on the slaves, both in the states where they were produced, and where they were consumed; and, in the last place, there was the fearful fact that the main upholders and profiteers by the practice of slavery were men calling themselves Christians!—ministers!—men who were combined together in the society of Christian churches! (Applause.) As regarded the internal slave trade, he should mention that the slave states of America were divided into two classes. The one class was composed of what were called the breeding states, and the other of what were called the consuming states—not states which consumed slave labour, but states which consumed slaves. The breeding of slaves was a regular piece of business, in which persons invested capital to carry it on as a means of support and wealth—just the same as people reared horses and pigs in this country. To show how the system was managed, Mr. Alexander read a number of

advertisements which had appeared in the American newspapers, in regard to the institution of menageries for the breeding of slaves—the establishment of general slave agency offices, to which planters from the south were invited to call. There was also one offering the highest cash prices for two hundred negroes. It was also stated in the book to which he had referred, that there were between ninety and a hundred thousand slaves every year transported from the producing states into the consuming states—sometimes by means of vessels regularly advertised to sail on a given day, and reported to have ample accommodation for negroes. They were conveyed also by means of steamers down the Mississippi—stowed away on the deck—and made the subject of the rude jeers and abuse of the crew. Another mode was by means of forced marches, on foot, over land. They were herded together like cattle. Women in every situation of delicacy and weakness were forced to keep pace with the rest of the gang. And to show that the cases were not individual, but general, in which this horrid practice was pursued, Mr. Alexander read extracts proving that the conveyance was conducted in the most open and public manner—in fact, that attention was invited to it. Such was the state of public feeling on the subject that no man had the hardihood to lift up his voice and denounce this wholesale barbarity and crime. He next adverted to the slave auction marts, and feelingly dwelt on the ties of friendship and affection that were broken up by the fall of the auctioneer's hammer. After hearing these things, he was sure they would agree in the sentiments uttered by one of the representatives of this city in the House of Commons, that the internal slave-trade now carried on in America was more odious and barbarous by far than that which was carried on between Africa, Brazil, and Cuba. (Applause). It was fearful to think that not only was this traffic carried on by men professing to be Christians—carried on within a Christian state, and upon their own properties—but that it was carried on by men even within their own families; so that it was no uncommon thing for a man to rear his own children for no other purpose but to make gain of them, by selling them into slavery. What an insult to the Majesty of heaven!—what a pretension to the sacred name of Christianity! With regard to the cruelties practised on the slaves, he would not dwell longer. Their food was poor and their work hard. The average life of the slave was somewhere between five and seven years. They were brought young, and, it might be healthy, from the producing states, and in five or seven years they had ended their miserable days in the consuming states. It was no uncommon thing for Christian ministers to hold slaves, and even for a church to be endowed with slaves. It was also no uncommon thing for slaves to be advertised for sale for the benefit of a missionary society, that the proceeds might be applied to the conversion of the heathen. It might perhaps be said that the fact of Christian ministers possessing slaves would afford a guarantee that they would be well cared for, and kindly treated; but the fact was the very opposite. It would seem as if a man professing to be a Christian, and putting his hand to the work of slavery, gave his conscience such a wrench that it fell asleep ever after. Mr. Alexander then read extracts showing cases where negroes had been whipped so severely as to cause death, and where negroes had been drowned—the inhuman instruments being ministers of the gospel. He also read some incidents connected with the life of a reputed pious lady, who boasted of "being the best hand for whipping a wench in the whole country," and who invariably administered the castigation on the Sunday mornings, that the slaves might not be rendered unfit for their usual week-day employment. After these statements, he had no doubt the meeting would be ready to accede to the resolution, and protest against the system of slavery in America. But it might be said, What could they do? He thought they could do much. They were not going to call on the Legislature to interfere; but, as members of the great family of man—as professing Christians, they ought to remonstrate against this invasion of the rights and privileges of man—and spurning all national distinctions, to call upon the American churches, in the name of that God who made the freeman and the slave, to desist, and let the oppressed go free. This they could say, and were bound to say, and to continue to say, in every form of language which could most broadly express their meaning, until some better principle arose in the mind of the American slaveholder. He concluded, amidst much applause, by alluding to the nobleness of the work in which they were engaged, and to the happiness it would afterwards give them, if, as in the case of West Indian slavery, their efforts were crowned with success.

The Rev. Mr. GOOLD seconded the resolution, and showed that slavery was condemned by, and stood in direct antagonism to, the whole spirit of Scripture. He alluded to the complaint of the slaveholders, as to their being charged with theft; and said he for one echoed the sentiment—designating the traffic in which they were engaged as an organised and sustained system of spoliation and robbery.

Mr. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER, the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, next addressed the meeting. He commenced by expressing the gratification he felt in addressing the inhabitants of so influential a city as Edinburgh on such a subject. The abolitionists in America, he was sorry to say, had been slandered by men who ought to have taken their part. Their labours in behalf of the oppressed slave were not inferior to those of Wilberforce or of Clarkson. He had a very cheering prospect in regard to slavery, when he thought of what had been accomplished by this country in the extinction of that abominable traffic in our West Indian possessions. After tracing the history of slavery in reference to this country, he directed attention to its progress in America, and showed that in the slave states the population had not increased in the same ratio with the states where slavery did not exist. He also demonstrated the same thing in regard to education. He was glad to say that a feeling was beginning to arise, even in the slave states, against this obnoxious system. As an instance of which he alluded to the establishment of an anti-slavery newspaper by a quondam proprietor of slaves. He also adverted to the abolition of the notorious gag rule, through the influence of John Quincy Adams, by which the negroes had now the right of petition. He said it might be laid down as a principle that there was little difference in the character of slavery wherever it existed. Poor feeding, ill clothing, and bad lodging, were among the more prominent hardships to which they were exposed—the result being premature death. In the Brazils there were between two and three millions of

slaves—the largest number in any country in the world, with the exception of America. To supply the great loss of human life which annually occurs there, upwards of 100,000 slaves were annually imported into it. Cuba was more favourable as regarded the waste of human life. The average mortality would be about twelve per cent. In all the French slave colonies the laws of marriage were entirely disregarded; and the social condition of the slaves most miserable. An Anti-Slavery Society had been established in France some ten or twelve years ago, which had done a vast deal of good. And he was glad to say that the French Government were pledged to emancipation, which would, perhaps, be preceded by a short apprenticeship. This would have its influence on the slave-trade in other quarters of the world. In Holland and Denmark the prospects of the anti-slavery cause were highly encouraging. And in Sweden the abolition of this monster evil had been brought before the Diet—the King having given his opinion in favour of it. He had some circumstances to relate in reference to the abuses connected with the Cooke emigration. Doubts had been indicated as to the propriety of placing shackles on free emigration; but when certain circumstances were known, these doubts would be entirely removed. In the first place, the expense of the emigration was to be borne by the inhabitants instead of the planters, for whose benefit the scheme had been devised—a rule which was exceedingly unjust. In the second place, it had hitherto been impossible to procure a fair proportion of the sexes. Out of eighty or ninety thousand Coolies, for instance, nine-tenths of the entire number were males. This he considered to be an unnatural and demoralising system. A vast number of the slaves were also obtained by fraudulent means, which led to an internal slave-trade in the country from whence they were brought. Mr. Alexander condemned the plan adopted in regard to negroes rescued from slavers—first, by taking them to Sierra Leone, and afterwards, if they did not find labour, either to go into the interior of Africa, or proceed to our emancipated colonies. These were the grounds why he objected to emigration from India and from Africa. He trusted that the meeting would be without its result on America; and that it would serve to extend a knowledge of the slavery question among the people of this country. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. R. CAMPBELL moved the next resolution, which was to the effect that the meeting should extend its sympathy to those who had suffered punishment in the United States, on account of their exertions against the slave-trade. He said they should endeavour to act upon a maxim which obtained at the French revolution, "As we have obtained freedom for ourselves, we cannot rest until freedom be the property of all the world." Mr. Campbell then proceeded to relate and to comment upon, the indignities and sufferings to which many pious individuals had been subjected in the United States in endeavouring to aid the cause of the oppressed slave. Mr. Fairburn had gone into one of the slave states, where he was hospitably received by a virtuous and pious lady, Miss Webster; and because they were supposed to have a sympathy with the negro, arising out of the circumstance that several negroes had gone amissuing about the time of Mr. Fairburn's visit, they were subjected to imprisonment—Miss Webster for a period of two years in the Penitentiary. Mr. Jonathan Walker, charged with aiding and enticing slaves to escape, had been branded in the hand with the letters "SS," meaning, probably, "slave-stealer," and further sentenced to stand in the pillory for one hour (some slave owners, it was stated, had incited the mob to pelt him with rotten eggs), to be imprisoned for fifteen days, and to pay a fine of one hundred and sixty dollars—besides one hundred and six dollars, as damages. The Rev. C. T. Torry, indicted for enticing slaves to escape, was brought into court in irons, in presence of his wife and her father. The proof was so bad that his prosecutors had a ruffian brought out of prison to testify that he had heard Mr. Torry say he had done something to aid a slave to escape. And Mr. Torry, found guilty on such evidence, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, three months in the Penitentiary, and to be put to hard labour. Mr. Campbell dwelt effectively on the inferences which these facts warranted, and denounced the conduct of those religious men or bodies who said they had no information on these points, or threw out misty insinuations against the martyred friends of the slave; urging strongly the duty of separating from slaveholders and others implicated in the system of slavery.

Mr. ROBERT GRIEVE seconded the motion.

Rev. Mr. WADDELL, of Jamaica, moved the next resolution. With reference to American slavery, he begged to state that no free black from the West Indies could go to the slave states without being arrested; and unless claimed, he was sold to pay expenses. He mentioned an instance in which a negro girl of twelve years of age, who was in his service, was only saved from imprisonment by his promise to leave New Orleans in a few weeks. These blacks were British subjects; and it was the duty of the British Government to protect their rights. The difficulties felt in the West Indies of late years were attributed to the idle and lazy conduct of the blacks; but this he denied. On the contrary, they were a hard-working, industrious, money-making people. He related a number of incidents to prove the truth of what he had advanced, all of which had come under his own observation. During the apprenticeship, wages were at 1s. 6d. a day. The planters wanted, on the emancipation, to reduce them one-half; and there was a cessation of labour till that dispute was settled, by the planters agreeing to give 1s. 6d. a-day, the blacks paying rent for their houses and grounds, or 1s. a-day without payment of rent. The supply of labour was diminished by the withdrawal of women from field labour to domestic occupations, and by the continuance of children at school after they were six years of age—at which period, previously, they had gone to work. Then the negroes in the better employments on estates bought lots for themselves. These were the principal causes which had led to depreciation of the larger estates; but a great deal of the difficulty had arisen from the irregularity of the seasons; for two years the rains which were beneficial in October had fallen in December with injurious effects. Then drought followed for fifteen months; and labour almost ceased. The cause, then, assigned for inundating the country with foreign labourers, was not sufficient to justify such a measure—a measure not only unnecessary, but unjust; for the black labourer paid taxes as well as his white master; and why should those taxes be increased threefold in eight or ten years, in order to bring in emigrants to compete with the native population? Mr. Waddell con-

cluded by referring to the immorality of such a proceeding ; alleging that the effect of it would be to bring in a band of barbarians to counteract all the labour spent by the missionaries in the religious instruction of the people. Throughout his address, Mr. Waddell spoke in the highest terms of the negroes of the West Indies, who were quite able to do all the work of the colonies.

Dr. RITCHIE seconded the resolution, and observed that it was a strange thing to hear a minister of the gospel, a professor of theology, surrounded by three hundred of his alumni—say that slavery was not condemned by the word of God. Dr. Cunningham should have recollected what was written, that Christ had come to give liberty to the captive ; and that as you would wish others to do to you, so do you to them. Would any man in his senses speak of the Christianity of men who sold their children for slaves, and suffered men and women to be treated as the friends of the slave in America had been ? The doctor testified to the high character of the anti-slavery advocates of America, some of whom he had met at the late convention. He stigmatized the Coolie emigration system as the act of Lord Stanley, from whom he never expected any good.

The resolutions having been unanimously adopted, thanks were voted to Mr. Alexander, by Dr. Ritchie, and to the Lord Provost, by Mr. Dunlop ; and the meeting then separated.

Colonial Intelligence.

DOMINICA.—Colonel Macdonald, the new Lieutenant-Governor of this colony, has arrived at his station. On the 18th of March he met the Legislature, and addressed to them a speech of which the following is an extract :—" I have taken this early opportunity to notify to you in person my having been appointed by her most gracious Majesty to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of this island ; and in first meeting you, it affords me a subject of great satisfaction to be able to congratulate you on the appearance of the crops, which promise a plentiful harvest, as also the tranquillity which pervades the island in general." To this the House of Assembly responded in the following terms :—" It is with real pleasure this House learns of the favourable appearance of the crops, and of the promise of a plentiful harvest. The tranquillity which pervades throughout the island is a matter of sincere congratulation to this House ; and this House trusts that under your Excellency's auspices, and a firm and impartial administration of the law, peace and good order will continue undisturbed." —*Dominican.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—SETTLEMENT OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.—Generally speaking, our commercial and agricultural people are highly satisfied with what the Minister has done. Not that they consider the protection afforded to the British West India colonies to be so great as it might have been ; but it is consolatory to them to believe that the question of the imposts upon their produce has been put to rest for many years to come ; they know the worst now, and they can with some sort of confidence and certainty lay their plans for the future.—*Guiana Times.*

PLANTAINS.—Speaking of the injurious neglect of the Plantain cultivation in this colony, the *Guiana Times* says :—" On no sugar estate where there is an abundant supply of it is any difficulty experienced in procuring steady labour."

SUGAR CULTURE.—The returns of the crop of 1844, which we published last week, exhibit an improvement in the productive powers of the colony. The sugar crop of 1844 was larger than that of 1843. The increase, however, has not, we suspect, been very regularly derived. While some estates, in favourable situations, have added to their returns, others, less fortunate, have either, we fear, remained stationary or retrograded. Though, we believe, many estates did not pay their expenses, others made very large crops. Plantation Lusignan, for example, on the east coast, made as many as 704 large hogsheads of sugar : while again plantation Everton, in Berbice, is said to have produced even a larger nominal return—800 hogsheads, but which were probably lighter than those of the former property. These are ample crops, and, no doubt, satisfactory to the owners, and are larger than might be expected in the present state of the labour-market.—*Royal Gazette.* May not the solution of this enigma be found in the more economical and equitable management of the prosperous estates ?—*Ed. A. S. Reporter.*

MAURITIUS.—THE CIVIL COMMISSIONARIES.—In Mauritius, where the people make little show of their feelings, the Government does what it would not dare to do anywhere else ; it tolerates oppression and tyranny, and even lends itself to it. What sort of men are called to fill the office of Commissary Civil Justice of Peace ? Certain favourites, certain protégés of the rich, whose very humble servants they are, because of the protection they have received, and without which they would risk the loss of their places. From this results a blind submission to the will and caprices of these rich men, and a great abuse of power towards the poor, towards those who do not know their own rights, and cannot resist with sufficient energy. The country magistrates are altogether under the influence of the plantocratic aristocracy, and this accounts for the shameful injustice to which the people are subject.

We shall cite here only two instances, both which occurred in the Poudre d'Or district, in support of our allegations, but which we could multiply, did space permit, to volumes. But these two are only part and parcel of the scandalous rapacity and daring contempt of justice by which the civil commissioners in general are distinguished. Three Indians, one from Mr. Joseph Hardy's estate, and the other two from that of Mr. René Dumont, were taken in the act of carrying pigs from one estate to the other, which the law on the epizootic forbids. They were arrested by the guards, and taken before the civil commissary ; they were fined, and the pigs confiscated. So far well. This was according to law. But to whom belonged the profit of the confiscation ? To the guards without doubt ; to those who had arrested the transgressors. But this was not done. We are ashamed to say it, in the presence of many persons, Mr. Ravel gave them to the guard, Edward Dupont, to be kept by him, and shared between them. Here is a manifest violation of the law. A

partnership between a commissary and a guard ! What an example ! And what confidence can one have in such a magistrate ?

About three weeks ago some Indians, in the service of Mr. Baudot, were attending the funeral of one of their comrades. They were passing quietly along the high road, near Mr. Ravel's premises, where they met Dr. Wiche's carriage, and the horse took fright. What did Mr. Ravel ? He ran out with a whip, and struck right and left among these men, quite innocent of what had happened. The Indians were so exasperated at this brutality that they put down the corpse, and were very near using striking arguments to convince this man of the gross impropriety of his conduct. These two cases must suffice for the present, but let these gentry beware : " ce qui est différé ne sera pas perdu." —*Mauritius Watchman.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ACT OF MAGNANIMITY.—An important legal decision has been published, in regard to the will of the late John Randolph, of Roanoke, in Virginia. This eccentric but eloquent man had a large estate, and more than 300 slaves. Several wills were extant, but all were contested by the heirs-at-law on the ground of alleged insanity. By the will which gave freedom to the blacks, a large part of the property was left to Judge Leigh. This led to an act of magnanimity on his part which is worthy of record. He was the principal witness to the sanity of the testator at the date of the instrument. In order that his testimony might be available, he instantly relinquished all claim as a legatee, and thus secured the emancipation of the slaves ; for, by a decision of January 12, the will of 1821, with its codicil, is established. This event takes place in the heart of the tobacco district of the most populous slave-holding state in the Union.—*American Correspondent of Northern Warter.*

EXTRADITION TREATY.—A correspondence is published between Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State, and Mr. Edward Everett, Minister to England, concerning seven slaves, who are alleged to have committed robbery, arson, and murder in East Florida, and afterwards to have escaped to Nassau, New Providence. The grand jury in Florida returned bills of indictment against them, and the U. S. Marshal went to Nassau, and made a demand for the slaves on the ground of their being criminals according to the indictment ; and claimed, therefore, that they should be delivered up under the treaty which provides for the mutual surrender of criminals. The Chief Justice, however, refused to surrender them on the ground that the evidence was not such as was required by Act of Parliament ; that an indictment *per se* can never be received as evidence ; that the mere fact that an American jury thought the slaves guilty is not enough, but the grounds on which they thought them guilty are also necessary.

Mr. Calhoun writes to Mr. Everett about it, and makes a slaveholder's argument of course ; and Mr. Everett discusses the matter with Lord Aberdeen, as the slaveholder's attorney. Lord Aberdeen told Mr. Everett that he would sustain the opinion of the colonial Court, that an indictment was not of itself evidence. He admitted that slaves were moral agents ; but there might be a difference in the laws of different countries as to what constitutes murder : and her Majesty's Government would not bind itself as to action on future cases.—*Liberator.*

AFRICA.—SLAVE FACTORIES ON THE CONGO.—The *Times* of Saturday publishes the following extract of a letter addressed by Mr. Robert Jamieson, of Liverpool, to Colonel Edward Nicolls, the late governor of the island of Fernando Po, showing a frightful increase of slave factories to have taken place on the river Congo :—" I have just seen a letter from the captain of a merchant vessel in the Congo river, in which he represented the banks of that river to be covered with slave factories, and the British flag to be held in such detestation by the slave-dealers that he did not consider his vessel and cargo in safety amongst them, they actually threatening to destroy both. Their number must be great (chiefly Spaniards and Portuguese,) for there are not less than twenty or thirty factories upon the banks of the river, the short distance the captain of the vessel alluded to has ascended ; and he is under positive apprehensions for his safety were he to proceed further. If any doubts be entertained of the truth of this statement, they will be removed by application to Mr. Horsfall, of Liverpool, who is the owner of the vessel and cargo."

DENMARK.—The committee charged with the consideration of the petition for the abolition of slavery which was presented to the Provincial Estates assembled at Roeskilde, in October last, have determined that they can make no report. The committee consisted of the Bishop of Mynster, Count Knuth, and Major Praetorius. Count Knuth, in the last sitting but one of the States (the 20th of December,) expressed himself as follows :—" As a member of the committee to which a proposition for the emancipation of the negro slaves was referred, I have to say, on behalf of the committee, that they have not been able to procure the information necessary to effect their object. They have taken a great deal of pains to acquaint themselves with the state of things, and to obtain information from competent persons. But it will doubtless be easily understood that the members of the committee do not themselves possess any particular knowledge of the state of things ; and that they have not been able effectually to contend with the difficulties in their way. On this account they have arrived at the conclusion, that this important question cannot at present be entered on—the committee not being able to prepare a document which may be sufficient, in all respects, to accomplish the object confided to them." Another petition, however, will, we are assured, be presented on the same subject, in the next assembly of the States.

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BRITISH SUBJECTS HELD IN SLAVERY—SURINAM.

(From the Parliamentary Papers.)

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Surinam, November 10, 1842.

My Lord,—With reference to my despatch of the 26th July, 1842, relating to the British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) held in slavery, in Surinam, I beg to acquaint your Lordship, that I have ascertained the name and domicile of another of these victims (Friend John Taylor, plantation Good Hope), who was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam by the same master (Mr. Conolly) as the negro "Jack," whose case is already before your Lordship.

I have likewise received information that there are as many as 36 of the above unfortunate persons upon one plantation, which, however, from its distance, and the want of a suitable conveyance, precludes the possibility of any personal investigation. I therefore feel it my duty again respectfully to refer to the necessity of a boat and crew being granted for the service of the Commissioners, in order that they may be enabled to execute the duties confided to them.

Surinam, April 1, 1843.

My Lord,—I beg leave to refer to my despatches of July 15th and 26th, 1842, concerning the subjects of her Majesty, Barbadoes negroes, who are suffering the horrors of slavery in the colony of Surinam.

The suspension of my official functions by the Governor-General, together with the resistance offered by all the local authorities, occasions me much difficulty in gaining information respecting these persons; but on the 27th ultimo, the Barbadoes negro "Jack," contrived to visit my residence, when he informed me, that for several months past he has been separated from his family and children, working at his trade of bricklayer upon a distant estate, earning for the benefit of Mr. Polichy (the individual who holds him in slavery) at the rate of a guilder a day, besides being found in food, lodging, &c., equal to at least another guilder; that during the twelve years or thereabouts, since he has been the property of Mr. Polichy, he has actually earned at the same rate, but never has received any wages or remuneration in money from his owner, or any of his employers, during this long period.

My Lord, the extreme intelligence of this man renders him more sensible of his unhappy condition, and his distress is heightened by viewing the inevitable lot that awaits a very fine family of children, unless the humane efforts of her Majesty's Government be exerted in his favour.

Should such a course be taken, I humbly conceive that some pecuniary recompense ought to be exacted from his present owner, at all events, since the period of emancipation in her Majesty's colonies, considering that, upon a moderate calculation, he will have gained for Mr. Polichy, after deducting all expenses of keep, &c., the large sum of nearly five thousand guilders.

It is now nearly nine months since, in the execution of my official functions, I felt it my duty to bring the case of these British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) under your Lordship's consideration. Appeals from these people, of the most distressing nature, have been frequently made to me during the interval, but never having been honoured by any communication from your Lordship, either respecting them, or the "emancipated negroes," who are equally the victims of unjust detention in slavery, I have not had it in my power to console them by a promise of their liberty, neither have I considered it right to endeavour to reconcile them to their hard lot by recommending them to relinquish all hope of such a consummation.

Surinam, May 30, 1843.

My Lord,—I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, in reference to the British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) who are held in slavery in the colony of Surinam, that the individual named "John Taylor," (reported in my Despatch, No. 23, of 1842,) sent to my house a few days since a man named Christopher or Kitt, who falls equally under the above category.

The object of this man's visit was to state to me that Taylor had been hired as a slave by a black man, named Hankey, from his present owner, Mr. Conolly, and had been removed to a distant part of the colony on the Saramacca River, where he was experiencing such harsh usage that he had determined, if possible, to make his escape, and claim protection as a subject of her Majesty, at the British Commission.

I much fear that, should the advice I have sent to "John Taylor" not reach him in time to prevent the accomplishment of his intended evasion, it may give rise to a painful and perplexing question with the local authorities.

I have not been honoured with any instructions whatever from your Lordship concerning these Barbadoes negroes, and I cannot find that my official powers entitle me to harbour or protect them;

consequently, however deeply I may deplore the event, yet I shall have no alternative but to surrender the unfortunate man up to the infliction of punishment awarded to "runaway slaves," of the shocking details of which I shall spare your Lordship's feelings.

Surinam, August 7, 1843.

My Lord,—At the interview to which the Governor-General admitted me, on the 28th ultimo, his Excellency stated, in reference to the British subjects, Barbadoes negroes, who are held in slavery in Surinam, that he, together with the Procureur-General, Mr. P. de Kanter, had made the strictest inquiries (*des perquisitions*) to discover any negroes of this description, but had entirely failed in doing so. In reply to this extraordinary statement, I requested Governor Elias to refer to my official note of the 25th July, 1842, addressed to the *ad interim* Governor, Mr. de Kanter; and, on the 5th current, having been fortunate enough to find one of the persons, "Jack," whose case was the first communicated to your Lordship, I sent him to the Government House, with a letter stating who he was; but the Governor declined to see him. Two days after, having occasion to call at the office of the Colonial Secretary, that gentleman produced my letter to the Governor, and wished to discuss the merits of the case of these persons. I, however, declined to do so, as tending to no purpose; and, upon his further requesting me, in the name of the Governor, to "drop the matter," I replied, that I felt it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with the circumstance of my having sent the negro, "Jack," for personal interrogation by Governor Elias, had his Excellency thought fit to pursue that course.

I have only to add, that each succeeding act of the local authorities confirms me in the conviction, that neither humanity nor justice towards the negroes they have surreptitiously possessed themselves of, can be expected at their hands, and that no expostulation, upon this or any other subject, will in the least avail, unless backed by the powerful influence of your Lordship's high station.

Surinam, September 6th, 1843.

My Lord,—I beg leave to state, in reference to the British subjects, Barbadoes negroes, who are held in slavery in Surinam, that I have succeeded in tracing out another very intelligent person of this class, named "John Cook," who is at present serving as a seaman on board of one of the Government colonial vessels, in the condition of a slave. He speaks English perfectly, describes distinctly the period of his having been brought to this colony, by a man named "Levy," and states that he quitted Barbadoes, his birth-place, the day on which Lord Nelson's monument was completed.

I hear of various localities where people of this class are said to exist in slavery, but I have no means of visiting them, to ascertain the fact.

This unfortunate man witnessed the departure of the negroes of the *Snow*, and afterwards shed tears copiously, in my presence, at the melancholy fate for which he seems to fear he is doomed for life.

Your Lordship not having noticed the despatches relating to these people, I have ceased to hold out to them any hope of the interference of her Majesty's Government in their behalf; because I found that I was entirely unsettling them from their labours as slaves, without possessing the slightest power to protect them from the shocking consequences of any trivial neglect. Indeed, the subject of the releasing of these "Barbadoes negroes," which at first caused so much consternation amongst the slave-owners, is now made a matter for ridiculing my office; as they believe that had any measure of amelioration been seriously contemplated towards these negroes, upwards of two years would not have been permitted to elapse, without the adoption of some steps for that purpose.

I hold it my duty to continue to report to your Lordship whenever I discover any of the Barbadoes negroes, as I have not received any instructions cancelling the orders of the Secretary of State to that effect, which were transmitted to the Commissioners in August, 1841.

Surinam, September 10th, 1843.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that a few days since a message came to me from the British subject, (Barbadoes negro,) "John Taylor," (who is held in slavery here, and whose name, together with three others of the same class, I have already submitted to your Lordship,) stating that he had been brought to town, and placed in an hospital, having fallen sick in consequence of over-work. This poor man prayed for some relief, and to know whether there was any prospect of his being permitted to return to his country and family. I caused inquiry to be made into Taylor's condition, and found it to be as his messenger described. I shall not, however, venture to hold out any prospect of liberation to these British subjects, until I am honoured with instructions to that effect from your Lordship.

It is not impossible that the interest which I have shown in these

unfortunate people, and my occasionally bestowing trifling pecuniary assistance upon them, may occasion my conduct to be represented by the slave-owners as an improper interference with their slaves. Should such be the case, I beg leave to refer to Viscount Palmerston's Instructions to the Commissioners upon the subject, and likewise to assure your Lordship, that whenever I have held communication with these enslaved British subjects, I have invariably impressed upon them the necessity of patience and obedience under their afflicting condition.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. SCHENLEY.

Foreign Office, August 28, 1843.

Sir,—I referred to her Majesty's Advocate-General your Despatches dated the 15th and 26th July, of last year, together with the previous correspondence extant in this office, on the subject of Barbadoes negroes, said to be held in slavery in Surinam.

I have now to state to you, for your information and guidance, that the Queen's Advocate has reported it to be his opinion, that her Majesty's Government is not called upon to take any steps respecting these negroes.

The Queen's Advocate observes, that if there had been any reason to believe that any of the individuals in question were free-born subjects of her Majesty, or that they had been emancipated and become free by the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, the endeavours of her Majesty's Government to rescue them from the state of slavery in which they are now held, could not have been too urgent or strenuous. But that it is not the duty of her Majesty's Government to insist on the liberation of persons, or the descendants of persons, who were removed as slaves into a foreign colony before slavery was abolished by British law, and who have continued as slaves in a foreign country down to the present time.

With regard to the individual mentioned in your despatch of the 26th of July, 1842, the Queen's Advocate observes that he is stated by you to be a very intelligent man, and to be, moreover, acting in the capacity of head mason, with several apprentices, and therefore not a very young man; but that it would seem that he cannot recollect the date when he was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam.

And the Queen's Advocate observes that this fact tends strongly to show that he must have left Barbadoes long before the abolition of slavery in the island.

Under these circumstances, you will not consider yourself authorised to take any further measures with respect to that individual.

I am, &c. (Signed) ABERDEEN.

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Surinam, October 20, 1843.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch of the 28th of August, relating to the persons denominated "Barbadoes negroes," furnishing me with the opinion of the Queen's Advocate upon the subject, and instructing me "not to take any further measures with respect to one of these individuals named 'Jack.'"

I cannot refrain from expressing my poignant regret at this unhappy termination to the hopes of freedom that have been raised in the minds of these unfortunate beings; indeed, I scarcely know how to impart the sad tidings to them.

The Queen's Advocate seems to infer that none of these negroes "were free-born subjects." I am by no means prepared to agree to this inference; and if, as I have often repeated, a fair examination of them be procured, through the interference of her Majesty's Government, I think I shall be able to prove that some of them were born free, whilst others were promised their freedom as a recompense for accompanying their owners to Surinam; which, so far as I can arrive at, through the restricted, I may say clandestine, communications I hold with them, was long subsequent to 1807, when the removal of negroes became illegal; nor was this removal, as supposed by the Queen's Advocate, into a "foreign colony," but into the (conquered) British colony of Surinam.

The fact, too, of "Jack" not recollecting the date of his quitting Barbadoes, ought not, I humbly submit, to weigh against an effort being made to ascertain whether he is entitled to freedom. Any one at all acquainted with the negro character, must know that the most intelligent of them take no account of time, but calculate by events, as is proved in the instance of the Barbadoes negro, "John Cook," who dates his departure from thence by the completion of Nelson's monument.

I entreat your Lordship's pardon for persisting to intrude the subject of these negroes further, but it pains me to contemplate the cruelties which are certain to be inflicted upon them, as soon as their owners find they no longer have a chance of escaping from slavery. It therefore becomes my duty to use every effort in their behalf; indeed, so strongly am I impressed with this feeling, and with the responsibility which executing the orders of my Government has brought upon me, that, did I possess the means, I would gladly liberate the four persons whom I have communicated with, at my own cost; and if, as I am given to believe, there exists any surplus of the 20,000,000l. voted by Parliament, a part of it could not be better employed than in rescuing these unfortunates. It has also occurred to me, that a statement of their unhappy case, if submitted to the people of their native and prosperous island, might procure, through subscription, a sum sufficient for this purpose. I take the liberty of requesting to be informed whether your Lordship will sanction my attempting that course, if all others shall fail?

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD W. H. SCHENLEY.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge. Boston: 1843, 1845.

Address to the Non-Slaveholders of the South, on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery. By the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—reprinted. London: 1843.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. New York. Chambers's Miscellany—Slavery in America. Edinburgh.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the United States of America; and the extent to which the American Churches are involved in their support. Drawn up at the request of the Committee of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, by ROBERT KAYE GREVILLE, LL.D. Edinburgh: 1844.

American Slavery proved to be theft and robbery. By HENRY C. WRIGHT, of America. Edinburgh: 1845.

Impressions of America and the American Churches: from the journal of the Rev. G. LEWIS, one of the Deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States. Edinburgh: 1845.

In the works enumerated at the head of this article is contained much interesting and important information relative to slavery in the United States of America. The first subject that arrests our notice is the extent of the slave population in that country, and the great increase which has taken place in its number during successive periods of ten years from the year 1790. In the last-named year the slaves in the United States amounted to 697,897; in 1800, to 893,041; in 1810, to 1,191,364; in 1820, to 1,538,064; in 1830, to 2,009,031; and in 1840, to the very large number of 2,487,355.* We confess that we shrink with horror from the contemplation of so vast and constantly increasing a mass of crime and suffering as is involved in the fact to which our attention is thus called. It should be recollect, too, that, unless the efforts of wise and good men in America who are labouring for the abolition of slavery in their land are crowned with success, it is impossible to calculate to what extent the victims of that accursed system, and the crimes which are inseparable from it, may yet be multiplied.

We discover, however, in the documents before us much ground to hope that American slavery has nearly reached the zenith of its extent and wickedness, and that shortly it will recede from its guilty elevation. If we look to the statistical tables contained in the American Almanac, we find that some of the slave states of that country have a very small slave population as compared with their free inhabitants, and that in two of these there has been an actual decrease in the number of slaves since 1790. It will be manifest on very slight consideration that in the whole of those states the abolition of slavery is attended with fewer obstacles, and has probably less to encounter from public opinion, than in those states in which the slaves preponderate over the free population, or in which the number of slaves has greatly augmented.

We give the following statement relative to those states in the American Union in which the slave population is much smaller than that of freemen.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Delaware, slaves	8,887	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,292	2,605
Do., freemen	59,098	64,273	72,674	72,479	76,748	78,085
Maryland, slaves	103,036	105,635	111,502	107,308	102,294	89,757
Do., freemen	819,728	341,518	380,546	407,350	477,040	470,019
Virginia, slaves	213,427	345,796	392,518	425,153	496,757	48,987
Do., freemen	748,308	880,200	974,612	1,065,379	1,211,405	1,239,797
N. Carolina, slaves	100,572	133,296	168,824	205,017	235,601	245,817
Do., freemen	303,751	478,103	555,500	638,825	737,987	753,419
Tennessee, slaves	3,417	13,584	44,535	80,107	141,603	183,059
Do., freemen	30,791	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904	829,216
Kentucky, slaves	11,630	40,343	80,561	126,732	165,213	182,258
Do., freemen	73,077	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828
Missouri, slaves	—	—	3,011	10,222	25,081	58,240
Do., freemen	3,244	20,845	66,586	140,445	383,762	4,694
Dis. of Columbia, sl.	5,395	6,377	6,119	6,119	43,712	—
Do., freemen	24,023	33,039	39,834	39,834	—	—

We have said that, in the states above described, (the district of Columbia stands in a peculiar position, as will be hereafter men-

* American Almanac, 1845.—p. 200.

tioned,) the difficulty of abolishing slavery] is less than in other slave-states. This arises from the smaller amount of money embarked in this guilty species of property, the smaller number of persons implicated in its possession, and the inferior profit derived from the labour of slaves in those regions. There is however a dark side to these statistical returns. In nearly all the northerly slave states the small increase, or actual decrease of the slave population, is occasioned by large and constant exportations of slaves to the great cotton, rice, and sugar-producing states, which lie to the south. In these southern states, in which the labour is most severe, there is a rapid augmentation of the slave population notwithstanding the waste of human life occasioned by a coerced and excessive toil, and other cruelties. Whilst occupied with the subject of population, it cannot, we think, fail to be interesting and cheering to our readers to contrast the progress of the free population of the present free states and territories with those of the same class in the slave states and territories. The former was, in 1790, 1,930,425, and that of the slave states and territories, at the same period, 1,894,847; the difference being 535,278. By the last census, in 1840, the free population in the free states and territories was 9,782,415, whilst in the slave states and territories it was only 4,793,738, or about one half of the free population of the free states.

But we turn from the number of slaves and freemen in the United States, to speak briefly of the condition of the bondsmen in that land. It is one of cruel injustice, and, with few exceptions, such as is that of the slave in every other land: one of much suffering, and of deep intellectual and moral degradation, to which it is to be added that they are, to a great extent, untaught in the blessed truths of the gospel. It is not needful to prove that it is a cruel injustice to deprive man of personal freedom, and to compel him to toil by the lash, instead of giving him a just recompense for his labour. Equally needless is it to prove the enormous wickedness of a system which allows the husband to be forcibly separated from the wife, and the wife from the husband—the parent to be severed in a similar manner from the child, and the child from the parent—which forbids to millions of immortal beings, under the severest penalties, the smallest amount of literary instruction, thus depriving them of the opportunity of searching the sacred records—and which visits with death the attempt to gain that freedom which is the inalienable right of every human being.

Nor does the slave alone suffer in regions desecrated by oppression. Among the free portion of the population in the slave states education languishes, the general tone of morals is corrupted, and Christianity is rarely to be seen in its genuine and lovely character. On the subject of education we are informed that there are educated at the public charge—

In the Free States	432,173
In the Slave States	35,580

Ohio alone has 51,812 such scholars, more than are to be found in the thirteen slave states! Her neighbour, Kentucky, has 429.—*Address to Non-slaveholders*, p. 9.

In the Tenth Report of the American Sunday-School Union is a table showing the number of Sunday-school scholars in each state, for the year 1834. From this table it appears that

There were in the Free States	504,835 Scholars
Slave States	82,532

The single State of New York has 161,768

About twice as many as in the thirteen Slave States.—*Ibid.* p. 16.

Such evidence of apathy respecting the intellectual and religious instruction of the most favoured portion of the population in the slave states sufficiently proclaims the baneful influence of slavery on public sentiment and conduct. The whole truth relative to the impediments to the most elementary instruction in letters in some of these states is not yet told. There are portions, at least, of the slaveholding part of America, including the district of Columbia, over which the Government of the United States has entire jurisdiction, in which coloured persons, although free, are not allowed to be taught to read.—*Lewis's Impressions of America*, pp. 66—85, 157.

We have dwelt rather on general facts, than on particular incidents illustrative of the results of slavery in the United States of America, because to a reflecting mind these are the most convincing proofs of its tendency and character. In this manner, too, the great arguments against slavery may be brought into the smallest space. We will, however, quote one or two passages from the recent work of the Rev. G. Lewis, who, it will be recollect, is a member of the Free Church, by which it will be seen that facts of the most revolting character met the eyes of a traveller in the American slave states. Take the following:—

"On board the steamer we saw the first specimen on a large scale of the slave-trade between the central and southern states. About 109 slaves, of both sexes, were on board, on their way to Alabama, to be sold for field labour on the cotton plantations. This is what they most dread as most destructive of life. Several of them had children at the breast. They did not appear melancholy and dejected, until one of them was recognised by a coloured girl, as we called at Smithsville, about twenty miles from Wilmington. The girl on shore had recognised her sister on board, and burst into a loud cry on seeing her for the last time. The sister on board, however, did not seem so much concerned about the matter. Familiarity with such scenes hardens the heart; not a proof, surely, that they are the less, but that they are the more wicked, seeing they make the destruction of natural affection necessary to any measure of happiness."—*Lewis's Impressions*, pp. 107—8.

Of a rice plantation near Savannah, visited by the same writer, we are told that "the estate consisted of about 900 acres, with sixty

negroes, of whom only twenty-five are available for work, the rest being children, or the aged and infirm. The gang at work reminded me of a gang of colliers. The women shoeless, with dirty turbans on their heads, and a short dress reaching below the knee. The men had shoes that they had better have been without. One young lad, about eighteen, who had often run away, had an iron collar about his neck, with a bell attached to it, which rang as he moved along. Flogging having failed, this new mode of punishment had been resorted to. He and his companions moved, looked, and laboured, more like convicts than honest men." *Ibid.* 127.

On one occasion Mr. Lewis travelled in company with a Virginian planter and his two negroes, on their way to the South, to be sold to the sugar planters. This planter had 180 slaves, and seemed well known on the road as a slave-dealer. The coachman cried out to him, "Your're a devil of a nigger-seller, bringing two or three boys every day you come this way." Both the slaves mentioned, one of whom seemed about thirty, and the other twenty-eight years of age, had left wives in Virginia. They were married by a minister, and each had also left one child behind. One of the negroes said, when they were left alone for a while with Mr. Lewis, "Master promised I should die in his service. It is mighty bad to sell me. It is heart break, and I think I will die." Both attended the Baptist chapel, and one of them is a member.—*Ibid.* pp. 146—7.

But we must recommend our readers to consult the *Impressions* of Mr. Lewis, which are, we think, with very few exceptions, correct respecting slavery. In some instances his remarks do not appear to us to be sufficiently explicit with respect to the duty of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. Thus it is said of the slave-coloured population as distinguished from the negro slave, "This race should have been long since emancipated, and means taken for their instruction and elevation." Such a statement is no less true of those who have the darkest skin that is to be found in the Union. They are equally the children of our heavenly Father, equally the objects of redeeming love, and they should receive equal treatment from their fellow-men. But we have no desire to be severe where we find much more to approve than to condemn.

For a brief and condensed account of slavery in the United States we can strongly recommend Chambers's tract entitled *American Slavery*, which appears to have been carefully compiled. We must at the same time express our opinion that this pamphlet does not do justice to the American abolitionists, whilst it is far from speaking of them in the disrespectful manner which we have observed in recent publications and speeches emanating from religious professors, of whom we might have reasonably hoped better things.

It is probably to the conduct of certain members of a deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States, that we are indebted for the publication we have last noticed, as we certainly are for "Slavery and the Slave-trade in the United States of America," by our esteemed friend, Dr. Greville; and for "American Slavery proved to be Theft and Robbery," by a transatlantic friend and abolitionist. Our readers will understand the allusion to the Free Church deputation. They will recollect that these gentlemen received the gold of the slave-holder whilst on their American mission—gold which, if it be not, as there is reason to fear it often is, the price of blood, is the fruit of a cruel and unrighteous system. Whatever may be the opinion entertained of the conduct of the deputation in seeking contributions from such a quarter, we can only speak with unqualified disapprobation of the apologies for the slave system and its abettors which we have witnessed on the part of a portion of the deputation, and the gross and shameful injustice which they have done to the zealous friends of the slave in America. There is, in the fact of the publications we have noticed, some evidence that the conduct of which we complain may be overruled for good, by directing public attention, both in Scotland and our own country, to the subject of American slavery, more than might otherwise have been the case. Neither can we doubt, that some of the publications which we have noticed, if not the whole of them, will exercise a beneficial influence in the United States.

We should gladly have made larger quotations than we are able to do from the works before us; but we desire, in conclusion, briefly to state the grounds on which we look with confidence to an early and rapid progress towards the abolition of slavery in the United States of America. Among these is the rapid growth of population in the free States, as compared with that of the slave states, and their no less superiority in general intelligence, industry, and prosperity,—circumstances that must shortly give them a great political preponderance over the slave-holding portion of the Union. This may be expected to lead to the abolition of slavery, although not without an arduous struggle, in the district of Columbia, where the Government of the United States has exclusive jurisdiction. The increasing power of the free states has already led to the refusal of Congress to pass the atrocious gag rule, by which petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district referred to were, until very recently, prohibited from being read. The evident advantages of freedom in those states in which it exists cannot fail, we think, to recommend its early adoption, at least in those slave states which border upon the free. The waters of a river will not much longer separate between the free man and the slave, when facts of the kind described by the eloquent French writer, De Tocqueville, in the comparison drawn by him between Kentucky and Ohio, so plainly point out the course which policy, no less than humanity and justice, dictate. "Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare. From time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields. The primeval forests recur at every turn. Society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a

scene of activity and life. From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry. The fields are covered with abundant harvests; the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the labourers; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which are the reward of labour."—*Slavery in America*, p. 23. There are evident signs of progress in the anti-slavery cause, both in the northern and in some of the southern states of America. Among the latter, this remark applies especially, so far as our knowledge extends, to Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, and Missouri. There are signs of progress both within the pale of the church, where every holy work should ever find its warmest support, and among the community generally. The fact we have stated is proved by the recent refusal to pass the gag rule in Congress, by the decided anti-slavery action of various churches in the United States, and by the greater boldness and frequency with which the cause of abolition is advocated, both in northern and southern newspapers and periodicals. We are well aware that in the south this is yet very far from being general. The press there, in many parts, shares the thrall of a large portion of the inhabitants. We feel great confidence in the progress of abolition in the United States, when we reflect on the justice of the cause—on the Christian character and eminent qualifications of many of those who are engaged in its support—on what has been accomplished in the northern States of the Union, where slavery existed in the early part of the present century—on the abolition of slavery in the British possessions, where 750,000 of our emancipated fellow-subjects have been, within a few years, raised to the rights of men—and above all, on that blessing of the Almighty, which we cannot doubt will attend our endeavours to extend the blessings of freedom to every member of the great family of man.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of this SOCIETY will take place in the HALL OF COMMERCE, THREADNEEDLE-STREET, on SATURDAY, 17th of MAY, 1845;

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, Esq., in the Chair.

The Chair will be taken at 12 o'clock precisely.

Admission, by Tickets only, which may be had at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street; Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly; James Nisbet, Berners-street, Oxford-street; Messrs. Joseph Sterry and Son, 156, High-street, Borough; and Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. CALDER and Mr. HAUGHTON are requested to accept our thanks.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

For the list of Subscriptions the patience of our readers is requested till our next.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 14, 1845.

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which will be held on Saturday next, the 17th instant, at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, City. The chair will be taken at Twelve o'clock, by J. J. Gurney, Esq., of Norwich. We are aware that the public attention is at present drawn to several objects which make louder appeals than the anti-slavery movement; this movement, however, may be truly affirmed to have lost none of its importance, and we trust the attendance at the public meeting will show that the people of England have lost in it none of their interest.

We have great pleasure in announcing another of those steps by which, as we firmly believe, the great cause of human freedom is destined to advance to a happy consummation. The Diet of Sweden has responded to the appeal of the King in such a manner as to secure the abolition of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew. This interesting and important intelligence has been kindly communicated by Professor Geyer, in a letter which we insert below.

"Stockholm, 11th April, 1845.

"DEAR SIR,—I have delayed answering your last letter, till I could give certain information of the state of the slavery question at the present Diet. I can now transmit to you the intelligence, that the estates have acceded to the proposition of the King concerning the emancipation of the slaves at St. Bartholomew, in voting 10,000 piastres yearly, for five years, to be expended in redeeming the slaves of that island, and compensating the loss of their masters. His Majesty feels deeply interested in that great question of justice and humanity.

"Truly, your most obliged,

"E. G. GEYER."

J. Scoble, Esq.

We must on this occasion record our heartfelt sense of the course pursued by the King of Sweden, and our sincere thanks to Professor Geyer, and the other friends of the cause in that country, who have interested themselves in this matter. Freedom is thus secured to between four and five hundred human beings now in slavery. At the same time we should have been more happy if this act of humanity and justice had been completed at once, rather than diffused over a period of five years.

We are enabled to find space to-day for the insertion of some further extracts from the Parliamentary papers of last year, relating to British subjects held in slavery in foreign countries. Several months ago we presented the facts as existing in the island of Cuba; and now we exhibit the case as it stands in the Dutch colony of Surinam. We are sure that the condition of these unfortunate persons will engage universal sympathy; and that the language held by the Earl of Aberdeen, in relation to them, will be regarded (to use the mildest term) with deep regret. From our Parliamentary intelligence it will be seen that the matter was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, on the 5th instant; and our readers will be sincerely gratified to find that he took a view of it corresponding with that which has been already advocated in our pages. The noble lord referred to the act of 1807, which made it illegal to remove a slave from a British into a foreign slave-colony, and expressed his opinion that the liberation of all slaves deported subsequently to the passing of this act might and should be demanded. The reply made by Sir Robert Peel to this statement was, that, if the act of 1807 had not been sufficiently regarded, the case of the parties held in slavery should not be prejudiced by the omission. We trust that Lord Aberdeen will again direct his attention to the subject, with a view to doing all that it may be competent to the British Government to effect in the case of so large a number of unhappy persons, who certainly deserve its kindest regard. The part which has been taken by Mr. Schenley, the British Commissioner at Surinam, in this matter, cannot be regarded otherwise than as doing him the highest honour, and as entitling him to the thanks of the whole community. We may add that, on the same occasion, Lord Palmerston made some important observations on the incorrectness of the slave-trade return lately presented to the House of Commons, and on the abandonment by the present Government of the claim which had been previously made, for the liberation of slaves who have been introduced into Cuba and Brazil in violation of treaty stipulations. His plea for destroying the barracoons on the coast of Africa belongs to a system with which we have already expressed our entire dissatisfaction.

THE West India newspapers bring little intelligence of interest. The most important item in them is the announcement that the sanction of the Crown has been given to the Trinidad immigration ordinances. The fate of those from British Guiana has not transpired.

THE last papers from the United States bring some further accounts respecting the Annexation question. In Mexico the passage of the measure in the United States has produced, as might be expected, much excitement. The Mexican Government, however, has as yet confined itself to a course of diplomatic hostility. The minister of Foreign Relations, Signor Cuevas, has announced to Mr. Shannon, minister from the United States, the cessation of diplomatic intercourse; and has addressed a protest against the conduct of the United States to the three Governments of England, France, and Spain. He has also submitted to the House of Deputies the draft of a decree putting an end to all treaties existing between the two Governments. The advices from Texas are still of a doubtful character. On this subject we find the following passage in the *Express*, United States paper:—

"The news from Texas, in substance, is, that while the people of Texas wish to come into the Union, the administrators of the Texas Government do not. A great deal is thus to be done before Texas can be made one of the United States. Meanwhile, public attention in the United States, particularly in the southern part, is much directed towards California, of which it is probable that, one of these days, the United States Government will become possessed. The southern states of the Union are bent upon enlarging the slave-holding territory; and so far does one of the leading presses in New Orleans go (the *Bulletin*) as to say, that, in case British intrigue causes Texas to reject annexation—

"In that event, there is but one step which our Government can with propriety pursue; that is, to solve the difficulty as Mr. Madison solved a similar one in 1840, by taking possession, with a military force, of the country which is the subject of the intrigues. The seizure and occupation of Mobile and Baton Rouge furnish at once an example and a precedent for the present administration, should there seem to be good reason to apprehend that the officiousness of Great Britain is operating to the prejudice of the United States."

Considerable activity seems to have prevailed in diplomatic affairs, since both the English and French ministers are stated to have received dispatches, by the *Electra* on the 24th of March, and by the *Eurydice* on the 5th of April. President Jones is reported to have treated the United States minister, Major Donnelson, so cavalierly as to induce him to speak of withdrawing from the seat of government to Galveston. On the whole, there seems to be truth in the observation of the *New York Courier* and *Enquirer*, that "Texas seems uncertain about her course;" and we earnestly hope that her decision may be in favour of her nationality and independence.

THE South American papers announce that the treaty between Great Britain and Brasil, under which the right of search has been exercised, expired by lapse of time on the 13th of March last. It is stated also that the Brasilian Government will not permit the renewal of this right, and that a new treaty is in course of negotiation. The Court of Mixed Commission is to have six months to decide on pending cases. How the matter at present stands will appear from the following extract from Bandinel's work on the slave-trade:—

"The Government of Brazil, on declaring itself independent of Portugal, professed to feel itself bound by the treaties which the mother country had contracted with foreign powers. The conduct, however, which its subordinate authorities pursued, with respect to the slave-trade, showed that they were bent on its support. Among other acts demonstrative of this disposition, they gave to vessels trading in slaves, licenses contrary to the convention. Mr. Canning did not suffer that conduct to pass without observation. He directed strong remonstrances to be made to the Brazilian Government; and on its referring him to the convention with Portugal, as affording adequate power to prevent the practices complained of, Mr. Canning interpreted the answer into an admission that the British Government might, under the convention, prevent the slave-trade forbidden by it. And, accordingly, orders were issued to the British cruisers to detain, and directions given to the Commissioners to condemn, vessels found trading with irregular licences, should any such have been given by Brazilian authorities, to enable the vessels so to trade."

We see by the papers that the Dutch Government are proceeding with their plan of sending European colonists to Surinam. Preparation, it appears, has been made for them on the banks of the river Saramacca; and the first party, consisting of about 200 persons, are on board ship at Amsterdam, ready for their departure. It is feared that the Netherlands Government, while they will not allow in this experiment the use of slave-labour, intend to employ the liberated Africans in Surinam in draining the land, in cutting trenches, and generally in the heavier duties of the new colony, in order to relieve the white emigrants from the toil and danger connected with this kind of labour. As, however, the liberated Africans, although entitled to perfect freedom, are only nominally free, they will necessarily be coerced, and their lives will be rendered still more miserable than they have hitherto been under the unjust and cruel system which has so long oppressed them. The attention of our Dutch friends should be directed to this subject.

We have frequently adverted to the system of serfage in Russia, as having many of the characteristics of slavery; but we have now to refer to a transaction which brings out the actual existence of slavery itself in the very heart of Europe. The *Amsterdamsche Courant* gives, in a letter from Leipzig, of the 23rd of April, 1845, the following advertisement, taken from a late number of the *Moon*, a newspaper published at Agrasus, a town in Hungarian Croatia. It is under the head of Bucharest, in Wallachia.

"To be sold, by the sons and heirs of the late Serdar Nicholas Nika, of Bucharest, in the suburb of St. Venire, two hundred families of Pagan Gypsies (Zigeuner). Most of the men are husbandmen, smiths, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and musicians. The proprietors of these Pagans will not sell less than five families at once; but, in compensation, they will fix the price at one ducat per head less than usual, and accommodation for the payment will be granted."

In communicating this advertisement, the writer of the letter makes the following just remarks:—

"One might, at first view, take this advertisement for a joke; but it is not so. It is made in real earnest. And it is, besides, in full accordance with the law: for the civil code, granted in 1818, by Prince Jauracuba, to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and yet in full vigour in both of them, authorizes slavery in explicit terms. Thus, while the great Christian powers seek, year after year, at an immense expense, to check the negro slave-trade, the sale of white slaves is carried on under their eyes without any restraint, in two Christian countries in the heart of Europe!"

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, May 5.
THE SLAVE-TRADE.

On the moving of the Navy estimates,

Lord PALMERSTON said—I am anxious to make a few observations on the subject of the returns as to the slave-trade. I first wish to draw attention to the first return of vessels, which has not been framed in a very clear way. The vessels captured of one year are mixed with those of another year, and I think it might have been done in a clearer manner. But there is also a return of the number of slaves landed, and that does not tally, in any degree, with the information which is given by the documents actually referred to by the notes appended to the report. Without going into the detail of all the discrepancies, I will just take one instance in regard to the slaves landed at the Havanna and Cuba in 1836, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41. By this return the number landed appears to have been 49,992, and by the documents and papers which are actually referred to, the number appears to have been upwards of 82,000 for the same period. I am now talking of the returns stated by the Commissioners at the Havanna in a despatch quoted in the notes at the end of this report; and those Commissioners not only give 82,000 as the number landed in those years, but they say this number is only three-fourths of the number landed in the island. Therefore, if the additional number is added to the 82,000 for the purpose of making up the total, it appears, by the despatches of the Commissioners, that 109,000 were landed during those years, whilst the return makes out that only 49,000 were landed (Hear,

hear). The gentleman in that department of the Foreign-office, whose duty it was to make out these returns, is a person of great diligence, and exceedingly zealous in the matter, and there certainly must have been some very unusual oversight in regard to this return. But it seems to me that he might produce an amended return which would be more satisfactory. In looking over the slave-trade papers, there are one or two points I wish to take this opportunity of advertizing to, as this will be the only occasion upon which my observations will regularly belong to the subject before the house. I mention the subject because a part of this vote applies to the providing of cruisers to be employed in the suppression of the slave-trade. I am sorry to see, according to the last reports from every quarter—from Cuba, from Brasil, and from the coast of Africa, that slavery is on the increase. But before I touch upon that part of the subject, there is one point to which I wish very much to call the attention of the Government. It is a matter which has frequently been brought under the notice of the present and former governments. It is stated that there are in Cuba and at Surinam a considerable number of negroes, who at different periods had been brought from British possessions to the Spanish and Dutch possessions, before the emancipation of our negroes, and who consequently remain now in a state of slavery; whereas if they had been left in the British colonies they would have been included in the operation of the act of emancipation. This subject was brought under our consideration at the period when we were in office; and in the cases in which the statement was made, I thought it was the duty of the Government to endeavour to obtain the liberation of the individuals with respect to whom that statement was made (Hear, hear).

I am sorry, however, to see that the present Government have taken a different view of the matter, for I find a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, dated the 28th of August, 1843, to the Commissioner at Surinam, Mr. Schenley, to this effect:—Mr. Schenley, I should say, had represented that there were several negroes, and he mentioned one in particular, who stood in that predicament, and Lord Aberdeen, in reply, says: "I referred to her Majesty's Advocate-General your despatches, dated the 15th and 26th of July of last year, together with the previous correspondence extant in this office on the subject of Barbadoes negroes said to be held in slavery in Surinam. I have now to state to you for your information and guidance that the Queen's Advocate has reported it to be his opinion that her Majesty's Government is not called upon to take any steps respecting these negroes. The Queen's Advocate observes that if there had been any reason to believe that any of the individuals in question were free-born subjects of her Majesty's, or that they had been emancipated and become free by the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, the endeavours of her Majesty's Government to rescue them from the state of slavery in which they are now held could not have been too urgent or strenuous. But that it is not the duty of her Majesty's Government to insist on the liberation of persons, or the descendants of persons, who were removed as slaves into a foreign colony before slavery was abolished by British law, and who have continued as slaves in a foreign country down to the present time. With regard to the individual mentioned in your despatch of the 26th July, 1842, the Queen's Advocate observes that he is stated by you to be a very intelligent man, and to be, moreover, acting in the capacity of head mason with several apprentices, and therefore not a very young man, but that it would seem that he cannot recollect the date when he was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam. And the Queen's Advocate observes that this fact tends strongly to show that he must have left Barbadoes long before the abolition of slavery in that island. Under these circumstances, you will not consider yourself authorised to take any further measures with respect to that individual." There is another despatch with respect to the Commissioners at the Havana, laying down the same doctrine as to Cuba, stating that the Government did not intend to take any steps for the liberation of the slaves who were similarly situated in Cuba (Hear). It may appear very presumptuous for me to dispute the law laid down by so high an authority as the Queen's Advocate-General, but I think that he must entirely have forgotten that there was another law passed with regard to this matter previous to the abolition of slavery—in fact, ever since 1806 or 1807—by which it is illegal for any British subject to carry any slave out of any British possession for the purpose of selling him as a slave to any foreign possession (Hear, hear). And, therefore, it may be presumed, unless the contrary be shown, that these British negroes who are held in slavery in Cuba and Surinam were taken out of British possessions and carried into foreign possessions at a time when it was against the law that it should be done. If a British subject was carried out of the island where he was born or lived, and against the law transferred to a foreign master, it would be the most cruel injustice against that British subject for the British Government to neglect demanding his freedom, and thereby to deprive him of those rights which he would enjoy if he had remained under British law in the island to which he properly belonged. This is not a question that applies to one or two individuals. I believe there are a great number of persons in the situation of the individual to whom I allude. The Commissioners state that in Cuba the British language is spoken by nearly all the negroes in the plantations, thus proving that they were originally brought from British colonies (hear, hear). The Queen's Advocate says, her Majesty's ministers are not called upon to declare that they are to afford whatever protection is in the power of the British Government to give to any British subject who labours under any injustice from which they have the means of freeing him, and there certainly cannot be a greater injustice inflicted on any man than continuing him in slavery, when according to the law of his country he is entitled to his freedom. (Hear, hear). I do hope that her Majesty's Government will reconsider the decision which they have adopted, in consequence of the opinions given on this question by the Queen's Advocate. It is not compulsory on the Government to adopt the decision of the Queen's Advocate. They may adopt or reject that opinion, as the only object in procuring it is to ascertain what the state of the law is. I should wish them to refer back to the Queen's Advocate the question as arising under the acts of 1806 and 1807, and I think the Government ought to take a more enlarged view of the duties which they owe towards a born subject of the British Crown, than they would appear to have hitherto done (hear, hear). But there is another class of persons, also, whose situation occupied the attention of the late Government. These were the slaves who had been captured in slave ships taken under exist-

ing treaties, and who had been emancipated at Brazil, or in the Spanish or Dutch possessions, under the sentence of the Mixed Courts Commission, and who are known by the name of Emancipados. It was well known to all the consuls that these individuals, though nominally emancipated, were in effect held as slaves; the Government, under the pretence of fitting them for liberty, hiring them out to individuals for terms of five years, and receiving a sum of money in lieu of their services, on each occasion of their being re-hired at the end of every five years. They were, in fact, worse than slaves, as no person had an interest in their well-being (hear, hear). Now I am glad to perceive that the Government have succeeded, or at least did succeed, during the governorship of General Valdez in Cuba, in receiving certificates of freedom for those persons, which left them in the situation of free and independent agents; but that Governor objected to give certificates of freedom in all cases where they were entitled to be bestowed, as he said such an act would produce too great a convulsion in the island, thus showing that the number of negroes thus circumstanced was very considerable. I fear the present Governor of Cuba is a very different man from General Valdez. (Hear, hear). I fear that General O'Donnell has returned to all the bad practices of former times—that he encourages the slave-trade, and that he even takes money for permitting the landing of slaves; and I, therefore, fear that he would be very much indisposed to grant any farther certificates. I trust the Government will not relax in its endeavours to procure real liberty for all the negroes circumstanced in the manner I have mentioned, and that the whole number of the Emancipados will be placed in the condition of free men. I have great pleasure in perceiving that the Government of Brazil have consented that all individuals emancipated by the court shall be made free. There are a great number of negroes so circumstanced, and I trust their situation will not be lost sight of. (Hear, hear). This disposes of two classes of negroes to whom I wished to direct attention; but there is also a third class, much more numerous than either of the former, and that is the class of negroes who have been brought into Cuba and into Brazil at the period when it was forbidden by the laws of their respective countries that any such importations should take place, and who are, therefore, by the law of the land in which they reside, really entitled to their freedom. By the edict of Ferdinand, every negro brought into any Spanish possession after the 2nd of May following was to be declared free from the moment he landed in a Spanish possession; and the existence of that law is not denied by the Spanish Government, nor is it repudiated by the Governors of their colonies; for, in Cuba, General Valdez did actually set free a great number of newly-landed Africans under that very edict. Now, we applied to the Government of Spain to sign a convention, of which we sent them a draft, the purport of which was, that the Mixed Commission at the Havanna should be authorised to inquire into the cases of negroes who were in the condition of those to whom the Governor had, on his own responsibility, given their freedom, and to conclude their claim to be released from captivity. We thought, that whereas the Governor had acknowledged practically the existence of that law, the British and Spanish commissioners sitting at the Havanna should have power, if they found any such negroes, to put them in the same position as the Governor had, by his own act, before placed them. The Spanish Governor gave no answer to that demand on our part, until we had left office; but at the end of 1841, after a long note on the subject, they refused to accede to comply with our proposal. Their answer was not as satisfactory, in the way of refutation of our right to make the demand, as it might have been; but her Majesty's Government thought proper to acquiesce in that refusal, and dropped all further negotiations on the subject. Instead of making further inquiry on the point, they accepted from the Spanish Government an engagement explanatory of the existing law. No doubt the law was dubious, according to the treaty, and that it was necessary to have it defined; but I am sorry to say, that I attach no value whatever to any law that the Spanish Government may pass on the subject of slavery, because, while the law of Ferdinand remains a dead letter, no other law is likely to be carried into execution, while, if that law were faithfully enforced, no other enactment would be necessary on the subject. (Hear, hear). But I do think that her Majesty's Government rather too lightly acquiesced in that refusal of the Spanish Government, and that even if they had thought fit to waive the demand, with regard to the negroes now in Cuba, and who are as much entitled to their liberty as any Spanish residents in the island, and that by virtue of the treaty concluded with Great Britain—if, I say, they had waived the demand with regard to the negroes so circumstanced, I think they ought to have insisted on the extension to the Mixed Commission, of power to decide on the cases of all negroes hereafter to be brought into Cuba contrary to law. It is very well for the Spanish Government to object to having foreign powers mixed up with matters of slavery, but they are too late with their objection, inasmuch as the treaty already existing between this country and Spain establishes a foreign jurisdiction in Cuba. The proposed treaty was not intended to extend that jurisdiction beyond the present limits, but was merely devised to make it more complete. It was said that we may trust to the present Governor of Cuba, but my answer to that is, that I have no reliance on him in carrying that part of the treaty with Great Britain into execution. I want the British authority to be exercised in effecting that object. (Hear, hear.) For, after all, what did General Valdez do? He confiscated some negroes brought into Cuba, in violation of the Spanish law. He gave them their liberty, to which they were by law entitled, but in what way? Why, he said, there are men brought from the wilds of Africa, and totally unfit for the state of society in which they are thrown. We must deal with them as we would with the Emancipados. We must apprentice them. And accordingly the female slaves were sold, or hired out to respectable householders, to act as domestic servants, without any security being given that they are not permanently to remain in a state of slavery; while the males, as the best means of making them permanently useful members of society, were sent out to work in lighting the streets. Now, I don't think that is a proper way to make them permanently useful members of society, or that our Government should not have required from the Spanish Government the liberation of all slaves brought into Cuba, in violation of the law of Spain. They should, in my opinion, have insisted on the Mixed Commission being authorised to interfere in the cases of these slaves. If the negroes had been captured on board a ship, the Mixed Commission would have an un-

doubted right to deal with them; and when they are captured on shore, after being introduced into the island, the same right should be acknowledged. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, I am sorry to say that the slave-trade is increasing in every country in which it is carried on. I certainly had been apprehensive that the fact would be so, but I still think that it is in the power of her Majesty's Government to take measures which would effectually put an end to this disgraceful and disgusting proceeding. (Hear, hear.) There was the measure that was, perhaps, most effectual after the general extension of the right of search. I allude to the destruction of the slave barracoons on the western coast of Africa. The commissioners tell you that in 1842 or 1843 the slave-trade had very much diminished. They say that diminution arose from three causes. One of these was, I think, the greater vigilance exercised in Cuba; another was, I forget what; but the third and the principal cause was, the destruction of the barracoons. They dwell at length on that subject, and tell you that the most effectual and only mode of putting an end to the slave-trade must be in the destruction of the barracoons. (Hear, hear.) Now when the present Government came into office, the first thing they did was to write a letter condemning the burning of these barracoons, and stating that such a policy was against the law of nations. I think that a most extraordinary doctrine, and one that I should especially very little expect would be put forward, either by the Government of England or by the Government of France. If our Government wanted to co-operate with the Government of France for the suppression of the slave-trade, and if the government of France be equally desirous to co-operate with the government of this country for the same purpose, let them unite in sweeping from the coast of Africa those dens of iniquity to which I have alluded. Let them get the consent of the African chiefs if they can, but if they cannot, let the barracoons be destroyed in any case. If the two countries unite determinedly for this purpose, the question of the right of search will cease to be a practical question between the two states, and will resolve itself into merely one of theory. (Hear.) I am very anxious to bring this matter under the consideration of the government, because I do think that although, when the subject is mooted in this house, nothing can be more satisfactory than the language held out by the members of the government, still, when it is necessary to send a despatch on the subject the same energy cannot be perceived. (Hear, hear.) The strongest expressions of condemnation of the slave-trade are used in this house, still, when we look to see what the government has done, we find on the one hand that they are going step by step to undo everything adopted for the purpose of preventing this traffic, and that they refuse to take any forward step likely to lead to the suppression of this abominable traffic. (Hear, hear, hear.) When they have done all that I have pointed out to them—when they have succeeded in putting down the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, there will still remain enough to occupy them in the eastern and northern parts of that continent. In Egypt the pacha already promised to relinquish the razias, by which he was in the habit of recruiting his army in the interior; but, in 1843, one of the most disgraceful of scenes of that kind ever committed was perpetrated by him. We have evidence of the slave-trade existing in Muscat, where the Imaum carried on the trade in slaves with Christian nations, and more especially with the Portuguese establishments. The noble lord concluded by observing, that he had not made these remarks in any spirit of annoyance to the government, or in any personal or party feelings.

Sir ROBERT PEEL. With respect to the returns, I was certainly most anxious that they should be made out as the noble lord required them; and if he suggested any alterations that he would wish to have made in them, I would be ready to adopt them. Even now, if the noble lord will point out any discrepancies in the returns, or any additions which he would wish to have made, I will immediately communicate with the proper officer in the Foreign Office on the subject. With respect to the case of inquiry in Surinam, I will not hesitate to say, that if the noble lord thinks that the acts of Parliament of 1806 and 1807 have not been sufficiently adverted to, it shall certainly not prejudice the right of the individual negro referred to. There is one part of the noble lord's speech which gave me great satisfaction; and that was the opinion which he expressed of a cordial union between France and England being likely to do more to effect the suppression of the slave-trade than anything else that could possibly be suggested; and I certainly do not despair of that infamous traffic being put an end to by that means. I do not think the slave-trade is carried on to any great extent on the eastern coast of Africa; and I must also say, that during the last six months the British cruisers have captured a greater number of slaves on the western coast than for a considerable period previously. This, of course, may be partly attributed to an increase in the traffic; but still I cannot help thinking that this success will have very beneficial results. It would certainly be for the advantage of humanity if the Spanish government had acceded to the proposition of the noble lord; but we certainly felt that the law of nations did not permit us to enforce his demand. With respect to the barracoons, I certainly cannot concur in what has been stated by the noble lord; and, as to the conduct of the government with regard to Scinde, I certainly never claimed any freedom from the general regulations that bind nations. I trust, however, that France and England will exert themselves to procure the permission of the native chiefs for the destruction of the barracoons, as I attach the greatest importance to such a mode of proceeding. I certainly do not despair of our making some arrangement of that nature. (Hear, hear.) I cannot concur with the noble lord in the opinion, that we would be justified in attempting to suppress the slave-trade, by disregarding altogether the general laws which regulate our intercourse with other countries.

Viscount PALMERSTON said:—What I meant with regard to the barracoons was this, that the course suggested by the right honourable gentleman is undoubtedly the best, and I am fully convinced that it would be found to be practicable in almost every case, that is to say, we should hold out to the native chiefs inducements, and I am confident small inducements would be sufficient, to lead them to permit us to destroy the barracoons. But what I insist upon is this, that if in any case there were a chief who clung so to the slave-trade, that he refused to take our offers to permit us to destroy these barracoons, such conduct on his part would afford a case which would justify us in committing an act of war. The objection raised, as to the law of nations, amounts to this—that you

have not the right, by the law of nations, of landing on the territory of an independent chief, with the design of executing a purpose to which he himself is no party. But if there is an African chief so barbarous, that he will not concur with his neighbours in co-operating with you in the suppression of the slave-trade, then, I say, you would be justified in compelling him by force to do so. Such conduct, on the part of that chief, would be a case of war within the law of nations. Your war with him would be carried on for a purpose which would not interfere with his independence or with his territorial possessions. But I cannot see anything in the law of nations not to justify you in having recourse to hostile means to compel such a chief to concur in a legitimate purpose. There was no doubt that if France and England combined for the purpose, they would be able to hold out to all these chiefs inducements to co-operate with them in securing the great and humane object which both would have in view, and securing it with the full consent of the chiefs. The return made to my motion I consider an imperfect return. I had moved for a return to be made up from documents in possession of the Government; and it is clear, from the notes added to this return, that there are documents in possession of the Government, which contain information which the return does not supply.

Mr. HUME was sorry that he was obliged to differ from the noble lord. He agreed with him that it was a most desirable object to put an end to the slave-trade and slavery. No man had done more with a view to that object than the noble lord. Throughout the whole of the period during which he presided at the Foreign-office, his attention was unremittingly devoted to this matter. But we had been carrying out the views of the noble lord at great expense and great risk, without being able to effect our object. The trade in slaves remained, he feared, as ripe to-day as it was when they began their operations. He was not quite clear that the information they had, in many instances, could be depended upon. If correct information was supplied, he was afraid it would be found that they had added to the evils of the traffic, instead of suppressing it. When the noble lord spoke of treaties with the African chiefs, he thought it would be impossible to effect much in that way, for so long as the chiefs could make it profitable to carry on the trade, it would be next to impossible to make them desist. If they burnt the barracoons one week, in the course of a few weeks, the chiefs would be in possession of others. If they drove them from one point of the coast, they would soon be found at another, engaged in their nefarious traffic. This was a matter in which the exertions of England had been greatly misdirected. If half the time, trouble, and expense had been devoted to the increase of free labour in our own colonies, we would have done much more in effecting the suppression of the slave-trade than we can now console ourselves with having done.

Mr. WARBURTON observed that the papers to which the noble lord referred gave the following results, which he would read to the house. It appeared that from 1815 to 1843, according to the imperfect returns which the government had been able to obtain, the number of negroes transported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil amounted to 639,145; and, according to the notes appended to those returns, in order to arrive at the real number they were instructed to multiply by two, which gave as the whole number so transported 1,280,000. Now, the total number of those liberated by British cruisers was only 18,042, which number was, as compared with 1,280,000, as one was to 72, and one in 72 was less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. One and a half per cent. being the total number liberated, how small a proportion was that to the whole number shipped from Africa! And yet such was the result of all their expenditure and all their sacrifices, in prohibiting free trade between this country and those countries which abounded in tropical produce, but with which a free intercourse had been prohibited because they carried on the slave-trade. One and a half per cent. was all that they had liberated. Were they not to look at this fact, and argue from it for the future? The noble lord on the one side, and the right honourable baronet on the other, told them that if France and England would only cordially unite to put down the slave-trade, their conjoint efforts would speedily be attended with the most triumphant results, for the slave-trade would become so hazardous that an end would soon be put to it. To this he would only reply, after the manner of the Spartan—"if." When they cordially united to put down the slave-trade, they might possibly achieve much. As yet they had done but very little, as the returns too clearly indicated. If they took the experience of the past, from 1815 to 1842, and considered that during the next thirty years different results might be attained, then he agreed with the noble lord that it might be desirable that there should be such a union, if such consequences were to follow. But who expected that such would be the case? At present, by the course they (the Government) were pursuing, they were only exasperating those amongst whom they were endeavouring, by futile means, to put down the slave-traffic and the institution of slavery, instead of attempting, by gentler means and by more kindly representations, to induce them to abandon both the trade and the institution.

Viscount PALMERSTON thought that the hon. member for Kendal did not take all the proper items into his account, in stating the number of slaves who had been emancipated by the endeavours of the British Government. The number to which the hon. gentleman alluded, was the number of those emancipated and landed upon the American coast; but, besides this number, they had between sixty and seventy thousand who had been landed at Sierra Leone. The hon. gentleman should also recollect, that a great number of vessels were captured upon the coast of Africa without any slaves on board, and which, if not captured, would have returned laden with cargoes of five or six hundred slaves apiece. The hon. gentleman, if he took these things into the account, would find that a much larger per centage of negroes than that which he had just mentioned, were either emancipated from the slave ships, or saved from capture and bondage.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER agreed with the hon. member for Kendal, with the noble lord, and with the right hon. baronet (laughter). He thought that if France and England should really and seriously combine to put down the slave-trade, their object could soon be effected; but he did not think that France would ever come to such an agreement. That country was now trying to do away with the right of search. What plan France proposed as a substitute for that right was not yet divulged, but it appeared that

there was some plan in view. But if the right hon. baronet would give up all that humbug of destroying barracoons, and all that humbug about doing what might be construed as being contrary to the law of nations, which he considered altogether humbug in reference to this matter, and embark a couple of thousand of black troops from the West Indies on board a few steamboats, and let them make a run from one end of the coast of Africa to the other, and destroy, in their progress, every place from which slaves are exported, his word for it, they would soon put an end to the slave-trade (much laughter).

Captain PECHELL believed that the accounts of slaves landed were imperfect, and the only course left for the house to pursue, was to discuss the question on the returns which they found to give the most correct account. He differed with the hon. member for Montrose, as to the attempts which this country had made to put down the traffic in slaves. In his opinion, their operations had been most successful. He found, that from 1831 to 1835, there were seventy-five vessels taken with slaves, and only seven empty; and those who had the boldness and the courage to seize the empty ones, had been charged with damages to a considerable amount. From 1836 to 1841, 104 vessels were taken with slaves, and 143 empty. These were statements which he hoped the hon. member for Montrose would take notice of. During the last two years of the present Government, the years 1840 and 1841, only eight vessels loaded with slaves were captured, and forty-eight empty, by one account, and fifty-four by another; but say, fifty empty, were also taken during these two years. This showed that the exertions of this country had been eminently successful. Now, the right hon. gentleman who introduced the estimates, and called for an increased vote for the naval service, assigned, amongst other things, as a reason for making such a call, that additional armaments were to be sent to the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. He would now call upon the Government to explain to the House whether they, the Government, had been successful, in the new policy adopted, of concentrating their forces on the African seas, by the withdrawal of our cruisers from the coast of Brazil, from Cuba, and from the Gulf of Mexico?

Sir G. COCKBURN said that the gallant officer had alluded, in the first part of his speech to the success which had attended their efforts on the coast of Africa, and was anxious to know whether they (the Government) were now succeeding in their efforts. He had great pleasure in being able to say that, during the last year, they had been exceeding even their expectations. From news lately received from the coast of Africa, it appeared that seventeen vessels had been recently captured, and he was very happy to say that three vessels out of every four were without slaves. This was the best proof which could be adduced of the value of having a squadron on the coast of Africa. The squadron on the African station consisted of 23 vessels. Amongst these there were six or seven steamers, which were very useful, although they did not find that they captured any more slaves than did the other vessels. In the next place, they had that day received an account of an attack made by the officer in command there, who had landed some of his men, and, on account of the improper conduct of some chiefs destroyed three or four of their towns, and then went up the country, and brought the king, Mannah, to his senses, and made him promise to enter into a treaty. He had every reason to believe that our cruisers on the coast of Africa were fast destroying the slave-trade. He also understood that the price of slaves had of late got up in the colonies, which he regarded as another proof of success.

WEDNESDAY, May 7.

SLAVE-TRADE.

Viscount PALMERSTON wished to put a question to the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government—it was one which he had put to him the other night, and which as he was not then prepared to answer it, he would now repeat. By the treaty of Washington, concluded in August, 1842, and by the 9th article of that treaty, it was stipulated that "whereas, notwithstanding all the efforts which may be made upon the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, while the facilities for carrying on that traffic by the fraudulent use of flags are so great, and the temptations for parading it when markets can be found are so strong, that the desired result may be long delayed, unless all the markets now open be shut up against the purchase of African negroes—the parties to the treaty do therefore agree to unite in all becoming representations to, and remonstrances with, any and all of the powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist, and that they will urge on all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets fully, at once and for ever." He wished them to ask whether, in consequence and in pursuance of that 9th article, the Governments of the United States and of England had united in communicating any, and, if any, what representations and remonstrances to the Governments of Brazil and Spain, both of them nations included in the class of those referred to. He wished, also, to ask, with reference to the treaty of December, 1840, for the suppression of the slave-trade—the treaty, he meant, signed between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—whether any steps had been taken in pursuance of the 17th article, which stated that "The high contracting parties agree to invite those maritime powers of Europe which have not yet concluded treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade, to accede to the present treaty." The powers referred to were Belgium, Hanover, and Greece, and the question which he wished to put to the right honourable gentleman was, whether the parties to that treaty of December, 1840, had, in pursuance of the article he had referred to, applied to those three powers to obtain their annexation to the treaty?

Sir R. PEEL said, that the noble lord having given him notice of his intention to ask the questions which he had put, he had made inquiry at the Foreign Office, as to the transaction referred to. The noble lord had quoted—of course correctly—the article of the treaty of Washington, as to representations and remonstrances to be made by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to certain foreign powers. After the passing of that treaty, several conferences had taken place between his noble friend at the head of the Foreign Department and the American minister, Mr. Everett, upon the subject of the article in question. The question was, whether it would be most advantageous and most likely to

bring about desirable results, were the representation to be made by both countries united, or by each for itself." The words of the article undoubtedly were that both countries should "unite," but it was not considered that they were necessarily bound, therefore, to make a joint representation, and that, should it be thought most desirable for each country to make a separate representation, each country was at perfect liberty to do so. It was ultimately determined, as the best course to be adopted, that each country should make such a separate representation. The Government of Great Britain had faithfully adhered to that arrangement, and he understood from the American minister that the Government of the United States had also made a similar representation to Brazil, through their minister there, who had all along shown the utmost readiness to assist in every measure calculated to put down the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) As to the second question of the noble lord, he had correctly stated that in 1841 a treaty had been concluded by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, conceding to each other a mutual right of search, in order to suppress, as far as possible, the slave-trade. That treaty had been signed by France, but had not been ratified by her. The other great powers of Europe, however, independent of that non-ratification, concluded the treaty. It was a quadruple treaty, binding on four powers; and it became a question whether, after the refusal of France to ratify the treaty, it was desirable that representations should be made to the three powers who had not at all joined it, namely, Belgium, Hanover, and Greece. He believed that no vessels belonging to these countries were engaged in the slave-trade, nor were their flags used in the promotion of that traffic. No doubt it would be very desirable that all the maritime powers of Europe should unite to put it down; but there were considerations connected with the refusal of France to ratify the treaty which were judged to form obstacles in the way of representation being made to the three powers alluded to. (Hear.)

Viscount PALMERSTON observed, that as to the first question, as it appeared that the Government of the United States had made remonstrances in execution of the article of the treaty of Washington referred to, he presumed that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a diplomatic communication of these remonstrances from that Government, and in laying them before the house. If the remonstrances had been joint, as was the literal construction of the treaty, they would have been laid on the table of the house as a matter of course; but being conformable to the treaty in spirit, although not in form, he still did not see that there could be any obstacle to their production.

Home Intelligence.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS.—MEETING AT EDINBURGH.—On Monday evening, a public meeting was held in the Rev. Mr. M'Gilchrist's church, Rose-street, for the purpose of considering the propriety of passing resolutions against the practice of Christian churches in this country holding fellowship with the slaveholding and slavery-defending churches of America. The church was well filled on the occasion. Baillie Gray having been called to the chair, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, of Loanhead, (Reformed Presbyterian;) the Rev. Dr. Willis, of Glasgow, (Free Church;) the Rev. Mr. Read, of Lothian-road church, (Secession;) and the Rev. H. C. Wright, of Philadelphia, who moved and seconded a series of resolutions, declaring that American slavery develops the grossest system of wrong and injustice—a system condemned by natural reason and sound policy, by a sense of justice between man and man, by the whole tenor and spirit of the word of God, and especially by the dispensation of the gospel; that it is the duty of the Christian churches of Great Britain to renounce all Christian fellowship with the slaveholding churches of America, to refuse to receive the ministers of these churches into their pulpits, or to send delegates to, or receive delegates from, such ecclesiastical bodies; and that, as practical Christianity alone can be expected to overthrow this sinful and degrading system, it is the imperative and immediate duty of every church of Christ to testify, by every means in their power, their abhorrence of this crying evil. Dr. Willis and the other speakers commented strongly on the recent speeches of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish in the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh; and expressed a hope that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would come to such resolutions as would redeem the credit of the Free Church in this matter, and place it in a position more consistent with the common sense and Christian feeling of the country. A letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson was read to the meeting, expressive of his entire approval of the object for which it had been summoned; and also a letter from the Rev. Mr. Macbeth, of Glasgow, (who was announced as one of the speakers,) apologizing for not being able to be present, and declaring that he considered slaveholding an excommunicable offence, and utterly opposed to the benign spirit of the Christian religion, and that he was most desirous to see the Free Church acknowledge, and act on this principle.—*Witness.*

Colonial Intelligence.

BARBADOES.—A very large portion of the crop has been reaped and manufactured. The drought has lessened the quantity by many hundred hogsheads.—*West Indian.*

TRINIDAD.—Letters have been received by this packet communicating intelligence with reference to the Coolies. The difficulty which has been experienced by the parties entrusted with the management of the immigration scheme, has not been occasioned by any lack of people disposed to come to the West Indies, as any number required could be obtained with the utmost ease. The great difficulty has been the want of vessels in which to ship them. Our informant states, that two vessels have been discharged for Jamaica, and that the third, intended for Trinidad, has been delayed in consequence of the agent not being able to procure a competent medical superintendent for it.—*Trinidad Standard.*

Foreign Intelligence.

MARTINIQUE.—ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—The *Grenada Chronicle* of the 22nd says, that six refugee slaves, in an open boat, were, on the Sunday previous, picked up at sea, 140 miles to the northward of Martinique, by the sloop *Water Witch*, on her passage from Carupano to Grenada. "The men reported that seven of them had left Martinique, for St. Lucia, on the previous Sunday, with only one day's provision, that they were unable to make port from the prevalence of a strong current, and that one of their comrades jumped overboard the day before they were picked up. They landed from the *Water Witch* yesterday morning, and are now enjoying all the privileges of free men." Were it not the policy of the French colonial governments to conceal, as much as possible, from their slaves everything connected with these escapes, and could the truth be arrived at, we do firmly believe, on evidence which we picked up in a tour among the islands in 1840, that the number that succeed in making an English port is really insignificant &c compared with those who are lost in the adventure. Could not our anti-slavery friends in England endeavour to obtain returns through some of their friends in the French chambers? It would really be an interesting document, and we will answer to supply the safe arrivals in English ports for the corresponding years.—*Barbadoes Liberal.*

FRANCE.—RIGHT OF SEARCH.—Our private letters state that it was reported and believed, in the best informed quarters, that the Commissioners appointed to endeavour to discover and agree upon a substitute for "the right of search," in the repression of the slave-trade, had come to a satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The new means of prevention would, it was stated, be by blockade.—*Times.*

HOLLAND.—A committee of the Second Chamber of the States-General has been appointed to examine the petition presented to that body by 46 proprietors of plantations at Surinam.

Miscellanea.

THE SUGAR TRADE.—We copy the following remarks on the operation of the new sugar duties, from Messrs. Trueman and Cook's Circular for the present month:—"The sugar market has exhibited extraordinary activity during the whole month. The stock in dealers' hands throughout the country had so completely run out, pending the discussion of the new duties, that the supply necessary for the immediate consumption was very large. At the close of March, the deliveries for the first three months of the year were 5,000 tons less than in the corresponding period of 1844; in April, however, the deliveries were no less than 13,000 tons more than in the same month last year; and thus in 1845 there is an actual excess of 8,000 tons over the first four months of 1844. The point of the greatest interest, consequent upon the reduced duty, is the extent to which it will increase consumption; considerable doubt was entertained whether it would reach the ministerial estimate of 40,000 tons during the year; but present appearances decidedly induce an expectation that the increase will even exceed that estimate. Under ordinary circumstances, the deliveries are not, of necessity, evidence of consumption, because there may be reasons irrespective of immediate demand, to induce the dealers and refiners to hold larger stocks; with the view, therefore, of ascertaining the real fact at the present period, a very minute inquiry has been instituted among the grocers and retail dealers throughout the metropolis and adjoining districts, the result of which is both curious and interesting. In the wealthier quarters the increase varies from 10 to 20 per cent.; but in the eastern part of the town and poorer suburbs, it actually ranges from 30 to 60 per cent. Something, probably, is attributable to the novelty of cheap sugar; but habits once acquired are not easily put aside, and with a continuance of the present prosperity, there seems now no reason to doubt that the increase of consumption will at least equal the most sanguine expectation; and the reduction of the duty prove, in course of time, even a benefit to the revenue. The new measure continues to work well; and the judicious selection of the standard has apparently removed all difficulty. To clear up a doubt as to the liability of some of the Dhabah sugar to the higher duty, an eminent authority (Dr. Ure) was officially applied to for a chemical analysis of both that and the standard sample; and the investigation has established, that the standard contains 10 per cent. more saccharine matter than the Dhabah No. 1; consequently the latter and similar descriptions will come in under the lower rate of duty."

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—The *Morning Chronicle* states that Venezuela, Mexico, and the United States, have all claimed the introduction of their sugars at the reduced duty, under the most favoured nation clause, and that an order in council has been issued to this effect.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—Our private Letters state that the draft of the convention respecting the right of search agreed upon by the commissioners, (the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington,) which had been transmitted for approval from London to Paris, had been returned, with an objection to one of its provisions. The precise terms of the proposed convention were not, of course, known; but it was understood that they contemplated treaties with the African native chiefs, to prevent the sale and embarkation of slaves; and in the event of failure or deception on the part of such chiefs, or of any of them, that their territory be blockaded, and possession taken of their factories.—*Times.*

FINE ARTS.—A pleasing object has just appeared in the print-shops. It is an engraving, on stone, of the extreme eastern portion of the frieze of the Hall of Commerce in this city, representing the abolition of slavery. The print exhibits a British female presenting the cap of liberty to a company of slaves, in various attitudes, expressive of joy and gratitude.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the said county of Middlesex, printer, at their printing-office, No. 5, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the city of London: and published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Wednesday, May 14, 1845.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXLIII. VOL. VI.—No. 11.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 28TH, 1845.

[PRICK 4d.

ABSTRACT OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

If the official year of the Society which has now expired, has not been so fruitful of great events, in relation to the anti-slavery cause, as some of those which have preceded it, it has not terminated, the Committee rejoice to say, without leaving behind it substantial proofs of its progress and triumphs.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Whatever checks this atrocious traffic may, from time to time, have experienced, it is nevertheless true that it is pursued with an energy and success which prove at once the inveteracy of the evil, and the inefficiency of the means hitherto employed for its suppression. The great slave markets in the Western world still continue to be the Spanish colonies and Brazil; and in the Eastern—Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and India. To supply them with victims, every part of Africa, from the interior to the coast, accessible to the slave-dealer, is ravaged. From the Western and Eastern coasts of that continent the Spanish colonies and Brazil draw their supplies. The markets in the Levant and Turkey rely chiefly on Northern Africa. Egypt depends on Sennar, Kordofan, and other negro states contiguous to its territories. Persia, and other slave-purchasing states, on Zanzibar, and other parts of the territories of the Imam of Muscat; and on the marauding Arab chiefs, who occupy the line of coast bordering on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. It were a vain attempt on the part of the Committee to convey to the minds of their friends an adequate idea of the extent and horrors of the slave-trade. It may be sufficient, however, to observe that Africa is annually robbed of from 300,000 to 400,000 of her children, to glut the cupidity, or minister to the pride and luxury of nominal Christians, and the followers of the false prophet—that two-thirds of this mighty host perish by fire and sword in their original capture; by privation and fatigue, in their transit to the coast; and by disease and death, in their most horrible forms, during the middle passage: and that the remainder are sold into perpetual slavery, and subjected, with their offspring in perpetuity, to all the revolting incidents of that degraded state.

Amidst the gloom created by the contemplation of this mass of wretchedness and crime, it is cheering to find, as the result of the past labours of Christian philanthropists, that the slave-trade is openly condemned by every community which has the least pretension to civilization.

By many of the great states of Europe and America it has been declared piracy, and by all a crime deserving heavy punishment; and although the flags of some of these nations are occasionally employed in covering this detestable traffic, it is not carried on at present to supply their colonies and territories, with the exception of Brazil, Spain, and Portugal. These powers, in contravention of their own laws, and the solemn stipulations of treaties, foster the slave-trade, and are not ashamed to have recourse to frauds of the most unwarrantable character, in their diplomatic intercourse with this country, to veil the part they take in the nefarious traffic.

In connection with the means used by this country for the suppression of the contraband trade in slaves, there has arisen a question of great delicacy and importance, namely, the right of search, which has been the occasion of much irritating controversy, and is now the subject of grave, though amicable, deliberation between Great Britain and France. Commissioners have been appointed to devise measures, if they can be discovered, more efficacious for the suppression of the slave-trade, than those which already exist. The Committee, feeling the subject to be of the last importance to the anti-slavery cause, and probably to the peace of countries with whom Great Britain has treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, have laid before the Government their deliberate views respecting it. In the memorial which contained those views, they have pointed out the imperfections of the existing treaties—the continued bad faith of several Powers in their non-execution—the vast expenditure of treasure and life incurred in the attempt to give them effect—and the want of success which has followed the prodigious efforts which have been made,—for the painful fact still remains, that, without having materially, if at all, diminished the extent, the armed suppression of the traffic has really added to its horrors. The large experience which the people of this country have had of the inefficiency, not to say impolicy, of this mode of suppression, warranted the Committee in suggesting to the Government the propriety of directing all its energies against slavery, the great cause of the slave-trade; for they felt that so long as the market for slaves was open, the evil would continue; and that the vigilance, enterprise, and skill of the British cruisers, would be overmatched by the cunning, fraud, and audacity of the slave-traders. What may be the result of the present negotiations cannot, of course, be conjectured; the Committee

would indulge the hope, however, that the distinguished men who are conducting it may be led to recommend such wise and pacific means of suppression as will greatly facilitate the ultimate object which the nations they represent have in view.

SLAVERY.

The Committee would venture to recall the attention of their friends to the vast extent of negro slavery in the New World, with a view of stirring them up to renewed exertion in the sacred cause of human freedom.

In Brazil, there are at least	2,500,000 slaves
United States.....	2,750,000 "
Spanish Colonies	800,000 "
French Colonies	250,000 "
Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Colonies	100,000 "
South American Republic	400,000 "
Texas.....	30,000 "
Total.....	6,890,000

The laws regulating the condition of slaves are of the most atrocious description. They are everywhere treated as the absolute property of their masters, and their slavery is declared to be perpetual and hereditary. Their food, shelter, clothing, and punishments, are practically discretionary; and the protection which the law is said to give their lives is nominal only; they may be tortured, mutilated, and slain, by their owners with impunity, provided they take the necessary precaution of perpetrating their atrocious deeds in the presence of slaves only, for their evidence is in no case taken against them though it may be against each other. Their labour is coerced, and is frequently lengthened out to so great an extent, especially during the season of crop, as not only to exhaust their physical strength, but to destroy their lives. Hence we find it stated, on undoubted authority, that the deaths among the slave population of Brazil, are at least five per cent. per annum over the births, whilst, in the island of Cuba, they reach as high as from seven to eight per cent. per annum. This dreadful waste of human life, combined with the increasing demand for tropical productions, in various parts of the world, is the cause which stimulates the slave-trade, and renders it, probably, with all its drawbacks and dangers, the most profitable, as well as the most guilty, trade in the world.

Nor is the slave merely subjected to a life of toil, privation, and punishment. His social feelings are continually outraged. In his case the marriage tie is either not admitted, or totally disregarded. His wife may at any time, or for any purpose, be sold from him. Violence is continually done to the parental relations; the children of slaves are not their own, they are chattels personal in the hands of their masters, and the heart of the mother is often wrung with anguish by forcible separation from them, or by being compelled to witness cruelties and wrongs inflicted on them which she dare not resent because she is powerless to defend. Moreover, by this brutalizing system the mental faculties are stunted in their growth, and the moral nature of the slave injured and degraded. To keep the light of knowledge from his mind, and to deaden his sensibilities are necessary to the existence of slavery, and hence we find the penalty of death and other heavy penalties inflicted, for teaching a slave the use of letters. But the evils of slavery do not terminate here—they re-act on the free population of the countries in which it exists. The master as well as the slave, is demoralized by it, and often he is the most degraded of the two. This is the present penalty for the crime. It is impossible to exaggerate the evils of slavery. In the language of one of its most vigorous and eloquent opposers, "Slavery is the most accursed and unnatural production of crime, and the most frightful source of human misery; it degrades the slave not more than it degrades the master. It is the deadly upas tree under which

' All life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things;
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd or fear conceived.'

If, with the exception of the United States, there is no organized party in favour of the abolition of slavery in those countries in which it exists, it is satisfactory to know that it is regarded by the more intelligent portion of their people as a deadly evil, and is justified solely on the plea of necessity. Few men are found bold enough to undertake its defence, and fewer still dare plead for its continuance, in the face of the enlightened moral sentiment and religious conviction which so extensively prevail among free men. Besides which, the danger, ever present, and in some cases, imminent, which attends this violation of human rights and feelings, is deepening the conviction, that it is an institution which must sooner or later come to an end. How important, then, are anti-slavery exertions in this and other countries, by which it is sought to bring

this dire scourge and crime of the human race to a speedy and peaceful termination.

HOME OPERATIONS.

In their last Report, the Committee, after having announced the gratifying fact, that the East India Directors and her Majesty's Government had sanctioned the act of the Governor-General in Council, of India, for the abolition of slavery in that part of the British dominions, stated it to be the duty of the Society to see that the emancipated slaves were as free, *in fact*, as they had been declared free by law. The information they have hitherto obtained, in answer to letters of inquiry and instructions forwarded to every part of India to which they had access, is of a mixed character. Except in the Tenasserim provinces, and in portions of the Madras Presidency, they cannot find that the bulk of the population, in whose liberty and welfare they feel the deepest interest, have yet obtained the knowledge of the fact, that they are free. Of course, their late owners will not inform them that their power and authority over them has terminated, but the contrary. It, therefore, becomes the duty of the Government, through its subordinate officers, to take the necessary steps for proclaiming, in every village, town, and city, in every section, district, and division, of the three Presidencies, "Liberty to all the inhabitants of the land." The Committee have taken measures for the accomplishment of this great object, which they hope will be successful.

HONG-KONG.

The Committee are now able to congratulate their friends that the system of slavery which existed at this British settlement has been completely abolished. The act of the local Government was passed on the 28th February, 1844, and appears admirably adapted to secure the object proposed. The Committee anticipate the best results from this act, as it cannot fail to excite the attention of the more intelligent portion of the Chinese, and be fruitful of good in the way of example to the whole of the Chinese empire. The cause of freedom and humanity is indebted for this act to the late Governor of Hong-Kong, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart.

EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

This question has engaged a large share of the Committee's attention during the past year; and they are convinced, by the facts which have occurred, of the soundness of their views respecting it, and of the duty of every member of the Society to offer it his most strenuous opposition.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO MAURITIUS.

The number of Coolies introduced into Mauritius, from the 1st January, 1843, to 31st March, 1844, amounted to 41,156; of these 35,177 were males, 4,530 were females, and 1,449 were children. The proportion of the sexes seems about 12 women to 100 men. These Indians were introduced under the auspices of the British Government; and special guarantees were given that the abuses which had so much disgraced the preceding scheme of immigration into that island should be fully provided against, and that due protection should be given to the immigrants.

Instead, however, of this having been the case, we learn, that from alleged want of comprehension on the part of the Indian Government, and the pressing exigencies of the Mauritian planters, the system of private agency was allowed, and the Coolies were collected by crimpers and duffadars, after the old fashion, and the old abuses prevailed. At length, when the Governor of Mauritius found the colonial treasury empty, these abuses claimed his serious attention, and he despatched an agent to India to confer with the authorities there about a remedy. New regulations have been deemed indispensable; and under these the Government intend to allow the annual exportation of 6,000 Coolies, exclusive of women and children. From the period when those regulations went into effect until the 30th September, 1844, 2,493 additional Coolies were imported, of whom 1,935 were males, 355 females, and 203 children. To show how serious an evil the local authorities have found the disparity of the sexes to be, they have arranged that in future the premium upon the introduction of men shall be 5*l.* 5*s.* per head only, and upon women 7*l.* 10*s.* The Committee forbear to remark on the deep moral degradation resulting from this system of emigration, and of the culpability of all parties who have sanctioned and supported it.

The mortality connected with this Coolie trade has been frightful. According to returns laid before Parliament it appears that 480 died on the passage, 154 in hospital shortly after arrival, and 3,288 on the estates, within a period of twenty-one months from the re-opening of the traffic, during the whole of which the importation was going on. It is impossible to contemplate this waste of human life without a shudder.

But not content with the number of Coolies introduced since the year 1834, which cannot have fallen far short of 100,000 in all, the legislative council of Mauritius have enacted a law for the importation, under the license of the Governor, of negroes from all parts of the coast of Africa, not within British jurisdiction. Of course they are to be free labourers, but where on the eastern coast of Africa, for it is hardly to be presumed that they will visit the west, can they obtain free men? The Committee assert, nowhere. Such being the case, they ask, "Will the people of this country consent to re-open the African slave-trade with Mauritius?" The question now submitted is a grave one, and the Committee trust that such an answer will be given to it as will convince the Mauri-

tians that they will not be permitted to brave the Christian philanthropy of the country with impunity.

JAMAICA, BRITISH GUIANA, AND TRINIDAD.

The number of labourers obtained by these colonies from different parts of Europe and America, as well as from the smaller West India islands, since the period of emancipation, not having satisfied them, permission was granted these colonies by the Government to obtain an additional supply from the British settlements on the western coast of Africa; chiefly, however, from Sierra Leone. But notwithstanding all the aid which the Government has given them, the number of emigrants who have been willing to resort to them has been limited, whilst the expense of their removal has been great. Finding that the supply from this quarter was likely to be precarious, the West Indians directed their attention to others—and obtained authority from Government to import Chinamen and Coolies. Licenses have been granted to nine West India houses to import 2,550 Chinese into the three colonies, as a first experiment; but as the risk and expense connected with the operation were likely, in the first instance, to be borne by them, it is understood that this part of the emigration scheme has been abandoned. At the same time the Government engaged to allow 12,500 Coolies to be introduced into the three colonies before named, on the bounty system, if certain preliminary arrangements were made, which were deemed indispensable by the Government. British Guiana and Trinidad have complied with these demands, and will receive their quota of immigrants if they can be shipped within the time specified by the Government. Jamaica has, however, only given a conditional guarantee, and whether any Coolies will be sent to that colony is somewhat doubtful. In each of the colonies, especially Jamaica and British Guiana, considerable opposition has been made to the introduction of immigrants, and especially of Indian immigrants, at the public expense. The tax-payers of these colonies feel, and the Committee think justly, that the parties to be benefited by the arrangement should bear the whole of the expense attendant upon it. Besides which, they think that the introduction of masses of men, and these mere sensualists and idolators, is likely to prove seriously injurious to the well-being of the lately emancipated classes in the highest and best sense of the word. It must be further observed on this subject, that the Government contemplate the carrying on of this scheme of immigration on a gigantic scale, and have, therefore, authorized the colonies to pass ordinances for raising loans in this country, under the guarantee of Parliament, to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* British Guiana and Trinidad have passed ordinances, the former for raising 500,000*l.*, and the latter 250,000*l.*, to be repaid with the interest accruing thereon for a period of twenty-five years out of the duties on exports, which have probably received the Royal assent. The Jamaica legislature does not seem inclined to follow the example, and to entail a heavy debt on the colony, which is sure to be increased, when it is problematical whether more of evil than of good will not result from the proposed scheme. The Committee regret to say that, as in the case of Mauritius, so also in that of the British West Indies and Guiana, the question of a due proportion of the sexes is left entirely open. In the memorials they have presented, and the interviews they have had with Government on this important subject, they have set forth in detail the invincible objections they entertain against the whole scheme of immigration, and have endeavoured to enlist the active efforts of their friends throughout the country against any legislative measure which should give it any further sanction or support.

THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Notwithstanding the sinister predictions of the enemies of emancipation, and the serious errors which have been committed by the planters, in their dealings with their former slaves, it is believed that the colonies are steadily though slowly advancing in prosperity. The want, however, of an enlightened resident proprietary body, improved modes of agriculture, and of capital, is a very serious drawback on that prosperity. Coupled with this is the heavy expenditure of the Colonies, which is found to press with great severity on the labouring classes, who contribute largely and unequally to the taxes.

The general account of the conduct of the emancipated peasantry continues to be highly satisfactory. Their improvement in knowledge, character, and respectability, is steady.

One event, however, of a painful character, has occurred, to break the general tranquillity of the colonies, during the past year, namely, the riots in Dominica. These were occasioned by the fears entertained by the peasantry, that the taking of the number of the population, under the Census act, was to be followed by their reduction to slavery. Without going into the details of this painful affair, which led to the proclamation of martial law, and to many revolting excesses, on the part of the island militia, it is established beyond doubt, that great blame attaches to the authorities, for not having taken the precaution to disabuse the minds of the people of their false impressions previously to the census being taken. Had this been done, there can be no doubt the people would have quietly submitted to the operation of the law in the disturbed districts, as they did, in fact, in those parts of the colony where the necessary pains were taken.

It is a melancholy fact, that the spirit of colonial vengeance followed the rioters who were captured and brought to trial. One of them was found guilty, and executed without delay, for an offence which, in a British court of justice, would scarcely have been

regarded other than an assault. To the Committee, it is quite clear that a most vigilant eye must be kept on the proceedings of the colonies, and they trust that the steps which they have taken in this affair, have not been without beneficial results.

LEGISLATION IN THE COLONIES.

The Committee have already adverted to the immigration loan ordinances which have been passed by British Guiana and Trinidad. These were most objectionable in principle, and likely to prove unjust and onerous in operation. But these have been followed, in Trinidad, by other ordinances, which, if allowed by her Majesty in council, will place the labouring population completely within the power of their employers. By these enactments the summary powers of the stipendiary magistrates, in all cases involving questions between masters and servants, are practically done away, and appeal courts constituted for the benefit of the former, and against the latter. Besides which, they give the local magistrates concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary magistrates, and thereby render the appointment of that body a nullity. These enactments, moreover, entirely alter the contract law which had been in force in the colony; and which was alike protective, when faithfully executed, of the native labourer and the imported immigrant. The Committee have pointed out the true character of these ordinances to the Colonial Minister, and have suggested their disallowment as an act of justice to the labouring population. There is a strong desire, on the part of the planters, to supersede covertly where they cannot do it openly, the authority of the stipendiary magistrates, and to establish their own. Looking at the power which they all at present possess in the colonial legislatures and councils, they cannot but regard these encroachments on the administration of the laws with dread.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

In consequence of the circumstances which took place at the last Annual Meeting of the Society, the Committee summoned a special general meeting of its members to be held at Exeter-hall, on Monday, the 3rd of June, 1844, to consider the propriety of altering so much of its 4th rule as related to "the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour." In answer to the summons, 153 members from various parts of the country attended at the place indicated, and after a full discussion of the whole subject, the rule was affirmed by a very large majority. The Committee need not dwell on the course which they have felt it to be their duty to pursue on this important question, beyond merely stating that whilst they have been most anxious to exclude from the British market every article of slave-produce, they have been equally solicitous that the free-produce of all nations should come in on equal terms with that from the British possessions and plantations abroad.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HELD IN SLAVERY.

The Committee had hoped to have been able to report favourably respecting this class of our fellow-subjects, some thousands of whom are held in slavery in foreign countries; but they deeply regret to say, that the exertions of British functionaries residing in Cuba and Surinam, have been paralyzed by the announcement, on the part of the Government, that the opinion of Her Majesty's Advocate-General is adverse to their claims to liberty. The bar to their freedom is declared to be the fact of their having been taken away from the British West Indies before the abolition of slavery. Now, without dwelling upon the fact that it was, by 46 Geo. III., c. 52, declared to be illegal to remove slaves from the British colonies, and that slaves so removed were forfeited to the Crown, which the Committee apprehend was the case with most if not all of these unhappy persons, a grave question arises,—In what relation they stood to the British Crown? If in the relation of subjects, then, as subjects, they can be demanded. It is manifest that, by the law of nations, neither Spain nor Holland could regard them as British slaves, or retain them in slavery on that ground. The Committee then ask whether they are to be abandoned, they and their offspring, to perpetual bondage? They cannot consent so to abandon them, and they trust the friends of the Society throughout the kingdom will aid them to break their yoke, and to restore them to their families and homes, exulting in their freedom, and enjoying the fruits thereof in peace.

LAWS IN FOREIGN STATES, AFFECTING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

In the last Report of the Society attention was called to this class of laws which are in force in the slave sections of the United States. Hitherto the Committee have not been able to obtain a complete set of these laws; but they are warranted in affirming that the abolitionists of the United States will earnestly second their efforts to obtain their repeal. These laws equally affect the free coloured population of the free states, and the coloured classes of the British colonies; and are at variance with the constitution of the country and the treaties of Great Britain with it.

THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The Committee rejoice to be enabled to report that, during the past year, all the slaves possessed by that body, in the Danish colonies have been set free; and they are led to believe, from recent communications with the heads of the missions at Hernhut, that they have already taken measures for liberating those possessed by them in Surinam. The Committee would, however, remind them of the duty and importance of relieving themselves im-

mediately, and entirely, of all connection with the system of slavery wherever unhappily they are found associated with it.

FREE LABOUR CULTURE.

As the Committee have directed a vigorous opposition against every measure which would extend the cultivation of tropical productions by slave-labour, so have they felt it to be a duty to inquire by what means the cultivation of those productions may be increased by free labour. In addition to the British emancipated colonies, this country has a vast empire in India, and a teeming population. Every kind of product now grown by slaves can there be grown by freemen; for slavery in India no longer legally exists. Cotton, sugar, and rice can there be raised in illimitable quantities; and to that country the eye of every philanthropist must especially turn, as to the storehouse whence his most efficient weapons are to be drawn for the overthrow of slavery. The Committee have directed their close attention to this subject, and have collected a large array of facts, which prove that, if the restrictions which now affect the investment of capital, and the burdens which oppress labour, can be mitigated—or, what is better still, can be completely removed, an impetus will be given to production which would know no other limit than the power of consumption and the means of exchange. In this great question every class of British interest is involved; and here is common ground, on which to expend common energies, for the benefit of this country, and the welfare of mankind. The Committee hope the facts they have collected and arranged will speedily be laid before Government and the people of this country, and that it will be followed by the best results.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES.

The past year has been fruitful of great events in the United States. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the anti-slavery cause has made vast progress, whilst on the other, the slave-power has developed itself in the most formidable shapes. Possessing the highest offices in the Federal Government, it has abused its functions to sustain the institution of slavery within the States, and to extend its empire by the annexation of Texas. Contrary to the expectations of most men, the Senate, and the House of Representatives, have passed joint resolutions for the accomplishment of this nefarious purpose, which have received the sanction of the Executive, and all that is now required is to obtain the consent of Texas to the Union. In conjunction with the friends of freedom, in the United States, the Committee have used their best exertions, in every direction in which they conceived their labours might have weight, to prevent this terrible calamity to the human race. If, in the arrangements of Divine Providence, the annexation should be prevented, the days of American slavery are numbered; if, however, it should be permitted, the Committee would remember, that "the Lord reigneth," and that what is designed by the enemies of mankind to strengthen the institution of slavery, may prove, in the Divine hand, the means of its overthrow. It is cheering to know, that many of the most influential men in Texas, including the President and ex-President of the Republic, are against annexation, and that the efforts of the British, and, they trust, of the French Government also, will be put forth to prevent the final accomplishment of this evil deed.

At the late presidential election, that portion of the American abolitionists known by the name of the Liberty Party, cast upwards of 62,000 votes for the hon. J. B. Birney, on purely anti-slavery grounds. They have thus begun to feel their strength, and the value of their organization, and there can be but little doubt that their number and power will greatly increase under the existing state of things.

It is highly gratifying to be able to state, that the various sections of the Christian church in the United States are rapidly dissolving their connection with slavery, and in various emphatic forms, are entering their solemn protests against it. To this quarter, principally, will the Christian philanthropist look, for as soon as those who profess the benign doctrines of the gospel yield obedience to its righteous precepts, the great iniquity will totter to its fall.

FRANCE.

Little has been done in France to advance the anti-slavery cause during the past year. The Government is evidently opposing itself to the movement, and instead of a bold and comprehensive measure of emancipation, which might have been reasonably expected, a project is now before the Chambers intended merely to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. No material benefits are likely to result from it to those in bonds. By some it is regarded as a step in the right direction; the Committee can, however, only look upon it as an expedient to procrastinate the period of emancipation. That must come at last. The Committee have not failed to urge upon their fellow-labourers in France, what they believe to be their duty in this great matter, and they yet trust that some French Wilberforce will be raised up to accomplish the work which all deem to be necessary, but which none at the present moment appear to have the courage to propose.

HOLLAND.

The friends of the anti-slavery cause in Holland are actively engaged in disseminating anti-slavery information, and stimulating anti-slavery exertions. An important discussion has been raised in the Dutch Legislature on the presentation of a petition from the pro-

slavery ports in the country, the result of which has by no means answered their expectations. The Committee regard with the greatest satisfaction the progress of the question in Holland, and trust that the labours of their friends will be speedily rewarded with success.

Among the means adopted by the Committee to advance the anti-slavery cause, they would advert to an address which they have issued to British slave-holders residing in Surinam. These parties possess many thousand slaves; but as the tenure by which they hold them is becoming every day more and more precarious, they would hope that they will listen to the voice of humanity, and terminate a state of things, so far as they are concerned, as wicked as it is degrading.

DENMARK.

Denmark has taken up the anti-slavery cause with some degree of zeal, and its Government has issued ordinances of an ameliorative character, which the Committee sincerely trust are preliminary to a perfect scheme of emancipation. They would encourage their fellow-labourers in that country to persevere in the good work to which they have devoted themselves, until the African in their colonies shall be as free as the European who has settled there.

SWEDEN.

It is with sincere pleasure the Committee announce that the King and the Diet of Sweden have finally determined upon the emancipation of the slave-population of St. Bartholomew, a colony belonging to that country. Although the number of slaves in the island is comparatively small, it is an event which does honour to the parties who have been instrumental in its accomplishment, and to none does that honour more belong than to the reigning prince. The details of the law by which these slaves are to be enfranchised have not yet reached the Committee.

BRAZIL.

Brazil still continues the importation of slaves in vast numbers, reckless of consequences. The time must come, however, when this fatal policy will meet with its reward. It cannot be that so vast a scheme of iniquity as is perpetrated there will remain unpunished. The Committee trust that the fact will never be lost sight of by the people of this country, that by the laws of Brazil, and by its treaties with this country, by far the larger part of its slave population are free; and that they will never cease to demand of the British Government its powerful interposition in their behalf.

In the present state of feeling in Brazil, the friends of liberty fear to speak out, society is in a disorganised state, and law is as powerless to protect, as it is to punish. The whole body of its functionaries, with but few exceptions, are corrupted. It is, however, true of Brazil as of other slave-holding countries, that slavery is its greatest bane. Many of its enlightened citizens deeply feel this, and now and then put forth some degree of exertion to rectify public opinion in relation to it; but meeting with no encouragement, or rather, with opposition, they soon cease from their labours. Yet the Committee believe that the native Brazilians, as a body, are opposed to the slave-trade, and would probably not be unwilling to entertain the question of the abolition of slavery, were it seriously mooted by any popular and influential party. Their stake in the country is greater than that of foreigners, who are the chief slave-dealers, and whose fortunes are chiefly wrung out of this guilty traffic.

SPAIN.

Under the pressure which the Government of this country had laid upon the cabinet of Madrid, a law has been passed inflicting heavy punishments on parties found guilty of slave-trading in the Spanish colonies. The Committee, however, attach little importance to this enactment. They believe it is meant to silence the just demands of this country for a time, and is no ways intended to lessen the slave-traffic. They regard, with the same feelings, the orders issued by the General O'Donnell, entailing the confiscation of slave-vessels convicted of having been employed in the slave-trade. The venality of the authorities in the Spanish colonies, will, as heretofore, lead them to connive at the violation of law. At the same time the Committee will rejoice to find that the new laws are carried into effect with unfaltering fidelity. In the Spanish colonies as well as in Brazil, it should be generally known that at least two thirds of the slave-population are entitled to their freedom under the treaties which exist between Great Britain and Spain. And to secure to them their freedom should be the constant aim of the people of England.

In Spain and her colonies there are not wanting men of ability and worth to advocate the cause of the poor slaves. They feel, in common with us, the atrocious character of the system; but, being few in number, or placed in circumstances in which they cannot speak with effect, they look to the friends of humanity in this country to plead the cause for them, and urge upon them ceaseless exertions on behalf of the oppressed.

PORUGAL.

The anti-slavery cause is undoubtedly making progress in Portugal. Three distinguished noblemen—the Duc de Palmella, the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, and the Count de Lavradio, appear to lose no opportunity of bringing the question of emancipation before the Chamber of Peers; and though hitherto unsuccessful, in consequence of the resistance of the Government, there can be little doubt that their perseverance in the noble work they have under-

taken will be crowned with ultimate success. The Committee have felt it to be their duty to place themselves in communication with these noblemen, and from them have received satisfactory assurances of their attachment to the great cause of human freedom, and their determination to prosecute their benevolent labours until the whole of the Portuguese possessions, both in India and in Africa, shall be free from the scourge and the curse of slavery.

HAÏTI.

The Committee sincerely rejoice to be enabled to say that peace is restored to this important island; and the energies of its people will be put forth to regain its former prosperity. The address which the Committee felt it to be their duty to forward to these interesting islanders was well received by the Government, and has been circulated, by its orders, in every village and commune throughout the country with the happiest results; and has been handsomely acknowledged in an address to the Committee, signed by many of its most distinguished citizens.

NORTHERN AFRICA.

Mr. James Richardson, the correspondent of the Committee, is still labouring with zeal in Northern Africa, in promoting the good cause. He has visited, during the past year, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and is probably at this time at Ghadames, on the border of the Great Desert. The result of his inquiries and labours the Committee trust will be productive of excellent fruits. From him the Committee learn, that his Highness, the Bey of Tunis is pursuing his just and honourable career, and that the British Consul, Sir Thomas Reade, is using every legitimate means to accelerate the advent of complete freedom to all the remaining slave-population within the Tunisian territories. This is a cheering circumstance.

EASTERN AFRICA.

The Committee can report nothing favourable of the proceedings of the Viceroy of Egypt. His Highness seems to have forgotten all his promises, and slave-hunts are still persisted in for the supply and payment of his troops. Energetic remonstrances have been forwarded to him by the British Government, which, we fear, will have but little influence on this rapacious old man.

NORTHERN EUROPE.

Serfage and slavery, the Committee regret to say, prevail very extensively, not only under Mahomedan, but also under professedly Christian rule. To work out the overthrow of this terrible despotism, and to restore to its victims the unforfeited rights of their humanity, should be a duty sacred to every Christian philanthropist.

CONCLUSION.

The Committee have now briefly gone over the principal points in which they have been occupied during the past year. To have entered into full details would have been impossible on the present occasion. They would, however, state that they are deeply impressed with the importance of anti-slavery labours, and of the duty of increased efforts to give them greater efficiency and success. On this point the Committee will not, however, dwell. The appeal is from millions of the human race, suffering the unutterable misery and the utter degradation of slavery. And the Committee trust it will not be in vain; but that you will prosecute the work with renewed vigour, and help on the glorious time, when every part of the human family in every section of the earth shall be free.

To the venerable President of the Society, Thomas Clarkson, the anti-slavery cause is under the greatest obligations, for his extensive and efficient labours during the past year. Though bending under the weight of years he has lost no opportunity of promoting its objects and has thereby laid the friends of human freedom in every country under new obligations to himself.

To the Treasurer of the Society the Committee are under great obligations for the valuable services he has rendered, during the year, and especially for the useful visit recently paid by him to various parts of the country on its behalf.

The Committee cannot conclude their Report without advertising to the heavy loss which the anti-slavery cause has sustained during the present year in the lamented decease of Sir Fowell Buxton, man greatly beloved for his Christian excellencies, and honour for his public usefulness. He gave the strength of his youth and the matured energies of his manhood to this cause, and with his name will be justly linked the abolition of colonial slavery. The Committee would indulge the hope that among the talented and wealthy young men of England there may be found many who will emulate the example of Wilberforce and Buxton, and aid in the full accomplishment of the great and good work which has just gained for them the honourable title of benefactors of their race.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society was held at the Hall of Commerce on Saturday, the 17th inst., and was attended by a highly respectable assembly. On the platform we observed Geo. Stace, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Wm. Shipperty, John Jessu, G. W. Alexander, Samuel Gurney, John Scoble, Samuel Hoar, G. O. Tregelles, Falmouth; Lewis F. Bellot, Dominica; J. Eat Bristol; R. Cadbury, Birmingham, Esqrs.; the Revs. James Sherman, W. Beecham, J. Burnet, W. Knibb, Jamaica; Eben. Davi Berbice; — Simmonds, United States, &c., &c.

On the motion of G. W. Alexander, Esq., seconded by the Rev. J. Carlile, J. J. Gurney, Esq., was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by saying—I have great pleasure in acceding to the wishes of the Committee, and in doing my best in presiding over the present assembly. I have accepted this office under the feeling of a deep conviction of the very great importance of that cause which brings us together, and not only of the cause itself, in which such vast multitudes unite with us, but also of the services rendered by the Committee. I think it of the highest moment to the object which we have in view that we should maintain so intelligent, so industrious, and so effective a Committee in their varied operations, and that not only by the support of our purses—which, by the way has been very deficient hitherto, and I think ought to be very much increased—but also by the support of our minds, and of our fellow-feeling. Though I do not belong to the Committee myself, living in the country, I can bear my testimony to the importance of their operations. I was exceedingly interested in reading over the appendix to the last Report presented to this Society. It is a very valuable document. It takes a view of the whole subject in all its complexions, and I am quite sure that no reflecting person can read that appendix—and I hope many of you have read it, or will read it—without being deeply convinced of two things; first, of the unspeakable importance of the cause in which we are engaged; and, secondly, the practical value of our Committee. I hope to see the day when the general support of this institution will be what it was in days that are past, when we were engaged in the great struggle for the abolition of slavery in our own colonies. You must consider that we are citizens of the world. Circumstances which have transpired in late years have evidently brought the nations of men much nearer together than they formerly were. Means of communication have been so much increased in various respects that there is far more intercourse with citizens of all countries than there was ten years ago, and therefore we must now boldly undertake the cause, not merely as inhabitants of Great Britain, but as citizens of the world. In that point of view I think we ought to look at the various features of the subject with a truly comprehensive mind. In the first place I must say, that of all the evils now existing in the world, so far as I can understand the subject, there is not one so vast, so heinous, so marked by the most appalling circumstances, as the African slave-trade. It is most afflicting that, after the labour of so many years, after so many honest efforts, at least on the part of this country, that trade should now be in so very vigorous a condition, as we must conclude it to be, from the appendix to which I have referred. It seems to me that almost the whole coast of Africa, North, West, South, and East, is deeply infected with this abominable traffic. I must acknowledge that I start with horror from the notion of any plan on the part of our Government for the transfer of labourers, as they are called, from the Eastern coast of Africa especially, to our colony in Mauritius. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that, practically speaking, that must be the slave-trade. When you consider the extent of territory resorted to on the Eastern coast of Africa, for the supply of slaves for Turkey and Arabia, and that there is now to be a new channel opened for the transfer of these unhappy labourers to one of our own colonies, the subject does appear to be truly appalling. Not long ago, I happened, with another individual or two, to be in communication with the Government of Holland, and when some conversation took place with the king of that country respecting the practice which had long prevailed amongst the Dutch, of enlisting negro soldiers on the Gold Coast, and taking them to Java, there to fight the battles of Holland, it was said by the Dutch Government, They are free. They are soldiers, to be sure, but no sooner do we obtain possession of them than they are free men. But what were the preparatory steps? (Hear, hear.) The preparatory steps in Africa were precisely identical with those pursued in the slave-trade itself. (Hear, hear.) I think it is quite clear that labourers cannot be obtained in that way, or in any part of Africa, Sierra Leone excepted, without our being involved in the horrors of these preparatory steps, namely, war, murder, and rapine. This is a point on which I think the labours of the Committee are of peculiar importance. Do you not see the value of having a set of men in London who are always watching the subject? Do you not see the value of my friend on my right, John Scoble. I do not know what we should do without him—(cheers)—who goes into all the facts of the case, who makes himself master, with a peculiar industry, of these facts, and brings them out in an intelligible shape, and supplies the Government with the information thus obtained. (Hear, hear.) I think, therefore, that it is our duty to support the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society with heart-felt zeal, and with generous and constant subscriptions. I do not think there ever was a time when the labours of this Society were more important than they are at the present day. The King of Holland, on the occasion to which I have referred, was kind enough to say, (though he put it on the wrong ground, namely, that these men made bad soldiers,) that he would give up the practice, and he did so. (Hear, hear.) It had been a subject of very long and unsuccessful negotiation between our minister at the Court of the Hague and the Government there; and it was, at last, on a representation made on behalf of the philanthropists of England, that the object was attained. I do believe that we little know what is the influence which this Society and the British philanthropic and religious public can exercise in reference to this and other subjects of the same kind, not only in our own country, but as citizens of the whole world, and therefore I am sure that we have abundant encouragement to persevere. The point on which I have touched is only one of many, and I simply give it as an illustration of my views. It is quite evident to me that there are a great variety of points which do at this time demand the close watchfulness of such a Committee, and the generous and fervent support of such a society. (Hear, hear.) Look at the state of the question in France. From repeated visits to that country I have seen that the influence of our Anti-Slavery Society is not inconsiderable there; but the question of emancipation never will be carried in that country, so far as I can see, unless we rouse public opinion in our favour. Josiah Forster and myself, when in France, had the pleasure of the company of John Scoble and George William Alexander, and on several occasions we held anti-slavery meetings. There is a facility in France for holding such meetings. There is no obstruction to it in the law, and there is no unwillingness on the part of the people to meet. We have seen several hundreds of persons collected on occasions of this sort, who were more than willing

to hear the full development of the subject, and I have no doubt at all that public opinion in France is beginning to bear upon it. Petitions in considerable number have been presented to the Legislature. We know that we have ardent friends both in the Chamber of Deputies, and in the House of Peers; and some speeches have been made, especially one by Count Agenor de Gasparin, in the House of Deputies, which have excited very great attention and feeling on this topic. But in my opinion we require in France somewhat of a more constant and active agency than we at present possess. I think we ought, in the course of our proceedings, to be represented by some person of piety and talent, and of sincere devotion to the cause, who will work it as it has been worked in England by many persons whom we well know, and above all I would say, by Thomas Clarkson, the venerable president of this Society. (Cheers.) We should pay an efficient man in France to give up his time to the advancing of our principles. Are we to be niggardly in our subscriptions to this cause because we have done with slavery in our own colonies? Are we to forget that we are citizens of the world? Are we to put our hands in our pockets no more? This Society ought to have an income of at least 5,000*£*. a year, and I am sure that if the British public only knew what is wanted, they would come forward more generously, and with more fervent feeling than they have lately done. I have mentioned two points among many, which are under the particular care of the Committee, but besides these, we have to promote the cause in Denmark and Holland, where things are hopeful, though I suppose nothing can exceed the horror of slavery in the Dutch colony of Surinam; yet by making the nation see the barbarous system that is there pursued, we may succeed in putting an end to it. Things are desperately bad in Cuba, and the dominions of the Emperor of Brazil, but still I think that there are a few rays of hope even there; and much may be done by sedulously watching the progress of affairs there, and by the kindly operations of the Committee of this Society. There are two points to which I wish to advert before I conclude. In the first place, it is a subject of great congratulation that amongst all the discouragements which prevail in other parts of the world, our experiment, especially in the West India colonies, continues to go on substantially well. Our friend Knibb is here, and he will give us a little information upon that subject. He will stir up our warm blood in this cause, and I hope we shall show that we are not going to relax in our efforts. I have always thought that time would be greatly in our favour with reference to emancipation in the West Indies. I think no words can express the importance of the experiment which has been made there, and I always feel low and dispirited when I hear of anything which assumes a discouraging complexion, with regard to its result, more than almost anything else connected with this cause, because the eyes of America, of France, Denmark, Spain, and indeed, the whole world, are upon it. For my own part, knowing that men are actuated by pecuniary motives—knowing the commercial spirit which prevails so generally in the world, I am very much pleased when I hear of a good crop of sugar in Jamaica, and others of our West India colonies, though I am aware it is a very subordinate part of the question. I do rejoice in the increased conviction, in the confirmation of my hopes, that by giving time to this experiment, and letting freedom take its own genuine and natural course, we shall find that the great experiment is successful, even in a commercial point of view. When we consider the various methods pursued for shortening labour, the progress of agricultural knowledge, and the vast impulses of liberty on the human mind, we may rest assured that our West Indian colonies will yet afford substantial evidence that freedom is unspeakably more politic, as well as more righteous, than a state of slavery; and once convince our fellow-men and fellow-professors of the Christian name in the Southern States of North America, that emancipation will be a pecuniary advantage to themselves, and your difficulties there will be very much abated, and, in my opinion, completely overcome. (Cheers.) I do think that there is great hope in the present position of things as it relates to the West Indies. I will just read a few lines from the *Sun* newspaper, published the other day.

"The advices by the West India Mail are of a satisfactory character, and there is a generally promising statement as to the weather and the crops in Jamaica and the other leading islands. The labouring classes were conducting themselves with propriety, and affording indubitable evidence of the superiority of the inducement to freedom over the coercion of slavery, by working steadily and continuously."

A few years ago I saw them working steadily, and with good heart, and I hope that a few more years of freedom will fully show that in a commercial point of view the great measure of emancipation is producing highly beneficial results. But, in the second and last place, although it is very important for our cause that even the pecuniary results of emancipation should turn out favourably, I hope we shall never forget that this cause is founded on Christian principles;—(hear, hear)—and on that great principle, above all, which is so plainly stated by our blessed Saviour, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." (Hear, hear.) Here is the ground of our action, here is the foundation on which we stand, and from this foundation has arisen, and will arise, I trust, an edifice which will be filled, may I not say, with that which shall give glory to God as well as happiness to men. (Cheers.) I hope that edifice will be broken and marred by no division. I am sure there is but one remedy, and one preventative for division, and that is, a firm adherence, on all occasions, to the moral and religious grounds on which this institution was founded; and although for time we may in some respects have to sail as it were against the wind in an economical and pecuniary point of view, although we may be puzzled in some degree by some questions which have been very much agitated by commercial men in this country, yet I think it is our duty as anti-slavery men to keep to our principles, and under a deep impression of the exceeding sinfulness of the slave-trade and of slavery, to devote ourselves in good earnest to our pursuit, and follow it in dependence on the strength of the Most High, until those happy omens which now exist amidst a great deal of darkness and discouragement spread more and more, and all shall be freedom, and all shall be light in the world.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., then read the Report, an abstract of which will be found in another place.

The Rev. J. BEECHAM (one of the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society) said,—I very much regret that public business calls me immediately to leave for Southampton; but I could not deny myself the pleasure of hearing your excellent report, and of submitting for your adoption the first resolution. Allow me to say that I have listened to that admirable document with very great delight, and satisfied I am of the great importance of your Society. Notwithstanding the great achievement which has taken place in the West Indies, and to which reference has been made, there still exists great necessity for the operations of a society like yours, and I trust that, under the Divine blessing, they will be productive of a still larger amount of good. There was one topic, sir, to which you adverted, in your excellent opening remarks, and to which allusion was made in the report, on which I entertain very great solicitude—I refer to the arrangements for the removal of labourers, as they are termed, from Africa and other places to the West Indies. (Hear, hear.) I am fully persuaded, from the opportunity I have of collecting information as to the state of things in Africa, and as to the means that must necessarily be resorted to in carrying out these arrangements, that the plan is one calculated to produce a vast amount of mischief. Unless it be watched over you will have a new slave-trade springing up under another name. (Hear, hear.) I wish you success, in the name of the Lord, in your endeavours to resist the proposal which has just been made. If there were no other reasons for the continued existence of this Society, yet having to watch over measures of that description, entitles you, I am fully persuaded, to public confidence and support. (Cheers.) Will you allow me, without any other remarks, to move, That the Report, of which an abstract has been read, be adopted, printed, and circulated under the direction of the Committee.

R. CADBURY, Esq., of Birmingham, in seconding the resolution, said,—Having for a great number of years taken a deep interest in the subject of slavery, I could not hesitate to come forward and second the adoption of the Report which has now been presented. It embraces so fully the whole subject of the slave-trade and slavery, together with the infamous traffic now carrying on with the Coolies, that it does not require many words from me, except that I may say I do fully concur in the whole of the sentiments here expressed. I am quite of the opinion which has been expressed that nothing short of doing away with slavery itself will abolish the slave-trade. I believe it was the opinion of some of the original instigators of the abolition of slavery, that this should have been the step taken in the first instance. If that had been the course pursued, I have no doubt that slavery would by this time have been, in a great measure, done away, and that the slave-trade would have been entirely abolished. (Hear, hear.) I believe it is matter of fact that if the oppressors get one cargo of slaves into port, they can afford, calculating by pounds, shillings, and pence, to lose four cargoes. (Hear, hear.) It is, however, most comfortable and satisfactory to my mind that those few bold, noble experiments that have been tried in our own islands, have proved completely successful.

The resolution having been seconded, was put and carried unanimously. The CHAIRMAN said,—I would suggest a corollary to that resolution,—that the Report be not only received, but read by every individual present. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. BURNET rose to move,

"That, in view of the continued existence of the African slave-trade, which, notwithstanding the costly sacrifices of this country to suppress it, is carried on to an enormous extent, and with unexampled ferocity, this meeting feel it to be their duty to urge upon the abolitionists of every land, the necessity of seeking by those means which are of a purely moral, religious, and pacific nature, and with increased earnestness and diligence, the entire abolition of slavery as the only certain mode of extinguishing this gigantic evil, and its kindred abomination, the internal slave-traffic, in countries where it unhappily prevails.

"That, as one great means for promoting the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, this meeting deem it of the very highest importance that every restriction on the free investment of capital in the soil, and every impost on the industry of the labourer in British India, should be immediately removed, being persuaded that, in conjunction with the emancipated colonies, that part of the empire can raise tropical productions, under an equitable system of revenue, by free labour, to any extent that may be required, on terms that would greatly diminish, if not totally annihilate the demand for the produce of slave labour, both at home and abroad."

This resolution brings the whole question of slavery as it exists in different parts of the world before the meeting; and if any of our friends are disposed to say that since our own slaves have been emancipated we do not need an anti-slavery society, I think the state of slavery throughout the world, beyond the limits of our own dominions, will be a sufficient reply to such an observation. It is quite clear that our legislators will do nothing beyond the limits of our own Government. Their authority extends only to our own country. But what is to be done for the slaves that belong to other countries? Who is to care for them? Do the Brazilians form an anti-slavery society to seek the emancipation of slaves in Brazil? Do the Spaniards, or will they, seek the emancipation of slaves in their own colonies? Will the Dutch be very anxious to emancipate the slaves in Surinam without receiving attention from us? Will the Americans seek to put an end to slavery within the United States, if we are altogether silent? I grant, and I rejoice in the fact, that there are abolitionists in America increasing in number, in decision, in activity, and in energy; but these very abolitionists are raised up in consequence of the agitation of this great question in the mother country, as I must call this in reference to America. We look therefore to this country as the source of those public opinions, and public feelings and principles, without glorifying in the circumstance, by which the emancipation of those who are in slavery, and the prevention of slavery throughout the world shall finally be effected. If we look therefore to this position in which Providence has placed us; if we look to the fact that we are lifted up, as it were, on a pinnacle before the nations of the earth, not to be admired as

"Great, glorious, and free,"

but rather to hold up to those nations an illustration of the power of the principles by which we have been made great; if we occupy such a posi-

tion among the nations of the earth, we are bound to set before them the practical influence of all the principles by which they may be lifted up to a fellowship of freedom with ourselves. But look at our own Government, and it may be said that we must expect from them their influence and their power. Why, they require an Anti-Slavery Society to watch them. (Hear, hear.) See what our Government are doing at the Mauritius. They are transporting, for it is nothing less, from the East Indies, the population of that great empire, and they are placing them in the Mauritius, for what purpose? For labour, they say—free labour. The British Government are lending themselves to be a kind of advertising functionary for servants out of place in the East Indies, that they may find work for them in the Mauritius. (Laughter and cheers.) But look at the way they are sending them. They take a hundred men to twelve women. Do they mean that they are to form social habits; are they to be a happy and a comfortable labouring people? That condemning fact reveals a thousand secrets. (Cheers.) What, society to be formed of a hundred men to every twelve women! Providence never intended it; the equalization of the sexes by the hand of the Creator shows this was never meant to be the state of society; and if this single fact is considered for a moment by any of the persons I now address, not all the intrigues, not all the sophistry of politicians can ever show you that they intend to make a happy comfortable fellowship of the Coolies in the Mauritius. They do not mean that they should be a society there; they mean that they should serve them like beasts of burden, (Hear, hear,) and nothing more. No argument can meet this fact; no argument can set it aside; and it speaks more than any circumstance in the Report, notwithstanding the many important circumstances introduced into it; it speaks more to show the motive of the Government, and to show the movements of the persons whom the Government are endeavouring to serve in this business, than any speech can possibly do. Let this fact be carried away with us then, and what will it teach us? That we cannot and must not trust even our own Government. Is there a minister of the Crown that can for a moment overlook this fact? Does not Lord Stanley say it as clearly as any one can say it? Is not the pretence simply that the Coolies will go there and settle there, and be their servants, just as our servants settle amongst ourselves? And is it not reality that they are to be taken there to serve in hard bondage and to die like the beasts in the field, and to be succeeded not by their own families, but by fresh importations from India? (Cheers.) This should be considered by the British public, and pressed on the British Government. The Colonial Secretary should hear this again and again; but who is to tell him? Only this Society. The facts that are brought out by this Society, and the practical use made of these facts, in connection with the administration of the country, fully entitle the Society to the affection, to the persevering support of this great country. But the resolution which I have to move reminds us that the termination of slavery must necessarily take place before we can prevent the slave trade. As long as there is a market for any article by which money is to be made, or by which it is hoped that it may be made, so long that article will be found. (Hear, hear.) If that article is to be sought for in the bosom of the earth, the rocks cannot conceal it from the cupidity of the man who endeavours to apply his industry. To secure property, the rocks will be blown to pieces, and the earth itself will be explored, and its concealed treasures will be brought up. This has been done; and we admire the genius, and the energy, and the industry that did it; and are we to suppose that if men can be stolen from the face of the earth, that they can be safe if there is a market for them? It is impossible. Men, and especially our own nation, will do anything to make money. We do not mean to complain of our country because it is rich. By no means. Let it be as much richer as it honestly can be; let it be honestly rich. (Hear.) Wherever there is a market and articles are demanded, those articles will be found for the market; and all the fleets that you may have, and all the armies we can embark in those fleets, cannot possibly prevent the traffic in slaves till the market itself is closed. Close the market, nobody thinks of bringing an article to it. No one will bring any description of goods into any market if there is no purchaser. He would feel that he was losing his time, and losing the fruits of industry in taking such a course. (Hear, hear.) Then how are we to do away with slavery itself? We cannot pass an Act of Parliament that will touch the Brazils: they do not belong to us. We cannot pass an Act of Parliament that will touch Surinam or Cuba; and what then are we to do? We cannot make an Act of Parliament that will touch America. Then if we cannot, there is a species of moral acts that are as powerful sometimes as Acts of Parliament. We can constantly remind the gentlemen of their guilt, and we can cry out "Stop thief!" while thievery is going on. (Cheers.) We can denounce the individuals who, under the influence of a desire to enrich themselves, are so reckless of the lives and liberties of their fellows; and a man does not like to have honest people always declaring that he is a thief, especially when he knows that it is true. (Laughter.) He would rather they did not do this, and yet we must continue doing it; but if nobody were to do it the thief would go on. It is astonishing how the conscience can be seared. It is much easier to sear the conscience of a criminal, than to destroy his shame. Shame is stronger than conscience. A man can master his conscience, put the money in his pocket, and go on with his crime, if he is not held up to the scorn of his fellow men. But we can do more. We can speak to different nations of the world. Many of them do things very thoughtlessly. Great statesmen are not always cautious in their reflections, nor are they minute in their investigations; but if they imagine their honour is to be tarnished, they will think a little; and their honour will be tarnished if the people they govern are constantly holding them up to observation, when they are found neglecting their duty or going beyond it. Then it is necessary that these men should have constant prompters, and this Society has been prompting them constantly. They have been teasing various Governments, and prompting them to do their business—nay, some of the members of the Committee do not mind going to the Continent, to Holland, to France, to Spain, and Portugal, and telling them, as members of the Committee, what they are about (cheers.) Now, really this cannot go on without producing some important results. When respectable foreigners appear at foreign courts, and remind them of what they are doing, and of what they are neglecting, they will hesitate a little, especially when they find that the information given to them is information which, were they to act upon, would do them no harm, and

that they can save their honour thereby. If, at the same time, they find they are not losing their revenue by any scheme that respectable foreigners may press upon them, they may be likely to adopt it. But for this Society, these Governments would know almost nothing of what is going on within the range of their jurisdiction. We have paid some of these Governments to give up this traffic, yet notwithstanding that circumstance, they continue to elude all the vigilance that can be employed for the purpose of preventing their carrying on the trade. Now, what can dry up the demand in the market, but destroying slavery throughout the whole extent of the civilized world? Think of the awful circumstances in which Africa is placed while this trade continues. Importations are sought to be made from Africa into the Mauritius direct, without taking the trouble of going to the East Indies for the poor Coolies, and this attempt is to be made by Britain. Let us take care of this; let us feel the strong conviction which the proportionate number to which I have referred must bring to every man's mind, that service is not intended, but that slavery is, and we shall then watch with an unslumbering jealousy every attempt made by the British Government to aid the cupidity of our fellow subjects, in thus becoming men-stealers from the shores of Africa. (Cheers.) Think of the horrors necessarily connected with the pilfering of men, women, and children, from Africa, for the Brazils, for Cuba, for the different colonies connected with European powers. In the interior of the country, the people are bought in the market, or are stolen. They are stolen, in the first instance, then they are sold in the market; or they are stolen direct by those that embark them. They are gathered together near the coast in what they call Barracoons, an immense barrack, a long hall, perhaps 200 feet long, with matting for them to lie upon, and there they are kept, often in chains, without a rag to cover them, till they are ready for embarkation. If they have children when they are stolen—infants, what do they do with them? They kill them. (Sensation.) They are too tender to be brought to the Brazils or Cuba, and they are literally slain, when their parents are taken; and this is going on daily, and will continue to go on, till slavery itself is everywhere abolished. Then there are other ways that may be adopted, besides this prompting the Government on the question. Look at the East Indies; they are mentioned in the resolution, and there you have a field for the production of everything for which slave labour is employed. Then encourage the growth of the produce of that field, and bring it into the market, and outsell the slaveholders, until they find that slavery is a losing concern. (Cheers.) And you have then cut up the whole system by the roots, by peaceful and tranquil commercial dealings. But how can we do this? Have at our own Government on the subject, and make them do it. I have no confidence at all in statesmen, unless they are constantly prompted. On you rests the responsibility of watching them. I blame them when they do what is wrong, and neglect to do what is right; but I blame the country when they allow them to do what is wrong, and neglect to do what is right. Whatever may be the pretence of freedom, we have practical slavery in India. They tell us the slaves of India are legally free; I would rather they were actually free. (Hear, hear.) If, in India, people have not information enough to assert their own freedom, it is our duty to supply their lack of service, and to assert it for them. But, I shall conclude my observations on this resolution, by recommending the meeting to watch most diligently the progress of this system of Coolie emigration, and of any proposal that may be made with regard to it. Take the Reports of this Society, and as the Chairman has recommended you to read them, so would I. Take the last Report of the Society, and you will find that the Appendix is full of general, useful, important, interesting matter. If you do not belong to the Anti-Slavery Society at all, you ought to buy it, and pay a good price for it. I am quite sure that you pay a good price for books very far inferior to the Appendix to this Report. I press this on your attention, because I know the Anti-Slavery cause suffers from the information necessary to its progress not coming in the people's way; and scarcely anybody would think of reading the report of a Society. I remember the great Robert Hall, on one occasion said, when some person was speaking about the reports of a public society, "If you wish to keep secret, just have it printed in the report of one of these societies, and it is perfectly safe." (Laughter.) This is really a reflection on the public. The Reports contain the actual information of the Society's movements, and the Appendix, by which the statements of the Report are confirmed, will be found amply to repay perusal. Take the Report, then, take away the recollection of the fact, that our own Government are involving poor, ignorant, uncultivated Indians in misery; and if you find our own Government, after we have declared slavery to be at an end, are taking this course, remember further, that the Governments of Europe, to whom we have paid large sums of money, are still continuing slavery in their colonies, and welcoming a slave-trade through the middle passage; let it be remembered, then, that every man is his brother's keeper, that the sufferers in this cause are our brethren, and we are guilty of our brother's blood if we do not give ourselves with zealous heartiness to the great object which this Society has in view. (Cheers.)

JOSPEH EATON, Esq., having briefly seconded the resolution, it was put and carried.

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., then presented his accounts as Treasurer, from which it appeared that the total receipts of the Society during the past year were 1,966*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*; the expenditure 1,913*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* The liabilities, including the debt due to the Treasurer, are about 600*l.* He then moved

"That this meeting view with sentiments of gratitude the present aspect of the anti-slavery cause throughout the world, and rejoice that the great principles on which it is based are more extensively diffused and better understood than at any former period of its history,—that among its triumphs, during the past year, they regard with high satisfaction the decision of the King and the Diet of Sweden to emancipate the slave-population of its colonial dependency in the West Indies,—and that, confiding in the justice of that cause, and above all, in the Divine blessing on the untiring and increasing efforts of its friends, they look forward with unwavering confidence to the period when, overcoming all opposing obstacles, it shall deliver the whole human family from the curse and degradation of slavery."

"That this meeting regard with feelings of the deepest regret and

abhorrence the recent conduct of the United States in its criminal attempt to extend and consolidate the system of slavery on the American continent by the annexation of Texas to its present vast possessions, and would urgently call on the friends of liberty and religion in that country to use their utmost efforts to prevent the realization of so iniquitous a measure."

After the speeches which have been already delivered, and those which are to follow from our friends who have come from the West Indies, it would be much out of place if I were to detain you long on the present occasion. At the same time, allow me to say that I do most cordially agree in the resolution I have submitted to your notice, and particularly in the cheering aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause both at home and abroad. I say advisedly, both at home and abroad; for though circumstances have occurred in this country which have had some tendency to divide the friends of the cause, still, when I look at its past triumphs and its position at the present moment, it is impossible to feel anything like discouragement. When I look at the circumstance that England possessed, a few years ago, a greater number of slaves in its colonies than were to be found in those of all the other powers of Europe; when I see the evident blessing which has attended the labours of great and good men in this country to put an end to slavery and the slave trade, I must believe that similar effects and a similar blessing will, ere a long period shall have expired, have banished those evils at least from every Christian country on the face of the globe. In Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Holland, France, and every country which it has been my lot to visit, I have found some hearts that sympathize with the sufferings of the most oppressed portion of the whole of the family of man; and I cannot conceive it possible that a system so opposed to the benign spirit of the Gospel can long exist. It is only because slavery prevails at a great distance from them that we can account for the fact that it has been so long permitted to exist in connection with various Christian countries. It is, however, a matter of no small congratulation that there is no land on the face of the earth implicated in slavery in which efforts are not making for the termination of that crime, and in which men are not to be found interested in this question. Allusion has been made to the interest felt on this subject in Europe, and the same is not less true with regard to the United States. I believe that there are a greater number of persons in that country seeking the downfall of slavery than in any other country implicated in that crime. We have also to speak of the cheering circumstance that one nation has set the example of giving freedom to its slaves, or is about thus to act. I trust that this example, on the part of the King and Legislature of Sweden, will be followed speedily by other European powers, and by at least a portion of the slave states of North America. You will be delighted to hear from some of our friends the results of emancipation in our colonies, and to learn that they have realized our fullest expectations. This should be a stimulus to us to persevere in those labours in which we are engaged till slavery shall be everywhere abolished. (Cheers.)

S. GURNEY, Esq., sen., rose and said,—I have great satisfaction in seconding the resolution that has been presented to your notice by my much esteemed friend, G. W. Alexander. There is no one present who either could have enforced, or was more suitable to advocate this resolution than he, inasmuch as those countries of Europe which retain slaves in their colonies have been visited by him, and our great principles efficiently and judiciously enforced. The motion embraces three subjects of considerable interest: one is the measure lately adopted by the king of Sweden, supported by his Diet; a second, the annexation of Texas to the United States; the third, a confident trust as to the successful result of the labours of this very important Society. We must all agree that the step taken by the King of Sweden is one of very great importance, and must afford high satisfaction to any anti-slavery meeting. It is true that the island in possession of that country was but small, and the slaves, therefore, few in number; but it was setting a noble example to those who had larger colonies, and I doubt not that it will tell with great weight on other monarchs of Europe. With regard to Texas, we must all see that if the proceedings of the United States of America are carried into execution, it will be a severe blow to our cause, and perhaps, in the present state of the question, it is our tenderest point, and well worthy of all the help that can be given to prevent that junction taking place. I am not quite prepared to go so far as a preceding speaker, touching gentlemen who hold the reins of government in various parts of Europe; they have great difficulties, great temptations, to many of which they too much yield; but still I think the British Government have manifested, in our cause, an honest desire to promote it; and, as far as we can, we should encourage them to proceed therein. I am not without some faint hope that the influence of the British Government, and possibly that of France, may at this time be used in preventing that annexation, and I would encourage our Committee to urge on the British Government to use all their influence to maintain Texas as an independent state, and by the aid which they have the opportunity of affording to that rising but young people, to induce them to terminate slavery in that country. That, I apprehend, is a very proper object of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; and I cannot but feel that there is some ground to hope that we shall be met by good spirit on the part of the British Government, with reference to that subject. (Hear, hear.) The third point in the resolution is our assurance as to ultimate success. We must all feel that this point must be left in the highest hands. It is for this association to labour, and trust for the blessing, and I believe there is reason to anticipate that it will be bestowed. When efforts were first made to abolish slavery in the British colonies, my own mind was hopeless on the subject. It appeared a mountain that we should never be able to get over, and this feeling was by no means confined to myself: on the contrary, it was a general impression. I think the case of the slaves now in the colonies of European governments is infinitely less hopeless than was ours; and there is some ground to believe that the object of the Society will be ultimately attained. I will say a few words on the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I do believe that there never was a period when its labours were more important than at the present time; I therefore regret that, slavery having been abolished in our own colonies, the subject does not occupy so much of the public attention as it used to do; and which at this time it most richly deserves. The proceedings of the Society having been detailed in

the Report, and having watched it for some time back, I am prepared to say that I think it most valuable. I have a strong impression, that had it not been for the exertions of this Society through the Committee, laws would have been established in the West Indies which would have much diminished the value of abolition there. It has obtained correct information, and applied it at all times when wanted, and, in a great many cases, with marked success. (Cheers.) The influence of the Society on the French Government has also been very great; and it appears to me that there never was a period when it called more imperatively for the cordial assistance of its friends. It is a source of regret that the pecuniary support is not equal to what it ought to be. I will encourage my friends present really and truly to put their shoulders to the wheel, and to give their subscriptions to this Society. It is very easy to attend meetings of this kind, and be interested in the object; to have our feelings excited for half an hour, and say what capital thing it is; but what is required is cordial assistance out of doors, and that our friends should give their exertions to raise funds for the Society, that it may, without limitation, go on in its great and excellent work. I see a number of ladies present, some of them young—very young; and it may be in their power, among their friends, to raise subscriptions of larger or smaller amount. (Hear, hear.) There is not one present who may not thus aid the Society, and render it more efficient in the accomplishment of the end it has in view. I will only detain you by saying that the Society has my cordial approbation. I think it is exceedingly well managed; and I do trust that all present will not only do it themselves, but that they will urge on their friends to give it their efficient support. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB rose to move

" That whilst this meeting have no intention whatever of interfering with the free and spontaneous emigration of labourers to the British emancipated colonies, at the expense of the parties to be benefited thereby, they regard with increasing hostility the schemes now sanctioned by Government for supplying them with Asiatic and African labourers as unjust in principle, evil in example, immoral in tendency, and of more than doubtful expediency, and would earnestly recommend to the friends of humanity and religion throughout the country, to offer them their most vigorous and united opposition."

It is, I assure you, with very great pleasure that I rise to propose a resolution to this meeting that is intimately connected with the present and with the everlasting welfare of the lately emancipated people in the islands of the west. I do not consider that there is the least necessity for me to express the cordial approbation I feel, and the deep interest I still would manifest, in the operations of this benevolent society. If I could the least suppose that there was a diminution of interest felt in its operations, I would, by all the interest I feel in man, by all the deep concern I still feel for the emancipated labourers of Jamaica, by all the concern I feel that the different nations of the earth may soon be rid of this abominable curse, urge you still to persevere in that path you have marked out for your guidance, till the blessing of Heaven shall crown your final efforts. The resolutions which have already been adopted by the meeting refer to the increase of the slave-trade, and to the measures that have been hitherto pursued for its annihilation. I hope I shall be excused if I enter upon the discussion of this resolution, by expressing my firm and unaltered conviction that, whatever means may be used by the British or any other Government, however numerous may be their fleets—however strong their instruments of war—yet they will never put down this accursed traffic. It is only by the adoption of those Christian measures, which this Society recommends, and only by the annihilation of slavery itself, (hear, hear,) that the monster can be destroyed. And, let negotiations go on till time shall end, and all these negotiations be conducted by all the wisdom and all the acumen for which statesmen may be distinguished, the cupidity and wickedness of man will baffle the whole, and they will have to retire from the contest, and confess, at last, that they cannot cope with the covetousness of the world. (Hear, hear.) However, the resolution which I have been requested to move refers to that present, and that, to me, gloomy aspect of affairs—the introduction of labourers to the islands of the west, and their introduction at the labourers' expense. I was exceedingly rejoiced to hear my esteemed friend, Mr. Burnet, touch upon that licentiousness which must ever be consequent on the introduction of the Hill Coolies into Jamaica, and into the other colonies. I can assure you I tremble for the result. It is not merely what these men will do themselves, among themselves, but the awful influence they will have upon the youthful portion of Jamaica, is to me the most appalling feature of the whole; and I do most sincerely trust, that if there be any means that can be used, that has not been hitherto employed, to stop that unnecessary flood of licentiousness and crime, that the efforts of every friend of man will be put forth to secure us from the infliction of so dire an evil. It is a source of increasing regret that the introduction of these men is as unnecessary as it is iniquitous. We have no need at all for labourers; all we want is this, that the unjust restrictions, and taxation on the peasants' food should be taken off—(cheers)—that he should be fairly paid for the labour he performs; and then I am confident that it can be proved, as it has been already proved, wherever there has been a fair example set, that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, in Jamaica as well as anywhere else. (Cheers.) It is right—and as this is the only opportunity I shall have of speaking among you, (for in a few weeks I hope to return whence I came,) it is right you should know, that if there has been any diminution of that improvement you expected to result from emancipation—if there has not been that advance which might have been expected, not merely in virtue, but in religion—if there has not been that quantity of produce made which we had a right to anticipate—it has not been the labourers' fault; it has arisen from circumstances over which he had no control—circumstances which lie at the door of his master, or those who bear rule, and not at his. If I cannot prove this to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced, and even prejudiced minds here, I think they must be dull of hearing and understanding. I refer to this, more especially, as I have done in another place, because the sentiments I hold on this important question, when referred to in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, were instantly met by that, which, while it did not convince me of the wisdom of those senators, did not in the least show

that they were anxious to ascertain the truth. Lord John Russell stated that during the last two years of freedom there had been heavy taxes laid on the food of the peasant, for the purpose of raising money to introduce emigrants into the colony of Jamaica; that these taxes pressed exceedingly heavy upon them, while their wages were reduced; and he stated it, he said, on the high authority of Mr. Knibb. This, as was very likely in that House, was met with cries of "Oh! oh! oh!" (Laughter.) Now it is right that the Anti-Slavery Society should know—that the British public should know—that Lord John Russell stated exactly the truth; and that individuals who met his statements, because they happened to be founded upon my authority, in the manner referred to, had much better have examined the laws that were passed, and made themselves acquainted with the facts of the case. (Cheers.) I concur with Mr. Burnet that these men require watching continually—not the senators of England only, but those in Jamaica too; for if they are not thus watched, and public opinion roused when they do wrong, the fair form of liberty will not be maintained in all its just proportions; and the sacrifice made by Britain will fail of producing its effects, not because the freeman is not grateful—is not willing to work for low wages, but because he is beset on every side by taxes, indirectly laid on all he eats, and all he drinks, and every comfort he enjoys, which paralyse his efforts, and make him a pauper. (Cheers.) It is generally known, that on the introduction of freedom to Jamaica—and this resolution is to be seconded by a respected missionary from Berbice, who will tell you their doings there—they immediately passed two laws, intended to crush the rising liberties of the population. The one was the Ejectment act, by which any labourer, for any reason, or no reason, could be turned out of the house or cottage he inhabited when a slave, at a week's notice, and could be sent, houseless and homeless, abroad. Another act was passed at the same time, in which an armed police were empowered to take him up as a trespasser, if, after such notice was given, he were found on the premises. You will thus perceive that 300,000 human beings could, for any cause, or no cause, be houseless, homeless, and friendless. For the purpose of arresting these engines of tyranny, we advised the population, as far as they could, to obtain freeholds of their own, and to use every effort, consistent with honesty, by frugality and industry, to obtain a home for themselves. It will appear to this respected Society at once, that so long as labourers could be ejected at a week's notice, so long as they could be compelled to live in the miserable huts in which they vegetated when slaves, in which they were huddled together at the caprice of their owners, it was impossible for the seeds of virtue to take root. Now if you take this simple fact, and remember that these were heads of families, and generally it was the case, that those who were married were those who were engaged in agricultural pursuits; and if you suppose that there were five in a family, the man, his wife, and three children, you will just have one-third of the labouring population, in the enjoyment of their own freeholds partially paid for, and in many instances, quite paid for, on which they have erected their houses, their own free and comfortable cottages. There are friends on this platform recently returned from a tour, and an interesting tour, I believe, it has been to them, I mean our highly esteemed friends who have witnessed our calamities, who have been with us in our colonies, who have sympathized with us in our trials, who believe, with us, that the cloud which hangs over us will soon pass away, and that the sun will again shine out and look more beautiful than ever. Immediately upon the fact being known that the labourer wished to purchase this land, a stamp act, increasing the stamp duty on every title from 3s. to 10s., was passed in Jamaica; and this was to have a retrospective aspect, so that those who had purchased land, and paid for their titles, if they had not recorded them—and how were they to record them?—not only had to pay them, but the former ones were declared to be null and void, and they were charged the duty of 10s. over again. Now, no sooner was the purchase of the land completed, and no sooner did individuals wish to purchase timber with which they might build their houses, than the new tariff was introduced, which I have here, as printed by themselves, and I have merely brought it lest the statement should be called in question. The moment the emancipated population began to build, they took off the tax upon the white oak and red oak staves, with which puncheons were made to hold rum, and hogheads to hold sugar, and they also took the tax off the hoops with which they are bound. Before the introduction of freedom, the duty on staves was 12s.; they kindly reduced the duty to 2s. The tax on wooden hoops was 4s., and that was reduced to 1s. The former tax on shingles, with which we cover our roofs, was 1s., but that has been raised to 4s. and 8s. Now that the negro is beginning to build, it is 8s. and 12s. There is as much wood in one red oak stave as in two shingles; so that while the planter was to pay 2s. for the same wood coming from the same country, the emancipated labourer has to pay 24s. (Hear, hear.) And this is but a fair specimen of the whole. On the white pine, and the pitch pine lumber, the same tax has been laid; and as the emancipated population could not be always building houses, the same system has descended, with all its fearful force, to the articles which they consume. (Hear, hear.) There it is that our great difficulty lies, and this is one of the reasons why I wish to appeal to the deepest sympathies of this assembly. (Hear, hear.) It is not merely right that you should advocate the abolition of slavery, it is right also that you should protect the freeman. (Hear, hear.) If it be true, as you have stated it to be, that it is an all-important matter that emancipation should rise in Jamaica free and comely, so that the American, gazing upon it, may be impelled to set his slave free, surely we ought to be protected, and the British Government ought not to assist in laying a tax on the means of life which the peasant has to consume. If I cannot prove that this has been done, then regard not what I say. (Hear, hear.) It is necessary for me just to state—because I know that those who are engaged in so many other occupations cannot afford time to search into the intricacies of our domestic economy—that in Jamaica the peasant, as well as ourselves, is almost entirely dependent on foreign supplies for food; and so long as you shall think it necessary—and into that question I am not going to enter—so long as you shall think it necessary that the cultivation of the soil should be almost entirely engrossed by the production of sugar and rum, so long must we look elsewhere for something to eat. (Hear, hear.) We cannot live upon sugar, and as to rum, we do not wish to touch it. (Cheers.) Under the former tariff, when the population had little to do with the duty upon what was imported, their food being found,

for the most part, by their masters, the tax on flour was 4s.; by the recent tariff it was raised to 6s. During the last year, 1844, there were 139,616 barrels of flour brought into the island of Jamaica. The former tax, I believe, was 2s.; there is now 2s. more added by Jamaica, and 2s. further laid on by the British Government. This 2s. is on the flour which comes from America. And to show you the operation of this, I would state that I am confident that scarcely a single barrel of flour comes from England; the whole of it very nearly comes from the United States. (Hear, hear.) The next article of food which they taxed was corn-meal, which is consumed chiefly by the labouring population. During the time when corn-meal was part of the food of the slave, the tax upon it was 3d. per barrel; now it is 3s. per barrel. (Hear, hear.) The quantity imported last year alone was 32,337 barrels. During the time of slavery the tax upon rice, another article of food, which is consumed to a great extent—and there is no differential duty between slave-grown rice and free-grown rice—in Jamaica was 1s. per cwt. Now they have raised it to 4s.; and 14,077 bags of rice were brought into Jamaica in the last year. The next article is salt fish, an article consumed by the whole of the labouring population. In the time of slavery, I believe, there was no tax on this article—if there was any duty, it was a very trifling one. There is now a duty of 2s. per cwt.; 150,000 cwt. having been brought into Jamaica last year. The next article, and the last which I will refer to, though I have the whole tariff here, is an article which lays the whole economy of the matter fairly before you. The tax upon salt pork, during the time of slavery, was 4s. per barrel, a barrel weighing about 1½ cwt. Since the commencement of freedom, especially in the last tariff, they have laid a tax upon all pork, whether it come from Ireland or from America, of 16s. sterling per barrel; and upon American pork the British Parliament have laid another tax of 4s. or 5s. per barrel—so that upon every barrel of pork coming from America, the chief object of our consumption, which costs in America, as I am informed, 1l. 6s., there is a tax laid of 1l. sterling. (Hear, hear.) And to show how this acts, I will tell you how much pork comes from America, and how much of it from Britain. During the last year 27,106 barrels came from America, at a tax of 27,000l. sterling; 4,718 barrels came from Great Britain and Ireland, which were brought in at a tax of 16s. The taxes raised upon all these imports, consumed chiefly, be it understood, by the labouring population, amounted in 1842 to 127,821l. 14s. 6d.; in 1843, to 190,250l. 9s. 3d.; and in 1844, to 192,517l. 12s. 7d. (Hear, hear.) This is a confirmation of the statement that these heavy taxes are laid for the purpose of introducing these Hill Coolies and other emigrants to reduce the wages of the labourer. And I ask you if, in the whole history of governmental influence, you can find a more determined effort to crush us just as we were springing into life. We were urged (and we faithfully fulfilled the trust committed to our charge) to reduce the labourers' wages from 1s. 6d. to 1s. per day; and when this was done—the moment they found him at work upon the estate, they taxed his food that he might be starved into submission. (Hear, hear.) What renders this more annoying is, that there is no need of it. During the time of Sir Lionel Smith's administration, the government of Jamaica did not cost more than 158,988l., in 1844 it cost 391,798l. And this is wrung chiefly, not from the planters, but the labourers. At the very time when they were laying this tax on food, they took off the tax on every dwelling on every sugar estate, and just threw it upon the peasant. It is a fact, that after this tariff was passed, the planters in St. George's met, and urged the House of Assembly yet more deeply to tax the labouring population, stating that that population did not bear its share. This money is raised for emigration purposes, for an armed police, and for another purpose to which I do not wish to advert here—the maintenance of a religion from which three-fourths of the population, perhaps nine-tenths, dissent. For the armed police alone, who, with their muskets and their bullets, parade throughout the length and breadth of the island—useless, and worse than useless—fomenting nine-tenths of the quarrels which they were appointed to prevent and suppress, more than 40,000l. sterling a year is paid. (Hear, hear.) It will be remembered, no doubt, by the Committee, though not by the whole of this assembly, that during the government of Sir Lionel Smith the police force and the whole of the militia were disbanded—Sir Lionel saying, "With a few Baptist and Methodist persons I can keep the whole island in a state of peace;" and he did so. Well, by this time I fear there has been an introduction of these Hill Coolies—though, be it known, that in Jamaica the measure did not receive the hearty co-operation of the whole of the inhabitants, nor even of the whole of the planters. It is a pleasing sign of the times that only one petition was presented to the House of Assembly in favour of Hill Coolie emigration—and that petition went from the parish in which I live—and I believe it was got up by a few who do not like me, and perhaps never will, because I got up a counter one. To show you that they did not like it, let me mention that the very week after they presented the petition to the House of Assembly, at a meeting of the Agricultural Society, of which I happened to be a member, though I was not present, they presented the following document to the world. "Trelawney Agricultural Society.—The committed anxiously avail themselves of this opportunity to report that their experience and the result of their inquiries enable them to state that the general conduct of the labouring population in this parish is satisfactory, and leads to the hope that it will be further displayed in their assiduity in the manufacture of the promising crops now on the ground, and in the endeavour to maintain the improved condition and prospects of the parish, in which they, and every other class of the community, are so vitally concerned." Now this is the report of the very same men, exactly at the same time that they were petitioning for Hill Coolie emigration, to take off their crops. There was not a single petition besides presented from the whole island of Jamaica. And the vote for the introduction of these Hill Coolies only passed by the speaker's casting vote. Yet the sum of 80,000l. sterling is to be raised this year from the taxes laid upon the peasants' food, for the purpose of bringing in individuals who, I say confidently, will not have work to do when they arrive there. (Hear, hear.) I speak advisedly. (Hear.) I speak, my respected friends, with the full fact glaring in my face, that in two months I shall be again in Jamaica. I know that during the last year the labouring population in Trelawney could not obtain above three days' work in the week, and for that they received only 1s. per day. In looking the other day over one of the periodicals here, I found what had

escaped my notice in Jamaica, namely, that the Clarendon Agricultural Society have put forth to the world that, as the result of their efforts, they can manufacture sugar, and they have done it, at 8s. to 9s. per cwt. Now this is less than their protecting bounty. On another estate, the overseer of which had obtained a prize for his management, sugar had been manufactured, including all expenses, at 8s. 4d. per cwt. I am quite sure that if any one analyses this sum he will find, after deducting the bookkeeper's salary, the overseer's salary, and all other expenses of that kind, that so far as the labouring man is concerned, sugar is manufactured at 4d. per lb. (Hear, hear.) The fact is, that the grossest delusion has been put upon the public mind; Jamaica is suffering under a system which needs to be cut up by the roots. The reason why sugar is produced cheaper in Cuba than in Jamaica, is not because the planters flog and murder their slaves, but because they manage their own properties. (Hear, hear.) The planters will find, that everybody who wants his business to be done properly, must do it himself. (Hear, hear.) A simple fact will illustrate this in a striking manner. A gentleman appeared the other day at the Anti-Slavery office, and referring to Jamaica and its affairs, he stated that six years ago his estate was 14,000l. in debt. His younger brother went out to see the cause of this heavy encumbrance, and now it has been cleared off, and the proprietors are getting a fair return from the estate. Another estate, near Kingston, in Jamaica, was bought for 6,000l., an estate by no means luxuriant. On that estate the individual who managed it in three years realised the whole of the purchase money, 6,000l., and during the last year, notwithstanding the drought to which it has been subjected, he has put a clear gain in his master's pocket of 1,600l. sterling. Now these are facts, they are published and known as such in Jamaica; and I am happy to say that, as the result, there is about to be formed a model estate. I hope to get one or two shares; I am extremely anxious to see how it works, and I hope that some of our friends will help us. We want to make use of the best machinery that can be obtained; we want to avail ourselves of all the scientific improvements in agriculture; we want to teach the peasants how to use these things; and then if the absentees cannot manage their estates we will manage them ourselves. (Cheers.) The Governor, in his address to the House of Assembly, congratulated that honourable house that under his administration they had begun to use the plough. (A laugh.) The fact that in the year 1845 it should be a source of congratulation that they had commenced using that instrument of husbandry which is so old in this country, shows in what a bad condition they are. (Hear, hear.) I wish to refer to another subject in connection with this of emigration. You are aware that a railroad is about to be made in Jamaica. That railroad is to go through one of the worst swamps that exists in the island. It is to go from Kingston to the Angel—a very queer place certainly for it to stop at. The promoter of that work says, in the prospectus, that "Plenty of labour can be procured at 7s. per week." This is in the "British Quarterly Review," stated there on that authority. I know it to be true that labour can be obtained for that amount per week, but it is right when these things are being sifted, to find out that other people are of the same opinion. Now then, my Christian friends, is it right, I ask, that those freemen should be thus oppressed; that a tariff should be made to prevent them from having that which they ought to have to eat? I ask, is freedom to be blamed for it? No, it is not the fault of freedom. It pleased our heavenly Father to send a drought, and a fearful drought. For nearly two years the heavens sent us scarcely any showers; and it was in the midst of this drought that the tariff was introduced, and the labourer's wages were reduced from 1s. 6d. to 1s. per day. I have taken great pains to ascertain what is the real state of things throughout the island of Jamaica. I have sent circulars to different parts, but I have not received answers from all. This statement comes from part of the island where the cry for immigration is much greater than in any other. The writer says, "In this neighbourhood, seven years ago, a township called Middlesex, was established. Forty families from Scotland were there located. The expenses of outfit and passage, land, cottages, roads, rations, for the first year, did not cost less than 5,500l. sterling. I have good data for coming to this conclusion. The emigrants, during the year they were fed by Government, did little or nothing. After then some got jobs on the roads, a few employed themselves sawing wood for the peasantry, the rest died. There now remains the place called Middlesex, but the people are for the most part in their graves; but five families remain." (Hear.) I refer to this because the Times of this morning states the fact, that there are 120 persons gone out from Gloucestershire and another county, to St. Kitt's. I only wish I could have seen those poor deluded persons. (Hear, hear.) I know it is not one of the aims of this Society to prevent free emigration; but it ought, if it can, to prevent deluded emigration. If others had seen what I have seen, if they had seen the victims of cupidity stretched on the couch and dying, if they had seen shipload after shipload taken to the tomb, they would have warned these unhappy men who are now in your river about to sail to St. Kitt's, of the miseries which await them. O, sir, I cannot tell the whole; and I can assure you that the negro population of Jamaica, while they deeply commiserate the white man when he comes to the island, laugh at the folly of supposing that he can labour under the burning sun of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) It appears that several intelligent Canadians came to the place to which I have referred; but the master said he did not want people who could read and write, but negroes; they knew too much for him. (Laughter.) A planter and a member of the legislature told me that he had such an abundant supply of labour, and why? because the people can always get their money from him, that he had at times to send away as many as twenty people from his yard, with their hoes on their shoulders. He added, "It grieves me; but what can I do? I employ more people than what I really need, rather than they shall remain at home." Since I have been here, nearly three years, I have never heard a complaint from one of his labourers, while on the estate next to his the manager and the labourers are always disputing. The fact is, sir, it all arises from this. The whole of these disputes, in nine cases out of ten, proceed from the circumstance that the real proprietors of the soil are not there, and that the individuals managing the property, in a great many instances, want to get it themselves. (Hear, hear.) Almost every estate that has been sold in Jamaica lately, has been bought by the individual who ruined it. (Hear, hear.) I know some persons may say, this is a very

hard thing to say; but it is perfectly true. I know many of these estates perfectly well. There was one beautiful estate, worth 10,000*l.*, sold the other day for 3,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) If I had had the money I would have bought it, and that should have been the model estate, on which we could and would have shown what the freeman can do when he has fair play. I am afraid that I have trespassed too long on the time of this assembly. (Cries of "No, no.") There are a great many other facts to which I could have wished to refer; but I would merely, for one moment, appeal to this assembly to stop this emigration. 127,000*l.* has been already squandered away by Jamaica. One person gets 6,000*l.*, another 5,000*l.*, and another 4,000*l.*, and has a trip to Sierra Leone, for which all his expenses are paid; and all this comes out of the salt pork and other things which the peasant has to buy. There ought to be a cry, loud, long, and deep, against the atrocious system of taxing the negro seven or eight hundred per cent. above the ordinary tax for the food which he consumes. I speak, sir, on behalf of our schools. (Hear, hear.) It is not on behalf of the mission that I would plead; but I can assure you that if this state of things is to continue, we shall have to surrender three-fourths of our schools, and the growing population must suffer to an alarming extent. There is nothing which I look to with so much interest, next to the preaching of the cross, as the state of our schools, and the education in them of those who have never experienced the evils of slavery. But it will be impossible for the people to maintain these schools, and to discharge the debts which remain upon them, under the present system. I do sincerely trust that those who have so long been the friends of the slave, and who are still the friends of the freeman, when they see, as they must see from this sketch, (and I could have occupied hours in the detail) that his present distresses have not arisen from any unwillingness to work, but from the system pursued—advisedly and cautiously pursued—to restrict liberty. But we do not despair in our present difficulties, though they excite anxiety in our minds. (Hear, hear.) My friends, I believe these difficulties will pass away. (Cheers.) The present House of Assembly is not to last for ever. Our freeholds are getting riper and riper every day; and we should have sent many of these men to attend to their own business, if the Governor had not, though constitutionally, I think very unwisely, dissolved the House of Assembly one year before the time, that the old party might have the appointment of the new one. But this will pass away. We shall have been prepared by our trials for future action; and I can assure you that we are determined not to let Jamaica sink so long as we can plead on her behalf. (Cheers.) We are not disheartened at all. The sympathy we have received will cheer us on in our missions, and especially in our schools. There is a helping hand and a helping heart still to be found in England. (Hear, hear.) These events will pass away. This tariff must be altered. The next time the Assembly meet, we will pour in petition after petition, and let those men know, that if no other men can be found to go into that House, there we go ourselves, to assert the rights of the negroes, and our determination to protect them from injury. They are as grateful a people as any on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) And I think no more fervent prayers are presented than those offered by the emancipated population of the West. (Hear, hear.) They are trodden down; an attempt is made again to enslave them; but our free cottages stand forth the glory of the land, and I believe the time will come when all these efforts will recoil upon the heads of those who made them. (Hear, hear.) I mean this, Sir, that we shall have young men arise as planters, (hear, hear,) and they are beginning to arise, rich men, men who will bring wives with them, and spread their social influence around; and those men who see nothing good in the black, and everything good in the white, will have gone to their account. The result will, I believe, be peaceful, happy, and triumphant. I do consider it a manifest protection of Heaven, that none of our old missionary brethren have been called away, in the midst of these exulting scenes. One and twenty years have I trod that island, and three or four others have also been preserved. I know other and younger brethren who have more piety and energy; but then they have not the same hold of the people, and we are determined that our influence shall be directed to the welfare of the whole community; but the peasant shall not be crushed. (Cheers.) Thus do I propose the resolution for your adoption; thus do I once more take my leave of you, most earnestly desiring that this Society may prosper, that it may be directed by that infinite wisdom which alone can direct aright, and that we, though not associated with you in name, yet in spirit, may live to carry on the glorious work to its completion. One remark more. In the simple article of marriages, to which I do not wish to refer at any length, the delightful increase which has taken place, when considered in connection with the licentiousness which once almost universally prevailed, will, I am confident, be to many in this assembly a source of exceeding pleasure. Before I left home, I found from the records which had just been published by the House of Assembly, that during the last four years—and I refer to this in connection with the awful system which England is likely to produce with regard to the Hill Coolies—there have taken place in Jamaica, from 1841 to 1844, the following marriages:—by the Baptists, 8446; native ditto, 264; Wesleyan Methodists, 5120; Association, 439; native, 21; Moravians, 2839; Presbyterians, 2382; London Missionary Society, 351; Congregational Ditto, 203; Roman Catholics, 3; Established Church, 8294. So that there have been celebrated in the island of Jamaica, once the den of licentiousness—for it was not drunkenness, but licentiousness that was the great evil—20,059 marriages; and when we believe that in nearly all these marriages there is every day an increase of good, what may we not expect as the result? With one remark, and one only, I close. I will refer to a statement put forth in Blackwood's Magazine; and I shall do this because it cannot be supposed by any in this assembly that the writers for that magazine have any great liking either for Baptist Missionaries, or for negro slaves. In combating the argument, that the Irish labourer is not sufficiently paid for the labour which he performs, they put in one of their Magazines the following statement:—The Irish labourer, say they, obtains 1*s.* per day for his work, which is exactly the same as the negro. This would purchase in Ireland, they state, as follows:—

14 lbs. of potatoes	1 <i>½</i>	d.
2 lbs. of oatmeal	2	
2 lbs. of bacon	7 <i>½</i>	
3 qts. of milk	1 —12 <i>d.</i>	

The same quantity of food would cost in Jamaica as follows:

	s. d.
14 lbs. of yams	1 6
2 lbs. of corn meal	0 6
2 lbs. of pork	1 0
	<hr/> 3 0

Nothing is said about milk. So that, according to Blackwood, the Jamaica labourer would have to pay 3*s.* for the same quantity of food as the Irish labourer can obtain for 1*s.* (Hear, hear, hear.) Thus have I tried to open up some of the facts connected with Jamaica. I take my leave of you, and of this Society, with the most affectionate respect. I have not said all that I could have wished to say; but I have brought home the whole of the original documents from Jamaica, and I hope you will carefully peruse them. You will then find, that not only in these, but also in other ways, is there an attempt made to prejudice the cause of freedom in that island. (Hear, hear.) Would that they were wise! We wish to see the white man prosper, but he must learn first, that he cannot and shall not prosper on the ruin of our brightest hopes with respect to the emancipated population. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. EBENEZER DAVIES (from Berbice) said, I appear before you, Mr. Chairman and Christian friends, with trembling diffidence, to support the resolution which has been already so well supported. I regret the position in which I am placed in having to succeed my excellent and eloquent and powerful brother, the Rev. William Knibb. I appear before you as a friend to the planters. I am a friend to the planters; I declare myself to be so at the outset; I wish the proprietors of estates well; and in all the statements which I may make, I shall bear in mind that very soon I shall be in Berbice again, and shall be responsible for every statement that I make. I shall endeavour, therefore, to speak the truth. The whole truth I cannot speak, for time will not permit. (Hear, hear.) I shall, however, endeavour to speak nothing but the truth. Sir, I never knew the value of this Society until last year; I never knew the worth of this Society until we were threatened with this enormous evil—until we were alarmed by the approach of this monster immigration-scheme,—a monster, however, clothed in the garb of philanthropy, having about it all the horrid features of the old system. (Hear, hear.) I exceedingly rejoice that your attention was so soon drawn to the subject; I exceedingly rejoice in the promptness with which you came forward to our aid. I was afraid, greatly afraid, that the name of "emigration" might delude many in this country; that it would appear to you exceedingly harmless, exceedingly innocent. But you were alive to its enormity; you perceived the hideousness of its form at once. To the system of emigration we object, strongly object, conscientiously object. We regard it as unnecessary. (Hear, hear.) I bear my decided testimony that emigration to British Guiana, under present circumstances, is unnecessary—emigration on the plan which is now contemplated. True, the Colony is extensive enough, and this we are told again and again. We are asked, "Is there not plenty of room for thousands more to come? is there not fertile soil for thousands more to cultivate?" True; but with the present mode of managing the properties, and with the amount of capital which is at present obtainable in the Colony, I maintain that emigration on this plan is unnecessary. There is no want of labour there. Many are unable to obtain the amount of employment which they require. In some localities, I admit, there is a scarcity of labour; but where that is the case, it is entirely the planters' own fault: they have driven the people away to neighbourhoods and localities remote from their estates. When the people wished to purchase small plots of land for themselves, they were exceedingly anxious to obtain them on the very estates where they had always been located, and to which they had always been attached. But this was refused; it was felt to be inconvenient to allow them to purchase land: they were occupiers of cottages, as they were called, though in many instances they were nothing more than mere hovels, sheds, and, in the best form, were only wooden boxes of very limited dimensions. But still to have the labourers in those was thought more convenient than to allow them to have houses of their own. These were made the means of coercing the people to acquiesce in unjust and unreasonable demands. (Hear, hear.) They, therefore, felt the necessity, the absolute necessity, of obtaining houses and shelters for themselves. (Hear, hear.) In order to this they were obliged, in many instances, to go to remote localities, often far up some rivers and creeks, far away from the estates. So that in this manner, by their own folly, the planters have deprived themselves, in some localities, of the amount of labour which they might have secured. We are told that immigration is necessary, because the people are idle. "The people," it is said, "will not work." Now, this is not true. The people are not idle; the people are industrious; and those who are not found working on estates, are found in some other employment calculated to promote their own comfort and the convenience of their families. Our people are not idle. (Cheers.) But we are told that they are extravagantly paid, and that it is necessary to bring the price of labour down to that amount which the planters are able to afford. Now I maintain that the people are not extravagantly paid; that they are rather underpaid than overpaid (hear, hear); they do not obtain for their labour what that labour would fairly yield them; they do not enjoy the fruit of their exertion according to the present price of sugar. The peasantry might be allowed higher, much higher wages than they now obtain; were it not for bad management and extravagant habits, with burdened and mortgaged properties. (Hear, hear, hear.) Extravagantly paid! Sir. Not many months ago we had a meeting in a certain school-room at Berbice, and we invited the planters there to meet the people and discuss this subject. Of course, as Christian ministers, we did not wish to encourage our people in idleness or extortion; and if these charges were true, we should adopt every possible means of convincing our people of the impropriety of their conduct. We invited the planters to come: two of them did come; and when the people said that immigration was not necessary, because they themselves could not obtain full employment in that neighbourhood, one of them from an estate at a distance of about five miles from that locality, and on the other side of the wide river of Berbice, said "You shall never say any more that you have not a sufficiency of employment; I will employ one thousand of you, and give one guilder for seven hours and a half's labour to any that please to come to the estat-

under my management." This was regarded by the planters as a splendid offer. A guilder is 1s. 4d. sterling. "But mind you," said he, with emphasis, "I must have seven hours and a half's labour," and for that they were to obtain 1s. 4d. sterling. In order to get this they were to leave their homes and families; they must have a boat, or a corial as it is called, to cross the river, or else be indebted to somebody else for taking them over; they must be absent from their families the whole of the week, and must live by themselves in a more expensive manner than they would live in their own families. I am sure that seven hours and a half's work, under that scorching sun and upon that wet soil, is quite as much as the human frame can sustain. The planters do not expect their horses in that climate to do as much labour as they perform in this; but, strange to say, they seem to expect the same amount of labour from human beings as they obtain in this northern clime. Now, suppose a man to go to that estate, and to work for seven hours and a half each day through the week, what has he at the end of it to take home for the maintenance of his wife and family? (Hear, hear.) Why, he will have just two dollars, or 8s. 4d. sterling, in his hand. Such are the splendid wages obtained in Berbice. I know that in some instances greater wages are occasionally obtained, just as comparatively high wages are sometimes paid in this country; and it is to those instances that we are constantly referred when the object is to show that wages are high. Wages are, in fact, exceedingly low. Ay, and there is another thing to be taken into account, which I had almost forgotten—I mean the price of provisions. (Hear, hear.) What would 8s. 4d. buy there? Their salt fish, and their rice, and their fruit, and their clothing, are all, as in Jamaica, enormously taxed. All provisions are much dearer than in this country. Most provisions are 50 per cent. dearer; many kinds are 100, and even 200 per cent. dearer than in this country. (Hear, hear.) "Oh," says some objector, "all that is very fine; but what do we hear sometimes about the people contributing so largely for schools, and for the erection of chapels, and so forth? If their wages are so low, how is it that they can give so much?" How is it? It is because they have Christian principle; it is because they make efforts, and great efforts too; it is because they in some instances rear small stock, in order that they may be able to contribute to the support of those institutions which are dear to them; and in addition to this, one great secret of their being able to do so much is, that many of them—some thousands—will not touch that rum with which their land flows, and let it all be sent to the silly people of this country rather than touch it themselves. (Laughter.) Mr. Davis here read an extract of a letter he had just received from a valued friend, and an excellent minister, the Rev. R. Jones, of Chapelton, Jamaica, in which he (Mr. D.) was requested to inform the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society that there was no need whatever of immigrants in the locality in which Mr. Jones resided; that the people had only one shilling sterling per diem; and that, though at the time of writing, it was the crop season—the most busy period of the year—yet he knew of no instance where the demand for labour was greater than the supply. The extract closed with an earnest hope that British Christians would put forth their utmost efforts to defeat the iniquitous scheme of Coolie immigration. To the planters carrying on emigration at their own cost there can be no objection, provided they violate none of the principles of justice or of humanity. But when the immigration is all immigration of labour, without any immigration of capital, poverty and wretchedness, in innumerable forms, must assuredly be the consequence. As the friends of the planters we object to this immigration. I do believe that it will ruin the very men who think to be benefited by it. A more impolitic measure was never devised. Look at the absurdity of the whole thing. Look at the figures as they appear before you with regard to British Guiana. Half a million of money is proposed to be borrowed in order to bring 20,000 Coolies to the colony; and this, too, after 100,000L had been already expended in immigration, and after Lord Stanley has allowed, in the last year, 75,000L. sterling of the money raised by taxes levied on the labouring population of British Guiana, to be laid out upon the immigration of 5,000 Coolies. Only think of the absurdity of paying 15L. to bring a man from India to British Guiana, and 15L. more to take him back, so that every Cooly will cost the colony 30L. sterling. However idle he may be, or however worthless, though he may be the pest of society, that is the amount he costs. Is it not too bad that the labouring population should be taxed out of their small and hard-earned wages for such a purpose as this? Supposing they succeed in the scheme, and the 20,000 Coolies are brought there, at the end of five years they will be entitled to their passage back; and most assuredly those who survive will claim it. What will then be the position of the planters? They will have driven away their best people; they will have alienated more than ever the affections of the negro population, and they will have brought themselves into a much more deplorable state than they otherwise could have been. (Hear.) We object to this scheme as *unjust*, palpably *unjust*. Think of taxing a labouring man to bring other labourers to compete with him in the market, with the avowed object of reducing his wages! (Hear, hear.) I call it the avowed object; for it has been avowed again and again. (Hear, hear.) One of the leading planters in Berbice said to me, not very long ago, "Quashy ought to work for two bits a day;" that is about 8*½*d. sterling; "Quashy must work for two bits a day before long;" and another gentleman there, with whom I was remonstrating the absurdity and injustice of this scheme, said, "O, Sir, we must have immigration, else we shall all be ruined: look at my fellows there, we cannot get them to do at all as I could wish them to do, and if I could get more immigrants, don't you think I would soon send them about their business?" (Hear, hear.) Now that man had the conscience to talk of taxing those "fellows there," in order to introduce other labourers, that he might turn them away. (Hear, hear.) If the planters want labourers, why not lay out their money in procuring them? (Hear.) That is the way honest people act in such a case. This scheme will be productive of *incalculable evils*. It will be attended with an *awful mortality*; if we judge of the future by the past. One third of the Coolies that were brought from India died, as your Secretary well knows, before their seasoning in British Guiana was over; and of those who survived the seasoning, and set off the other day, as I saw them do, in the "Louisa Bailey," to return to their own country, one man in every five perished on the voyage. (Hear, hear.) This happened notwithstanding every care and precaution being taken to preserve their lives. It was an experiment which many were exceed-

ingly anxious should turn out well; but notwithstanding this anxiety, one-fifth perished on the passage home. We were told of the large amount of money which they took back with them. But amongst how many had that money to be divided? Recollect, too, that the survivors had the dollars of those who had perished and been laid in the grave. In 1840, I had a conversation with the Cooley emigrants. They were an interesting people; I had heard much of them in connection with the name of Mr. Gladstone, and I embraced an opportunity of going to see them on the estate. They were comfortable at that time, for Mr. Scoble had been in the Colony just before. (Laughter.) But I asked one of them who seemed to be, as to his knowledge of English, a little in advance of the rest, "Which do you like best, this country or Calcutta?" "O, Calcutta," said he. "Why," said I, "Calcutta is not such a fine country as this." "O, Calcutta," said he, "better than this." "Then," I said, "if Calcutta is a better country than this, why did you not stay there?" "Ah," was the reply, "white man make fool of we." (Hear, hear.) *Fraud*, then, is one of the features of this scheme. (Hear, hear.) *Discord* must also be engendered by it. There is great antipathy between the African race and the Cooley race: they do not like each other; and the mode in which the leading men are likely at first to treat the Coolies, the kindness which at the outset they will show to the Coolies, and the unkindness and disrespect with which they will treat the other race, must be calculated to foster the spirit of discord. (Hear, hear, hear.) Let it also be borne in mind that the Coolies, when they come, cannot resist the temptation to indulge largely in new rum, and under the influence of that new rum they fight, and fight with fearful weapons. When you glance, too, at the evils which must arise from their coming without anything like a due proportion of women, it is enough to make humanity shudder. (Hear, hear.) But, whilst we deprecate this scheme of the planters, we are prepared to tell them what will contribute to the prosperity of the Colony: for we long for its prosperity. Better friends to this Colony there are none than the instructors of the people and the members of the Anti-Slavery Society. "If you want to prosper, gentlemen," we would say to the planters, "*retrench* in your public expenditure, and retrench in the management of your estates." At present they keep overseers to look after the immediate cultivation of the estate, and managers to look after the overseers, and attorneys to look after the managers; and in the end very little advantage is obtained by the proprietors. O resident proprietorship, what a blessing that would be! (Hear, hear.) That would cure innumerable evils. If the proprietors would only come and look after their own properties, a very different state of things would soon prevail. *Temperance*, too—let them unite in promoting the cause of temperance; not ridicule it as they do, and throw every obstacle in its way on their estates. They license their grog-shops to destroy the people they have; and they take the money to bring others in their stead! Let the *renting system* be, also, fairly adopted there; let them treat the people in such a manner as to secure their confidence, and to give them a direct interest in the produce of the land. Let them be more righteous in their legislation; let them make the people really free, as they are already nominally free; let them give the people a voice in the legislation of the country—(at present they have none); and then British Guiana, and the other colonies of the west, will be the abodes of religion, industry, wealth, and happiness. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. SCOBLE said—I have to submit to you, sir, the following resolution:—

"That this meeting have learned with astonishment and regret from official documents recently laid before Parliament, that there are several thousands of British subjects held in slavery in the colonial possessions of Spain and the Netherlands, and that owing to an alleged legal difficulty, her Majesty's Government decline to press on those powers their immediate deliverance from the cruel and degrading bondage in which they are held. That, persuaded that these unhappy persons have an indefeasible right to their freedom, this meeting would respectfully urge on the Government the necessity of reviewing the ground of their decision, and of taking such active measures for securing them their rights as British subjects as should lead to their speedy restoration to their homes, and to the full enjoyment of the privileges of the emancipated classes in the British colonies."

I should have been exceedingly happy to have been able to explain the precise circumstances in which these individuals are placed. I will not, however, detain the Meeting further than to say, that I hope her Majesty's Government will be disposed to review the grounds on which they have hitherto acted, and that we shall be able to present to you, should we be spared to another year, an account of the liberation of several thousand British subjects who are now held in slavery in Cuba, Surinam, and other foreign colonies. (Cheers.)

Mr. LEWIS F. BELLOT seconded the resolution.

The Chairman said, Perhaps you will allow me to close the Meeting by relating an anecdote. When I was in the island of Dominica, I put myself under the guidance of Mr. Lewis Bellot; and we rode together on horseback to see his estate in the mountains. While we were together on that estate, I observed a little building close by his house, very compact, admirably built, and much stronger and in better order than many of the buildings which had been left by slavery. I saw pigs coming out of it one after another, and I asked him what place it was. "Why," said he, "that was the prison of the estate; that was the cushion in which the negroes were confined." They were confined in that terrible place by the person who preceded our friend in the property, during the apprenticeship, in solitude, without light, without air, tormented by a species of imprisonment which, I venture to say, could not be found in any other country in the world. Now, under the direction of our friend Mr. Bellot, who is a successful planter in Dominica, the prison has become a pigsty. (Hear, and cheers.) Mr. Bellot told me that the produce of the estate had increased 200 per cent. Now in that alone I think we have evidence enough of the immense importance of our cause, and of the blessing which has resulted from the righteous measure of the emancipation of the negro slaves. I do hope, my dear friends, that we shall be faithful to our cause. Having heard of the abuses which are creeping on in many

parts, of the evils of immigration, of the dangerous system of legislation in the Colonies, and of so many points which require perpetual watching and care, as well as most assiduous efforts, I hope every individual in this room will leave it with a solemn determination to give what he can and to do what he can to promote the abolition of slavery all over the world. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. SHERMAN (of Surrey Chapel) said, I am sure our kind friends will think we have a duty to perform before we separate. Our excellent friend, the Chairman, is too well known to need any encomium from me: his works praise him at the gate. My brethren have always counted him a good specimen of a Christian minister; the Christian world have always counted him a good specimen of a Christian; and we teetotallers think him a very good specimen of a teetotaller. As a friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, and as one who has done so much to secure those blessed results which have been brought about by the exertions of this Society, I am sure that his conduct this day, as well as on former occasions, demands and deserves our sincere thanks. I, therefore, beg to propose—That the best thanks of this meeting be tendered to J. J. Gurney, Esq., for his kindness in taking the chair on the present occasion, and for the able manner in which he has discharged its duties.

The Rev. T. SMITH (of Sheffield) in seconding the resolution, said, I have heard all that has passed this morning with astonishment, grief, and sorrow; and this has only been relieved by the consideration that we shall all of us go home with a resolution that whatever the case allows and admits, we will do and continue to do, to destroy a system so thoroughly evil, so nefarious, and so guilty.

The resolution was put by the Rev. J. Sherman, and carried unanimously, after which the Meeting separated.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 28, 1845.

We have ventured upon a double number to-day, in order to present to our readers a full report of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was held at the Hall of Commerce on the 17th instant. We are happy to say that the meeting was a very pleasant, and, as we hope, a very useful one. The proceedings throughout will be read by all friends of the anti-slavery cause with satisfaction. If, where all was so good, any part may be singled out from the mass, it may not unnaturally be the addresses of Mr. Knibb and Mr. Davies, whose long residence in the colonies—the one in Jamaica and the other in British Guiana—eminently qualifies them to speak on some of the most important and exciting questions now agitated. Their statements on the labour and immigration question deserve to be deeply pondered, and are adapted, we think, to decide it with every considerate mind. Of great importance also is Mr. Knibb's exhibition of that course of plunder by taxation which has been systematically pursued by the Legislature of Jamaica towards the peasantry. That our sweet-mouthed contemporary of the *Colonial Gazette* should be out of humour with such a meeting is natural, and does not at all surprise us. But this itself is one of the encouraging elements of the case, and combines with the approbation of the good and the humane to cheer us onward in the work of righteousness and mercy. Our friends will, of course, give due attention to the Report of the Committee.

Dr. CHALMERS has at length delivered his judgment on the question of religious fellowship with slaveholders. Having withdrawn from all public participation in the proceedings of the Free Church, so that he would have had no opportunity of explaining himself in the ensuing General Assembly of that body, he has availed himself of the columns of the *Witness*, in a late number of which a long letter from him on the subject appears. In this letter, we are sorry to say, the Doctor pronounces the refusal of religious fellowship to slaveholders to be "most unjustifiable." We will examine briefly the course of argument he pursues.

He begins by laying down the position, that slaveholding is not necessarily inconsistent with piety. A slaveholder, he says, *may be* a Christian. No doubt of it; inasmuch as he may have become such by the act of another over which he had no control, or in circumstances in which he was unapprised of the evil of it. But will Dr. Chalmers say that a person who, after having been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, voluntarily continues to hold a fellow-creature in bondage can, in the judgment of enlightened charity, be deemed a Christian? This he has not done; and we must confess our doubts whether he could do it. Expressing no opinion on this point, he has missed the gist of the question, and avoided its chief difficulty. This is the actual case of the American slaveholder, and upon the elements comprehended in it we think there ought to be but one decision.

Having laid it down that a slaveholder *may be* a good man, he next admits that slavery is deplorably fruitful of vicious and criminal habits. Let your discipline, says he, deal, not with slaveholding, but with these its fruits. "Exclude from ordinances, not any man as a slaveholder, but every man, whether slaveholder or not, as licentious, as intemperate, as dishonest." Now we ask whether the very fact of slaveholding does not essentially embody one of the crimes here mentioned? Can anything be more dishonest than for a man to set up a claim of property in his fellow-man? Or can any man be properly allowed to be honest till he absolutely renounces a claim so essentially iniquitous? Dr. Chalmers here writes as though slaveholding were an abstract thing, separable from the fact

of holding a human being in slavery. If slaveholding be anything, it is the maintenance of a right of property in man. If there be anything dishonest in the world this is so. And if dishonesty is, as Dr. Chalmers affirms, a fit cause of refusing religious fellowship, it ought, on his own showing, to be refused to slaveholders.

Dr. Chalmers goes on to recommend that the churches which contain slaveholders should be particularly strict in the correction of the vices of which slavery is so prolific. He does not seem to know that the natural and inevitable effect of constituting churches of slaveholders is to screen their characteristic vices, and to render a faithful discipline impossible. He tells us that he has "seen" that admirable pamphlet of Mr. Birnie, "American Churches the Bulwark of American Slavery," and that he has read "the title" of it; but certainly, as yet, he can have read nothing more than the title.

This distinguished man, however, who, to do him justice, admits American slavery to be "a system full of abominations and horrors," has his plan of abolition, and chalks out what he deems a preferable and an effectual course to the Abolitionists. He recommends them to watch the proceedings of the slaveholding churches, and to publish in England the proofs of their laxity of discipline; ay, to "verify the instances, and tell them in detail." And he has the simplicity to think that accounts of this sort would wake up the indignation of all churches on this side the Atlantic to renounce their fellowship! Why, practically this has been already done in the pamphlet which Dr. Chalmers has seen, but not read; and if any statements of this class could produce the effect anticipated, those made by Mr. Birnie must do so. In some cases they have done so. But some churches, it seems, can sleep in the midst of all appeals, and will hear neither the wail of tortured humanity on the one hand, nor the cry of dishonoured Christianity on the other.

Dr. Chalmers concludes this part of his letter, by disclosing to us the amount of reformation which he would in his way clear to make in the American system. He would allow no ministers of Jesus Christ to be *slave-dealers!* No! really he would not! And yet not because there would be anything wrong in it, nor because it would produce any certain mischief; but "lest it should brutalise them"—a result, which, although it may not be "the invariable effect" in America, is, he begs pardon for saying, "the tendency of the system." He sees no reason at all for preventing the brutalising of church members; his care extends only to the ministers! Our readers will scarcely believe what we have now written. Most sincerely do we wish it were a misrepresentation.

After thus dispatching the question of principle, Dr. Chalmers touches on that of prudence. He judges it unwise for Abolitionists to press the renunciation of fellowship with slaveholders on the Free Church. He thinks it will be discreditable to that body to yield "to the bidding of another party" on such a subject. It is quite beneath the Doctor, we think, to make this unworthy appeal to the pride of his brethren. If the principle presented to them be indeed "factitious and new," "gotten up for an occasion," and not "drawn from the repositories of that truth which is immutable and eternal," let it on these grounds be dismissed. But if, as we have endeavoured to show, the fact is the reverse, let not wise counsel be rejected because of the quarter from which it comes. Both Dr. Chalmers and his brethren are familiar with a proverb which teaches that it is proper to learn even from an enemy; how much more so from a friend! If the members of the Free Church shrink from dishonour, they should much rather eschew the rejection of truth from personal pique, than its frank reception at the hands of a stranger or a foe.

Before concluding his letter, Dr. Chalmers endeavours to fortify his position by two examples. He adduces in the first instance that of Mr. Joseph John Gurney, who, on a late religious visit to America, reserved the expression of his sentiments on slavery till the close of his evangelical tour. We are glad that Dr. Chalmers thinks so highly of Mr. Gurney's conduct as thus to quote it for his protection. But did he forget that this gentleman belongs to a Christian society which holds no fellowship with slaveholders? What would the Doctor think of imitating him in this respect also?

Dr. Chalmers adduces, in the next place, the memorials lately presented to the American Board of Foreign Missions, and applauds the reply of that body, which is to the effect that they, as a Missionary Board, have nothing to do with slavery, either to approve or disapprove, to sustain or to overthrow. He hopes that the Free Church will come to the same conclusion, namely, that the removal of American slavery "does not practically or executively come within their province as a church in a distant land." Now this, we take it, is altogether remote from the matter in hand. The question is not whether the Free Church of Scotland shall "practically and executively" undertake the removal of American slavery—the very notion is absurd—but whether, by a cordial recognition of slaveholding churches in America, they shall render to "a system full of abominations and horrors" a practical and powerful support? To this question we have yet hope that the Free Church will answer, No.

A noble example to the Free Church, and one which we hope they will not be slow to follow, has just been set by a branch of the ecclesiastical body in Scotland of somewhat humbler pretensions. We refer to the Reformed Presbytery of Edinburgh, which met on the 30th of April, and unanimously adopted a series of resolutions in reference to American slavery, and church-fellowship with slaveholders, of a most satisfactory and admirable kind. We are sorry

that our pages do not to-day afford room for the insertion of this most gratifying document at length; but we quote the second resolution, as being perfectly explicit on the point chiefly in question, and as exhibiting a fair sample of the style and spirit of the whole.

"2. That persons wilfully continuing in these sinful practices, notwithstanding the light of the gospel shining around them, are unworthy of admission to Christian privileges in any department of the church of Christ; and that any church receiving such persons into full communion, holding them as Christian brethren not walking disorderly, or admitting them to office, is partaker of their sins, upholding the cause of the oppressor against the oppressed, and bringing dishonour on the blessed name and the holy religion of the Divine Redeemer."

We have noticed every part of Dr. Chalmers's letter, that we might not be deemed wanting in the respect due, either to the distinguished individual himself, or to the great cause which may in some measure be affected by it. We should have been happy if a name so deservedly illustrious and influential could have been enrolled among the band of devoted and consistent abolitionists of our times; but, since it may not be so, we are still more happy to think that the cause of humanity and freedom is quite independent of individuals, however eminent, and sure of its consummation, whatever may be the obstacles opposing its progress.

Before concluding our remarks, we must say one word on a letter which appears in the *Witness* of a subsequent date, from the Rev. W. Chalmers, one of the deputation from the Free Church to the United States. This gentleman thinks proper to endorse Dr. Cunningham's infamous assertion, that "the American abolitionists, technically so called, are as a body altogether undeserving of respect and confidence;" and he does so by citing the eccentricities, to use no stronger term, of William Lloyd Garrison! He evidently believes that the small party headed by Mr. Garrison constitute the whole body of American abolitionists! Is there any means of making these gentlemen aware that there is a much larger body of abolitionists in the United States, altogether free from the peculiarities which are so offensive to them, and worthy, as a body, of the highest confidence and respect? Mr. Chalmers ought to know that Mr. Garrison's name was not attached to the letter which was addressed to the deputation in the United States, by several gentlemen describing themselves as the Executive Committee of an Anti-Slavery Society; and that that society was, not the American, but the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

THE West India mail brings no news of importance. The only topic we need notice here is the issue of the proceedings respecting the petition of the Rev. E. A. Walbridge, a missionary in British Guiana, for the separation of the Church from the State. We stated in a former number that the Combined Court had referred this petition to the law-officers of the Crown in that colony, for an opinion whether its language was or was not seditious. We now find that both these functionaries concur in the judgment that it is not so according to Dutch law, but one of them, in opposition to the other, thinks it is so according to English law. And the petition has accordingly been referred to the Secretary of State! It is difficult to speak with gravity of this solemn farce, or to express in any terms fit to be written our sense of the ignorance and infatuation of men who are thus bent on manufacturing indictable offences out of the commonest use of the commonest rights of Englishmen. A few extracts from the papers will be found in another column. We are sorry to see that Lord Stanley leans to the encouragement of private speculation in the immigration trade, after the example of the *Roger Stewart*, in Berbice.

It affords us sincere pleasure to find that the publications which have recently been undertaken on the continent of Europe for the advancement of the anti-slavery cause are vigorously sustained. We have been gratified by receiving the first Number of the *Abolitioniste Français* for the present year, in which we have read with much satisfaction the review of the recent debate in the Chamber of Peers. We learn with pleasure that the periodical issued by our friends in Holland has attained a sale so extensive as completely to cover the expenses of its publication. We notice also with much interest a work of Don Jose A. Saco, on the suppression of the African slave-trade in Cuba, as at once safe to its agriculture, and necessary to its security; a work from which we hope hereafter to present to our readers some valuable extracts.

THE *Times* of Monday and Wednesday last contains the following articles, which, although stated to be from "A Correspondent," may probably be regarded as a correct representation of the facts:—

"**T**HIS NEW SLAVE-TRADE TREATY.—(From a Correspondent.)—All but the smallest items being not only fixed upon, but reduced to necessary form, the new slave-trade treaty will be signed before Friday next, when the Duke de Broglie will probably leave England. He is expected to reach Paris by Monday or Tuesday. Prince Charles, his son, and secretary to the mission, left on Friday. The preamble of the new treaty sets forth that the Queen of England and King of France (the parties most deeply bound to the execution of this duty from their superior naval resources) deeming that the treaties of 1831 and 1833 have produced all the effect they were capable of, are desirous of forming another compact suited to the present emergency, in order, more effectually, to repress the slave-trade. They have accordingly drawn up the present treaty, to endure for ten years, unless, at a period to be appointed, (which will probably be towards the fifth year,) their mutual efforts should have proved insufficient and unsatisfactory. It is there-

fore arranged that France shall keep on the western coast of Africa a fleet consisting half of steamers and half of sailing ships, the number amounting to not less than 27; and that the naval force employed by England will be of the same character, calibre, and amount, exercising simultaneously due vigilance on the flags of their respective nations. The treaty has been brought to this rapid termination by the confidence placed in the Duke de Broglie. It is satisfactory to state that the representatives of foreign powers who signed the last treaty, not ratified by France, have shown the greatest goodwill on the present occasion, being animated by feelings of amity to both the high contracting parties, and desirous under every circumstance to see energetic and effective measures employed for the repression of the slave-trade. The feeling which animates the British Government is that which it has displayed already in the compact with America—namely, a desire to prove its sincere wish to suppress an outrage to human nature, apart from any views as regards the empire of the seas—a confirmation of the spirit which led to the sacrifice of 20,000,000*l.* to liberate the slaves in the British Colonies.

"**T**HIS NEW SLAVE-TRADE TREATY.—In confirmation of our statement in *The Times* of yesterday, relative to the proposed treaty between France and England for the suppression of the slave-trade, we believe we may now state that the treaty will be signed to-morrow. It will consist of ten articles, and its duration is limited to ten years, subject to revocation at the expiration of five years if its operation is found to be unsatisfactory to the interests of either of the parties. Perfect amity between the two nations being the great object in view, it is hoped that all jealousies and complaints will be obviated by the ships of war of each nation visiting the vessels under their own flags. Instead of the ships of each nation amounting to 27, as we stated yesterday, the number will be limited to 26. They will possess the power of stopping the vessels they meet, and ascertaining by their papers whether they belong to the country whose flag they bear. By the number and simultaneous presence of the ships of the two nations, it is believed that any ill consequences from this new arrangement will be avoided. As soon as the articles of the treaty were agreed upon, their tenor was communicated to the representatives of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, at this Court."

Literary Notice.

The Sugar Question made Easy. By C. F. STOLLMAYER. London, 1845, pp. 19.

The author of this pamphlet was, it appears, a member of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, "when the Pennsylvania Hall was burnt down by an ignorant and prejudiced mob," whose vengeance he well-nigh provoked by rebuking their frenzy as editor and proprietor of the *German National Gazette*. He brings to the treatment of the sugar question both his American knowledge and his American style. He speaks strongly of the capacity of maize, otherwise called Indian corn, for yielding sugar, and makes statements which go to show that it has great advantages over the sugar-cane. He announces the fact that a mode has been discovered by Mr. Etzler, of crystallizing sugar without heat or boiling, and this at about one fifth of the cost of the usual way. He strongly insists, also, on the use of machinery in the manufacture of sugar, facetiously calling the machines "iron slaves," and affirming that "one iron slave, at a purchase of less than 500*l.*, if driven by either steam or water power, will do the work of three hundred human slaves." He concludes with the following advice to the West Indians:—

"Awake, then, ye West Indians, from the stupor in which you seem to have fallen! Cease from dancing in the antechambers of ministers and the lobbies of Parliament, begging for delusive means of retaining or increasing your wealth, and *examine* and *apply* your own resources. Trust to the powers of nature: they will not deceive you, like political powers, and for once take your own business in your own hands. Your lands need no guano to supply the want of solar heat. Your products never get out of fashion; since the desire for them will increase with the supply, cheapness of production and sale, and with the increase of population; and your estates need not be abandoned, if you will not persist in refusing to profit by the advancement of science and the mechanical arts."—p. 17.

There is much point and good sense in this pamphlet, and we trust it will gain the ear of parties interested in sugar cultivation.

INTERVIEW WITH HIS HIGHNESS THE BEY OF TUNIS, IN RELATION TO THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN NORTH AFRICA.

"Tunis, 17th April, 1845.

"**M**Y DEAR SIR,—On the 14th inst. I had the pleasure of being again introduced to his Highness the Bey of Tunis, when we had some conversation on the abolition of the slave-trade in North Africa. On mentioning to his Highness the difficulties with which I was met in Morocco, and that the Emperor himself was afraid to entertain the question of the abolition of slavery on account of the fanaticism of his people, his Highness observed—"Alas! those people are very obstinate, and want some one to instruct them." I then told the Bey that a French writer and deputy, Mons. Desjober, had published a book, in which he said, "that Tunis was more advanced in the work of the emancipation of negro-slavery than France herself, with all her boasted civilization": when his Highness, smiling, replied, "I have opened the way. I have abolished the sale of slaves, and I will never leave the work of emancipation whilst a slave remains in my dominions." It is pro-

bable that his Highness contemplates some measure to be immediately put in force for the liberation of all slaves in this country, the Bey having given such an intimation to Sir Thomas Reade the other day, when the consul thanked his Highness, in the name of the British Government, for his continued perseverance in the humane and glorious work of emancipating the negro-slaves of his dominions. Having informed his Highness of my journey to Tripoli in a few days, I took leave of him, the Bey wishing me all success in my future efforts.

"Yours most faithfully,
"JAMES RICHARDSON.

"John Scoble, Esq."

THE SLAVE-TRADE TREATY WITH BRAZIL.

(From the *Times*.)

THE treaties existing between this country and Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade differ materially from those which have been concluded since the year 1830 with various Powers in Europe and America. At the time of the emancipation of the Brazilian empire from the control of Portugal, the slave-trade treaty in force between the latter kingdom and Great Britain was that of the 28th of July, 1817. That convention was intended to establish certain limitations on the slave-trade, until the period should arrive when, according to the fourth article of the treaty of 1815, the King of Portugal should prohibit the traffic throughout the dominions of Portugal. It was accompanied by certain provisions for the repression of the illicit trade in slaves, by establishing the mutual right of search, and for regulating the proceedings of the Mixed British and Portuguese commissions, which were to reside on the coast of Africa, in Brazil, and in London, and these subsidiary documents were signed by Lord Castlereagh and Count Palmella on the same day. On the 11th of September following a separate article was also signed, by which it was agreed that as soon as the total abolition of the slave trade for the subjects of the crown of Portugal should have taken place, the convention of the 28th of July should be adapted to that state of circumstances; but in default of such alterations that the convention should remain in force for fifteen years from the day on which the general abolition of the slave-trade should so take place on the part of the Portuguese Government. Such was the state of our relations with Portugal on this subject, until the pledges of that power were at length fulfilled by the treaty of 1842.

With Brazil the case was widely different. After the separation of the empire of Brazil from the kingdom of Portugal, a convention was signed between the Emperor and the King of England, which was ratified in London on the 13th of March, 1827. By the first article of this treaty it was agreed that, "at the expiration of three years, to be reckoned from the exchange of ratifications, it should not be lawful for Brazilian subjects to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade under any pretext or manner whatever, and the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person subject of his Imperial Majesty should be deemed and treated as piracy." By the other articles of this treaty the contracting parties renewed and applied to themselves, *mutatis mutandis*, the convention of the 28th of July, 1817, existing between Great Britain and Portugal, and all the instructions, regulations, and explanatory articles thereunto annexed.

The Brazilian Government now argues and declares, that in pursuance of the tenor of the separate article of the 11th of September, 1817, the duration of all these instruments was limited to a period of fifteen years from the total abolition of the slave-trade; and that such total abolition was expressly fixed by the Brazilian treaty of 1827 to take place at the expiration of three years from the 13th of March, 1827. Assuming, therefore, that such total abolition did take place, as in pursuance of her treaty it ought to have done, on the 13th of March, 1830, the remaining period of fifteen years during which the Portuguese convention of 1817 remained in force expired on the 13th of March, 1845. A notification has, therefore, been published by the Brazilian Minister of Justice, dated the 15th of March, 1845, by which it is declared that the treaty originally concluded on the 28th of July, 1817, having expired, the right of search and the mixed commissions established by the instruments annexed to that convention are terminated.

Serious doubts may be entertained as to the applicability of this limitation of time, which is exclusively contained in the separate article of the 11th of September, 1817; and, whatever may be the terms of the treaty, the fact is sufficiently patent and notorious that the total abolition of the slave-trade has not taken place. But, without entering at this moment upon these particulars, we shall confine ourselves to one observation. Whatever may be the legal duration of the Portuguese treaty originally concluded in 1817, and imported into Brazil by the convention of 1827, this last-mentioned instrument is permanent in its character and is in full force at the present moment. The first article of this convention, which we have already quoted, declares that the carrying on of the slave trade by any Brazilian subject, after the expiration of three years from the exchange of ratifications, shall be DEEMED AND TREATED AS PIRACY; and this stipulation undoubtedly subsists.

Whereas, therefore, the British Government has vainly endeavoured to obtain from other countries this assimilation of the slave-trade to piracy, and whereas the machinery of mixed commissions and foreign warrants has been introduced to supply the want of a more direct and effectual mode of proceeding, the Brazilians have by their own treaty made the slave-trade a piratical offence; and

have consequently rendered their ships and subjects engaged in it on the high seas amenable to the penal laws of all civilised nations. The special stipulations of the treaty of 1817 are said to have lapsed. Be it so; if they have ceased to be of effect for one party, they have ceased for the other; and the Brazilian Government has constantly refused to extend them by the introduction of what is termed the equipment article, which has been agreed to by all other powers. We revert, therefore, to the plain language of the first article of the treaty of 1827; and unless the Brazilians think fit to solicit a renewal of those conventions which they allege to be extinct, with the addition of all the more recent provisions, her Majesty's cruisers will, no doubt, be instructed that the subjects of his Imperial Majesty, being engaged in the African slave-trade, are pirates, and as such entitled to no protection from their own Government, and exposed to the utmost rigour of the maritime law of nations.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO THE MAURITIUS.

From the Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, recently laid before Parliament, we make the following extracts, relating to the emigration of Coolies from India to Mauritius:—

	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
Indians . . .	34,339	4,530	1,449	40,318
Chinese, &c. .	838			838
Total . . .	35,177	4,530	1,449	41,156

On the whole immigration, the number of deaths on the voyage was 422, and of deaths in hospital after arrival, 152.

In the first six months to September, 1844, from the commencement of the immigration, under the plan of collecting and despatching the people from India by government officers alone, ten ships had arrived, conveying—

Indians—Males, 1,935; Females, 355; Children, 203; Total, 2,493.

The deaths on the voyage were 58 in number, and in hospital after arrival, 2.

It will thus be seen that in a year and three quarters, nearly 44,000 immigrants had been introduced into the colony. Although circumstances at first retarded the rate at which emigrants could be furnished under the new system, Mr. Caird (the emigration agent at Calcutta) has assured the Governor that before the expiration of the year, he can transmit, without difficulty, the whole number of 6,000. Latterly, also, the arrivals had much increased.

We observe, that in a reply of the Governor, dated the 19th March, 1844, to an address from the unofficial members of council, he estimated the total numerical amount at that time of Indian agricultural labourers of all descriptions in the colony, at fully 50,000 persons. Of this number, 40,000 have arrived since the recommencement of immigration in 1843.

MORTALITY.

During the spring and summer of 1844, there was a large mortality among the Indians after entering into service. From the commencement of the bounty system to the end of March, 1844, when it ceased, and the existing regulations came into operation, out of 41,156 people who had arrived, there were 1,245 deaths. In the first quarter of 1844 the deaths amounted to 692; in the second, 922; and in the third, 671.

In consequence of this mortality, the attention of the local legislature had been drawn to the subject of the labourers' wages, their diet, lodging, and hospital treatment, and Sir William Gomm anticipates much good will ensue from the precautionary measures adopted. The question of establishing district hospitals, was, at the date of the last despatches, under the consideration of the local authorities. It is satisfactory to know, that in the last quarter for which there are returns, not only had the whole mortality decreased, as above shown, but that the decrease was progressive and becoming more rapid. The deaths were—in July, 727; August, 237; September, 157; or 1,121 in all.

Dysentery seems to have been the principal complaint, but epidemic or bilious remittent fever appears to have been also very prevalent. The sickness was attributed in Mauritius partly to the original ineligibility of some of the Indians, whose constitutions are stated to be naturally delicate, and to their great bodily exertion and intemperance at the Mahometan and Hindoo festivals. It has also been stated, that the religious prejudices of the Hindoos interfere with their eating food cooked on board, and that, consequently, they are landed in a state of debility from the want of proper nourishment, and are extremely susceptible of disease.

But the chief cause of the sickness appears to have been a long continuation of unhealthy weather, which had also materially affected the health of the white population. At Port Louis, for instance, the Governor mentions, that in the first three months of 1844, the deaths were 884, the births only 320. It is distinctly stated, that there are not in the island any local causes of unhealthiness, such as swamps, or marshy grounds, or the presence of any visible agency that could generate malaria.

MODE OF ENGAGING THEIR SERVICES.

Some difficulties have arisen on the manner in which parties should have an opportunity of forming engagements with immigrants on their arrival in the Mauritius. At first it appears that practically all the engagements were made through the intervention of the resident Sirdars; but that this was put an end to on account of the abuses it was found to engender. Instead of it, arrangements have been made for admitting

Europeans to treat directly with the immigrants, but confining this admission to the actual cultivators of estates, "or their *bond fide* representatives." Houses of agency have not been admitted under this latter term, because of a difficulty which is said to have been experienced in applying their intervention with fairness; but some complaints have in consequence been made in England. We must confess, that if the attendance of the proprietor of an estate himself be required on each occasion that he may wish to hire labourers, this would appear to us a hardship. But if it may be inferred from the expression, "or their *bond fide* representatives," that the attendance of a party actually attached to, or resident on each separate estate, will suffice, the plan would no longer be open to the same objection; and we can imagine advantages that may result from a direct communication at the time of engagement, between the labourers and the person who is to be immediately over them during their period of service.

WAGES PAID THE INDIAN LABOURERS.

Authority was given to announce that the rates of wages to agricultural labourers at the Mauritius would be five rupees per measure for the men, and three for the women, exclusive of food, clothing and lodging.

The number of Coolies to be shipped in future from British India is limited to 500 per month, exclusive of women and children.

MORTALITY OF COOLIES ON RETURN VOYAGE.

We regret to state, that in two vessels, considerable mortality appears to have occurred amongst emigrants on the return passage, from the Mauritius to India. The brig *Watkins* of 236 tons, sailed in November, 1843, with 149 passengers for Calcutta, and lost no less than forty-four persons, of whom one was the master. The voyage lasted seventy-four days. The *Baboo*, apparently a barque of 423 tons, sailed with 270 passengers for Madras and Calcutta, of whom sixteen died. The evidence on the dimensions of the vessels is not complete, but we are inclined to think that both carried a greater number of passengers than was desirable. In the *Baboo*, the treatment of the passengers is said to have been praiseworthy throughout, and much of the sickness is ascribed by Sir William Gomm to the unhealthy state of the island when the ship sailed. In the *Watkins*, it is not denied, that the ventilation was defective, and it is admitted, that the passengers did not receive their full supply of water. The passage was unusually long. As the *Watkins* conveyed passengers to Calcutta at the cost of the Government, and as a clause in the charter-party provides that one moiety of the passage money shall be kept back until the arrival of the people, and be subject to forfeiture if the authorities are not satisfied with their treatment, the Indian Government withheld this payment in respect of the parties sent to Calcutta in this vessel. We hope, that in future, the Passenger's Act will have been brought into operation at Mauritius since the sailing of the above-mentioned vessel, may preclude the recurrence of similar cases.

Colonial Intelligence.

BARBADOES.—Barbadoes is going on very well. From the 1st of January to the 5th instant, the planters have managed to ship as much as about 10,000 hhd. of sugar. The crop will be larger than any made for many years. Crop time ending in the middle of July, at the above rate Barbadoes will turn out not less than 20,000 tons this year. Commerce is brisk. There have been large arrivals within the last week or two of English and American vessels, and we observe American provisions in consequence have much fallen in price.—*Guiana Gazette*.

TRINIDAD.—During the greater portion of the month the weather has been uninterruptedly fine, and in every respect favourable to sugar-making. A material change has, however, taken place within the last few days, during which we have had regular and rather heavy showers,—ominous intimations of a probable breaking up. This, we trust, may not happen yet, as it would prove exceedingly prejudicial to the planters. The return of produce shipped from 1st January to 31st March, is as follows:—4,736 hogsheads, 391 tierces, 924 barrels sugar; 2,008 puncheons, 80 tierces molasses; 2 puncheons rum; 723,067 lbs. cocoa; and 23,164 lbs. coffee. Immigrants continue to come in slowly from the islands. During the past month, 123 men and women and 21 children were returned as the number that had arrived. The first Coolie ship is daily expected from India.—*Grenada Gazette*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A communication from the Attorney and Solicitor-General was read, having reference to the question submitted to them by the Court, whether or not the language made use of in a petition of certain members of the congregation of Smith Chapel, was seditious; and stating that, in their opinion, it did not amount to the legal description of the crime in the Dutch law called "sedition." Mr. Rose immediately moved that reference be again made to the law officers as to whether or not the language was, according to the English law, seditious. This was strenuously opposed by the Attorney-General, on the ground that, even if the answer were in the affirmative, no ulterior proceedings could be taken. The motion was, however, carried. At a later hour, a communication from the Solicitor-General, on the same subject, was read; the tenor of which was, that the expressions made use of in the petition were highly improper and dangerous, and that, under the English law, there was sufficient to justify a criminal prosecution for a seditious libel.—*Guiana Royal Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—We see, by the American papers, that Alan-son Work, one of the three young men imprisoned in the Missouri Penitentiary, for aiding the escape of slaves, has been set at liberty.

TEXAS.—We give the following summary of the news received since our last:—

The *New Orleans Picayune* says:—"On the 3rd ult. Senor Guevas, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed to the Chambers a long and general memorial appertaining to his department. He places strong apparent confidence in the interference of European powers, which, although assenting to Texan independence, may, he trusts, oppose the further enlargement of United States territory." The following passage occurs in it:—"Texas declared as independent would not care to be annexed to the United States; but not so the latter. The recognition of the independence of Texas would not lead us into a war with the United States, but annexation must. As an independent state, European powers will prevent Texas from forming a part of the American republic."

The papers of the city of Mexico and of Vera Cruz continue to be occupied almost exclusively with the subject of annexation. The official paper, *El Diario del Gobierno*, of the 3rd inst., announces that it is in possession of certain movements on the part of the Government of a warlike character, which it is constrained to withhold from the public, as secrecy is the soul of military operations; but expresses a hope that the speedy and successful issue of these operations will soon relieve the public curiosity in regard to them.

The *New York Journal of Commerce* publishes the following important extract of a letter from the city of Mexico, dated the 28th of March:—"The Government has issued orders for the defence of the ports, fortresses, &c.; and it is acknowledged that if Texas does not comply with their last request, war will be openly declared."

And the *New Orleans Bulletin* again says:—"A letter from a respectable source in Vera Cruz, under date of the 2nd inst., says, that an act had passed to a second reading in the Mexican Congress, making it high treason for any person to propose a recognition of the independence of Texas, or the peacable possession of that country by the United States. A majority of the members, it is further stated, are in favour of active hostilities against Texas, in order to provoke a war, and throw the onus of it on the United States."

FRANCE.—On the 12th of February, M. Agenor Gasparin laid on the table of the Chamber of Deputies a petition from the inhabitants of the commune of Neuville, (Loiret,) praying for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. —*French Abolitionist*.

BEET-ROOT SUGAR.—Not more than three years have passed since the beet-root sugar manufactories in France amounted in number to nearly 400; now they scarcely exceed 300. Thus there has been a decrease of nearly one-fourth. This is the natural result of the laws which have successively augmented the duties imposed upon home-made sugar. We should not have made any remark on this fact, if we had not at the same time observed a considerable increase, in a proportion, indeed, which it would have been difficult to foretell two years ago, in the fabrication of this species of aliment. It amounted at the same period of the last season to 27,666,000 kilogrammes, and now, within the present season, it has arisen to 34,666,000 kilogrammes; that is to say, a production much greater than in any of the former seasons—and the present season has yet four months to run; but it is true that this portion is very little productive. Such is the effect of the improvement in the processes of the manufacture. At home and abroad, in all parts of the world, accounts of the admirable results of their application are given. Science and industry surely have no right to complain, nor have the consumers. It may be predicted that the time is near at hand when the improvements in the manufacture of sugar will give double the produce in proportion to the raw materials used, that was given before the contest between the home-made and colonial sugars.—*Journal des Débats*.

Miscellanea.

CAPTURE OF THE CELEBRATED SLAVE FELUCCA, WHICH EN-GAGED THE GROWLER'S PINNACE.—Extract of a Letter, dated Sierra Leone, March 30, 1845:—"The two celebrated fast-sailing armed Spanish Feluccas (the *Hurican* and *Pepita*,) which had so frequently escaped from the fleetest cruisers on the coast, carrying away annually more than 3,000 slaves—have at length been captured by her Majesty's steam-vessel *Hydra*, in the Bight of Benin; the former is the vessel that engaged the *Growler's* pinnace in the west bay, near the Sherboro' River, about the middle of January; this was an infamous act, for they hove to for the boat, which could not otherwise have overtaken them, and allowed her to approach within thirty yards, when a fierce fire was opened upon her from some swivel pieces, carrying one pound balls, and from more than fifty muskets. It was quite a miracle that a single man in the felucca escaped. The mizen of the felucca shows the effect of the boats' fire, for it is thoroughly perforated, and the mainsail is also much cut up, besides which five men who were named in the felucca's papers were not in her when she was captured; they no doubt fell in the engagement. The felucca's crew consisted of upwards of sixty men, and these a desperate, determined set of villains. There were 700 slaves ready for this vessel at the Gallinas, but only 70, which she had picked up in the Bights, were found on board. The *Hydra's* second prize, the *Pepita*, was taken eight days after the first capture. This was a night chase, and a very interesting one; the felucca, persisting in her endeavours to get away, after she had been several times struck by the steamers' 68-pounders, most of which went through her sails, as the firing was purposely high; but one tore up her bulwarks. She carried on, however, until the steamer came up with her, when she was boarded and taken possession of by the first lieutenant, who found a long 18-pounder gun, loaded with round shot and grape, pointed over her quarter, several swivel pieces for one pound balls, loaded, and four large chests of arms, all loaded, most of them with two balls, and some with slugs. Even the pistols were double-shot. The deck was strewn with round and grape shot; and there was a cask full of cartridges for the gun close at hand, besides 200 rounds in the magazine.

The crew are desperate rascals, and do not hesitate to commit acts of piracy whenever it suits their purpose to do so. The *Pepita* had 312 slaves on board, and would have completed her cargo to 550 in less than two hours, as four large canoes were on their way off to her from the shore when she made the *Hydra* out (some hours after dark), and stood out to sea to run for it in a most surprising manner. The African squadron, owing to Commodore Jones's admirable arrangements, have been remarkably successful of late, and fifteen prizes have arrived here since the 1st of January. Nearly half of them are very small and unimportant, and there has been only one vessel with slaves beside the *Hydra's*; but much has evidently been done tending to check this iniquitous traffic, and there is a good prospect of the principal means of its continuance being destroyed.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

From letters dated Ascension, March 17, 1845, we learn that her Majesty's brig *Albatross*, on the morning of the 1st of this month, descried a vessel off the river Coanza, very close to the land; but from having very light winds did not close her. At noon the pinnace was sent away after her in chase. On the 2nd, at daylight, the lieutenant of the pinnace saw the vessel very plain, and was closing on her; but having a strong current to pull against, did not reach her until the prize-crew had managed to escape in their boats, with their valuables. On boarding her she proved to be the fine brig *Albany*, 300 tons, with 750 slaves on board. Leaving a master's mate in charge, the pinnace proceeded after the fugitives, but did not get up with them before they had crossed the bar; at which place a large number of natives had joined them, and commenced a brisk fire of musketry on our boat, whose crew soon returned it with interest. After a while, observing the boats beyond their reach, and judging prudence the better part of valour, they returned to the prize; when it was found that she was adrift, and her cables unshackled. These were speedily secured, and five rafts of slaves soon moored alongside, amounting in all, on board and on the rafts, to 750 in number—170 of whom were females, 100 of them about eighteen years of age, and exceedingly well looking, the rest children under twelve years of age. Three of them died on the morning she was taken. In one of the letters the writer says:—"Of all the horrible sights I ever witnessed, this was the worst; in fact, too horrible and disgusting to relate. They were all quite naked. Some of them had broken open a cask of palm oil, and covered themselves therewith, and then licked it off each other. They also got hold of some raw pieces of pork, which they ate like pigs. The stench was horrible indeed." Her Majesty's brig *Heroine* was dismasted early in the year off the Gallinas, since which, in March, she captured a fine brig of 300 tons off Loando.

A SPANISH SLAVE-SHIP.—We have received from Mr. P. Lovett, chief officer of the ship *Jessore*, Captain Meacom, which vessel arrived at New York from Canton, the following account of an incident which occurred during her passage:—"On Sunday morning, August 11, in lat. 1 40 S., and long. 30 00 W., as we were running off before the wind with a five knot breeze from the south-east, at daylight we made a sail astern, standing on the same course, and under easy sail. At half-past 10 a.m., then being about two miles distant, to our surprise he rounded to show his broadside, ran up the Spanish flag, and fired a gun, to which we responded by displaying the American ensign. He then kept off before the wind, and we both stood on the same course as before. In about fifteen minutes, having diminished the distance to about a mile and a half, he again luffed up, and threw a heavy shot, apparently from a long twenty-four pounder, which struck the water about our length ahead, passing but a few feet from the lower studding sail. We then hauled in our studding sail, and laid the maintopsail to the mast, waiting his approach. The brig then ran down till within long hauling distance, hove-to to windward, and sent her boat alongside (no hail having passed) with two officers, who requested a supply of provisions, for which they offered to pay us. They reported her name the *San Juan*, eleven days from the African coast, with 300 slaves on board, bound to St. Jago, and had been chased off the coast by an English man-of-war, before completing their full complement. The brig was apparently American-built, of about 300 tons, heavily armed with two long twenty-four or thirty-two-pound pivot guns, also four smaller ones, and manned with a crew of upwards of forty men. She was painted black outside, and had an entire new suit of sails, of an uncommon spread, even for a vessel of her class. Her foretopgallant-sail had a split cloth of dark-coloured canvass from each head earring, straight down to the foot, (not down the leach,) which was evidently intended as a private signal. After ascertaining our name, cargo, destination, &c., the officer hailed the brig (she then being about her length off,) and informed them accordingly, at the same time dispatching his boat with what supplies we had to spare, for which they gave us four quarter boxes of cigars, offering, however, to pay more if required. While alongside, they had a man stationed on the foretopgallant yard, who appeared to be watching every proceeding on our decks. After the detention of about forty minutes, they suffered us to proceed on our voyage, and they made sail, steering to the NNW."—*Boston Paper*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations. £ s. d.	Subs. £ s. d.
Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary (by an error in the press, this amount was stated in the <i>Reporter</i> of 2nd April to be one guinea)	10 0 0	
Cleveland—Richardson, John	1 0 0	
Plymouth Ladies' Auxiliary	1 10 0	
Chesham—Pryor, S. C.		1 1 0
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Veale, Richard		0 10 0
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Gainsborough—Bowen, S. M.		1 0 0
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Farrington—Reynolds, Jane	4 0 0	1 0 0
Camberwell—Burnet, Rev. John		0 10 0
Bradford—Harris, Henry		2 0 0
Priestman, John		1 0 0
Ellis, James		1 0 0
Smith D. H.		1 0 0
Harris, William		1 0 0
Aked, Thomas		1 0 0
Fison, William		1 0 0
Ercyrd, Benjamin		0 10 0
Bottomley, George		0 5 0
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Clark, Joseph	5 10 0	0 10 6
Clark, Joseph, jun.	0 10 0	0 10 6
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Leahley, George		0 10 6
Fletcher, Mr.		0 5 0
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Springfield—Gundry, Wm.		1 0 0
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Bath—Blair, W. T.		1 0 0
Charbury—Albright, N.		1 0 0

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[PRICE 4d.

BRITISH GUIANA AND THE IMMIGRATION LOAN.

BRITISH GUIANA at last is prosperous! Her planters, her peasantry, and best of all, her revenues, all are in a most happy and thriving condition! The complaints which have been so long and so loud are all hushed, and words of comfort such as neither we nor the gentlemen on 'Change, nor the dwellers in Downing-street, have heard for many a day, are poured forth from the gravest lips and the highest authorities! Our readers are startled by this annunciation. No doubt of it. We have been startled ourselves. But that the matter is really so we will bring demonstrative proof, by citing a very few words from a speech of His Excellency Henry Light, Lieutenant-Governor of the said colony of British Guiana. In an address to the Combined Court on the 14th of April last, His Excellency said—

"I also congratulate you on the record which your proceedings have supplied of the highly prosperous state of the finances of the country; of the satisfactory condition, in respect to wages and food, of the mass of the people; and of the spirit of enterprise and local improvement which pervades the entire community."

This, we hope it will be admitted, is high authority. Mr. Light, however, it will be observed, does not make this assertion on his own authority alone. He modestly supports himself by some proceedings of the Combined Court, in which, it seems, they have expressed similar sentiments. Be it then known, that, on Wednesday, the 9th of April last, the following resolutions were in that court brought forward by the Honourable Peter Rose, and unanimously agreed to:—

"Resolved—That this court desire to place on record the expression of their satisfaction that the public revenue has proved so productive as to permit the public expenditure, not only to continue on an undiminished scale, but to include also a liberal provision for various new works of local improvement and general utility; as, for instance, the maintenance of steam communication by water with the various districts of the colony, and the projection of a new line of road from Georgetown, Demerara, to New Amsterdam, Berbice, the bridge over the Mahaica river, and the introduction of a scientific agricultural chemist to instruct the cultivators of the soil, to augment its produce in quantity, and improve the quality.

"2nd. That the gratification of the court on this subject is greatly enhanced by the circumstance which so happily attends this public expenditure for the maintenance and extension of internal works of common utility, namely, an abolition of *ad valorem* duties on imports, and present actually existing great reduction in the selling prices of almost all articles of ordinary consumption and primary necessity.

"3rd. That this court are of opinion that the satisfactory state of the revenue, at least in respect to that part of it which arises from import duties, has been occasioned by the addition to the number of consumers, caused by emigration, and that to this cause also is mainly owing the increased crop of 1844 as compared with that of 1843.

"It is, therefore, gratifying to the court to be enabled to vote the requisite means of meeting the emigration loan, now awaiting the sanction of her Majesty's Government, not only without adding to the taxation of this year, as compared with that of the preceding years, but with a positive reduction of import duties, at a time when articles of consumption are unusually cheap and abundant, and all works of local improvement are receiving the attention and pecuniary support of the Legislature.

"4th. That notwithstanding the efforts which have been unremittingly used to diminish the general expenses of production, and which have in several parts of plantation economy been attended with some degree of success, this court regret to record their opinion, that not only has no decrease occurred in the rate of wages, but that, generally speaking, wages have risen without any corresponding increase of labour performed."

On this happy occasion the Government secretary, the Honourable F. Young, is reported to have spoken as follows:—

"I fully concur in every one of these resolutions, and I am very happy to congratulate the court on being able to pass such resolutions. In no part of the world can it be said that the labourer is better off, that wages are higher or provisions cheaper, than here. And when there is such a spirit of enterprise existing as we find here at the present moment, and so general a desire to promote the interests of the colony, we can entertain no reasonable doubt that there will be further improvements. I give these resolutions my most cordial support."

We submit that these citations from such high authorities make out our case. There can be no doubt of it: at last British Guiana is prosperous!

After recovering ourselves a little from the surprise into which this excessively gratifying announcement has, from its sudden and unexpected character, not unnaturally thrown us, we ask ourselves what can have happened to have produced in so short a time so marvellous and astounding a change? We look in every direction and can discover nothing extraordinary, until we alight on a certain despatch of the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, on the following extract from which we beg our readers to exercise their sagacity:—

"I have had under my consideration your despatches of the dates and numbers mentioned in the margin, together with the ordinances for raising a loan for purposes of immigration and for continuing the Civil List.

"I have to request that you will express to the Court of Policy and to the Combined Court my sense of the cordial manner in which they have met the wishes which I had expressed for the further amendment of these ordinances.

"I cannot indeed subscribe to the terms of the resolution moved by Mr. Macrae and adopted by the Combined Court on the 10th January, respecting the privilege of appropriating money enjoyed by the Combined Court independently of the Civil List arrangement, but the difference of opinion between her Majesty's Government and the Combined Court on this point will not, I trust, present any material obstacle to the accomplishment of the objects in view."

It appears from this extract that the Royal sanction is likely to be obtained for the scheme of raising half a million of money by loan in England, for the purpose of introducing immigrants into British Guiana; and it is in consequence of this, no doubt, that the colony has suddenly assumed so flourishing an appearance. English capitalists would never like to lend their money where ruin was impending; so not a word more must be said on that matter. The cry of ruin, indeed, has answered its purpose in making Lord Stanley give his sanction to the loan; and now the shout of prosperity must be raised to induce other people to lend their money. Accordingly we find that the resolutions were especially intended for England. Immediately after their adoption Mr. Rose begged the Governor "to have the kindness to forward them to the Secretary of State for the Colonies," and His Excellency most graciously answered, "O! certainly." We cannot resist our inclination to echo these courteous terms, and to say, "O, certainly!" in our turn. We are doing what in us lies to give to the resolutions the publicity desired for them, and we beg the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange, and such other parties as may be interested therein, to take due notice of them. Guiana is flourishing, gentlemen; depend upon it, Guiana is flourishing; therefore—fork out the rhino!

Seriously, and to put an end to raillery, this is a most glaring, and we cannot say less than a most impudent endeavour to impose on the British public for a selfish purpose; and it is, we fear and believe, but too truly illustrative of the system habitually pursued by many of the colonists—the system of saying, not the truth, but what shall tell for an end immediately in view, whether it be true or false. For our part, as we know that, during the clamour raised about impending ruin, the colony has not been ruined, so we are quite sure that it is not so prosperous as the documents we have quoted declare it to be. The resolutions of the Combined Court are in many respects but artful and plausible misrepresentations. That they do not carry the inhabitants of the colony along with them, is evident from a communication in the *Guiana Times* of May the 2nd, from which we make the following extracts:—

"At the close of the recent session of the Combined Court, that honourable body published a series of resolutions congratulatory as to the state of public affairs, and laudatory of their own conduct in not increasing the public taxes. On the latter point, the members appear to have enjoyed a wonderful amount of self-satisfaction, and seem to expect that the community will agree with, approve, and confirm their views as there set forth. Those resolutions have been published some weeks, the inhabitants of this province have had ample time to consider them in all their bearings, and, I contend, that they are, in some important particulars, worthy of general condemnation. I now beg to submit to the consideration of the people of this province resolutions founded on those published by the honourable court; and as all classes of the inhabitants are deeply interested, I trust they will adopt some means to express their opinions on the subject.

"The tax-payers of British Guiana desire to place on record the expression of their great dissatisfaction and strong condemnation of the reckless manner in which the public monies have been expended for some years, as specially exemplified by the votes of the Combined Court, at its recent session, published in the *Royal Gazette*, 17th inst. With a large sum of money in hand, the result of over-taxation, last year, with a certainty of the amount accruing to the public chest from import and other duties quarterly, it was in the power of the court, without impairing the public service, or neglecting any necessary improvement, to have materially lessened the public expenditure, and reduced the IMPORT DUTIES on the necessities of life, at present enormously high.

"The tax-payers, of British Guiana, suffering under so many measures of injustice and oppression, can discern only one act of tardy justice done by the court, at its recent session—that of relieving the mercantile body from the payment of *ad valorem* duty on imports,—a tax which fell almost exclusively on them, and being seldom paid by the consumer, ought never to have been exacted. While its abolition is only fair and proper, it cannot lead to any reduction in the selling price of articles of ordinary consumption and primary necessity.

"The tax-payers have no doubt that the large amount of colonial revenue, so very much exceeding what is really necessary for the legitimate expenditure of the colony, arises from the heavy taxation paid by the mass of the people equally with the rich on the necessities of life,

which taxes are levied by a small body of irresponsible individuals, who are not elected by the people, over whom the tax-payers have no direct control, and who have, as legislators, removed from their own shoulders much of that share of the public burdens which they formerly contributed.

"The tax-payers have viewed with satisfaction the efforts used to diminish the general expense of producing articles of export. They have tacitly concurred in, by not complaining against, the expenditure of large sums of the public monies for these objects. But they cannot deceive themselves by hoping for a reduction of the wages of artizans and labourers, so long as the necessities of life continue to pay such heavy import duties."

It appears, indeed, that the gentlemen of the Combined Court are adepts of no mean skill in the art of taxation. Look at the amount. In 1832 it was 271,622 dollars; in 1845 it was 1,120,266 dollars. Look at the mode. In 1832 the tax upon produce (commonly known as the planters' tax, as falling directly upon them) was 141,690 dollars, or more than one-half the whole amount of taxation: in 1845 it was 54,331 dollars, or less than one-twentieth. Mr. Rose, in his speech on introducing the resolutions, thought proper to notice Lord John Russell's statement in the House of Commons respecting Jamaica, that taxation was not only excessive in itself, but studiously made to bear on the labouring class, as though he would contradict it in relation to British Guiana. We take the liberty to bring out the facts, which, after all, Mr. Rose thought it prudent to conceal. According to the scale of duties on imports in force at the moment of passing the resolutions, as stated in the *Guiana Times*, the following articles paid a duty on the first cost of—

Rice	20 per cent.
Fish	22 "
Cornmeal	38 "
Flour	46 "
Pork	41 "
Beef	82 "

It is clear from this statement that, whatever prosperity may attend the colony of British Guiana, the clique entrusted with legislative power are resolved to possess themselves of the lion's share. And with all this they complain that there is no diminution of wages! Verily, Guiana will be the immigrants' paradise!

COOLIE IMMIGRATION AND THE "TRINIDAD STANDARD."

THE *Trinidad Standard* notices the address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the subject of Coolie immigration into the British colonies in some lengthened remarks, the general moderation of which we acknowledge with satisfaction. What may be their force of argument we shall briefly inquire.

"In noticing this address," says the *Standard*, "we are bound to admit that it sets forth a very strong case against the Mauritius, which is likely to tell upon the public mind, and to produce a feeling of opposition to any measure for the deportation of Coolie emigrants that may be recommended or adopted by the Colonial Legislatures. In making this admission we would at the same time freely denounce the Mauritian immigration under existing circumstances, as fully deserving of all that has been said against it. We are not, however, prepared to admit that because such is the case with reference to the Mauritius, such must also be the case with reference to the West Indies."

We are glad to find that our contemporary is candid enough to admit the gravity of the case made out against Mauritius; but we must say he has shown no reason for his expectation that the West Indies will exhibit a different result. Why should they? The system is the same, and the same must be its fruits. The evils occasioned in India must be similar, whether the emigrants go to Mauritius or Trinidad; and the same may be said of the hazards and sufferings of the voyage, which, indeed, in the case of the West Indies, must be much more aggravated, and of the social mischief and pollution resulting from their importation. The only point in which the case of the West Indies can be better than that of Mauritius is, that the immigrants may have a little better treatment and somewhat more practical liberty. This, if the West Indians are well looked after, is possible, and we shall do what in us lies to secure it; but this, after all, will be a small drawback from the general evils of the system.

Our contemporary admits that the proprietors of estates have, in the immigration system, contemplated two ends: first, to provide for the deficiency of labour which, as they allege, resulted from emancipation; and, secondly, to enable themselves to extend the cultivation and manufacture of their staples. The character of the latter object deserves to be distinctly noted. So far as this is contemplated, immigration is no remedy for evils (imaginary or real) brought on by emancipation, but a scheme of unmixed cupidity, and one which might have been just as appropriate if that great act of justice, instead of diminishing the number of the labourers, had augmented them tenfold. Can any person of common humanity or common sense think of justifying the forced immigration so loudly clamoured for by the West Indians on the mere plea that they want to raise more sugar?

It follows from the use of this argument that, in the judgment of the West Indians themselves, the mere supply of the deficiency of labour caused (as they allege) by emancipation would not require the systematic immigration they have urged. We have never yet seen

it proved that this deficiency requires any immigration at all. It is, on the contrary, our conviction that the whole of the temporary difficulty might have been met, and may still be met, by kindness and fair dealing on the part of the planters, and that the sanction of the immigration system is, on the one hand, a bounty on their past mismanagement, and, on the other, a premium on its future repetition.

"What," our contemporary modestly asks, "what is wrong in inviting to our shores persons suited to tropical labour?" There is something amusing in the simplicity with which this question is put, as though it comprehended all the elements of the immigration system. We answer frankly and at once, nothing. Only content yourselves with this, gentlemen of the West Indies, and you may trumpet forth your invitations on all the winds of heaven. But answer us in return—What is right in the systematic frauds, in the ruinous family separations, in the unutterable pollution of morals, and in the large sacrifice of life, which the kind of immigration you call for necessarily involves? To spontaneous immigration we never have uttered, we never have felt, an objection; but the immigration demanded by the British colonies is a forced and unnatural movement, the mischiefs of which must vastly overbalance any considerations which can be put in the opposite scale.

Our contemporary notices with some severity the assertion that "the traffic in Hill Coolies to the West Indies" too nearly resembles a slave-trade; and he thinks to meet this allegation by descanting on the impossibility of restoring slavery in British colonies. He here falls into the error, so common to the West Indians, of looking on only one side of the water, and of so overlooking that extended system of decoy and kidnapping to which the language he quotes has reference. But even in Trinidad we are not sure that the freedom of immigrant Coolies will be so very perfect. However good the intentions of the Government and the planters may be supposed to be, we think that, in the case of the Coolies, practical freedom will be almost impossible. Their ignorance will render a kind of pupillage necessary; and pupillage may soon degenerate into practical bondage.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE following report of the Committee appointed on the subject of slavery has been unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the Free Church.

"The Committee, having given in an interim Report to the Commission in August last, which was adopted by the Commission, and transmitted by them to the churches in America, might consider themselves discharged from the necessity of taking any further step in the meantime. But they are desirous of offering a brief explanation on some points, that seem to have been misunderstood, relative to this important subject.

"There is no question here as to the heinous sin involved in the institution of American slavery; nor can there be any terms too strong to be employed in pointing out the national guilt which attaches to the continuance of that accursed system, and the national judgments which, under the government of a righteous God, may be expected to mark the Divine displeasure against it. Neither can there be any doubt as to the duty incumbent upon all American Christians to exert themselves to the utmost, in every competent way, for the purpose of having it abolished. The only difference of opinion that can exist among the members of this Church respects the duty of the churches in America, as churches, who are called to deal partially with the evils of slavery, when it forms part of the social system in the community in which they are placed.

"Even as to this matter, it is believed, that the difference is more apparent than real. Without being prepared to adopt the principle that, in the circumstances in which they are placed, the churches in America ought to consider slaveholding as *per se* an insuperable barrier in the way of enjoying Christian privileges, or an offence to be visited with excommunication, all must agree in holding, that whatever rights the civil law of the land may give a master over his slaves, as *chattels personal*, it cannot but be sin of the deepest dye in him to regard or to treat them as such; and whosoever commits that sin in any sense, or deals otherwise with his slaves than as a Christian man ought to deal with his fellow man, whatever power the law may give him over them, ought to be held disqualified for Christian communion. Farther, it must be the opinion of all, that it is the duty of Christians, when they find themselves, unhappily, in the predicament of slaveholders, to aim, as far as it may be practicable, at the manumission of their slaves; and, where that cannot be accomplished, to secure them in the enjoyment of the domestic relations, and of the means of religious training and education. And all conduct of a contrary tendency, if persevered in, ought to be visited with the highest ecclesiastical censure, in every church of Christ. The only thing which causes hesitation, is the assertion of its being absolutely incumbent on churches thus situated to exclude all slaveholders from their communion. The Committee believe that the Church is by no means prepared to assert this to be the duty of the American churches generally: but all that is contained in the above statement, short of this, which seems to the Committee an extremely doubtful position, they are persuaded that this Church will be ready, on every occasion, to maintain, and to urge on the attention of all other churches with which we have any fellowship.

"Farther, the Committee entertain a very decided conviction that the churches in America are called upon, as churches, to take a very serious view of the responsibility lying upon them, in regard to the continuance of this national sin of slavery, with its accompanying abominations. They are aware that in America the opinion is somewhat prevalent that it belongs to men, as citizens, to interest and exert themselves in the improvement of public national institutions, and the repeal, or amelioration, of obnoxious and sinful laws; while the Church, as such, ought rather to abstain from interfering in matters of a political or legislative character. The Committee cannot but fear that this opinion has led to considerable supineness in the churches of America, and a considerable degree of reluctance to take up the question, and to do all that they might do, for awakening the public mind and influencing the public measures on the subject. They are apprehensive, also, that it has tended to foster a somewhat apologetic tone, in the treatment of it, on the part of some of those best fitted to exert a wholesome influence on their fellow countrymen. The Committee, cordially approving of the rule laid down in the Confession of Faith, as to the Church's interference in civil matters, must, at the same time, think that the American churches ought to make more decided exertions than they do, with a view to obtain the abolition of these slave laws, which are not only essentially unjust in themselves, but such as to encourage all manner of vice and immorality, and prevent the moral and spiritual improvement of a very large class of the community."

"The Committee might farther observe, that the real question which has been raised, so far as the conduct of this Church is concerned, is, not whether the American churches ought, or ought not, to refuse the privilege of their communion to all slaveholders,—nor whether they are or are not, as faithful as they should and might be, in exercising discipline against all the moral offences, and all the cruelty and neglect, which the existence of that relation is not to cause,—nor whether they are doing all that they should and might do to influence public opinion and the legislative counsels, with a view to the abolition of this nationally sinful system. But whether this Church, having been brought, in God's providence, into intercourse with these churches, as regards the interchange of brotherly sympathy and aid,—is bound to refuse the tokens of their attachment which their people have given, and to renounce and repudiate all farther friendly correspondence with them, or is not rather at liberty, and under an obligation, to continue to cultivate a good understanding with them; taking care always to do so for the very purpose of faithfully exhorting and admonishing them to a full discharge of their duty, in this matter, to themselves and their country, as well as to the oppressed, and that God who hears their cry. Now if you stop short of the adoption of the extreme principle already adverted to, which raises some difficult questions and scruples, on scriptural and moral grounds,—is there any extent of anxious entreaty and remonstrance to which this Church ought not to be prepared to go, in dealing with those which are placed in such difficult circumstances, in order that they may be found faithful?"

CUBA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

On the recent work of Don Jose Saco, "The Suppression of the Slave-trade in the Island of Cuba," the *Times* has the following remarks:—

"The social condition of Cuba for the last three years has been one of great peril. For a still longer period the negro population on many of the plantations has been carrying on that mysterious and terrible warfare against the planters which shows itself by poisonings, by conflagrations, by malignant incantations, and by extensive conspiracies."

"The consequence of this great peril was an urgent appeal addressed by the principal planters of Matanzas to General O'Donnell, the Captain-General of the island, entreating him to use every means to repress the infamous traffic in slaves, which not only rendered the numerical superiority of the black race over the white race every day more alarming, but surrounded their hearths and homes with implacable enemies. The present population of Cuba is stated to be 1,007,624 souls; of whom 418,291 are whites, 436,495 slaves, and 152,838 men of colour. Sixty years ago the white population was 56 per cent.; it is now barely 42; and the island is now no longer protected by the vast establishments on the Spanish main; it is surrounded by the free communities of Hayti and Jamaica; and the immigration of whites is comparatively stopped, as long as the slave-trade continues to fling thousands of savage negroes, irritated by the most inhuman wrongs, into the bosom of this ill-organized society."

"But Don Jose Saco's book is far more than a mere appeal to the fears of the white population; he demonstrates that the prosperity as well as the security of the island demands the total suppression of the slave-trade, and he announces on behalf of the most intelligent of the planters of Cuba his faith in the great experiment of free labour. In the former Spanish colonies of Mexico, Venezuela, and in parts of the ancient Government of Buenos Ayres, emancipation has already been accomplished. In the island of Porto Rico one-fifth only of the plantations are cultivated by slaves; on all the others the condition of the labourers is assimilated to that of a peasantry attached by habit rather than by law to the soil, or cultivating small estates of their own. Yet Porto Rico may be quoted as the island in which population and wealth have most rapidly and constantly increased; for her exports have risen in

value from 65,000 dollars, which was their total amount in 1815, to no less than 5,500,000 dollars in 1839. This amazing progress of Porto Rico is a lesson not to be lost on the Spanish Government, or on the sister island of Cuba. It shows that the first condition of colonial prosperity, even in tropical climates, is a sound, self-supporting population; and that to supply the place of a declining population by the slave-trade, is to enhance the evils and dangers of slavery a hundredfold, and to transfer the profits of the land from the planter to the slave-trader, who supplies labour by the most odious means, and on the conditions most unfavourable to the public safety and the private interests of the community."

"These considerations have been urged with great force upon the present Spanish Government; and the result has been—first, a commission of the planters in Cuba for investigating the subject; and, secondly, the law recently passed, which attaches severe penalties to the traffic; and if the planters are in earnest, it will be impossible for the slave-trading interest to bribe the authorities to connive at a system which threatens the whole colony with destruction."

CAPITAL, NOT IMMIGRANTS.

We copy the following interesting and important communication from the *Jamaica Times*. It is a letter addressed to the editor of that journal by a practical planter, and his statements ought to carry great weight with them.

To the Editor of the Jamaica Times.

Worthy Park, April 12th, 1845.

Sir,—I feel much obliged for the expressions of regret contained in your announcement of the misfortune reported to have occurred here, as well as for your expressions of satisfaction in being able to contradict it on the following day. I am thankful to say that the report was wholly without foundation, nor can I conceive how it could have originated. The mill was about during the whole of last week, and during the week when this idle report was prevalent, it did not stop night or day. It is true that, as usual at this time of the year, the water is low, but there was sufficient to enable us to grind during that week 15 hogsheads, (42 inch truss hoop, and 44 inch stave,) averaging, as I conclude from those previously weighed, 22 cwt. 2 qrs. The mill was again about on Monday last, at four o'clock in the morning, and has been at work night and day during the week—making the same quantity of sugar. I may here mention that the 34 tons of sugar made during the last fortnight, were brought to the mill by four mules, unaided by any other animals. The whole weight of the canes was about 440 tons. Three men, in and about the mill-house, keep the mill about, and will do so, whatever quantity of canes are ground during the day. I may safely state that my most sanguine expectations have been most fully realized, and that there has not been the least foundation for the absurd reports current of all kinds of misfortunes having occurred here.

I had intended to have confined myself simply to a contradiction of these reports, but I cannot lose this opportunity of urgently calling the attention of West India proprietors and merchants, to the complete success which has attended the liberal investment of capital here. If the capital could be immediately procured, to provide our estates with really efficient grinding power, efficient means of boiling our sugar, even on the old principles, and with light tramways wherever the levels would admit of their use, (and that is the case on nine out of every ten estates in the island,) I venture to state that the crops would be doubled in five years from the present time—would exceed the largest crops ever made in the island (without the addition of one single labourer) and would afford a large net profit to the proprietor. Seven years have now been wasted by us in pinning in vain after labour, and gazetting ourselves, in the excess of our honesty, as miserable bankrupts, and in exerting ourselves to the utmost to persuade capitalists at home that if they did lend us their money, it was utterly impossible that we could ever repay them. It is high time that such absurdities should cease, and that, not ashamed of acknowledging that we have been resting on broken reeds, we should rise *en masse* and declare to the British capitalists the real truth of the case. Let us state the fact that, from the want of sufficient capital to keep up our agricultural and manufacturing concerns in that economical condition which can alone ensure a profit, we are compelled to put up with a loss on our produce of 100 per cent., at least; as it will be no difficult matter to prove, that in the different processes that occur between the preparation of our soil and the selling of our sugar, that loss does occur, and that a comparatively small amount of capital would prevent the loss. We might state that, from want of draining our land, our produce is decreased and deteriorated to a great degree, and that cattle and sub-soil ploughs can to a great extent remedy this—that, in our cane-fields we lose at least ten per cent. from the damage done to the stools of the canes, by the wain-wheels—that, in most cases we employ six times more human labour, and some eighty times more animal labour than is necessary in conveying the canes to the mill, and that this loss may be avoided in most cases in a comparatively small investment of capital in light tramways. We might state that we lose in the mill some 15 or 20 per cent. of our produce, in consequence of the grinding power being more generally adapted to the size of the estate (!) than to the power absolutely requisite to extract the greatest quantity of juice from the cane—and that the imperfections of our boiling means, make us lose some

10 or 15 per cent. in the production of our sugar, as much more in the hold of the ship, and certainly as much more in the deteriorated value of our produce. Let us declare that if we can obtain the capital, we feel it to be in our power to remedy these evils, and capitalists will soon afford us the remedy which we have been in vain endeavouring to extract from the Government and the tender mercy of the British public. We are not insolvent, nor do we at all deserve the pity we have endeavoured to excite. The planter and the British capitalist must shortly see the real state of things here, and the latter will find here such a field for lucrative investment, (if they act with judgment, and above all with enterprise,) such as no country in the world offers to them. I have frequently, and long ago, expressed this opinion; and at the risk of being considered an inexperienced adviser, I cannot lose this opportunity of again urging on the public of Jamaica to consider whether anything is wanting but capital to double the returns of the island. Whenever the "screws loose" in every corner of our manufactories, and if our cane fields are tightened by this powerful lever—English capital,—the returns from the country must inevitably be doubled. I do not mean to say that protection will not increase our profits, and that more labour would not enable us to cultivate more land, but I do mean to say, and it would be a very easy matter to prove it, that without the addition of one labourer, but with sufficient capital to cultivate our land as it ought to be cultivated, to conduct our manufactories as they ought to be conducted, and to pay our labourers with that scrupulous exactness that they deserve, it would be utterly impossible but that the crops would exceed the largest ever made here. From the first process of preparing the land, to that of selling the sugar in England, we are compelled to submit to a loss of certainly not less than 100 per cent. This loss is caused by want of capital. As usual, I have allowed myself to be carried away by this subject. I hope and trust, that the cries of protection and immigration will soon be overcome by one general cry for capital.

Your obedient servant, GEORGE PRICE.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 11, 1845.

In a conspicuous place in our columns to-day, we have placed the deliverance (to use the technical term of the General Assembly) of the Free Church of Scotland on the question of slavery. And we say frankly, that we have placed it there with sincere pleasure. On the subject of slavery in general, and of American slavery in particular, its spirit is excellent, and its language vigorous and firm. It speaks well of the duty of Christians, and of Christian churches, in regard to slaveholding, and of the duty of the Free Church, too, in regard to the attitude it should assume in this matter. The circulation of this document among the Presbyterian churches of the south cannot but be useful, and a course of action consistent with it will be more useful still. In what manner, consistently with the views here expressed, the Assembly of the Free Church can hold themselves at liberty to maintain a fraternal fellowship with the slaveholding Presbyterians of the Union, it is not for us to explain; but this will scarcely, we should think, continue for any length of time a practical question. We are much mistaken if, after the assumption of such an attitude, American slaveholding churches will admit of much further fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland.

We are gratified that the subject of this deliverance is exciting a growing interest among the ministers and people of the Free Church. A copy has just reached us of a pamphlet by the Rev. James Macbeth, of Glasgow, entitled, "The Church and the Slaveholder, or, Light and Darkness; an attempt to prove, from the word of God, and from reason, that to hold property in man is wholly destitute of Divine warrant, is a flagrant crime, and demands excommunication." It is at once powerful in argument and vigorous in composition, and highly creditable to the head and heart of the writer. With such men in her bosom—and we always believed there were such—the Free Church will not go far astray from the noble path which it behoves her to pursue.

THE new treaty between France and England for the suppression of the slave-trade was laid before both Houses of Parliament on Monday evening, together with the instructions to be forwarded by the several governments to the naval commanders. There is, of course, some sparring on the subject among the organs of different parties; but to us, the difference between this and the former treaty is very immaterial. If, as appears probable, French feeling towards this country may be improved by it, this may be an advantage of some value.

SEVERAL cargoes of Coolies are at last on their way to the West Indies. The *Lord Hungerford* sailed from Calcutta on the 26th of January, with 360 Coolies on board for British Guiana, and the *Success* was expected to sail in February for the same colony. The *Blundell* had departed with a cargo for Jamaica, and the *Futtle Rozack* was engaged for Trinidad. The arrival of these vessels, we suppose, should soon be heard of. Our anticipations of the issue of this business are gloomy enough; but, as facts will soon be abundantly supplied, we need not give utterance to them.

We have stated in another article, that Lord Stanley has held out a prospect to the Guiana planters of obtaining the Queen's sanction to the immigration loan ordinance. Our opinion formerly expressed, therefore, that his lordship would not be satisfied with the evasive manner in which his repeated requirement that the charges of the loan should be thrown on the exports of the colony had been treated by the Combined Court in the last version of the ordinance, turns out to be incorrect. The turn which his lordship gives to the affair appears in the following extract of his despatch:—

"With respect to the objection that the Ordinance No. 3 does not render the produce duties primarily chargeable with the payments under the Loan Ordinances, I observe that the Ordinance enacts that the produce taxes shall continue to be levied at their present rate as long as the Loan Ordinance shall continue to operate, and that they shall be a fixed and special security for the payments in addition to the general revenues on which the payments are made the charge next after that from the Civil List. I apprehend that the practical results of these enactments will be the same as that of an enactment which should make the produce duties primarily chargeable, and the general revenues a collateral security."

"The practical results," his lordship says, are the same. Why so they are as to the actual payment of the charges out of the colonial chest, but not as to the party that may have to pay them. It may happen that the general revenue of the colony may suffice for this purpose, without touching the export duty at all; in which case it appears to us that the mischief remains which has all along been deprecated, and which Lord Stanley has repeatedly declared he would prevent, namely, that the existing peasantry, not the planters, will be made to bear the expense of introducing new labourers. The eating up of his words by his lordship in this case is obvious, through the flimsy disguise thrown over it.

An ominous article appears in the *Guiana Royal Gazette*, the Government paper, taking occasion from the opinion of the law officers concerning the petition of the Rev. E. A. Wallbridge and others against any further grants to the various ecclesiastical bodies, to call for some more stringent means of dealing with persons whom our contemporary is pleased to designate "offenders" against the dignity of the legislature of that colony. It seems that some parties there have indulged in the use of language not deemed by gentlemen in office sufficiently respectful. How far the good people in Guiana may have really misbehaved themselves in this matter it is impossible for us to say; but the whole article has to us an air of exaggeration and extravagance, as though the writer were overacting his part with a view to get up a pretext for some measure of unwonted severity. We beg, in the kindest spirit, to administer a caution to our contemporary on this head. Neither prosecutions at law, nor a power of "indefinite commitment" by "a sturdy sergeant-at-arms," will contribute to the real dignity of the Combined Court, or engage the respect of the people to that body. No more egregious departure from its true dignity can be fallen into by a legislative body than to make itself party to a quarrel with every individual who may please to speak uncourteously of it, nor any method more certain to alienate from it the regard of the entire community. To be respected they should deserve respect; and, deserving respect, they will secure it.

THE deep and extending hold which the anti-slavery question has acquired on the people of the United States, is strikingly manifested in the proceedings and temper of the great religious meetings which have been held there during the present spring. The Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Baptist churches have all been strongly moved on the subject, and in all instances, with indications of a growing resoluteness on the part of abolitionists, met, we are obliged to say, by equal resoluteness on the part of pro-slavery men. The tendency is clearly towards a division between the northern and southern churches, and, in one instance—the Baptists—this result seems to have been accomplished during the present year. Such is the tenor of the following extract of a letter, which we copy from a late number of the *Liberator*:—

"Supposing that you might not have heard of the doings of the Baptist Convention, lately held in Providence, I herewith subjoin a statement. You may recollect, that some months since, a formal demand was made, by Alabama Baptists, that slaveholders should be permitted to preach Christ crucified to the heathen. The demand was an infringement of a previous compromise, made, too, by the southern portion of the church at the last triennial convention. And the object of the late convention was to meet this demand, and to decide for war or peace. The attendance of northern members was rather strong, say 400; the attendance from the south few, but their best men. The vote was overwhelming, and final in the premises, that no slaveholder should be permitted to preach Christ crucified to the heathen. The rending asunder of the Baptist church is complete. The northern part of it holding the charter, with the Board of Home and Foreign Missions, of course, to be somewhat remodelled. They lose about 12,000 dollars per annum, which principally came from the States of Georgia and Virginia. The

southern part, embracing all the slaveholding States, have called a convention, to meet in a few days at Augusta, Georgia, to organise separately for themselves. The revenue of the northern Baptists will amount to about 78,000 dollars. They will, consequently, have to recall missionaries, or receive more aid. They deserve credit, and perhaps will get their penny, although they have stood in the market-place until the eleventh hour. Better late than never! Brother Jackson, this is a big bomb that has burst, and I, for one, feel thankful that the destroyer is shattered."

We must say we feel thankful too. We see it observed, indeed, in some of the papers, that, by the absolute separation of the northern from the southern churches, the former will be deprived of an opportunity, and of the only opportunity they had, of exercising a salutary influence upon the latter; and that, in the slaveholding churches left to themselves, slavery may find a secure and unassailable fastness. We do not think so. The greatest possible mischief was done by the implied and inevitable sanction which was given to slavery by the fellowship and co-operation of the untainted churches; and no benefit, we conceive, can be greater than the annihilation of this sanction, and the consequent exhibition of the system of slavery in the light of so decided a testimony against it.

Our files of Mauritius papers have come to hand. We are glad to find that the spirit of agricultural improvement is stirring even there. The papers are occupied with a proposition to erect, by shares, a central manufactory for sugar, so that the care of the estates shall be confined exclusively to the cultivation of the cane. We should augur favourably of this project. Our contemporary, the *Watchman*, is pleased to take a courteous notice of our remarks on the Civil Commissaries, and to say some kind things of us which we hope are not altogether undeserved. We can assure him of the value we attach to all articles of intelligence from Mauritius, which we fear is yet, to us in England, very much of a *terra incognita*. The *Cernéen* mentions that one hundred Chinese are about being sent away from the island at the expense of the Government, because they can neither be made to work, nor be kept in order; and this is not the first time, two hundred having been sent away on a former occasion. So much for Chinese immigration!

On an article in *The League* of last Saturday we must speak in terms of mixed approbation and astonishment. It is entitled, "Protection the Bane of the Colonies—Monopolist Oppression of the Negroes;" and argues well and conclusively, in a line which we have often taken, against the present scheme of colonial immigration. At the conclusion, however, are two strange references to "the Anti-Slavery Society," to which we must give a passing notice. Having made a citation from the letter of Mr. Price, of Jamaica, the writer proceeds thus:—

"This is important testimony, coming from a planter who makes five hundred hogsheads of sugar per annum, and ought to make a deep impression on the Anti-Slavery Society, who have hitherto given their countenance and support to the monopolists, and who tell us that, if the protection on free-labour sugar be removed, 'the planter will withdraw from the production of sugar; the labourer will lose his employment and his wages; the merchant and shopkeeper will find their resources suddenly cut off; and, lastly, the abolitionist will discover, to his dismay, that a fresh impetus of vast force is given to slavery and the slave-trade.'"

Mr. Price's letter is undoubtedly very interesting, and we have inserted it in our pages as confirmatory of our own views. But why will our contemporary continue to have recourse to the unfair controversial artifices which are here again employed? In this passage are not less than two inaccurate statements. In the first place, it is not true that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society "have given their countenance and support to the monopolists." On the contrary, as the writer either knows or ought to know, they have repeatedly urged the admission of all foreign produce into the British market on the same terms as that of British possessions, with the solitary exception of produce slave-grown, for which they certainly have had a reason to assign far from implicating them in the love of monopoly. This is nothing but the calling of ill names. In the next place, it is not true that the Committee have ever said the things ascribed to them in this sentence. The first three of these items we disown utterly. The last they have said, and they say it still, for nothing has yet been adduced to disprove it, or to bring it into question.

This writer further refers to the effective labour of the negroes on the railroad now making in Jamaica as evidence of the superiority of free over slave-labour, and bids us ponder this. Why, we have often affirmed the same thing. On the strength of this he bids not "presume again to raise the cry that free labour needs protection." This is another misrepresentation. We have never raised such a cry, we have never uttered such a sentiment. What we have said, and the only thing we have said, is, that opening the British market to slave-produce under present circumstances, will aggravate slavery and stimulate the slave-trade.

Whether the writer in *The League* is pursuing an object which he thinks can be obtained by misrepresentation and abuse, or whether he thinks these to be weapons befitting his hands, we know not. We have been accustomed to think that they are unworthy of a good cause, and that they recoil, in the end, on him who employs them.

Our contemporary of the *Colonial Gazette* is hard to please. Even improving sugar crops cannot extort a smile from him. He reluctantly states the fact, and admits that it "looks well;" but he immediately complains that "it is mere surface show." All show, of course—the sugar will never be turned into solid cash. But "at what cost," he emphatically asks (he puts the question in italics), "have these crops been raised, and cut, and manufactured?" And then he naively adds, "We call upon the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* and the *Economist* to name the proprietor or the mortgagee who is receiving any return upon his capital." This is a good joke. "We call!" Who is the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* that he is entitled to call upon us for any such information? As before the public he is nothing more than the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; and therefore, in our turn, we call upon him to name the proprietors and mortgagees who are not receiving a return upon their capital. Our argument must clearly be as conclusive for the prosperity of Jamaica as his can be against it.

But for his question, at what cost is sugar produced. This is a very important question, and one concerning which we have quite as much curiosity as our contemporary; but we are not able to answer it. Mortgagees, proprietors, and attorneys, the whole clique of them, are very shy upon this matter; and if our contemporary has any more influence with them than we have, we should thank him sincerely for so employing it as to obtain a little information respecting it. The *Guiana Gazette* has made an assertion, and the *Colonial Gazette* has thought proper to endorse it, that "the whole price of the crop goes into the pockets of the labourers." We have no doubt at all but this is a gross exaggeration; but assertions on the one side and counter assertions on the other prove nothing. A great public service would be done by any gentleman, or number of gentlemen, who would furnish authentic data from which an answer could be framed to the very important question of our contemporary,—at what cost the sugar crops are raised, cut, and manufactured.

Our friend of the *Colonial* seems much perplexed with the case of Mr. Price. That he is "young, enterprising, and meritorious," he is obliged to admit; but he is a bad man to mar the cuckoo note which has been so long harped upon, that no profit is to be made out of a Jamaica sugar estate. He has worked too hard. Having no slaves to drive, he has (infatuated man!) been "*slaving*" (it is our contemporary's word and emphasis) himself. He has also the fault of being "endowed with energy and ingenuity far above the average of men"—that is, of course, of such men as have hitherto had the management of sugar estates. And then "the 1500*l.* a year" which he has cleared is a paltry pittance for such a man, a mere "farmer's return," and nothing compared with "the 15,000*l.* a year" which it ought to yield to the proprietor. Certainly there is "something rotten" here; "nor," to use our contemporary's words, "is the rotten part difficult of detection." The *animus* of this whole passage is, that West India estates ought to yield enormous profits without either ingenuity, energy, or industry; and that they will not do so is the real source of colonial lamentation. This sort of lamentation, however, be it understood, is nothing new. It does not date only since the era of emancipation. The welkin rang with it many years before that. The fact is that slavery ruined the estates, and freedom is recovering them.

All this wriggling is to bring out the old story, that the great mischief in the West Indies is the want of labour. We absolutely deny it. We have mentioned cases in which occupiers of estates have found plenty of labour: on which our contemporary shrewdly reminds us, that "two swallows do not make a summer." He then goes on to mention two or three instances of indolence, to which, in the spirit of the same adage, we reply, that a couple of idlers do not make an idle population. The undeniable fact is, that there is a great deal more labour in Jamaica than the planters have yet taken any reasonable pains to avail themselves of; and we learn upon what we deem good authority, that the opinion is rapidly gaining ground in Jamaica itself that there is labour enough in the island without immigration. The necessity of immigration may soon come to be an English rather than a colonial sentiment, and its last and most tenacious advocates may be found among those sharp-sighted gentlemen who always find profit, whoever may be the losers, in the management of loans and the execution of contracts.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—THURSDAY, JUNE 5.

Mr. FORSTER presented a petition from most of the principal manufacturers and merchants in Manchester, Glasgow, London, Bristol, and other places connected with British trade to Brazil, Cuba, and Africa, complaining of unfounded and calumnious charges against them in reference to the manufacture and supply of goods for those countries in which slavery exists; and praying for inquiry into the subject, with a view to their vindication; for which purpose he should, to-morrow (this day), move that the petition be printed and circulated with the votes; after which he should move that it be referred to a select committee.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6.

Mr. FORSTER gave notice on Tuesday next he would ask the Right Honourable Baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government whether there were any documents in the possession of the Government confirmatory of a participation, directly or indirectly, by any British subject in the slave-trade, as alleged in Mr. Tyler's Message to Congress on the

19th February, 1845; and if so, whether there was any objection on the part of her Majesty's Government to produce copies of such documents before the House. It was also his intention, on the same occasion, to ask the Right Honourable Baronet whether the Government could furnish any information as to numbers, names, and descriptions of the vessels which, in Mr. Tyler's Message, were alleged to have received cargoes on board, being the property of British capitalists, for the purposes of carrying on the slave-trade, (giving the names of the parties if it should be thought proper,) either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere.

JAMAICA RUINED, OR HOW IT STRIKES AN AMERICAN.

(From the *Christian Politician*.)

We invite special attention to the following communication of our correspondent. The writer resides in one of the southern States, and is a gentleman in whose veracity confidence would not be misplaced. It is a plain, unvarnished statement of facts and observations recently made by one who had personal knowledge of the condition of the West Indies before and after emancipation. His recent visit to Jamaica was for the express purpose of keeping up with the progress of events, and learning for himself the true state of things as now existing there.—ED. *Chris. Pol.*

To the Editor of the *Christian Politician*.

Dr. B.—Having recently paid a visit of several months to the island of Jamaica, during which I travelled from one end of the island to the other, and visited nearly every town; having, too, had peculiar facilities afforded me for the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the real condition, plans, and prospects of the different classes on the island, I will trouble you with a few remarks, as the result of my observations and inquiries, which you will either publish or suppress, as you may deem best.

The object of my visit being principally to obtain information on different subjects that might be useful to myself and others, immediately on my arrival I commenced an inquiry as extensive, and, at the same time, as noiseless, as I could, making the most minute observations as I proceeded as to the state of the island commercially and politically.

On looking around and asking, how does Jamaica prosper now? you are answered with the cry of ruin! ruin!! You ask the cause, and you are told, "the people will not work, and the country is ruined." As you pass through the island in prosecution of your inquiries, you hear the same cry reiterated—ruin! ruin!! And so it continues to the end of the chapter—all who utter it assigning the same cause—the people will not work. The idea that the country is ruined appears at first sight sustained by the fact that in all districts of the country you continually meet with estates thrown up, sugar works in *status quo*, buildings dilapidated, fences broken down, and land overgrown with weeds and grass—all indications of ruin and bankruptcy. And, as a consequence, you hear of the great falling off of the staple production, sugar, and its consequent high price. On a cursory glance at Jamaica, these facts present a prominent and ominous appearance; and one is ready at first to join the universal cry, surely the country is ruined! Nothing is more common than a wrong conclusion drawn from a superficial view of any subject, while a close investigation will generally correct such premature decision, and show us that we have been imposed upon. Such will be found the case with regard to Jamaica.

If you inquire why are these estates thrown up? why have these sugar works ceased their operations? why is less sugar exported now than formerly? the answer you may uniformly expect is—the labourers will not work in the field—we cannot hire field labourers. All this is very plausible, and appears supported by the efforts of the island, or colonial government, goaded on by sinking monopolists to obtain an increase of labourers by emigration. The blame must fall somewhere, and it may as well fall upon the shoulders of the poor black man as elsewhere; he has unjustly borne more than this before, and it is more likely to fall on him than others, because he has but few friends to clear him of the charge.

But the cause does not lay with him; it must be looked for elsewhere. It is not that the negro, now free, is lazy and will not work for fair wages; it is not because the planter cannot get continuous labour on his estate—it is because he or his agent will not; he will not pay a fair price for labour, he would now reduce the free man to a condition as dependent and servile as that of the slave, and because the freeman has the option of refusing to work for such wages as he would dictate, his dignity is lowered, and the cry of ruin is raised because the people will not work. Journeying from Annotta Bay to Port Maria, I passed an estate, the name of which I now forget, that presented an unusually ruined appearance, and asked a negro boy, a shrewd communicative lad, who was my guide, and who lived about a mile distant, what was the reason for its looking so much worse than many we had passed before? he answered, with great simplicity, that "Busha (attorney or manager) was very bad man; in slavery time he lick people too much, and since free come be hire people and make 'em fool; he hire 'em and no pay 'em, and now nobody work for him." I asked him where the owner of the estate lived, and he said, "Away in England." Subsequently I learnt that this boy's answer, simple as it was, afforded a complete solution of the mystery why some estates were given up, and why the people would not work. Many planters and some agents do obtain sufficient continuous labour, and can make sugar and make the estates pay, and many more might if they would. But were every estate in full operation, I believe there would not be labour enough on the island to work them; for, it must be admitted, that a great amount of force has, since emancipation, been withdrawn from the field. But this, instead of being an evil to be lamented, constitutes one of the most pleasing features in the late change. Women, mothers, daughters, or wives, can now find a more appropriate sphere than the cane field for the employment of their time, in the superintendance of their domestic arrangements; thus securing for themselves and families a large amount of comfort, which till lately they had been entire strangers to. And such as formerly composed the pickaniny hogmeat gang,—i.e., children whose business was to gather food for the hogs on the estate, now are sent to school. And many of the smartest of the men formerly employed in the cane field, have found a better market for their labour in other branches of industry, and have been foolish enough to avail themselves of the bene-

ficial change. In this way full one-third of the former available force of the field has been taken from it, and were every plantation in full operation, additional labour would be required to carry on the work, and there would then be some propriety in the cry that now rings the island from east to west for emigration; but how senseless now; yea, how unjust; while thousands of the native population are without work, are willing to work, and would be glad to work for fair wages. Fair wages! The use of this term suggests a few remarks on the subject of wages.

In Jamaica, in times of slavery, when a slave wanted to hire a few days of his own time, (I suppose I should say his master's time,) he usually paid 50 cents per day for it—often more, seldom less—and the poor man innocently enough supposed that if worth so much to his master when a slave, after he became free, he was worth as much to himself; but instead of insisting on this, contented himself with 37½ cents, or 1s. 6d. sterling—not too much one would think for a day's labour beneath the scorching sun of Jamaica. This sum, small though it must seem to every disinterested and reflecting man, was at first cut down still lower, by exactions in the shape of rent for house and provision grounds; which, if submitted to, would have justified the oft-reiterated retort, that when free the negro would not take care of themselves. Had the claim of the planter been a specific one, for so much rent for a certain sized house, it would have been all fair, and no person could have objected to it. As the landlord of a cottage, &c., his claim for rent was good, but here was the singularity of the charge—the poor man had to pay so much rent for himself, so much for his wife, and so much for each child—a petty extortion that left the labourer in possession of but a small portion of his earnings at the end of the month. In the commencement of freedom this one circumstance alone occasioned more discord between planter and labourer than any other—and drove the labourer to seek a home and provision ground of his own—hence arose the numerous free negro villages that meet the eye and gladden the heart in all districts of the country; and where the labourer, contented and cheerful, may sit with his family, and enjoy the comforts of his rustic home. Thus the evil determined against the poor man resulted in his welfare; while he remained on the estate renting a cottage and grounds, he was, in a certain sense, attached to the estate, and was liable to exactions and oppression, which he escaped by acquiring a home of his own—the planter or his agent cannot now coerce such labourer with the threat of expulsion from his house and grounds—the one is as independent as the other—he is not compelled to labour on any particular estate, but can seek employment where he may please, or where his labour is worth most. And the planter can only get along with him by a fair remuneration for labour performed without any deduction in any shape or form whatever, and with such treatment as is due from one man to another. Oh, how it galls many to be compelled in dealing with such men, to lower the high tones of domineering tyranny used in the days of slavery. All this is ruin. This, however, is not the condition of all the labouring population—I would it were so—but only of those who have by industry and economy secured for themselves a refuge and a home.

I saw and conversed with labourers who were working for 25 cents per day, and who, out of the 1 dollar 50 cents thus earned per week, would have to pay 50 cents for rent, leaving but one dollar for their own maintenance, &c. Surely this was too little. These men would not have worked at this rate had they possessed a home of their own; but being attached to the estate by renting a hut and grounds thereon, till they could get away, would have to submit to their lot. The enormous sum of 37½ cents, without any privileges whatever, is considered by planters and attorneys as too much for a day's labour; and a reckless determination appears to prevail among them to reduce it by any means to 25 cents, and in some cases to 18½. In some districts a combination appears to have been entered into by attorneys for this purpose; whether by instructions from England, or on their own responsibility, I know not. If the former, it must have been in consequence of their own mismanagement and misrepresentation. But they will not succeed; in some districts they may for a time reduce the wages of the labourer, but they cannot generally, nor at all when the crop comes in; and where the labourers have a home of their own, they will not succeed even now. Such labourers will be able to support themselves on their own little freeholds and hold out against such an unjust combination. The planters know this very well. And hence you may hear them, on all hands, while looking upon the rich valleys teeming with the heavy crops which the coming year promises, lamenting that the labour will be insufficient to get them in. Now after their grinding the labourer in the way they have, when work was scarce, who would pity them if the labourers were to retaliate and let their crops perish in the field? This, however, they will not do, unless the same insane policy is pursued with regard to wages. A gentleman living near Montego Bay assured me that in the parish in which he lived there were about 3000 labourers who were out of employ from this cause—they would work for 37½ cents, and for no less. With these facts in view you may account for the clamour for immigration which so extensively prevails—because the planters cannot get the native peasantry to work for 25 cents per day, they went to overstock the market with labour, and thus reduce its value, making the amount of wages given these emigrants, who will, to a certain extent, be in their power, a standard by which to regulate the wages given the native labourer. Of the unprecedented injustice of this emigration project as at present advocated a few words presently. It is assigned as a reason for wishing this reduction in the price of labour, that the cultivation of sugar will not allow such high wages—strange indeed if this were true, that many estates which have, since freedom, been doing well, (and many such were pointed out to me,) strange that such have this year broken up more ground, and put in many more cane plants than formerly. But if it were true, that the present mode of cultivating sugar in Jamaica would not pay, could no improvements be suggested that would leave the earnings of the labourer untouched? If the pruning-knife must be applied, are there not other places where it might be more judiciously and efficiently applied than in cutting down his poor pittance? Verily there are. To justify this attempted reduction in labour, it is said, that a labourer can live for next to nothing in Jamaica. I grant it is true, that he can live very cheaply there, if he will be content with the simple vegetable productions of his own soil, and which he can cultivate for himself at little cost, if he will devote part of his time to such cultivation; but in such case he could not give what the planter requires, i.e., continuous labour

on the estate. But if such continuous labour be given, he must purchase his food; and then, I affirm without fear of contradiction, that it would cost him twice or thrice as much to live as it would the labouring class in Cincinnati or Ohio. And how would they fare with 25 cents a-day, living as cheaply as they do? But it is objected that the wife can cultivate these provision grounds while the husband labours on the estate. Granted. But what a shameful proposition conceals itself under a suggestion so specious and apparently fair. It is this—that the poor wife shall toil to feed herself, her children, and husband, that he may toil for a bare 25 cents. for the planter. May all Jamaica's sugar plantations perish before her peasantry are reduced to such a sad condition. Whether, then, he has to buy his food, or work for it, how can he be expected to work for less than he does? I have seen men working for 37½ cents per day who day after day have no stronger food than bread and salt fish, and sometimes island vegetables, with a cup of coffee in the morning, and sometimes not that; as often as otherwise having nothing more than so-so bread, as they call it, i.e., bread alone. Who then can blame the labourer for resisting a further reduction of his wages if he can do it successfully? Who rather, that possesses the soul of a man, will not command his independence? The craven soul that would deny the exercise of such feelings to a man because his face is black, is not to be reasoned with—reason would be lost on him who has none himself.

"But where, then, should the work of retrenchment commence? Should the salaries of overseers and book-keepers be reduced? By no means; they rarely are paid too much. If they are required at all, they are by no means too well paid. But in most cases one of the two might be dispensed with altogether. A good overseer is all that is required; and the book-keeper and attorney, too, might be dismissed with great advantage to the proprietor—the book-keeper because there are no books for him to keep; the name, though a high-sounding one to us, being a perfect misnomer in its application to the Jamaica agent, book-keeping being no part of his business. The book-keeper is but the overseer's drudge, with which he might as readily dispense as not. And as to the attorney, well were it for Jamaica's prosperity if there was not one on the island. He is in most cases the root of all evil—generally a highly paid, pampered, lazy, aristocratical nabob, who alone fattens at his post, filches the absentee proprietor out of all he can, getting rich by swindling his employer and grinding the poor, and then lays all the blame upon poor 'Sambo.' Some of these attorneys or managers are agents for several properties, and right well they deserve the name of managers, right well they manage for themselves. They get a good salary for each estate, and manage to monopolise all the privileges the estate may afford, such as keeping breeding-stock on the estate for their own profit, buying cattle young or lean, and keeping them in the estate's pasture till they are fit for the market, affording no inconsiderable source of revenue to themselves (when carried out to the extent which in some cases it is), instead of consulting the owner's welfare by keeping on the estate as many belonging to him as the estate would support. They also furnish the estate with all things it requires, charging their own price, without forgetting their own nice pickings. Most of these attorneys have from one or two to half-a-dozen housekeepers (mistresses), who, though they do no labour, are mostly put down as labourers, and their time charged to the proprietor as such. Men in such circumstances cannot be expected to feel a deep interest in their employer's success. With them 'comes night, comes nine-pence; their salary is the first paid, because paid by themselves; they finger the cash. They are not solicitous to secure labour for the estate; if the labourers will work on their terms, all is well and good; if they will not, there is no compromise or conciliation—without ceremony they are sent about their business. The attorney can easily deceive the absentee proprietor, and persuade him that the fault rests with the people; that they are fractious or lazy, or exorbitant, and will not work; and can as easily obtain his consent to aim at the lowest possible reduction of wages, so low that the labourer would be a fool to yield to such terms, and when little or no labour can be obtained for such estates, they are thrown up—a source of loss and regret to all but the attorney. To the labourer, because now there is less demand for his labour; to the overseer, because he now loses his situation; to the owner, because now no sugar goes to England for him; but as to the attorney, with nothing to do, his salary goes on, his housekeepers must be retained to keep house, and his salary goes on for what? for seeing the fields and houses don't run away before they can be sold or rented. And every obstacle will by him be thrown in the way of selling or leasing the estate, unless he be able to buy it himself, well knowing that on the sale or lease of the estate spoil so rich and valuable would be wrenched from his grasp."

ADVICE TO THE WEST INDIANS FROM MAURITIUS.

[The *Mauritius Watchman* on the transportation of Coolies.]

By the English papers we see that the introduction of Coolies into the West Indies has received the sanction of the British Government, and, doubtless, it is a measure which has been taken for satisfying that urgent cry for labourers which was sounded from almost all the islands. But we believe that this permission will prove more of a curse than a blessing to those colonies. Distant as they are from India, the expense of their introduction will be considerably increased. But let it be remembered also, that this outlay forms but a small part of that which is involved in the employment of Indian labourers. Yams, maize, manioc, and plaintains form the food of the West Indian labourers; but the Indian must have rice, ghee, dholl, currysuff, and a variety of other articles to him indispensable, which will all have to pay a freight proportioned to the length of the voyage; for, although rice is cultivated in the West Indies and on the American continent, it cannot be sold there so cheap as it can be imported from India, and the other articles are not obtainable there. When the increased expense involved in these circumstances is taken into consideration, and is set against the price of free labour in the West Indies, where it is in general considerably lower than it was here two years ago, and the difference between the quantity of work performed by the labourers of African race and those from India is also calculated, we believe the introduction of Indians will prove a serious calamity to those colonies. With the distance will be increased, not only the cost of transport, but the uncertainty of supply; and those only who know the Indian character can

appreciate the troubles and contentions that would arise were the Coolies deprived of any of their usual rations. The diseases, too, which they frequently introduce, and which are at present unknown to a great degree in the West Indies, are no slight objection against their importation. We, therefore, hope that the West Indian planters will weigh these circumstances well before making large demands for Indian labourers. We do not think that a class of persons can be found whose work yields so little profit to the employer as these, or who are so generally destitute of good principles. They are far more intelligent than the African race, if that deserves the name of intelligence which only serves to invent excuses for avoiding work; but they learn less readily on account of this same cunning, which shows them that the more useful they become the more will their employments increase.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—STATE OF AGRICULTURE.—In every quarter of the island do we hear of efforts being made to adopt improvements, and to bring into operation improved systems of culture and manufacture. The result of this universal feeling cannot but prove of the utmost advantage, and we are assured that in a comparative brief period of time our exports of sugar will be materially increased in quantity, whilst the quality will be improved by the aid of the new process of manufacture, and the amount expended in cultivation and manufacture, after the first outlay for machinery, &c., will be much less than it now is. In no country in the world is there a brighter prospect of large returns for capital invested than in Jamaica at the present moment; and the friends of freedom can in no matter better prove their devotion to the cause than by judiciously investing capital in these colonies, so as to enable them to supply the total quantity of sugar required for the British markets, and thus drive slave-grown produce to seek some other consumers than the people of Great Britain, who paid so largely to secure freedom to the slaves throughout the British dominions.—*Morning Journal*.

HILL COOLIES.—We regret to learn that much difficulty has been experienced by the government emigration agents at Madras and Calcutta in obtaining Hill Coolies for the West Indies. At the former presidency, indeed, a prejudice seems to have been raised among the Coolies by the natives, who had been previously concerned in procuring emigrants for the Mauritius, and the consequence is, that little hope is entertained of procuring any from thence, at least during the present season. The accounts from the presidency of Calcutta are not so unfavourable, but it is feared the supply will be inconsiderable.—*Falmouth Post*.

HILL COOLIES.—The Agent-General of Immigration has issued a public notice, which will be found in our advertising columns, by which it will be seen that a ship had sailed from Calcutta with Hill Coolies for this island. These people will be landed at Old Harbour, and are to be located in neighbouring parishes.—*Morning Journal*.

THE WEATHER IS agreeable. We have had one or two "rather warm" days, but we have also been blessed with delightful rains, which, we are happy to state, have been very general; and the prospects for the ensuing crops of coffee and sugar are highly favourable.—*Morning Journal*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION.—Whilst immigration will so soon commence from the East Indies, the coast of Africa has not been forgotten. Our old transport, the *Arabian*, which made several voyages to and from Sierra Leone, but very slowly, has been given up; nor has the colony, we believe, as yet supplied her place. A very smart brig, however, the *Rufus*, of Sierra Leone, which arrived in this port some time ago from that settlement, with some labourers and a general cargo, will leave the river to-morrow for Africa, with the view of bringing out more immigrants from Sierra Leone. The *Rufus*'s will be a private speculation, for the sake of the bounties.—*Royal Gazette*.

SIERRA LEONE.—The blockading squadron on the coast of Africa continue to be successful in their object of suppressing the slave traffic, although the pestilence denominated the fever seems to make dreadful havoc among our men. Scarcely a single European vessel escapes; entire crews, officers and men, are suddenly brought within its fearful grasps; and the most hardy constitutions yield to its horrible attacks. The *Ardent* steamer had been but a short time on this station, after having for a long period enjoyed the fine and healthy atmosphere of Rio de Janeiro, when her sailing-master was attacked, and died after five days. This was followed by the prostration of several of the officers, who were for some time in considerable danger. Two lieutenants and a surgeon were invalided, and sent to England for restoration in hospitals.—*Globe*.

MAURITIUS.—THE CIVIL COMMISSIONARIES.—Another instance in proof of the gross misconduct and abuse of power of our Civil Commissioners took place in the district of Moka on New Year's-day. A working man of Port Louis was going in a little cart to visit his friends at Moka, and pass the holidays there with his family. Two policemen, one in uniform and one in plain clothes, asked him to allow them to ride, to which he consented. When they arrived at the office of the assistant commissioner, one Martial Noel, he was stopped, and a little sucking pig, which had cost him 90 cents in the Bazaar, was taken from him by order of that functionary. It was in vain that he pleaded that he was not carrying it for sale, but simply as an article of provision for the day. It appears that this chew-bacon, encouraged by the impunity with which his worthy cotemporary Ravel abuses the public, gives the rein to his appetite for pork, and indulges it at the expense of every worthy feeling, of every idea of conduct becoming the magistrate. Such vermin are a scandal on the administration, and are far more likely to create than to repress abuses.—*Watchman*.

SENDING IMMIGRANTS AWAY.—From reading the advertisement in the *Government Gazette* of Saturday last, asking for tenders for the passage of one hundred Chinese, one is naturally led to believe, that these hundred men came, five years ago, to offer their services as field-labourers, and that they have accomplished their task to

the satisfaction of their employers and of Government. No such thing! These hundred Chinese will not work, are idlers, and vagrants; the police cannot succeed in making them useful citizens, and therefore the colony is kind enough to defray the expenses of their voyage hence to one of the dependencies of the Celestial Empire.—*Cerneen*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE AMERICANS ON WEST INDIAN IMMIGRATION.—The *New York Sun* contains an article on this subject, from which we extract the following passages:—"The importation of Africans into the West India colonies of Great Britain at this time demands our serious consideration. It is with no ordinary concern that we contemplate the policy of the government and people of England, that we see the subjects of that great empire transporting Africans to the West India colonies (six), one of which (Guiana) has, within a few months, received 12,000 Africans from the coast, many of them purchased, voluntarily it is true, from the chief men of native tribes at so much per head. The effect of this policy upon the civilisation and happiness of the African race may not be so deplorable as the slave-trade in the cruel form it is now carried on by outlaws, but it cannot be less productive of evil influences among the native tribes in Africa, who will war with each other for the capture of slaves as heretofore. As a nation, we cannot dictate to England, but our treaties with her for the suppression of the slave-trade authorise our government to remonstrate, earnestly and energetically, against this evasion of the fair intent and object of those treaties."

A SLAVER CAPTURED.—Schooner *Spitfire* (of New Orleans) arrived at Boston 14th inst., a prize to the U.S. brig *Truxton*, in command of Lieut. Washington Reid. The *Spitfire*, Peter Flory master, was seized in the Rio Pongo, coast of Africa, at the slave-factory of Paul Taber, March 26, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, by the boats of U.S. brig *Truxton*, in the charge of Lieut. Simon F. Blunt, co-operating with the boats of H.B.M. steamer *Ardent*, under the charge of Lieut. Johnson. The boats were alongside under English colours, and ordered the schooner to show her colours, on the penalty of being seized as a pirate. The American ensign was then hoisted at her gaff, and the colours immediately shifted in the boats, and the schooner taken charge of, evidence having been lodged against her as having already made a successful trip from the same place to the island of Cuba with 346 slaves, under the command of Capt. Gordon, lately in command of the *Manchester*, by Thomas Turner, who served in both vessels as Capt. G.'s mate. She was then known by the name of *Cavallero*, and was built in Baltimore, whence she sailed *via* New York, 1842. She was afterwards sold, and her register returned to Baltimore. Her present crew also testified as to her intention of receiving slaves.—*New York Sun*.

SLAVES AND THEOLOGY.—The *Savannah Republican* of March 23rd contains an advertisement of a certain tract of land to be sold, and "also, at the same time and place, the following negro slaves, to wit:—Charles, Peggy, Antonett, Davy, September, Maria, Jenny, and Isaac, levied on as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage *f. s. fa.* issued out of M'Intosh Superior Court, in favour of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia v. said Henry T. Hall. Conditions, cash. C. O'NEAL, Deputy Sheriff, M.C."—What better argument is needed to satisfy the "fanatics" of the North that slavery is a divinely appointed institution than this selling of slaves for the benefit of a theological seminary? The blood and muscles of "Charles, Peggy, Antonett, Davy," &c., when converted into cash, will go to furnish facilities for raising up an evangelical ministry, who will proclaim the gospel of love in the ears of a wicked world; and thus these poor benighted heathens (the slaves we mean, not the ministers,) may be made instrumental in turning many unto righteousness.—*Chr. Freeman*.

A SLAVER SHOT DEAD IN MARYLAND.—A young man named Mathews, a nephew of General Mathews, whose father, it is believed, holds an office at Washington, killed one of the slaves upon his father's farm by shooting him. Young Mathews had been left in charge of the farm; he gave an order to the servant, which was disobeyed, when he proceeded to the house, obtained a gun, and, returning, shot the servant. He immediately fled to his father's residence, where he still remains unmolested.—*Baltimore Visitor*.

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—A Mr. Finigan, of Chambersburgh, Pa., was attacked by about one hundred negroes, headed by a few white persons, and would have been severely injured, if not killed, but for the interference of a number of citizens. He attempted to shoot down some of his assailants, but his pistols missed fire. Mr. F. is said to be active in arresting runaway slaves. Hence the attack.—*New York Sun*.

TEXAS.—President Jones has convened a special meeting of the Congress of Texas for the 16th of June, to consider the proposition submitted by the United States Government, on the subject of annexation.

MEXICO AND TEXAS.—Havannah, May 9.—"I have received important intelligence from Mexico, by the *Thames* steamer, which left Vera Cruz on the 1st, and brings letters from the capital of the 28th ult. Though an official announcement has not yet been made of the decision of the Government, no doubt is entertained in well-informed quarters that Mexico will immediately consent to recognise the independence of Texas, the Texan Government as an equivalent refusing the proposed incorporation with the United States. In this matter the initiative has been taken by Texas, and Captain Elliott, our Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General, had so far seen the propriety of supporting the proposition, that he left Galveston in Her Majesty's ship *Eurydice*, and landing at Vera Cruz, reached the Mexican capital on the 14th ult. It appears the negotiation had so well succeeded, that on the 21st the *ad interim* President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs sent down a message to the Congress, informing it of the proposition of Texas, and demanding permission to treat. Captain Elliott remained till the 24th at Mexico, when he left for Jalappa, one day's journey from Vera Cruz, and it was his intention to await there the official declaration of the Government. The *Eurydice* remained at Vera Cruz to re-convey the Consul-General to his post.

"Letters of the 28th from Mexico leave no doubt on the probability of a compromise being come to, as the Government commanded a large majority in the Lower House, though it was in a small minority in the Senate. It is argued that the mere fact of the *ad interim* President venturing to send a message to Congress indicates a foregone conclusion; as, in the state of public opinion on Texan matters, no Government would dare to do so without having previously become master of the ground. The President takes much pains to disguise the pill which the Congress is to swallow, as he speaks much of war and his determination not to submit to the incorporation of Texas with the United States.

"The refusal of Texas to the propositions of the American Government does not appear on the face of the proceedings, but is evidently the mainspring of the whole affair. The British Consul-General has probably availed himself of the natural desire of Texas to gain the recognition of Mexico to drive such a bargain as is the interest of both sides to agree to, as well as to throw back the annexation of Texas to the United States, without making his Government a prominent party in so doing. How long that annexation may be postponed, I cannot at present determine; but it is clear that the present proceedings are expedients to gain time, and in similar circumstances the gaining of time is most desirable. Indeed, we may find at last that Texas, recognized by Mexico, may prefer its existence as an independent state to its incorporation with the United States. There is a Spanish proverb which says, 'It is better to be a rat's head than a lion's tail,' and probably the Texans may apply it."—*Correspondent of the Times*.

FRANCE.—The Chamber of Deputies has passed the law for the regulation of slavery in the colonies; and it is expected that they will also pass one for granting 400,000 francs, (16,000*l.*) towards assisting the redemption of slaves.

Miscellanea.

EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.—Yesterday afternoon, about one o'clock, six of the Piccadilly omnibuses drove into the West India Docks with about 120 healthy and active-looking agricultural labourers, the greater number of them being from Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire. The men, together with their wives and families, have entered into contract to work on the estate of Mr. J. Burgess, in the island of St. Kitts, but the terms of the agreement did not transpire.—*Times*, May 16.

SLAVE-TRADE.—The notorious felucca lately taken by the *Hydra*, after escaping from several of our cruisers, and doing such damage to the lieutenant and crew of the *Grovier's* pinnace, was burnt at Sierra Leone on the 28th of March.—*Globe*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
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Sheffield—Smith, Edward	50 0 0	
Liverpool—Cropper, John and Edward	50 0 0	
Scotby, near Carlisle—Sutton, Lydia		1 1 0
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Beaumont, William	10 0 0	1 1 0
Southwark Ladies' Auxiliary	10 0 0	
Crumplesham—Doyle, James		1 0 0
Doyle, Hannah		0 10 0
Camphill—Wedgewood, Sarah	20 0 0	

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THE NEW SLAVE-TRADE CONVENTION.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE KING OF THE FRENCH, FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN SLAVES.

(Signed at London, May 29, 1845. Ratifications exchanged at London, June 7, 1845.)

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the French, considering that the conventions of the 30th of November, 1831, and the 22nd of March, 1833, have effected their object in preventing the use of the English and French flags in carrying on the slave-trade, but that this odious traffic still exists, and that the said conventions are insufficient to insure its complete suppression, his Majesty the King of the French, having expressed his desire to adopt more effectual measures for the suppression of the slave-trade than those contemplated in the said conventions, and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland being anxious to co-operate for the attainment of this object, they have agreed to conclude a new convention, which, as between the two high-contracting parties, shall be substituted in the place of the abovementioned conventions of 1831 and 1833; and for that purpose they have named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; the Right Hon. George Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Gordon, Viscount Formartine, Lord Haddo, Methlick, Tarvis and Kellie, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a member of her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, and her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, a member of her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, and Judge of her High Court of Admiralty;

And his Majesty the King of the French; the Sieur Louis de Beaupoil, Count de St. Aulaire, a Peer of France, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Belgium, his Ambassador to her Britannic Majesty; and the Sieur Charles Leonce Achille Victor, Duke of Broglie, a Peer of France, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, Vice-President of the Chamber of Peers;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.

In order that the flags of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of his Majesty the King of the French, may not, contrary to the law of nations and the laws in force in the two countries, be usurped to cover the slave-trade, and in order to provide for the more effectual suppression of that traffic, his Majesty the King of the French engages, as soon as may be practicable, to station on the West coast of Africa, from Cape Verd to 16 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, a naval force of at least twenty-six cruisers, consisting of sailing and steam-vessels; and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages as soon as may be practicable to station on the same part of the West coast of Africa a naval force of not less than twenty-six cruisers, consisting of sailing vessels and steam-vessels; and on the East coast of Africa such number of cruisers as her Majesty shall judge sufficient for the prevention of the trade on that coast; which cruisers shall be employed for the purposes abovementioned, in conformity with the following stipulations.

ARTICLE II.

The said British and French naval forces shall act in concert for the suppression of the slave-trade. It will be their duty to watch strictly every part of the West coast of Africa, within the limits described in article 1, where the slave-trade is carried on. For this purpose they shall exercise fully and completely all the powers vested in the Crowns of Great Britain and France for the suppression of the slave-trade, subject only to the modifications hereinafter mentioned as to British and French ships.

ARTICLE III.

The officers of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of his Majesty the King of the French, having respectively the command of the squadrons of Great Britain and France, to be employed on carrying out this convention, shall concert together as to the best means of watching strictly the parts of the African coast before described, by selecting and defining the stations, and committing the care thereof to English and French cruisers, jointly or separately, as may be deemed most expedient; provided always that in case of a station being specially committed to the charge of cruisers of either nation, the cruisers of the other

nation may at any time enter the same for the purpose of exercising the rights respectively belonging to them for the suppression of the slave-trade.

ARTICLE IV.

Treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade shall be negotiated with the native princes or chiefs on the above-mentioned part of the West coast of Africa, wherever it may seem necessary to the commanders of the English and French squadrons respectively.

Such treaties shall be negotiated by the commanders themselves, or by officers specially instructed by them to that effect.

ARTICLE V.

The object of the aforesaid treaties shall be confined to the suppression of the slave trade.

If such treaty be concluded by a British officer, power shall be expressly reserved to his Majesty the King of the French to become a party to such treaty; and if by a French officer, the like power shall be reserved to her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Whenever her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Majesty the King of the French shall both become parties to such a treaty, the expense which may have been incurred in effecting the same, whether for presents or other similar expenses, shall be borne equally by both nations.

ARTICLE VI.

Whenever it shall be necessary to employ force, conformably to the law of nations, in order to compel the due execution of any treaty made in pursuance of the present convention, no such force shall be resorted to, either by land or sea, without the consent of the commanders both of the British and of the French squadrons.

And if it should be deemed necessary for the attainment of the objects of this convention, that posts should be occupied on that part of the coast of Africa before described, this shall be done only with the consent of the two high-contracting parties.

ARTICLE VII.

As soon as the squadron to be sent by his Majesty the King of the French to the coast of Africa shall be ready to commence operations on the coast of Africa, his Majesty the King of the French shall cause notification thereof to be made to her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and the two high-contracting parties shall, by a joint declaration, make known that the measures to be adopted in virtue of this convention are about to be carried into execution; and the aforesaid declaration shall be published wherever it may be deemed necessary.

Within three months after the date of the said declaration the warrants that have been issued, in pursuance of the conventions of 1831 and 1833, to the cruizers of the two nations, for the mutual exercise of the right of search, shall be respectively delivered up.

ARTICLE VIII.

Whereas experience has shown that the traffic in slaves in those parts of the world where it is habitually carried on is often accompanied by acts of piracy, dangerous to the tranquility of the seas, and to the safety of all flags; and considering at the same time, that if the flag carried by a vessel be *prima facie* evidence of the national character of such vessel, this presumption cannot be considered as sufficient to forbid, in all cases, the proceeding to the verification thereof,—since otherwise all flags might be exposed to abuse, by their serving to cover piracy, the slave-trade, or any other illegal traffic; it is agreed, in order to prevent any difficulty in the execution of the present convention, that instructions, founded on the law of nations, and on the constant usage of maritime powers, shall be addressed to the commanding officers of the British and French squadrons and stations on the coast of Africa. The two Governments have accordingly communicated to each other their respective instructions, which are annexed to this convention.

ARTICLE IX.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Majesty the King of the French mutually engage to continue the prohibition for ever of all slave trade in the colonies which they now possess or may hereafter possess, and also to prevent, as far as the laws of each country shall permit, their respective subjects from being engaged, directly or indirectly, in this traffic.

ARTICLE X.

Three months after the declaration mentioned in article 7, the present convention shall come into execution. The duration of it is fixed at ten years. The previous conventions shall be suspended. In the course of the fifth year the two high-contracting parties will

concert together anew, and will decide according to circumstances, whether it is fitting either to put again in force the whole or part of the said conventions, or to modify or to abrogate the whole or part of the present convention. At the end of the tenth year, unless the previous conventions shall have been again put in force, they shall be considered as definitively abrogated. And the high-contracting parties further engage to continue to concert together for insuring the suppression of the slave-trade by all the means which may appear to them most useful and most efficacious, until the time when this traffic shall be completely abolished.

ARTICLE XI.

The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of ten days from this date, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done in London, the 29th day of May, 1845.

(L.S.) STEPHEN LUSHINGTON.

(L.S.) ABERDEEN.

(L.S.) ST. AULAIRE.

(L.S.) V. BROGLIE.

The Instructions to the naval commanders of the respective Governments, are too extended to be given at length. The following are the most important portions of them.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENGLISH OFFICERS:—

You are not to capture, visit, or in anyway interfere with vessels of France; and you will give strict instructions to the commanding officers of cruisers under your orders to abstain therefrom. At the same time, you will remember that the King of the French is far from claiming that the flag of France shall give immunity to those who have no right to bear it; and that Great Britain will not allow vessels of other nations to escape visit and examination by merely hoisting a French flag, or the flag of any other nation with which Great Britain has not, by existing treaty, the right of search. Accordingly, when from intelligence which the officer commanding her Majesty's cruiser may have received, or from the manœuvres of the vessel, or other sufficient cause, he may have reason to believe that the vessel does not belong to the nation indicated by her colours, he is, if the state of the weather will admit of it, to go ahead of the suspected vessel, after communicating his intention by hailing, and to drop a boat on board of her to ascertain her nationality, without causing her detention, in the event of her really proving to be a vessel of the nation the colours of which she has displayed, and therefore one which he is not authorized to search; but should the strength of the wind, or other circumstances, render such mode of visiting the stranger impracticable, he is to require the suspected vessel to be brought to, in order that her nationality may be ascertained; and he will be justified in enforcing it, if necessary—understanding always, that he is not to resort to any coercive measure until every other shall have failed; and the officer who boards the stranger is to be instructed, merely in the first instance, to satisfy himself by the vessel's papers, or other proof, of her nationality; and if she prove really to be a vessel of the nation designated by her colours, and one which he is not authorized to search, he is to lose no time in quitting her, offering to note on the papers of the vessel the cause of his having suspected her nationality, as well as the number of minutes the vessel was detained (if detained at all) for the object in question; such notation to be signed by the boarding officer, specifying his rank and the name of her Majesty's cruiser; and whether the commander of the visited vessel consents to such notation on the vessel's papers or not, (and it is not to be done without his consent); all the said particulars are to be immediately inserted in the log-book of her Majesty's cruiser; and a full and complete statement of the circumstances is to be sent, addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, by the first opportunity, direct to England; and also, a similar statement to you, as senior officer on the station, to be forwarded by you to our Secretary, accompanied by any remarks you may have reason to make thereon.

INSTRUCTIONS TO FRENCH OFFICERS.

All the vessels which engage in that traffic are furnished with arms, such as swords, guns, pistols, and some even have on board small cannons or swivels. This precaution is indispensable to them, if it were merely for maintaining in obedience, with a small crew, several hundreds of negroes violently carried off from their families and native land.

But it frequently happens that the commanders and crews of slave-vessels make use of their arms for another and no less criminal purpose, by committing acts of depredation and robbery, either upon one another, or upon the inhabitants of the coast, or the Europeans who resort to it. This is proved by the instructions given to your predecessors, and especially by those given by the Governor of Senegal, on the 15th of July, 1841, to the officers employed on the African station.

It is also a well-known fact, that almost all slave vessels have on board double sets of papers, papers apparently issued by several governments,—false muster-rolls, which enable them to assume the appearance of belonging to one nation or to another, as they may find occasion.

It is generally at St. Thomas and in the island of Cuba that these false papers are fabricated, and they contain counterfeits of the printed forms and autograph signatures of the different authorities of each maritime nation, more or less skilfully executed.

You are acquainted with the provisions of the law of the 12th of April, 1825, against piracy. You know that this law considers as pirates, not only the crews of armed vessels who commit acts of depredation, but also those who sail without ships' papers, or either with papers which are not sufficient to prove the regularity of their voyage, or with commissions issued by several powers or states—the word *commission* being here understood not only of letters of marque in time of war, but of papers delivered to merchantmen in time of peace.

In so doing, the law of 1825, has only restated and confirmed the principles already received, the doctrine which forms the foundation of our maritime legislation, of the ordinance of 1554, the ordinance of 1681, recognised as an authority all over Europe, that of 1718, and of the decree of the Second Prairial, year II; and these principles have always been applied by our tribunals as well to French vessels as to foreign vessels, without having given rise to any complaint.

You know, likewise, that in case of suspicion of piracy, the law of nations, recognized by all civilized nations, authorizes any ship of war, to whatever power she may belong, to detain the suspected vessel, whatever may be the flag that she bears; under condition of delivering her over to the jurisdiction which has the right of deciding upon the validity of the capture and the prosecution of the crime.

Whenever, therefore, a vessel shall be pointed out to you as suspected of acts which our legislation considers as piracy, according to the law of nations (in contradistinction to those which our law merely assimilate to piracy, and which are such only according to our national law), you are authorized to detain the vessel, in order to ascertain whether the suspicion is well founded.

The law of the 12th April, 1825, does not view as an act of piracy the mere fact of a vessel's hoisting a flag which she is not entitled to bear; it is, nevertheless, an act contrary to the law of nations—a fraudulent act, which, if tolerated, would render it impossible to exercise any police on the sea, or any observation of merchant vessels by ships of war, even such as it is the duty of a cruiser to exercise over vessels of her own nation. If, in order to enable a French vessel laden with slaves to escape your vigilance, it were only necessary that she should hoist the flag of another nation; if this fact alone were to render her inviolable, even when you were certain of her being French—that she was carrying on the slave-trade, and that the flag which she bore was usurped—every cruising station would become useless; you could neither repress prohibited, nor protect lawful, commerce.

Whenever, therefore, you may have reason to suspect any fraud of this nature, you are at liberty to verify the national character of the suspected vessel. If your suspicions should turn out to be well founded, if the suspected vessel prove to be either French, or one subject to your observation in virtue of treaties actually in force, and if such vessel be actually engaged in the slave trade, you will not hesitate to detain her. No nation can be entitled to claim for its flag the right of protecting crime, and of withdrawing criminals of other nations from the punishment which is their due. If, on the contrary, your suspicions should be groundless, if the suspected vessel belongs *bonâ fide* to the nation whose flag she bears, you will not hesitate to release her immediately; giving, however, notice of the fact to those cruisers who have the right to detain her.

PEDRO DE ZULUETA, JUNIOR.

The recent trial of Jennings at the Old Bailey on the charge of slave-trading at the Galinas, forcibly reminds us of the previous prosecution of Pedro Zulueta, junior, on a similar charge, and of the difficulty of obtaining convictions in cases of this kind, whatever may have been the grounds on which the prosecutor assumed the guilt of the parties implicated in the transaction.

Without referring to the facts proved on the trial of Zulueta, we beg to call the attention of our readers to a few admissions of this person, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1842. In that evidence he stated, that the house in London of which he is a partner was extensively connected with the house of Pedro Martinez and Co., of the Havana; that the connection was of long standing; that the business transactions between them had been very large; that they were in the habit of shipping goods both to the Havana and the Galinas, on the coast of Africa, on their account; that the house of Pedro Martinez, at Cadiz, and Pedro Martinez and Co., at Havana, were branches of the same firm; that he knew, from general report, that Don Pedro Martinez himself was supposed to deal in slaves at the Galinas, and that he believed it was so; that he believed he was also a dealer in slaves at the Havana; that Jennings was a man who had been employed for some time by Martinez, who, "satisfied with his services," agreed to lend him money to purchase a vessel formerly engaged in the slave-trade; that on board this vessel goods were shipped and forwarded to the Galinas; but that, notwithstanding his firm had acted as the agents for Martinez on the coast of Africa by the shipment of goods thither, he did not know they were to be employed in the slave-trade, though they might have been; and as to himself, his father, or his grandfather, or anybody in the house of Zulueta and Co., of London, he said they never "had any kind of interest of any sort, or derived any emolument or connection from the slave-trade."

We stop here for the purpose of supplying a fact, of which we presume Mr. Zulueta could not have been wholly ignorant when he gave his famous evidence before the Parliamentary Committee.

In tracing the progress of the slave-trade between Africa and Cuba during the year 1843, our attention was arrested by the following passage in the Reports of the Slave-trade Commissioners:—"Having received information on which we could rely, we wrote a letter to his Excellency (the Captain-General), informing him of the facts of such vessels having been reported as arrived at Santiago and Trinidad de Cuba, and also two on this side of the island, consigned to a well-known slave-dealer, Don Juan Zulueta, and who, we were informed, were in a barracoon in the neighbourhood of this City (Havana) at the time of our writing." In a subsequent Report the Commissioners say:—"We regret to have to state, that a very numerous cargo, not fewer, we believe, than 900, was brought by a vessel named the *Palmyra Segunda*, and landed at a port named Puerto Escondido, seven leagues from Matanzas on this

side." And they add:—"The brig and cargo belonged to a well-known slave-dealer, named Zulueta." She also "brought another large cargo, about 800, in April last." Again, in a later Report, they observe:—"Within the last few days an American barque, the *Chester*, has been engaged by the company of dealers known under the firm of Don Pedro Blanco and Co., for whom *Don Julian Zulueta* acts prominently, to take a cargo of aguardiente, and proceed to New York for balance of cargo, and thence to the coast of Africa, to a port between 5° and 6° latitude (probably Galinas) to discharge." We were curious to know who this *Don Juan* or *Julian Zulueta*, so notorious for slave-dealing transactions at the Havana, was; and the slave-trade papers for 1844, recently laid before Parliament, meet our wishes. The Commissioners, after reporting the landing of "an extraordinary large cargo of slaves, upwards of 1100 in number," from the *Palmyra Segunda*, remark, "with regard to this vessel, making, as she has done, four successful voyages in the course of twelve months, we are led to fear, not only that she has the direct support of Government, but also correspondences and resorts on the coast of Africa beyond the reach of her Majesty's cruisers. The principal person engaged in the vessel, *Don Julian Zulueta*, is brother of the person recently tried in London for being concerned in the slave-trade." It thus appears, that, however innocent Pedro Zulueta, jun., his father, grandfather, and the various members of the London house, may be of participation in the gains of the slave-trade, his brother is reputed to be a notorious and successful trafficker in human beings in the island of Cuba. In a later Report the Commissioners say—"We have to report that the slave-vessel, *Palmyra Segunda*, which has made so many successful voyages from Africa with large cargoes of slaves, has returned with another, and landed them yesterday on this coast, in number about 1200. This vessel comes as before, consigned to *Don Julian Zulueta*." This slaver subsequently "landed a cargo of upwards of 600 negroes at the Chorfera, a creek only one league from the Havana," and started again on another voyage, ostensibly for Brazil, but really for Africa.

Our curiosity having been satisfied in this direction, we sought the solution of another point which seems somewhat to have puzzled the Commissioners at the Havana.

It will have been observed that, in one of their communications, they give it as their impression that the Havana slave-traders must have "correspondences and resorts on the coast of Africa beyond the reach of her Majesty's cruisers." This is the case. The Commissioners at Sierra Leone, in their report for 1843, addressed to Lord Aberdeen, remark:—"We beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention to the manner in which the slave-trading vessels are supplied with coppers, shackles, bolts, handcuffs, chains, &c., nearly the whole of which are brought to the coast in perfect safety, on freight, under the American flag; other merchandizes for carrying on that inhuman traffic are also supplied by both American and British vessels. The resident slave-dealers purchase their required trade goods from the British and Americans, for which they pay in bills on London, or in specie. This at once accounts for the absence of cargoes in all the captured slavers during the past year." And this agrees with the evidence of Zulueta in 1842. "I have accepted bills," he stated, "drawn by Pedro Blanco and others from Galinas upon our house, and paid them to the order of several houses in Sierra Leone, and houses in London." And further to show the connection between Pedro Blanco at the Galinas and Pedro Blanco & Co. at the Havana, he added, the bills were drawn upon him "for account of Blanco & Carvalho, or Blanco & Co., at the Havana, and were honoured by their orders."

To show the extensive nature of the transactions between the house of Zulueta & Co., London, and the firms of "Pedro Martinez & Co., of the Havana, with Blanco & Carvalho, and with Pedro Martinez, of Cadiz," P. Zulueta, jun., states that they had amounted in twenty years to about 400,000£.

As to Jennings, it is clear that his voyage to the Galinas as the ostensible owner of the *Augusta*, though in reality he was only the commander, was not the first made to that notorious slave-mart. He had previously gone thither in the *Star*, and is thus alluded to in Zulueta's evidence:—"There was the *Star*, Captain Jennings: that vessel was sent from here to the Galinas, precisely the same as the *Augusta* has been sent. * * * The object of that vessel was just the same as the *Augusta*, to maintain a legal trade with Galinas; that is within my knowledge." Now we have the sworn testimony of the hon. Captain Denman, Captain Hill, who seized the *Augusta* at Galinas, and Colonel Nicolls, that no legal trade was carried on at that notorious place, and that the slave-trade was the only traffic known to exist there.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the annual meeting of this Society, which was held at New York on the 7th of May, an extended series of resolutions was passed. We select the following as most suitable to our columns.

1. Resolved,—That amidst all the disheartening occurrences connected with the anti-slavery cause, both as it respects the conduct of our government, the apathy or opposition of parties in church and state, and the connection of abolition principles, on the part of some, with sentiments that strike at the root of much that is valuable and sound in our institutions, we gratefully recognise the smiles of Divine Providence in the advance of the cause of truth, righteousness, and freedom among the people and in the churches.

2. Resolved,—That we feel greatly encouraged in our efforts

by the sympathy of our transatlantic fellow-labourers, and by their noble advocacy of the rights of man throughout the world, and would especially bear in grateful recollection the untiring exertions of our British coadjutors, headed by the venerable Clarkson, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade, throughout Christendom.

3. Resolved,—That we rejoice to know that a spirit of inquiry and discussion has arisen in the slave States, and among their distinguished men, to be better informed respecting the principles we profess, and the measures we propose, to deliver the master as well as the slave from a despotism that grinds the poor and fills the rich with dread and apprehension; and that so long as these inquiries and discussions are honest and Christian, we hail them as indications of the progress of truth over error, light over darkness, enlightened self-interest over avarice, and the principles of true republicanism and unadulterated Christianity over their counterfeits.

4. Resolved,—That we hold it to be a truth demonstrated by history and experience, that so long as, and wherever, slavery exists, the slave-trade, both foreign and domestic, will flourish, and that all attempts to put an end to the slave-trade, while slavery is tolerated, will be utterly vain and abortive.

7. Resolved,—That as it is the aim of the Liberty party not only to abolish slavery, but to bring the administrative action of the government into complete harmony with the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and the objects of the constitution, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and of Christianity fully justify not only, but imperatively demand of the abolitionists of this country, that they secede from the political parties, Whig and Democratic, to which they may belong, and unite their efforts with the Liberty party for the overthrow of slavery, and the restoration of the principles of liberty.

8. Resolved,—That the powers of Congress are strictly limited by the constitution; that the constitution confers no power in terms, to acquire in any way foreign territory, nor is such acquisition necessary or proper for exercising any of the powers that are so granted.

9. Resolved,—That the annexation of Texas will or would be a direct breach of the constitution—a base violation of a treaty of friendship with Mexico—a wanton abuse of power towards an offending ally, that must for ever stigmatise us as a faithless and dishonoured people.

10. Resolved,—That by slaveholding this society understands the holding and treating of human beings as property; and maintains that to hold and treat a human being thus, is universally and always sinful, and ought to be everywhere immediately abandoned.

11. Resolved,—That this sin, as those of drunkenness, profanity, falsehood, and the like, is inconsistent with Christian character and a regular standing in the church of Christ, and ought to be made the subject of remonstrance and discipline, according to each one's distinctive methods of procedure, in every branch of that church.

12. Resolved,—That in urging the several religious denominations to give effect to such remonstrance and discipline, according to their established forms, and in the last resort to withdraw the fellowship of their churches from all pertinacious offenders, this society does not maintain nor, so far as we are aware, have the abolitionists of this country generally, ever maintained, that this last should be done "instantly" or in any such abrupt and summary way as to forego the exercise of the same previous kind, faithful and appropriate Christian remonstrance, as in that of their other acknowledged sins.

21. Resolved,—That we deeply sympathise with our northern fellow-citizens confined in southern prisons for acts of humanity that are in conflict with the slave-code, and commend them to the sympathies, and their families to the generous aids of the friends of humanity.

22. Resolved,—That we will extend the rights of humanity to our fellow-men who flee from the house of bondage and afford them asylum in the free States, rejoicing in every successful effort to use one's liberty rather than remain the victim of oppression.

23. Resolved,—That the friends of the oppressed, both in the free and slave States, are earnestly entreated to befriend those who are in jeopardy with regard to their liberty, by affording them all the aid they can in courts of justice or otherwise, in maintaining their just rights, and avoiding the doom that awaits those who are in danger of being remanded to the custody of merciless masters and unprincipled overseers.

THE FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY.

We are not yet able to say in what form the law for the modification of Slavery in the French colonies has actually received the sanction of the Legislature. We have been kindly furnished, however, with a paper (*L'Observateur Français*) which contains the *projet de loi* as amended by the Peers, and with the *Abolitioniste Français* for May, which gives at great length the proceedings in the Upper Chamber. From these documents we shall be able to give an idea of the general design of the ministerial measure, and of its form as it entered the Chamber of Deputies.

The first clause of the *projet de loi* contemplates some ameliorations (not specified, however,) of the condition of the slaves in relation to food, punishment, religious instruction, and marriage; but proposed that all these changes should be effected by royal ordinances.

On this point, the Commission of the Chamber of Peers to which the *projet* was referred reported a decided opinion, to the effect, that the intended ameliorations should be effected, not by royal ordinances, but by an act of the Legislature; and, after battling against this recommendation as long as they could, the Government yielded.

In the further discussion of the first article of the first clause, Count Beugnot proposed and carried an amendment of considerable importance. The *projet* recognized the current fact, that agreements may be made between the masters and the slaves by which one day in the week shall be given instead of provisions, and proposed to enact, that these agreements might at any time be cancelled at the pleasure of either party. M. Beugnot's amendment was to the effect that a slave, when he desired it, *might demand* the allowance of time instead of food.

The second clause extends to French Guiana and the Isle of Bourbon the law which now exists in Guadeloupe and Martinique, requiring an allotment of land to be made to every slave for cultivation.

The third clause relates to the duration of labour, and enacts, that it shall not exceed the interval between six in the morning and six in the evening, with two hours and a half for repose. A decree of the Colonial Council is to regulate exceptional cases, and the extraordinary labour of two hours which may be required in crop time.

The fourth clause relates to the possession of property. Slaves may become lawful holders of all kinds of moveable property, except arms and boats. They may also receive bequests of property, whether movable or immovable; they may acquire immovable property by purchase or exchange; and may dispose of property by will or otherwise. A slave dying without will or heir, his master inherits his property. The rights of property thus conferred, however, are only the rights of a minor as ascertained by certain articles of the *code civil*; and the master is to be of right the guardian of the slave, unless the judge royal shall think it necessary to appoint another. A royal ordinance is to determine the manner of securing and employing the moveable property and money of the slaves.

The fifth clause confers on persons not free the right of purchasing their liberty, and that of their fathers and mothers, or their wives and children, whether natural or legitimate, together with other progenitors or descendants in a direct line. An amendment to introduce brothers and sisters was negatived. If the price of freedom cannot be settled between the master and the slave, it is to be fixed in each case by a commission of three persons, the president of the Royal Court, one councillor of the same court, and one member of the colonial council, voting by majority. The money must be paid before the act of enfranchisement.

As one of the conditions of this purchased freedom the *projet* required that the enfranchised slave should remain for five years in the service of his former owner, at wages determined by the commission who had valued him. Upon this an important amendment was proposed and carried by M. Beugnot, to the effect, that an enfranchised slave should be bound during five years to fulfil an engagement to labour with some person of free condition; this engagement to be made with a rural proprietor if the enfranchised had been an agricultural labourer, and not to be valid without the sanction of the commissioners of redemption. Upon charge of neglect of work the enfranchised may be brought before a magistrate, and punished by damages enforced by imprisonment. Criminal acts, or offences against his old master, to be visited with not less than twice the minimum amount of punishment awarded by law to another person.

The remaining clauses are occupied with annexing fines of small amount to certain acts of misconduct on the part of the master, such as hindering a slave from receiving religious instruction, making him work on Sundays or holidays, withholding the prescribed food and clothing, illegal treatment, &c. It was suggested at the close of the discussion that a sum of money might be voted to aid the enfranchisement of the most deserving slaves; but, as a matter of due regard to the privileges of the Lower House, this, as a money question, was left to be originated there.

Such is the measure which the French Government has thought it worthy of itself to bring forward on the great subject of slavery, and on which the attention and eloquence of the most illustrious men in France have been concentrated for not less than fourteen days! To us, we confess, this is a painful, a miserable, disappointment. The world had been given to expect a measure of emancipation; and behold a measure of amelioration! A measure which will not even effect its professed object; but which will, like all similar measures of which we have had experience, be tantalizing and abortive. We entirely concur in the following sentiments, with which the account of the proceedings in the Chamber of Peers is concluded by the editor of the *French Abolitionist*:

"At last this law, which we were made to fear would be rejected, has been adopted by a majority of 103 votes against 56.

"If M. Gignot had been more bold, and had brought forward one of the plans of emancipation proposed by the Government commission under the Duke of Broglie, as had been promised, he would have had equal success. It is not by attempting little that one is the more successful.

"This pusillanimous conduct will force the abolitionists to accept the law passed by the Chamber of Peers, with the exception, perhaps, of a few amendments; but nothing will be gained by it. It will be with this law as it was with the English bills anterior to emancipation. We shall have irritated the planters, and given to the slaves a prospect of freedom, while depriving them of the means of attaining it, by the impossibility which they will experience of paying the price of their redemption."

While, however, the measure of the French Government is wholly unsatisfactory, the debate to which it has given rise is very interesting, both as being a renewed expression of the sentiments of the most eminent men in France on the subject of the abolition of slavery, and as containing many passages of great eloquence and power. We purpose in our next to take some more extended notice of the speeches which have been delivered on this occasion, and we hope we shall then be able to exhibit the form in which the measure has ultimately passed the Chamber of Deputies.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 25, 1845.

ON Friday last took place at the Central Criminal Court in this city the trial of Thomas Jennings, master of the ship *Augusta*, on a charge of slave-trading. This trial is the sequel to that of Pedro de Zulueta, which will be fresh in the recollection of our readers. The jury acquitted the prisoner, and, we must admit, very properly according to the evidence. It was but too clear, however, that some most important evidence was excluded on technical grounds, and that the evidence as allowed to be given in court did not do justice to the facts of the case. Few persons, if any, could have had a doubt of the prisoner's guilt. The cheers which are stated to have followed the announcement of his acquittal were uttered by a small knot of persons, apparently ship captains. As Mr. Hill, the leading counsel for the defence, thought proper to identify the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with this prosecution, and as one at least of the public papers has done the same, we are called on to repeat, what we stated distinctly on occasion of the trial of Mr. Zulueta, that that Society is not in any manner implicated. The proceedings have originated entirely with Sir George Stephen, and have been conducted exclusively by him. To him alone belongs the praise due for having taken up the case.

OUR readers will recollect that the distinction between foreign free-grown and slave-grown produce has been before the public for several years; and that its introduction into British legislation was held in abeyance on account of the then existing treaty with Brazil, which contained what is currently known as the most favoured nation clause. On the expiration of this treaty it was thought that all was safe. The sensitiveness existing on this point manifested itself both in and out of Parliament, when a doubt was thrown out as to the tenor of the treaties between this country and Denmark. What a sensation would have been produced then, had it been known that by the treaty of Utrecht Spain was placed in this privileged position! Yet, to the surprise of everybody, neither statesmen, nor legislators, nor office clerks, nor editors of newspapers excepted, this turns out to be the fact. The Spanish Government has accordingly made a formal demand on the British for the admission of sugar from Cuba and Porto Rico at the reduced rates. And there for the present the matter rests. On the subject being mentioned in Parliament, Sir Robert Peel said that an answer on the part of the British Government was in course of preparation, and that it would at the earliest opportunity be laid before the House. For this document, and the statement with which it will no doubt be accompanied, all parties are waiting. We confess our deep interest in this matter.

WE have inserted at length to-day the new Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade entered into between the governments of England and France, and have added the most important passages in the instructions of the respective governments to the naval officers. The issue of the negotiation is not, it is evident, any weakening of the principle, or any departure from the practice, of armed intervention. On the contrary, it brings out a large French fleet to help the English in what all the fleets in the world cannot effect. The right of search is reduced to what may be called a right of inquiry, limited to ascertaining the nationality of vessels belonging to the two governments; and this right is strongly asserted to be a part of the law of nations, and to be indispensable to a police of the seas. In the French instructions the most remarkable feature is the application of the French law of piracy to slave-trading vessels.

FROM the West Indies the last mail brings no news of particular importance. The first ships with Coolies had arrived in safety, both at Jamaica and Demerara. The details will be found under our Colonial intelligence. The Agricultural Societies in Jamaica, we are sorry to say, are languishing. There is stated to be an un-

conquerable disinclination in the managers of them to offer any prize which should have a tendency to disturb the old system of cultivation; and in a recent instance, for a prize of one hundred guineas offered by the St. Ann's Agricultural Society, there was, after much waiting and coaxing, but one competitor. This was the Seville estate, which, from the report, seems, with common-sense management, to have arrived at excellent results.

The United States papers make evident, beyond all question, two things: the first is, that American subjects have very freely engaged, in the circuitous manner which has often been described, in the Brazilian slave-trade; and the second is, that American laws are not able to reach them. In the case of Captain Pendleton, of the brig *Montevideo*, it has been laid down that no indictment can be sustained against a person under the existing law, unless he aided or abetted after the delivery of the negroes on board the slaver. Up to this point, therefore, it would seem that the entire process of slave-trading may be executed by Americans, without exposing themselves to the legal charge of aiding and abetting the slave-trade! It wants nothing but sharpness enough to give up the vessel to the Brazilian crew, and jump into a boat, the moment before a slave is shipped, and Americans may do the whole work of the Brazilian slave-trader, without coming within reach of the law!

We learn also, by the late arrivals, that the agitation in the religious bodies on the subject of slavery, which we noticed in our last, has further issued in a division of the Methodist church in the United States. In the Presbyterian this result is, for the present, deferred.

A new number of the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* has also come to hand. Under the head of "The Voice of Great Britain's Philanthropists," it contains several of the series of resolutions passed in different parts of this country respecting the imprisonment of American abolitionists for abetting the escape of slaves. In announcing the annual meeting of the Society, the Executive Committee indicate an intention of entering upon enlarged exertions, as an earnest of which they have engaged the Rev. A. A. Phelps, of Boston, as editor of the *Reporter*, which is to appear henceforward once a month. We offer our sincere congratulations on this turn of affairs, and quote with pleasure the following portion of their address.

"They believe that the time has come when, as the Committee of a National Society, they may enter upon the work appropriately devolving on them with great advantage, both in respect to the slave and the free States. They believe that the public mind in some of the slaveholding States is now as ripe for effective general impression in favour of emancipation, as that of the free States was ten years since—that the reign of terror which has so long and so effectually stifled discussion, both of the voice and the press in those States, is about to cease; and they desire, with the co-operation of their fellow-labourers in different parts of the country, to take advantage of the field of effort opening in that as well as other directions."

The *Boston Morning Chronicle* of a later date informs us of the holding of the annual meeting of the society on the 7th of May, and publishes the resolutions passed at it. A selection of them will be found in another column.

To our allegation that he has no right to call upon us to name the West India proprietors or mortgagees who are deriving a return from their capital, the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* rejoins that he has "the same right that a member of Parliament or attendant at a public meeting who hears an orator sowing general aspersions broadcast, has to interrupt him by crying 'Name!'" This, in our case, is no right at all; for we have never made any such assertion as our contemporary calls upon us to prove. For the rest we have only to apply its own words to itself, and to say, the *Colonial Gazette* "cannot 'name,' and therefore stands self-convicted of mendacity."

Mr. FORSTER has presented to the House of Commons a petition from certain "merchants, manufacturers, shipping agents, and others connected in trade with the Spanish West Indies, Brazil, and Africa, and residing in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and elsewhere in the United Kingdom," expressing their deep concern at the imputation cast by Mr. President Tyler on British merchants and capitalists, as implicated in the African slave-trade, and at the implied sanction given to this imputation by Sir Robert Peel. These gentlemen assert that they have neither shared nor sought any profit from the application of the goods in which they deal to the purposes of the African slave-trade. We are not at all concerned to call this in question. But, even if all the parties who have signed this petition, together with Mr. Forster himself, have clean hands in this matter, it still remains a fact incapable of contradiction, that both British capital, and British merchants and manufacturers, are implicated in the support of the African slave-trade. It is not the asseveration of a thousand honest men that can disprove the existence of a nest of thieves. We are sorry these honourable persons should suffer in the estimation due to them as tradesmen, from the base conduct of others; but, under present circumstances, we see no help for it. We have only to hope that so proper a sensitiveness to public opinion on this subject may be manifested in other quarters also, and that the entire commercial system of Great Britain may become as pure as that of Mr. Forster and his friends.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, June 13.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Mr. FORSTER said that a very few words only would be necessary to explain the nature of the question he had to put to the right hon. baronet. It had relation to a petition he presented about a week ago to the House from many of the most respectable merchants and manufacturers engaged in our trade with Brazil, Cuba, and Africa, complaining that an accusation made by Mr. Tyler in a message to Congress, charging British merchants and capitalists with participating in the slave-trade, had been sanctioned by the right honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government, and praying the protection of the House against imputations so dishonourable and so undeserved. The message in question arrived in this country early in March, and the implied sanction of the right hon. baronet was given in his answer to a question put by his (Mr. Forster's) honourable friend the member for Leeds, in reference to another misrepresentation in the same message on the subject of apprenticing the captured negroes. The petition would have been presented, and the questions would have been put sooner, but the parties waited to allow the right hon. baronet full time to make his inquiries into the truth of the allegations. They gave him notice of their intention to take the matter up two months ago. Having had full time, therefore, to inform himself on the subject, he (Mr. Forster) would now ask the right honourable gentleman—Whether there are any documents in the possession of Government confirmatory of the participation, direct or indirect, of British subjects in the slave-trade, charged in Mr. Tyler's message to Congress, dated the 19th February, 1845; and if so, whether there is any objection to the production of such documents? Also, whether Government can furnish to this House the names and description of any of those vessels alleged by Mr. Tyler to have been loaded with goods for the slave-trade, by or on behalf of any British capitalist, merchant or manufacturer (inserting or omitting the names as thought proper) in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, or in any other manner, as alleged in the said message?

Sir ROBERT PEEL said a question had been put to him about two weeks before by an honourable member on that side of the House, respecting certain allegations contained in a message sent to Congress by the President of the United States, and which were to the effect, that he believed that subjects of the United States were concerned in carrying on the slave-trade, and particularly between the coast of Africa and Rio; and that subjects of this country were concerned also in the same trade. He (Sir R. Peel) then said he was not prepared to deny the fact mentioned by the President of the United States; and that if the fact were so, the law should be applied to the repression of such practices. The message of the President was accompanied by various documents, and in those papers the honourable member would find such information as he (Sir Robert Peel) possessed himself. In those documents express reference was made to three vessels, the property of subjects of the United States, the names of which were set forth in the documents, and were he thought the *Agnes*, the *Montevideo*, and the *United States*: and the same documents further alleged, that at Rio an English broker was employed, whose name was also given. He (Sir R. Peel) at that time explained the proceedings, all of which the honourable member would find if he referred to the documents, and he (Sir R. Peel) then said, what he now repeated, that if the law would reach those parties at Rio, it would be necessary to put it in force against them. Some few years since the Houses of Lords and Commons had acted upon the presumption that British capital was occasionally employed in carrying on the slave-trade, and an act was passed applying to British subjects resident in foreign parts and carrying on the slave-trade, the same legal penalties that would attach to them if they carried on that traffic here. It was on account of this he had made his former statement, that if that English broker at Rio, and the charter-party in correspondence with him, could be made amenable to the law, it should be put in force against them.

Mr. FORSTER said the right hon. baronet had referred to papers furnished to the President of the United States by Mr. Wise, the American minister in Brazil, upon the authority of which the charges in question were made. He (Mr. Forster) held copies of these papers in his hand, and to show the spirit in which they had been got up, and the degree of credit due to them, he need only inform the House, that amongst other charges equally well-founded, was one charging British naval officers with abetting and conniving at the slave-trade, while cruising on the coast of Africa for the suppression of that traffic. They were accused of favouring the shipment of slaves to be afterwards captured by themselves, that they might claim the bounty or head money. This was sufficient to show the gross falsehood and absurdity of charges issuing from such a source.

Sir R. PEEL answered that he had expressed at that time his opinion that it was unfortunate the President of the United States should have declared publicly to Congress that the state of the apprentices in the West Indies was as bad as that of the African slave, and he (Sir R. Peel) then stated, if the President wished to appoint a commission of inquiry into that matter every facility should be given for the investigation. He had at the same time also stated that he could not concur in the general allegations of the President's message, and had expressed his belief that some part of it was founded in error. But at the same time these documents contained the specific mention of a British broker and a British house.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON said that the name of the *Agnes* had been mentioned as one of the vessels employed in this traffic. Now, he had been authorised to give the most formal and unqualified contradiction to that statement, and he thought that the right hon. baronet, in answering a question, might have abstained from casting even the remotest imputation upon parties who had had no opportunity whatever of rebutting the charges.

Sir R. PEEL then read the extract from the document, which had been referred to, omitting, however, the names of the broker and merchant.

Mr. HUME said that the right hon. baronet had not answered one part of the question, and, therefore, he (Mr. Hume) would put another question. He would be glad distinctly to know whether official information had come under the notice of the Government, that any naval officer belonging to her Majesty's service, or any British subject, had been engaged in the slave-trade?

Sir R. PEEL said he had not the slightest information on the subject.

TRIAL OF THOMAS JENNINGS FOR SLAVE TRADING.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT, Friday, June 20.

(Before Mr. Justice PATTESON and Mr. Baron PLATT.)

Thomas Jennings, described as a master mariner, was indicted, under the statute 5 and 6 George IV., chap. 113, for feloniously manning, equipping, and despatching a certain vessel called the *Augusta*, for the purpose of dealing in slaves.

Mr. PAYNE (with whom was Mr. Lush) appeared as the counsel for the prosecution, which was managed by Sir G. Stephen. The facts of the case were similar to those which were elicited at the trial in this court in the month of September, 1843, of M. Pedro de Zulueta, upon an indictment charging him with having fitted out the brig *Augusta* for a voyage to the Galenas, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of engaging in the traffic in slaves. It will be remembered that after a protracted trial of three days' duration M. de Zulueta was acquitted. The prisoner had been the master of the brig *Augusta* at the time she was captured at Galenas, by Captain Hill, of her Majesty's ship *Saracen*, and his trial has been from time to time postponed, in order to secure the attendance to give evidence of that gallant officer. It now came on, and appeared to excite some interest, as the court was attended by many influential mercantile men.

Mr. M. D. Hill, Queen's Counsel, Mr. Vaughan Williams, and Mr. Prendergast defended the prisoner.

Mr. PAYNE at great length stated the circumstances under which the charge had been preferred against the prisoner at the bar, as set forth in the evidence which was presented to the court and jury.

The first witness called was

Captain H. W. Hill, examined by Mr. Lush.—I am the Lieutenant-Governor of the Gold Coast, but in the year 1839 I commanded her Majesty's ship *Saracen*, on the coast of Africa, and was on duty there four years and a half (from the month of September, 1837, to June, 1841,) for the protection of British commerce and the prevention of the slave-trade. I am well acquainted with the river Galenas, and produce a sketch of it, which I made myself. It is not navigable for large ships, or vessels so large as the brig *Golupchick* or the *Augusta*, as she is now called. At Galenas no commerce is carried on except the slave-trade. I have frequently landed there and observed six or seven large barracoons or slave-establishments, but these were destroyed at the latter end of the year 1840. When we landed to destroy them we found them in the possession of the Spaniards, who fled, and in consequence I do not know any of the slave factors. I have only heard mentioned who were the reputed factors or slave-dealers.

Mr. Lush.—Was it not notorious to every person acquainted with the Galenas who the slave-dealers were?

Mr. M. D. Hill objected to the question. The notoriety of the fact could not be evidence to affect any party charged.

Mr. Lush submitted that the evidence was admissible. At all events he should be able to prove that the prisoner was well acquainted with the Galenas.

Mr. Justice PATTESON ruled that the question should not be put.

The examination of Captain Hill was then resumed by Mr. Lush.—I have seen a person of the name of Rolo at Galenas; I knew nothing myself of his being a slave-dealer, but he was reputed to be so. I saw him at a place called Dumbocoro, where there was one large barracoon with several houses belonging to it. Rolo landed from a vessel which had been captured by the Hon. Captain Denman. I never met a person named Zunines at Galenas, but I saw him at Sierra Leone. I have also heard of a person named Alvarez at a small town close to Galenas; there were not any barracoons at that town. Barracoons are large buildings near the coasts, in which the slaves are confined until an opportunity offers for carrying them away. In the year 1839, while I was in command of the *Saracen*, I captured the vessel then called the *Golupchick*. She was sailing under the Russian flag, and was eight or nine miles from the Galenas. I sent her in charge to Sierra Leone for prosecution before the Mixed Commission Court, but the Court refused to enter into the case, because she was under the Russian flag. I then sent her home to England, to be disposed of by the Court of Admiralty. In the month of February, 1841, I again captured that same vessel; she was then sailing under the name of the *Augusta*, and under the British flag. She was at anchor at the Galenas roads at the time, and the prisoner was then in command. I knew her to be the *Golupchick* the moment I came alongside. I boarded her as the *Augusta*, and saw the prisoner on board. I asked him about his vessel, which I told him I recognised. The prisoner said that he did not know that I had captured her on a former occasion. I demanded the prisoner's papers, and he immediately handed to me the ship's license, the manifest, the bill of health, and other documents, which were usually known as "ship's papers." I looked them over in the usual way, and, finding that the vessel came from Liverpool, I considered she had been properly cleared out, and banded the papers back to the prisoner, and asked him the name of his consignee. He objected to tell me in the first instance, remarking, "Oh! I know better than to tell you that." I insisted upon knowing, and observed that I should detain the vessel until I was informed. On this he called one of his men, and directed him to bring up a packet of letters from the cabin. The man brought up a sealed packet. The prisoner broke the seal, and tore off the envelope, and, holding up the packet in his hand, said, "That is the name of the person to whom I am consigned." I took it from his hand, and broke the seal of the second envelope, and found it to contain ten letters, all directed and sealed. On seeing the name which the prisoner exhibited as that of his consignee, I demanded back his ship's papers, and seized the ship, which, as well as all the papers, I sent in charge of an officer to the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone.

The documents which had been transmitted to this country in the prosecution of an appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the decision of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone were here produced by Mr. John Brown, a clerk in the office of Her Majesty's Admiralty proctor, and handed to Captain Hill, who, after examining

them, identified them, but one of the letters and the second envelope were discovered to be missing. On this,

Mr. Lush proposed to ask the witness the name and address he had read on the envelope.

Mr. M. D. Hill objected to the question. The document ought to be produced—it's absence had not been in any way accounted for. The documents had all been sent to the Admiralty Court, and thence to the hands of the Admiralty proctor, and it was a harsh proceeding against the prisoner to ask to be allowed to give evidence of its contents.

Mr. Lush contended that its loss having been accounted for, he was entitled to give secondary evidence of the contents.

The Court held that the evidence, as to the loss, ought to be carried further.

The examination of the witness was again resumed, and in answer to questions put by Mr. Lush, Captain Hill stated that he believed he had seen the envelope and other documents in the court before which the prisoner had been tried at Sierra Leone; and again he had seen them at this court at the trial of M. de Zulueta, with the exception of the envelope.

Mr. Lush submitted that he had now laid sufficient grounds to let in secondary evidence.

Mr. Justice PATTESON replied, that the opinion of the Court was, that the learned counsel had not, by this additional evidence, succeeded in taking the matter one step nearer.

William Olier was then called, and proved the handwriting of the prisoner to several documents.

Mr. PAYNE proved other documents, and that Mr. Baker had acted as the proctor for the prisoner, in his appeal as owner of the *Augusta*, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He also proved the receipt of the prisoner's agent at Sierra Leone of the documents used in the proceedings there.

Mr. Justice PATTESON.—You ought to have here to-day all the documents specified in the list put in and numbered so.

The bill of lading, signed by the prisoner, was put in by Mr. Lush, and read by Mr. Straith. It acknowledged the shipment, at Liverpool, on board the brig *Augusta*, of which the prisoner was master and commander, 20 hogsheads of tobacco, 10 cases of arms, several cases of looking-glass, 134 bales of merchandise, 1,600 iron pots, and several kegs and barrels of gunpowder, to be conveyed to Galenas, and there delivered to Don Jose Alvarez, and to Don Ignatio Rolo.

Captain Hill was recalled, and examined by Mr. Lush.—I seized the *Augusta*, by putting a guard on board to prevent communication with the shore, and sent her the following morning to Sierra Leone, with the prisoner on board. The barracoons had been destroyed three or four months before. I searched the vessel by removing the cargo, with a view to discover whether she had any slaving implements on board, but could find none. I consider she could very easily have been fitted for the slave-trade, in a few hours after the cargo was discharged. The witness produced a packet which had been taken from the prisoner, and in it a letter, in the handwriting of Captain Barnados, who commanded the vessel when she was captured as the *Golupchick*. He also produced other letters, some of which he found in the prisoner's desk, and others in another desk in the cabin.

Cross-examined by Mr. M. D. Hill.—I searched the desk myself, but I cannot say to whom the second desk belonged.

Re-examined by Mr. Lush.—I have examined the log-book, which showed that the *Augusta* was occupied, from the 17th November to the 6th December, in her passage from Liverpool to Cadiz. I cannot say, without referring to a chart, how far the vessel was from Cork on the 18th November. The log is very badly kept, and has been much written over, so that it is almost impossible to make anything out of it.

Mr. Lush here remarked, that while Captain Hill had an opportunity of looking over the log, and comparing its bearing with the chart, he would proceed to put in some of the documentary evidence.

Mr. M. D. Hill complained, that in a prosecution for felony it was a harsh proceeding thus to get up the cause in the progress of the trial.

The following documents were then put in and read:—The Customs' license of the brig *Augusta*, Thomas Jennings commander, dated the 2nd October, 1840, and signed by Commissioners Legge and Spring Rice; the ship's articles with the crew for a voyage from Liverpool to the coast of Africa, showing the crew to consist of twenty-one, exclusive of the master. The sale of *Golupchick*, on the 25th September, 1840, to the prisoner, for 650*l.*, through the agency of Thomas Barnados, his agent; the cockets issued by the Custom-house, Liverpool, proving the value of the cargo to be about 5,000*l.*; the charter-party, dated 19th October, 1840, between the prisoner and Pedro Martinez and Co., of Cadiz, through Messrs. Zulueta, of London, their agents, for a voyage with "a legal cargo of goods from Liverpool to the Galenas, or as near thereto as they might get to, and thence to be sent on a legal voyage to the West Indies or North America, and to any port in Great Britain;" also several letters addressed to the prisoner by Messrs. Zulueta on the subject of the purchase of the *Augusta*.

Mr. M. D. Hill objected to a letter being read which purported to have been written by Barnados to the prisoner, on the ground that the witness could not state whether he had found it in the prisoner's desk or in that of the mate. The fact that it was addressed to the prisoner did not make it evidence against him, unless it was shown to have come into his possession.

Mr. Justice PATTESON ruled in favour of the objection, until some further proof.

Mr. PAYNE said the letter was dated the 25th of September, 1840, and was directed to Captain Jennings, at Mr. Denham's, Broad-street, Portsmouth. It bore the proper post-mark, and he would not only show that the prisoner was at that address at the time, but that he and Barnados were together at the time the purchase-money was paid for the brig.

John Owen was called, and proved that he knew the prisoner, and remembered his lodging at Denham's, in Broad-street, on the 25th September, 1840.

Mr. Justice PATTESON.—I think that will do, to admit the letter to be read.

Mr. De Pums produced and proved the accuracy of the translation

made of the letter, which was in the Spanish language. The translation was read in these terms:

"Friend—I enjoin you not to forget to take out the boat I recommended, with her sails and oars. I earnestly enjoin you, on arriving at G—, to send the letter to Don Thomas Buron, for whom you carry a To-morrow I leave for France. Adieu, my friend."

The signature of the letter was cut off. Several other letters were read, but were not of any peculiar character.

Mr. Emanuel Emanuel was called and examined by Mr. PAYNE.—I reside at Portsmouth, and on the 31st of August, 1840, I sold the brig *Golupchick* to the prisoner for £650. Captain Barnardos, who had formerly commanded her, was with the prisoner when the money was paid. I gave no paper or documents, but merely furnished an order for the delivery of the vessel up to the purchaser.

Cross-examined by Mr. M. D. HILL.—Barnardos had before been in the command of the vessel.

The hon. Captain Denman, R.N., called and examined by Mr. PAYNE.—I am a captain in her Majesty's navy, and during the years 1840 and 1841 I commanded a district on the coast of Africa. The Galenas was within my district. For a period of eight months I was scarcely out of sight of the Galenas, watching the river very closely. There is not any trade carried on there but the slave-trade, and the goods imported there were so for the purpose of buying slaves. There were six large and two small factories for the reception of slaves. They had barracoons attached to them, or places in which they are confined. Some of the larger ones would hold as many as 800 or 1,000 slaves. I knew a person of the name of Ignatio Rolo, but I believe he is dead. I have seen him at two different places, in the Galenas, and also on board my own ship. He was a slave-dealer, and the proprietor, jointly with his brother, of a slave factory, at a place called Jeckree, or Jecklee. I have also heard of, but never saw, a person known as Don Thomas Buron, and have captured slave-ships consigned to him. There are many parts of the coast of Africa where nothing but lawful trade is carried on: there are many others where both lawful and unlawful traffic is carried on; and at the Galenas nothing but illegal commerce is conducted. The gallant witness was desired to refer to the logbook of the *Augusta*, and to compare the entries with the chart produced. Captain Denman did so, and stated that, in his judgment, the brig *Augusta*, on the 18th November, was within 120 miles of the port of Cork, and a little to the westward of Scilly Islands.

Mr. M. D. HILL said he felt it to be his duty again to complain of the manner in which this case was prosecuted. Here was a chart brought, nobody knew from whence, from which the witness was called upon to give evidence. This, in fairness and propriety, ought not to be done; and he must say, the manner in which the case was pressed seemed very like pushing the law to the extreme.

Mr. Justice PATTESON inquired if the chart was of a character ordinarily used by masters of vessels.

The witness said it was sufficiently accurate to enable him to answer the question put. The next day the vessel was 800 or 900 miles from Cadiz, and there was a fair wind for Cork, and the prisoner might have made that port the following morning, as the wind was fair for him. The log had been most inaccurately kept, and exhibited great carelessness. Instead of proceeding to Cadiz, it would have been better to have made for Lisbon if the vessel needed repairs.

Cross-examined by Mr. M. D. HILL.—I saw Rolo first in the anchorage at Galenas, and next on board the *Vanguardio*, a slave-ship that I captured. I afterwards saw him ashore at Dumbercoro, and never saw him again. It is not a convenient mode of procuring slaves to send out dollars or specie to purchase them and take them away in the same ship. That has been done, but the most usual and convenient course is to send out goods by one ship, and then by letter to make arrangements for the supply of the cargo of slaves to another ship. The barracoons at Galenas were destroyed not by me but by the native chiefs, between the 16th and 17th of November, and I carried the news to Sierra Leone, which I reached on the 28th.

Thomas James Clarke, examined by Mr. Lush.—I was engaged as seaman on board the *Augusta* from Liverpool to the coast of Africa. The witness deposed, at some length, to the circumstance attending the voyage from Liverpool, and the vessel being overtaken by a gale in the Channel, and of the crew urging the prisoner to run into Cork. He refused; but told them to turn to and work well, and he would put into Cadiz. He did so, when five of the crew left the ship, and others were taken in their stead. After remaining at Cadiz upwards of a month, they sailed again to the Galenas. On board the ship was a man named Ancilia, who acted as a sort of steward. When Captain Hill came on board the witness saw the prisoner hand the steward a packet of papers, at the same time giving him some instructions. The steward took them into the galley, where there was the cook's fire, and witness saw no more of them. On another occasion, during the voyage, while reaching a soup tureen, he (the witness) discovered a bag, containing about twenty-two or twenty-three iron bolts, which, by order of the mate, he stowed away in the aft locker. Never saw any shackles on board.

Cross-examined by Mr. HILL.—The log was in the handwriting of Motley, the first mate.

William Thomas Onion, examined by Mr. PAYNE, deposed that he knew the *Augusta*, and saw the prisoner on board her at Portsmouth. The prisoner understood the Spanish language. He told witness that he was going to the coast of Africa, and perhaps from thence to the Havana. Witness deposed to seeing some deck screws for making a second deck, as well as some shackles, on board.

In his cross-examination by Mr. HILL, the witness stated that this was before the *Augusta* went round to Liverpool to take in her cargo, and there she would have to be cleared out at the Custom-house, after a full examination by the officers.

Mr. PAYNE, after the examination of this witness had concluded, proposed to read in evidence the nine letters which had been enclosed in the sealed packet opened at the time of the seizure by Captain Hill. It did not yet appear by whom those letters were written, and it was important that the court should see them, in order to ascertain whether the prisoner

had not deviated in his course by going to Cadiz, in order to receive and carry out those letters to the Galenas.

Mr. LUSH, on the same side, cited the decisions in the case of the King v. Horne Tooke, vol. 25, State Trials, and the King v. Watson, 2nd Starkie's Reports, where letters and papers found on the premises of the parties charged were admitted in evidence.

Mr. Justice PATTESON, after conferring with Mr. Baron Platt, held that these letters were inadmissible in evidence. The cases cited were prosecutions for conspiracy; but here the prisoner stood in the relation of servant to the owner or consignee, and it would be hard to bring as evidence against him letters of which he knew nothing of the contents. They might be evidence as against the charterer and the consignee, but by no possibility, as it appeared to him, could they be evidence against the mere carrier of them. The letters, therefore, must be rejected.

Colonel Nicholls was then called; and, in answer to Mr. LUSH, stated that he was the governor of the Island of Ascension, and was acquainted with the river Galenas for the last twenty-two years. Its commerce was confined entirely to the slave-trade. The witness was further examined as to the persons engaged in that traffic, but stated that he could speak merely from official reports made to him, and not from any personal knowledge. He never was on shore at the Galenas, and had only been a short time *en passant* along the coast.

This witness was not cross-examined.

Charles Tye, examined by Mr. LUSH. I am a police-constable, and took the prisoner into custody, and he made a statement to me before he was committed by Mr. Alderman Johnson to Newgate. He said, "Well, I suppose I am to be the sufferer. I could say a good deal if I liked, but I will not." I said to him, "Why not?" The prisoner replied, "Because I should get other people into trouble." I said, "I do not want to know anything you have to say;" and on this the prisoner said, "I do not care who knows it."

By Mr. M. D. HILL.—Is that all you have to say?

The witness.—Yes, sir.

Mr. M. D. HILL.—Then I do not care who knows your testimony.

Joseph Case was called to speak to conversations he had held with the prisoner as to the Galenas; but, on examination, it turned out that all the remarks on that subject had been made by the witness himself.

Mr. PAYNE intimated to the court that this was the case for the Crown.

Mr. M. D. HILL asked the learned judge if he was of opinion that he (Mr. Hill) ought to be called on for the defence?

Mr. Justice PATTESON said he would not keep the case from the jury.

Mr. HILL prayed a delay of five minutes, to which the court assented.—On their return,

Mr. LUSH applied to have Captain Hill recalled, to speak to certain conversations he had had with the prisoner, of which the captain had found a memorandum he had made at the time.

Mr. M. D. HILL, with some warmth, said the case for the prosecution was closed. Why had his learned friend not before asked the questions he now wished to put?

Mr. LUSH said, it was only this moment he had been made aware of the circumstances to which Captain Hill could speak. He had only just been instructed with respect to them.

Mr. V. WILLIAMS submitted that it would be a most dangerous practice to allow a witness, after being himself examined, and after hearing other witnesses fail in the proof expected from them, to suggest to counsel that he could prove the necessary facts. He did not suppose Captain Hill would state anything but the truth; but still, on the ground of a bad precedent, he must object to the course proposed to be taken by his learned friend.

Mr. Justice PATTESON confessed he had never heard of any instance of the kind; and with every respect for Captain Hill, he thought it would be a dangerous precedent to establish by having that gentleman examined, as proposed.

Mr. M. D. HILL then addressed the jury for the defence. He urged the fact that he had been labouring under this prosecution for upwards of two years, and had invariably surrendered from time to time to meet the charge in the conscientious purity of his innocence. After the result of the trial of M. de Zulueta the case ought never to have been pressed, especially as the prisoner had already been tried and acquitted at Sierra Leone for the offence imputed to him now. He submitted that the absence of slave implements from the vessel when seized, and the open manner in which he had anchored in the roadstead at Galinas, was a proof of his innocence. These facts, coupled with the excellent character he would receive, would lead to his acquittal.

Mr. Frederick Thomas Low and Mr. Henry George Holton, both master mariners, gave the prisoner an excellent character for humanity and honesty.

Mr. Justice PATTESON summed up the evidence with great minuteness. The jury retired, and after an absence of an hour came into court, when Mr. Baron Platt, Alderman Sir John Pirie, and Mr. Sheriff Sidney resumed their seats on the bench.

The jury, after answering to their names, pronounced, through their foreman, a verdict of *Not guilty*, which was received by the auditory with cheers, and cries of "Bravo."

Mr. Baron PLATT called upon the officers to maintain order, and stated it would be his duty to direct any person who committed such an indecency to be committed into custody. His lordship then directed the plea to be recorded.

The prisoner was again given in charge to the jury on an indictment for misdemeanour.

Mr. Lush declined to offer any evidence, and by direction of the learned judge, the jury again *Acquitted* the prisoner.

Mr. HILL applied to the court to order the immediate discharge of the prisoner.

Mr. Baron PLATT.—Let the prisoner be forthwith discharged.

The prisoner bowed respectfully to the court and jury, and withdrew from the bar.

On the application of Mr. Payne, Mr. Baron Platt allowed the expenses of the prosecution.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE COOLIES.—We learn that the long-talked of Coolies have arrived. Two hundred and sixty were landed at Morant Bay, from the barque *Bundell*. The proprietors of the *Earl of Elgin*, supposing that the planters, within a reasonable distance of the spot, would be anxious to get a sight of the strangers who are to be the "saviours of our country," despatched the vessel to Old Harbour, offering a passage in her for the low charge of 20s. So little interest, however, was felt in the strangers who have come ten thousand miles to cultivate our soil, that not more than ten or twelve persons availed themselves of the opportunity for gratifying their curiosity. From all we can learn, their appearance is such as to disappoint those who expected most from them. Most of them were, with the exception of a girdle, in a state of perfect nudity. They are of small stature, and not at all formed for the labour required for the cultivation of the soil in this island. It is said that an experienced planter, and a member of the Assembly, on first beholding them, declared that he would not have them as a gift to work upon his estate.—*Baptist Herald*.

LOCATION AND WAGES OF THE COOLIES.—By an advertisement issued from the Immigration department, we find that the following applications from the different parishes have been made, namely, from St. James for 235 labourers, from Hanover 810, Westmoreland 540, Clarendon 430, Vere 140, Trelawny 60, St. John 200, St. Mary 200, making, altogether, applications for 2615. The five first-named parishes are to be supplied at the earliest date, and the expected immigrants are to be landed at Old Harbour, Lucea, and Savannah-la-Mar. The rates of wages, and advantages offered are, "one shilling a day for able-bodied people, and for less effective in proportion, with house, ground, medicine, and medical attendance, gratis; nine hours to be considered a day's work."—*Baptist Herald*.

ARRIVAL OF E.MANCIPADOS.—We are happy to announce the arrival of forty-nine Emancipados in the *Tweed* from Havanna. They have been apportioned to the agricultural districts. One portion to an estate in the lower part of St. Andrew, and the other to a coffee property in the Port Royal mountains.—*Falmouth Post*.

TRINIDAD.—The past month has been a most propitious one for agricultural pursuits, both as regards sugar-making and planting. The weather has been generally fine, with daily refreshing showers, having the effect of bringing forward the young plants, without preventing either the grinding or carting of produce. The crop will be generally made in two or three weeks. Some estates have already finished, but we regret to say, short of the expected quantity of sugar. This disappointment, we apprehend, will be general throughout the island, not from want of canes, but owing to the yielding being unusually small, an effect occasioned by the heavy rains of last year.—*Trinidad Standard*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—THE COOLIES.—On the 4th of May arrived the *Lord Hungerford*, with 352 Coolies on board. The *Lord Hungerford* left Calcutta on the 26th of January, and made, consequently, a passage of ninety-eight days. The number shipped was 362, ten of whom died on the way out, and one since landing in the colony at the Colonial Hospital. On the 9th, five being in the Hospital as invalids, the following distribution was made of the whole number by the immigrant agent: plantations Three Friends 44, Land of Plenty 51, Mainstay 40, Reliance 42, Anna Regina 40, Richmond 41, La Belle Alliance 43, Lima 45—total settled, 346. The eight estates enumerated are all situated on the mainland of Araobisce, more commonly known as the Arabian coast of the county of Essequebo. There is not a healthier part of the colony under cultivation than that. All these properties, besides, are, or were in the days of slavery and the apprenticeship, of a first-rate class, and present every advantage in buildings, medical attendance, and other particulars, which can render them eligible for the abode of immigrants. Another vessel, the *Success*, was being despatched for Guiana on the departure of the *Lord Hungerford*, and in all probability is at this moment at sea. But with the exception of such emigrants as the *Success*, and possibly a third vessel may bring us, we cannot look for any more from the East Indies for several months to come; the 1st of March having been prescribed as the term when, in order that the people might be brought at the most favourable season round the Cape of Good Hope, the half-yearly tide of emigration from east to west was to cease.—*Royal Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

TEXAS.—The various communications from Texas say that M. de Saligny is remarkably busy and active, but nobody can tell exactly what it is about, only that he is not friendly to annexation. One writer gives an odd rumour, to the effect that France wants colonies, and that a French colony in Northern Mexico, on the sea-board, and near Texas, is not an impossible thing. The feeling, at the last dates from Galveston, was almost unanimous for annexation; but persons here connected with Texas think that the certainty of peace with Mexico, and a full legal title by that power to a separate national existence, may go far towards changing the opinions of many of the citizens of the "Republic of the Lone Star." A private letter from Vera Cruz says: "It is thought that Mexico will offer Texas a boundary to the Rio Grande; whereas, if compelled by the United States to annexation, she would possibly refuse to admit a boundary south of the river Nueces." If there be any truth in this, and it is more than probable, Mexico is literally offering the bounty of a beautiful region of country against annexation.—*New York Correspondent of Morning Chronicle*.

MEXICO.—The Mexican Congress had granted the authority asked for by Cuevas, the minister, to treat with Texas on the subject of acknowledging her independence, conditionally that she will consent to remain a separate nation, and not consent to become one of the states of the United States. The bill giving powers to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to negotiate a treaty with Texas for her independence, with the proviso that she should not be annexed to the United States, produced

a very animated debate in the Mexican House of Representatives, but it at length passed that body on the 3rd inst., by 41 yeas to 13 nays. This bill had been sent up to the Mexican Senate, where it was sure to pass.—*Correspondent of Morning Chronicle*.

The *Emancipator* has the following:—"We have been permitted to publish an extract from a letter written at Vera Cruz on the 8th of May:—' Elliott and the Texan commissioners are about leaving this, Vera Cruz, in an English frigate for Galveston, with the treaty acknowledging the independence of Texas. But they little dream of their reception at Galveston. These people (the Mexicans) think that the acknowledgment of Texan independence will prevent annexation, and thereby they will get clear of declaring war, as they had threatened. They swear, however, that if Texas prefers annexation to acknowledgment, they will declare war.' These 'Texan commissioners' must have been sent by President Jones to Mexico, under the patronage of the English ambassador, to forestall annexation, by obtaining a recognition from Mexico. It looks as if there must be a good deal of deep maneuvering somewhere."

FRANCE.—The Report of the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the Slave-trade Convention Bill, states that the Committee fully approves of the terms of the treaty. It declares that the principal object of the negotiation was the more efficacious repression of the slave-trade, and it recommends the most scrupulous and loyal execution of the treaty, by every means at the disposal of the French marine, to put down the infamous traffic in slaves. It declares that the treaty is calculated to do honour to the statesmen who conducted the negotiation on both sides of the straits, and expresses a hope that this great act will succeed in putting an end to the resentment and bad feeling which at another period existed between the two nations.

Miscellanea.

SLAVE-TRADE.—MASSACRE ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.—The following particulars relative to the murder of a prize crew on board a slaver have transpired:—The slaver had already been chased six times; thrice by the *Star*, and thrice by the *Wasp*. The *Star* having succeeded in hauling her to, she was boarded, and only one man found on deck, the others having gone below. The crew consisted altogether of twenty-one hands, and she had on deck two long guns, loaded to the muzzle with musket balls and double-headed shot. On turning the crew up, it was found that several of them were severely wounded on the head and other parts of the body, as if they had recently been engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter, the wounds being evidently produced by a cutlass. One of the crew, in the hope of saving himself, turned Queen's evidence, and related the following dreadful circumstances:—The slaver in question had been chased and taken by the *Wasp* four days previously, and a prize crew, commanded by a midshipman, was put on board her, with orders to take her into Sierra Leone for condemnation. The officer in question was a midshipman, named Harmer, and he having released the greater portion of the slaver's crew from irons, the diabolical plan of murdering the officer and his men was suggested by the ruffianly captain. Poison was first administered, and this, we suppose, not working as rapidly as was wished, the deed was effected by a general onslaught, and the bodies of the victims thrown overboard. The murderers then tried to escape to Rio, but were captured by the *Star*. The whole of the gang, twenty-one in number, will be sent to England by the *Heroine* and *Wasp*, and will be tried for murder and piracy.—Another account states that the schooner was called *Felicidade*, of Virginia; she had been captured in the latter end of February by her Majesty's sloop *Wasp*; and a lieutenant, Stupart, a midshipman called Harmer, about fifteen years of age, the son of a banker in Dublin, an old quarter-master, and ten men, were sent on board as a prize crew to take her to Sierra Leone. The day after they parted with the *Wasp*, the prize schooner fell in with a brigantine, which ran down to speak to her, supposing her to have been a consort. When she was pretty close, Lieutenant Stupart observed that she was full of slaves; he hailed her, and ordered her to heave to, but she, finding her mistake, made all sail. After three hours' chase, Lieutenant Stupart came pretty close to her, and on firing a musket at her, she hove to. He immediately went on board with four men in the schooner's boat, and finding she had 420 slaves on board, took possession of her. He then directed young Harmer, with the quarter-master and five men, to take the schooner to Sierra Leone, while he did the same with the brigantine, first sending nineteen prisoners from the latter on board the former, with whom he directed Harmer to Lagos, where he would arrive the next morning, previous to going to Sierra Leone. The next afternoon, while three of the prize crew were below, getting up some water, Harmer sitting on the taffrail, the captain of the brigantine, who was one of the prisoners, sprung upon the marine, who was sentry over them, tore his bayonet from him, and stabbed him to the heart. He then sprung on young Harmer, who was in the act of drawing his sword, and stunning him with a blow from the butt-end of the bayonet, beat him severely over the head. The old quarter-master, who was at the wheel, drew his cutlass and fought desperately; he severely wounded four men, and cut down the fifth, before he was overpowered, when his throat was cut. The remaining portion of the men were soon overpowered, when the whole were thrown overboard. The captain of the brigantine, who had planned this inhuman massacre, now said, that as he had rescued the schooner from the English, he should take her as his property, in lieu of the vessel which had been taken from him full of slaves; and he was on his way to the Brazils to get papers for her, when a few mornings after, at day-light, the *Star* caught sight of him, and by nine o'clock was alongside and took possession. In consequence of this affair, it has been determined to give no quarter to slavers who offer the slightest resistance.—*United Service Gazette*.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY.

CHAMBER OF PEERS, April 3, 1845.

AFTER the Minister of Marine (Admiral Mackau) had signified the assent of the Government to the recommendation of the Commission that legislative action should be substituted for royal ordinances,

Baron CHARLES DUPIN, President of the Council of Colonial Delegates, opened the discussion by a very long and desultory speech. He began by a disquisition on the average duration of human life, supported by statistical references, not only inconclusive, but evidently fallacious. Then followed a touching picture of the tenderness bestowed on the blacks whom age or sickness incapacitated for labour, and a comparison between the condition of the slaves and that of English artisans, altogether to the advantage, of course, of the former. He went on to infer from the immigration of 40,000 Indians and Chinese into Mauritius, that freedom had, in three or four years, killed one-third of the emancipated population in that island. M. Dupin next availed himself of the admission made by the commission under the Duke de Broglie, that the condition of the slaves was sensibly improved, and that their treatment was rarely cruel. He referred to isolated cases in which liberated slaves had desired to return to slavery. He placed the conduct of the French slaves on occasion of the earthquakes at Fort Royal and Point à Pitre in contrast with that of the freed blacks of Bridgetown, Barbados; the former having preserved the property and lives of their masters, the latter having been guilty of pillage. M. Dupin proceeded to boast of the physical and moral improvements introduced into the colonies within the last fifteen years, at the very time that the colonists had to contend with the beet-root sugar. He complained of secret societies, instigations to revolt, incendiary writings, and appeals to the passions. He declared that the most profound peace reigned in the colonies, and that a noble spirit of devotedness had distinguished the slaves since the British act of emancipation. He also paid some high compliments to the masters. He expressed his preference of the inaction of former governments to the present measure; and he especially objected to conferring on the slaves the right of redemption, because the colonists were in this respect already excessively generous. He concluded by saying that he would maintain the *status quo*.

Count BEUGNOT said, that the preceding speaker had avoided every topic favourable to emancipation. He had saved himself the trouble of noticing them by a single word—"It is too late." However, if slavery was so good, the slave-trade need not have been abolished. M. Dupin had made a seductive picture of the happiness of the slaves: but why, then, had the ordinance on protection (*patronage*) been passed? Was it not on account of the excessive punishments inflicted by the masters? It was now said that these were falsehoods; but they were proved by official documents. And was there not constant impunity? The speaker cited the testimony of the magistrates to the resistance they had experienced in visiting the plantations.

Admiral MACKAU here interrupted M. Beugnot, to say that he had lately received despatches from the Governor of Martinique, conveying the assurance that the masters had submitted to the introduction of the ordinance on protection, which was prudently and satisfactorily administered.

FRIDAY, April 4.

M. BEUGNOT, continuing his speech, quoted a report of M. Chevalier, substitute of the *procureur du roi* at Fort Royal, Martinique, dated February, 1845, which disproved the assertion of M. de Mackau. This magistrate had, on an estate belonging to a member of the colonial council, experienced a degree of resistance which yielded only to force. This report proved also that a slave had, in the dungeon of the estate, been subjected to excessive punishment. There had been no more recent reports. (Neither M. de Mackau nor M. Dupin replied to this.) Resuming his reply to M. Dupin, M. Beugnot demonstrated that there were, in the island of St. Martin, in September, 1844, strong tendencies towards a refusal of work on the part of the slaves; and that it was the same at the same period in Cayenne. The *procureur général* of Guadeloupe had spoken in full council of the infliction of excessive punishments, and of the injustice of the accusations directed against the magistrates; and since these officers had married creoles and become proprietors (contrary to the ordinance), it followed that they would take care what they said in their reports. It had been ascertained that in 1840 there were of escaped slaves from our colonies, in Dominica 800, in St. Lucia 600, and in Antigua 600. Could any thing more effectually refute the assertion of M. Dupin, who alleged that the slaves did not wish for liberty? In the observations of the Council of Martinique on the *projet de loi* presented to the Chamber of Peers, they deplored the complete anarchy which reigned, and

which had favoured the escape of 20,000 labourers. And this was the state of things which M. Dupin wished to maintain! Numerous fires had broken out in Guadeloupe in August, 1844, and the Minister of Marine must have received advices that similar calamities had been renewed. On the 20th of October, 1843, the *juge de paix* of St. Martin had declared that the slaves, at the very sight of the emancipated islands, loudly demanded their liberty. In such a situation was it possible to go back, or to maintain the *status quo*, without danger? He thought not. But it was said that the press was not favourable to the slaves. The colonists knew the reason of that. They had sent to Paris an abundance of doubloons, which circulated in the shape of journals, books, and pamphlets. This perhaps was clever; but they would have done better to pay their debts and improve their cultivation. Was it possible to stop? St. Domingo, notwithstanding her misfortunes, was not pining for the chains she had burst. If colonial slavery were at an end she would return to France. There were also disasters in Cuba. The speaker then referred to the various steps taken in relation to emancipation at preceding periods, and went on to say that he regarded the *projet de loi* as unsatisfactory. What crime had the slave committed that we should impose on him the necessity of purchasing himself? The negro Saturday represented an amount of wages of only 1s. 3d. per week, or less than £1. 10s. a year: how was he to purchase himself with so little, after supplying his daily wants? As to spontaneous emancipation, which M. Dupin had formerly stated at 42,000, and now at 20,000, M. Beugnot on examination had found but 3,826; the remainder were transactions with which the generosity of the planters had little to do. The delegate from Bourbon had stated that the spontaneous liberation of a prædial slave was an act almost without example; and M. de Cussac said everything on this point in one word, "Acts of generosity, none." In conclusion, the speaker said he should vote for the *projet de loi* with regret because he regarded it as unsatisfactory. By further delay the planters would lose indemnity entirely, and France would be deprived of the honour of doing a great and generous action.

Count TASCHER, of a Martinique family, combated the assertion of the preceding speaker that the colonists never spontaneously emancipating their slaves, by referring to the as yet unpublished plan for abolishing slavery in French Guiana by substituting a system of organized labour.

General CUBIERES, formerly minister of war, and colleague of M. Thiers in the cabinet of the 1st March, to the surprise of all parties, pronounced against emancipation. He admitted that some illustrious men were abolitionists; but because they were divided as to the mode of proceeding, and because labour had so much diminished, and would soon be annihilated in the English colonies, he would not agitate the question. England promoted emancipation, in order to ruin the colonies of other nations and to benefit India. The law proposed was merely to please England. Emancipation would annihilate the French colonies, and ruin their maritime commerce. He was consequently for delay. He complained of persons being so eager to bring to an end a state of things which had lasted for ages. It had been asserted that the English slaves were more advanced in religion than the French; but he wished that emancipation should be regarded merely as a question of industry. He did not wish to found a new state of society. Indemnity would be of no use; the colonists did not want money, but labour. Human property constituted three-fifths of the value of a plantation, and could not be separated from property in the soil. The general declared his abhorrence of the ideas of liberty held by M. Beugnot. They ought, he said, to share the fate of the children of Saturn, and to be devoured as soon as they were born, lest they should devour their parents. (Laughter.)

The Duke d'HARCOURT regretted that MM. Dupin and Cubières should have applied their talents to the support of slavery. He looked at the subject from so different a point of view that it was difficult for them to understand one another. They saw in it nothing but a question of finance, of more or less labour. Of justice, humanity, liberty, or the rights of man, he did not recollect that they had once made mention. Was this becoming a country like ours? Homage was, indeed, nominally paid to the imprescriptible rights of man; but care was taken to avoid the consequences. Slavery was infamous, said the reporter; but take care how you touch it, for it is profitable. The negroes are well treated. It is quite a pity that it does not exist among ourselves. We had heard much of ameliorations; but what relation had these to freedom? They all originated in the interest of the proprietors; not men only, animals, all things, partook of them. They were part of a general progress of improvement. "Men farm better, use their horses better, feed their pigs better. Is this all our philanthropy?" But why be in a hurry? The planters are compassionate; leave them to themselves. They are as eager to give the slaves their liberty as you are; but it cannot be done yet.

You must prepare them, or you will do more harm than good. He had no confidence in this generosity, which was contrary to the nature of things. They were rare cases in which morality and virtue could stand against private interest. Enfranchisements had been spoken of; but they knew what these were. The planters enfranchised the sick, the aged, the infirm, their own children, whom shame prevented them from keeping in slavery, and sometimes the dying. As to morals, if anything could effectually obstruct their advancement, it was slavery. The one was incompatible with the other. And religion inculcated such lessons that the masters used every means to evade it. It was the same with marriage. Marriage produced legitimate children, whom the state reckoned up and protected; but it was better to have a breed for whom nobody cared, which might work on the plantation and be reckoned with the stock. Let them be judged according to their works. Here there was a strong public opinion against them, and they contented themselves with panegyrizing slavery. In the United States, where they had the upper hand, they murdered any one who allowed himself to plead for emancipation. The evil tree of slavery could not produce better fruit. Reference had been made to England. It had been said that England looked at nothing but her own interest, and wanted only the destruction of foreign colonies. "I am not," said the noble Duke, "an Anglomaniac. I admit that there is a real, perhaps a necessary antagonism between the two countries; but I wish it consisted in excelling rather than in hating one another. The world is large enough for many great and prosperous nations. But England is covetous, and we are her dupes! The expenditure of twenty millions sterling is a singular evidence of covetousness. I do not know whether we are going to be quite as covetous as this. (Laughter.) I believe rather that, if the question of indemnity could be separated from that of slavery, the latter would be soon settled. But has England spent twenty millions to ruin our colonies, or her own? This may be hard to determine. It is the favourite theme of our opponents that the colonies of England have been in great distress ever since emancipation. So through covetousness England has spent twenty millions to ruin her own colonies! But there is something behind this—she has the monopoly of India. The conquest and tenure of India by England I admit to be extraordinary; but, in a financial respect, India supplies nothing to England. People go to India to make fortunes, but the East India Company pays nothing into the English treasury. It is even possible that this vast Colossus, which has renewed the conquests of Alexander, may finish its course by bankruptcy. Yet for this we are told England has spent twenty millions, and ruined her magnificent colonies in the West Indies! The true interest of England in relation to our colonies is that they should remain as they are; since, on the slightest collision, they would be in insurrection to-morrow. The truth is that we hate England, and cannot bear to imitate her. But this feeling ought not to go so far as to make us deny what is true, and resist measures at once honourable in themselves and worthy of France, simply because our neighbours have set us the example." (Hear, hear.)

The Prince of Moskwa, son of Marshal Ney, replied to the Duke d'Harcourt in a very long speech, which occupied the remainder of this sitting, and a great part of that of the ensuing day. He vehemently protested against being regarded as an advocate of slavery; but he contended strongly for the maintenance of it, on the ground of hatred towards *perfide Albion*. He was followed by M. PERBIER, and by the Marquis D'AUDIFFRET, who advocated the *status quo*.

MONDAY, April 7.

Count MONTALEMBERT said, his prevailing feeling was surprise. He was astonished that in the year 1845 they should be in a French Chamber discussing how and when French slavery should cease. The principle indeed was admitted; but the very first step towards it, small and unsatisfactory as it was in his judgment, was violently opposed. Posterity would hardly know how to believe this. He wished to avoid declamation and to speak impartially. His family had held property in St. Domingo, and he himself had possessions in the British West Indies; so that he had experienced the two great colonial changes, the revolt in St. Domingo, and English emancipation. It was therefore a conviction tempered by sorrowful experience which had led him to rank himself among the advocates of emancipation. He wished well to the colonies, and would make all possible improvements in their condition; but it was necessary to disclose to them the nature of their position, and their duty both towards the mother country and towards humanity. The colonists had imagined that the question of emancipation had been postponed, in some sort lost. They must be undeceived. It must be shown to them that the question was only between an immediate and a gradual emancipation. He regretted that the Government had not taken a more decisive step; that they had not adopted the plan of the majority of the Colonial Commission. He, however, accepted the present law as a means of introducing the blacks to those two fundamental elements of society, families and property. He would take up the subject of emancipation in only two points of view, the example given by England, and the interests of their own colonies. In English emancipation he found an imperative inducement to French emancipation; and he declared without hesitation that it had nobly succeeded. Not, indeed, in an economical view, but in a moral view. The bad economical results had been produced by four causes. First, the obstinate resistance of the colonists to the measures of transition proposed by the English Government. Secondly, the non-employment of the indemnity on colonial objects.

Thirdly, the want of a system of organised labour. Fourthly, competition with East India sugar. All these sources of mischief could be avoided by them, provided the colonists would have good sense enough to act with the Government. The blacks, however, had not given up working; they had applied themselves to a variety of labours for their own advantage. The exports from England to the West Indies had not diminished. The amount was the same in 1831 and in 1842. The colonies then are not ruined. The colonists have passed through a painful transition; but they have still possession of the soil, and around them is created a new society with all its wants and resources. But, while admitting this financial injury, reduced to its proper limits, it must be maintained that in a social and moral view emancipation had been signally successful. 900,000 persons had passed from slavery to liberty without any disorder, with less disturbance than had been exhibited by any political revolution in Europe. Notwithstanding the natural inactivity of the negroes, they had voluntarily given to labour three quarters of the time forced from them in slavery. There had been less crime among them than in the mother country. Three moral and social results of the highest importance had thus been obtained. First, the possibility of immediate emancipation without disorder had been ascertained. Secondly, the emancipated negroes, far from relapsing into barbarism, had shown themselves eager after the rights and pleasures of civilization. Thirdly, this race, which it had been said could be governed only by the whip, had proved themselves docile and readily obedient to proper authorities. These results had been confirmed by the solemn testimony of Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel, whose language the Prince of Moskwa ought not to have forgotten. The Whig party in England united in the same testimony. It ought to be recollectcd, however, how these results had been obtained. "It must be confessed," said the Count, "and it ought to be loudly proclaimed, they sprang from the all-powerful and beneficent influence of the Protestant missionaries. It was this which rendered the enfranchised negro so docile, and (allow me the expression) so fit for society. The power of the planters had antecedently been threatened by the Protestant missionaries, and when it fell, that of the missionaries supplied its place with great advantage in all respects. It was these missionaries, who have been the objects of so much persecution and so many denunciations, who had preserved so long the lives, the properties, and the safety of the planters. In the great insurrection of 1830, which immediately preceded and urged on emancipation, the Protestant missionaries did all they could to maintain the peace and to calm the free population; and Mr. Hill, who was at the head of the special magistracy in Jamaica, declared that the colony owed more to their influence than to force of arms. Subsequently to emancipation also, they prevented the violation of the laws, and maintained that wonderful order and tranquillity which have constantly prevailed in the English colonies since emancipation. I am perfectly impartial, gentlemen, on this point. You know that these missionaries are of all sorts, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, &c., and my faith obliges me to regard them as heretics, as strangers to, or rebels against, the truth which I profess; but it does not make me blind to the immense service which they rendered to humanity and to freedom. I feel pleasure, on the contrary, in declaring that the labours of the English missionaries in the West Indies constitute one of the noblest spectacles ever exhibited to mankind. The influence of these missionaries has been spoken of as a reproach to them. Gentlemen, what was the origin and the nature of that influence? They reigned over the negroes, it is said. I admit it readily: but by what better title is it possible to reign over men? Why, they found these poor blacks, men and women, naked, and taught them to clothe themselves; they found them in brute-like concubinage and united them in marriage; they found them in ignorance and introduced them to knowledge; they found them in barbarous superstitions, and threw on them the light of the gospel; in a word, they found them in slavery, and conducted them to freedom. And after this they are reproached with the influence which they exercised? It is the most legitimate and felicitous influence which can possibly be exercised by man over man. Yes! I do not hesitate to affirm it, the word of the missionary substituted for the whip of the slave-driver in the government of the black race, is the most delightful spectacle, the most blessed revolution, which the nineteenth century has yet presented to the world." (Hear, hear.) His admiration of this spectacle was connected with a feeling of pain when he recollectcd that it had been effected under a flag not French, and by a clergy not Catholic. All their opponents had insisted on the necessity of diffusing the influence of religion previously to emancipation, and had made an argument of it against them who wished for some greater promptitude. He had tried to find out what was doing in this respect; and his conviction was, that in their colonies religious and moral instruction was a mere fiction. There was in them an evident and mortifying inferiority to the English colonies. The fault might be attributed to three classes—to the clergy in the first instance, to the government in the second, and to the colonists in the last. The clergy in the colonies were lukewarm. The Government were ready with money; but they should establish the authority of the clergy on its regular basis, the episcopate. The speaker then cited several testimonies from official persons in the French colonies, affirming a prevailing antipathy to religious instruction on the part of the colonists. He would not have it thought that he held the blacks themselves blameless. He was not philanthropist enough to think that either their colour or their misfortunes invested them with all the virtues. But he maintained that their vices could be corrected only in state of freedom. Offer them religious instruction in slavery, and they would only regard it

as more work. Offer it to them in freedom, and they would show themselves not only capable but greedy of it. It was the same with marriage. Their reluctance to it had been quoted as immoral; but it existed only in slavery, when they had no liberty of choice, and when their wives would be exposed to the passions of their masters. Had he then not a right to say that the colonists did not sincerely try to facilitate emancipation? The adversaries of emancipation held two sorts of language, the one for the use of their eloquent defenders in the mother country, and the other for the use of the planters and colonial councils. These latter knew how to change their attitude. They began by acknowledging neither the right nor the fact of the abolition of slavery, which they called a providential and permanent instrument of civilization. Afterwards, when they saw that emancipation was seriously intended, they changed their tone, and said, "We are quite willing, but you propose objectionable methods!" They had begun by opposing the census; then the law of forced expropriation; then the law of protection. In May, 1843, a *procureur du roi* arriving at an estate on a tour of instruction, the master had the audacity to exclaim, "Fifty lashes to the first black who answers the questions put to him!" If this was done when the magistrate was present, what would be done when he was absent?

The Prince of Moskwa.—We rely in this respect on the declaration of the Government.

Count MONTALEMBERT.—"The Minister of Marine has said that the ordinance on protection had at length been accepted and executed. I believe it. Why, who could suppose an unlimited continuance of such things in a French colony? I draw an argument from this, however, against the position of our opponents. If the colonial proprietors have ended, after a violent opposition, by accepting the ordinance, I conclude they will accept the arrangements concerning property and the right of redemption which their partisans so vehemently resist." In this great cause there were two unquestionable principles. First, the necessity of not proclaiming liberty without preparation. In this all were agreed. But there was another principle in which they and their opponents were not agreed—it was the urgency of immediate preparation. This was the difference between the numerous abolitionists who had recently made their appearance, and the pure abolitionists. He vindicated for themselves the exclusive use of this epithet, in order to distinguish themselves from the new category of cautious abolitionists, such as the Prince of Moskwa and General Cubiéras. They wished for immediate measures, while the others wished for nothing of the sort. (Laughter.) They found in every proposition extreme danger, insurmountable difficulty. Their entire wisdom consisted in waiting. Now the Duke of Broglie had well said, "To wait is wise, if you are in a condition to wait; but to wait for the sake of waiting, to wait through carelessness or irresoluteness, through not having sense enough to decide, or courage enough to act, is the worst of all courses, and the most certain of all dangers." (Hear.) He would go further than the noble duke, and endeavour to define this most certain of all dangers. It was this:—"If you act, you keep possession of the land; if you do not act, others will act in your stead. In the former case you obtain emancipation gradually, and with indemnity; in the latter, you will still have emancipation, but neither gradually nor with indemnity. The English colonies did precisely what you are doing. In 1823, and at other periods, the Government invited their co-operation; but the colonists would not hearken. What followed? In 1830 and 1831 a dreadful insurrection; in 1833, emancipation, with apprenticeship; in 1837 or 1838, the abolition of the apprenticeship itself, complete emancipation, and, as you say, the ruin of the colonies. But your position is worse than theirs; for they had not to contend with the two great dangers which threaten you—the neighbourhood of freedom, and the danger of war. But suppose these dangers to be chimerical, what then? You say that the English colonies are ruined. In what state then are your own? I say they are ruined too; only by slavery instead of by freedom. This ruin is proclaimed by yourselves. And to what do you attribute it? To the agitation of the emancipation question. I believe you are right. But I ask what remedies can be applied to this? There are but two. Either to grant emancipation, or to banish the idea of emancipation from the world. I defy you to find a middle course. Either give us freedom, or convert us, like the Americans, to slavery. Ah! if you can cause it to be declared by France that slavery is a natural and divine right; if you can obtain the prohibition, as in the United States, of the right of petition and discussion on slavery; if you can enter the path which has led certain states in America to prohibit, under pain of death, the teaching of a slave to read,—then you may reckon on the prosperity of the colonies with the maintenance of slavery. But if you dare not go so far—if you cannot, (and I congratulate you that you cannot,) you can never regain your past prosperity while slavery shall exist among you." (Hear, hear.) If the colonists had brought forward any plan of emancipation he should think them entitled to more consideration; but this was not the case. M. Tascher had referred to an experiment proposed by a delegate of Cayenne; but he had not been sanctioned by his own colonial council. At all events, the plan, which referred only to the least important of their colonies, had not been approved by any other of them. Generally speaking they resisted all change. This, in his opinion, was the way to lose all that was left to them. In his judgment, emancipation was the key to their future prosperity. The moment they should come to the mother country with two

extended hands, offering in the one emancipation, and showing with the other that the interests of our navigation and our industry required to be indemnified for emancipation, he was persuaded that the necessary sacrifices would be made. He would say a word in conclusion on an argument borrowed from the national honour. It had been said that the measure should be rejected, because it was part of a system of concession to England. He thought they might argue in a contrary direction. If any one supposed (which he did not) that England wished to humble or to menace France, he affirmed that she could do nothing better than maintain the actual condition of their colonies. How could the security of France be more seriously threatened than by the craters of disorder in her colonies? The national honour seemed to him more deeply implicated in the question of emancipation than in any other question of the time. Emancipation was a great thing, and nations were great only because they did great things. The deepest humiliation of France would consist in her not daring, or not being able to undertake it. "Ah! gentlemen, I entreat you do not make our poor blacks pay the price of our political degradation; do not let us avenge the real or supposed wrongs of England, by lingering behind her in the path of humanity, civilization, and religion!" (Hear, hear.) He would vote for the *projet de loi*.

Count TASCHER stated that the plan for abolishing slavery in Cayenne had been brought forward by the delegate for that colony and two members of the colonial council, and that it had the support of the principal inhabitants.

Count de SAINT PRIEST replied to M. de Montalembert, and was for maintaining the *status quo*.

M. HIPPOLYTE PASSY followed him, and entered into a general discussion of the subject. In concluding he said, that the objections to the *projet de loi* rested on two allegations:—the first, that the colonies were in so prosperous a condition that they should not be touched; the second, that the proprietors were doing so much good that they should be left to themselves. He examined and refuted both these allegations.

On the 9th of April M. MERILHOU, the reporter of the commission, closed the general discussion, and the chamber proceeded to the consideration of the several clauses. We have already given an account of the principal amendments which were introduced.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The annual papers relating to the slave trade having been laid before Parliament at a much earlier period than usual, we are enabled to give our readers a condensed view of the extent of the nefarious traffic during the years 1843-4.

From the extracts we shall make from the reports of the Slave Trade Commissioners, addressed to Lord Aberdeen, it will appear that the slave trade has rather increased than decreased during the time specified.

SIERRA LEONE.

"The total number of vessels adjudicated during the year has been thirteen, twelve of which proved cases of condemnation, and one was restored. Eight hundred and eight slaves were emancipated during the year, of whom eight hundred and five were registered here. The total number of vessels adjudicated by the Mixed Commissions since their establishment in this Colony in 1819 up to the present date is four hundred and seventy-one. Of this number twenty-four were cases of restoration to the claimants. During the same period there have been emancipated by these Courts sixty-one thousand and eighty-five slaves, of whom only fifty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-one have been registered here. Of the thirteen vessels which were adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Courts during this year, only two had slaves on board, namely, *Furia* and *Temerario*. The first shipped her human cargo at Lagos, and the latter at Cape Lopez. When detained both were found to be Brazilian vessels. Nearly the whole of the thirteen slave-trading vessels, which sailed from different ports in Brazil to mere nominal ports in other places, found their way to this coast. Eleven were regular Brazilian vessels; one was Spanish, but captured under Brazilian colours; the other one was Portuguese. All were to have returned with their cargoes of slaves to Brazil. The eleven Brazilian vessels engaged in the slave traffic were all, except two, cases of equipment. The Spanish and Portuguese vessels were also cases of equipment.

"It is scarcely possible to name the exact ports of the coast to which these thirteen vessels were really destined, and we can only assign a probable locality to them from the places in which they detained by her Majesty's cruisers. Adopting this as our best guide, it appears that of the eleven Brazilian vessels, six were destined to the slave ports within five degrees *north* of the Equator, four of them to the African coast within eight degrees *south*, and one to Quillemane on the east coast of Africa. The Spanish vessel was detained sailing, under the Brazilian flag, off Cabinda; and the Portuguese prize was seized in latitude 6° 33' South, and longitude 10° 10' West. There are at present four cases before the Courts, two of which had slaves on board.

"From the foregoing statement, your Lordship will perceive that, unhappily for the cause of humanity, the slave trade has greatly increased during the year 1843, and when we consider that many Portuguese vessels, of whose numbers we have no account, must have been sent for adjudication to the new Mixed Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope, the increase will be greater.

"During the year just closed the slave trade in this neighbourhood has been most successfully and extensively carried on. At the Gallinas the slave-trading establishments have been all restored, and are in active

operation. The notorious Pedro Blanco has lately returned from the Havana in an American vessel called the *Elsinore* to the Gallinas, with a full cargo of slave-trading merchandise, particularly *slave equipment* articles. We beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention to the manner in which the slave-trading vessels are supplied with coppers, shackles, bolts, handcuffs, chains, &c., nearly the whole of which are brought to the coast in perfect safety, *on freight*, under the American flag; other merchandizes for carrying on that inhuman traffic are also supplied by both American and British vessels. The resident slave dealers purchase their required trade goods from the British and Americans, for which they pay bills on London, or in specie. This at once accounts for the absence of cargoes in all the captured slavers during the past year."

"During the year just ended we have heard of numerous cargoes of slaves having been shipped at Bissao, Rio Pongas, and Gallinas; and within the last six weeks the brig *Volador* actually embarked 600 slaves at Sherbro, nearly adjoining this colony. The *Volador* has been chased six times by her Majesty's brig *Ferret*, off the Gallinas, from which place her cargo of slaves were marched overland to Sherbro, and there embarked. The brig *Clio*, condemned in the British and Brazilian Court in March last, was bought at auction here by Mr. Pillegin, a foreigner, and cleared out for Cape de Verdes and Cadiz, but proceeded no farther than the former place, where she was permitted to fit out for a slave-voyage, and she then returned to the Rio Pongas about two months ago, embarked 490 slaves, and got safe off with them. Last week we learned that a large brig, armed with six guns, succeeded in getting away with 1,000 slaves on board, from the neighbourhood of Whydah."

The number of slavers adjudicated during the nine months ending September, 1844, was nineteen, having on board at the time of capture, 1,574 slaves. Of these, ten were Brazilian, one Portuguese, and eight Spanish. 152 slaves died between capture and adjudication, and 15 between adjudication and registration. The Gallinas appears to be the favourite resort of the slavers, from the organized arrangements which have been made there, and the facility with which the human cargoes can be shipped. From the reports we learn that the notorious Don Pedro Blanco is returned to the Gallinas. He took thither in the American brig *Elsinore*, a full cargo of goods. Among the vessels captured was the *San Pedro*, alias *Marinero*. Of this vessel we have the following particulars given.

"The *San Pedro*, equipped and manned for the illicit traffic, cleared out from Trinidad de Cuba, on the 20th of May last, ostensibly for Buenos Ayres, and commanded by Justo Musaurieta, her true destination, however, being Ajudah, and her real master, José Egusquiza, an individual who has previously been before this Court, in the case of the *Galana Josepha*, condemned in 1836, and it is believed, also, in the case of the *Formidable*, captured by her Majesty's brigantine *Buzzard*, after a desperate resistance, and also condemned here in 1835. On the present occasion, the name of Egusquiza was entered in the muster roll merely as that of a passenger, together with those of fifteen others, forming, however, the supplementary crew of the brigantine, and making a complement of no less than thirty-two persons. A quantity of specie was embarked in this vessel, consigned to the notorious slave-dealers Jose de Taparica and Isidoro Feliz de Souza, the shipper being nominally Pedro Forcade, but, there can be little doubt, in reality the house of Fernandez Zulueta and Co., whose printed bills of lading were employed, and who were probably intimately concerned in the adventure. This consignment, consisting of 1,830 dollars in gold, and an addressed packet, was delivered, according to the evidence, to De Souza, at Popoe, whence the vessel proceeded to the river Congo, and was cruising in its neighbourhood when captured."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STOKE NEWINGTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.—This Association intends sending a *Box of Useful and Fancy Articles* to the Annual Bazaar, to be held at Boston, United States, in the 12th month, (December next,) in aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Contributions will be thankfully received from any of our friends interested in and desirous of assisting the great cause of Abolition in America, by Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London, and by J. Jefferson, and S. A. Alexander, Stoke Newington; Mary Foster, and S. A. Alexander, Secretaries. N.B.—Articles should be sent by the end of the 10th month (October.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 9, 1845.

We have received the following letter, and readily give it publicity. We have no doubt it will engage the attention of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Havana, to whom we must refer the question which it raises. The passage of their Report referred to, may be found in the Slave-trade Papers for the present Session, Class A., page 126.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Drapers' Hall, 5th July, 1845.

Sir,—On the part of Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, jun., we have to desire that you will immediately give the most public and unqualified contradiction to a passage quoted in italics in your last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, from a letter said to be addressed by the Slave Trade Commissioners at the Havana to the Earl of Aberdeen, alluding to "four successful voyages in the course of twelve months," in prosecution of the slave-trade, by a vessel called the *Palmyra Segunda*, you thus quote the Report in question:—

"The principal person engaged in the vessel, Don Julian Zulueta, is brother of the person recently tried in London for being concerned in the slave-trade."

This statement is wholly false. Don Julian Zulueta is not a brother of Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, nor in any way related to him, nor had Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, at the time of the trial to which the Commissioners allude, even heard of his existence.

We are, Sir, your most obedient Servants,
LAWFORDS.

THE correspondence between the Spanish and British Governments respecting the admission of the sugar of Cuba and Porto Rico has been laid before Parliament; and we shall not dissemble our gratification at the result, that the claim put forward by the Spanish Government is not admitted by the British. The note of the Duke of Sotomayor, which is ably drawn up, rests the case on the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by subsequent treaties. To this the Earl of Aberdeen, in his not less able and very elaborate answer, replies, that the terms of the treaty do not warrant the claim. "The obligation which is imposed," his Lordship says, "is to treat as the subjects of the most favoured nation the subjects of Spain; but there is no obligation to treat the produce of Spain as Great Britain is used to treat the produce of the most favoured nation:" a distinction, it appears, fully borne out by the phraseology invariably employed in treaties intended to confer the advantage in question. We think this answer just and conclusive. Lord Aberdeen, however, does not rely wholly upon it, but adopts also another line of argument, the development of which occupies by far the larger portion of his note. A treaty, it appears, was signed in 1670 between the two crowns, entirely shutting up the West Indian possessions of each from the subjects of the other, excepting as the respective sovereigns should thereafter allow; and the stipulations of this treaty have been in force concurrently with the others. Hence, consequently, if the claim put forward by the Spanish Government had been valid with respect to the other parts of the British empire, it would not be so with respect to the British possessions in the West Indies. Accordingly the American territories of either crown have been opened to the trading activity of the subjects of the other, not by treaty or by reciprocal action of any kind, but by a royal decree of the King of Spain, dated in 1829, and by an order in Council of the King of England, dated in 1828. We do not, we confess, see a flaw in either of the lines of argument which Lord Aberdeen has pursued, although we prefer the former as of a wider and more general bearing. We renew the expression of our gratification at the issue of the correspondence.

As to the effect which the exclusion of sugar from Cuba from the British market, is likely to have on the cultivation of that island, and through that medium on the slave-trade, an interesting and instructive passage occurs in the slave-trade papers which have recently been laid before Parliament. In a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated Havana, Jan. 1, 1844, the British Commissioners employ the following language:—

"We feel great satisfaction in expressing our confident belief that, notwithstanding the disposition to promote it, the trade is in reality in the most depressed condition. Of the two last cargoes one has been sold, as we stated in a former despatch, at little more than 200 dollars per head, which is one-third less than ever before obtained; and for another cargo no advisable offer was made; so that they were to be divided among the shareholders of the adventure. This is to be ascribed partly to the low price of sugar, which, in the opinion of the best judges of the market, has a tendency to further decrease; and partly to a strong declaration of opinion expressed by the holders of property on the danger to be apprehended from the further introduction of negroes from Africa."

"In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have, for some time been unable already to meet their engagements, and are therefore unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause prevents the further putting down of canes, and the making or extension of estates; it was for these purposes principally that new negroes were required. And thus the planters are interested in guarding against means being allowed for further production, which would, of course, tend further to lower the price."

After mentioning the presentation of several memorials against the slave-trade to the Governor, the Commissioners go on to say:—

"Another memorial to the Government was presented by the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake Brothers and Co., setting forth, that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of this island, where, if this could be effected, at a rate even of fifty per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present. On the other hand, they stated that if a different policy were not followed, they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated traffic."

We have given in our impression to-day an abstract of the debate in the French Chamber of Peers on the law for the modification of slavery, and we have given it as at great length as our columns will permit, in consequence both of the interest with which it will be regarded in many countries of the world, and of the importance which will attach to it in the history of the abolition question. In expressing our own opinion of it, we readily do justice to its general merit as a debate, and to the numerous passages in it which exhibit both vigour and eloquence; but we cannot withhold the utterance of our deep sorrow and disappointment at the tone adopted in the speeches of the advocates of abolition. The measure brought forward by the Government, even supposing it to be carried into effect, is the merest fragment of a fraction of justice to the slave; yet Count Montalembert and the Duke d'Harcourt gently pronounce the measure unsatisfactory, and then give it their support. Earnestly did we hope that, if the Government of France was not prepared to fulfil their duty by bringing forward a proposition of emancipation, the abolitionists in the Chamber were prepared to fulfil theirs by the statement of sound principles. The opportunity presented for reading a lesson to ministers of state, and for contributing to the guidance of the public mind, was invaluable, and we are unfeignedly sorry it has been lost. We record with regret, that no voice in that splendid assembly proclaimed the duty of immediate emancipation, or urged on the legislature and people of France the fulfilment of this righteous and paramount obligation. So far from this, that even M. de Montalembert laid it down as a principle in which all were agreed, that there should be no emancipation without preparation, and affirmed that the only dispute with the colonists was on the question whether preparation should be immediately begun. This is, in our opinion, to allot to emancipation an indefinite postponement; since we are convinced—and in one part of his speech the noble speaker to whom we have referred acknowledged it—that preparation is impossible while slavery lasts. The act of British emancipation is admitted on all hands to have been, morally and socially, signally successful; and we do not hesitate to say that this was effected without preparation. It seemed, indeed, to be a prevailing feeling in the French Chamber, that the good order of the British colonies in this great change was owing to the influence of antecedent religious instruction, and Count Montalembert was good enough, Catholic as he is, to pronounce a eulogy on the Protestant missionaries, which will be read with pleasure on both sides of the Atlantic; but, while fully sympathising in this eulogy, and fully admitting the inestimable value of the religious instruction which was given, we cannot give our sanction to the representation that this was the cause of that "marvellous tranquillity," as the French orator expresses it, with which the boon of freedom was received. Our reason for this is that religious instruction was effectively applied to so small a portion of the population afterwards emancipated. In many of the islands it may be said to have had no existence; and where it was most vigorous and successful, as in Antigua, it operated on a minority. Of good effect, undoubtedly, as far as it went, it was too partial to explain the phenomenon referred to. If this be at all mysterious, the solution of the mystery must be looked for among the elements of human nature as such, and not among those which may characterize it under any circumstances of special advantage. To our minds, however, the case presents no mystery. It is not in the nature of man that the communication of social benefits should disorganize society. Oppression may create insurrections, but not justice. And we maintain, that the gift of freedom to any number of slaves, in any circumstances, would be always safe—safer a great deal than holding them in bonds. It is for slavery that man needs to be prepared, not for freedom; for this man as man is always ready, and ready in a moment. And this, we must go on to say, is man's right; and no act of legislation towards the slave can be regarded with satisfaction which does not contemplate its immediate and (so far as he is concerned) its unconditional restoration to him. In this respect, also, the French debate disappoints us. We find in it very great care of French commerce, French industry, and colonial interests; but very little concern, in comparison, for justice to the slave.

We have not, of course, failed to observe how large a space England and the English act of emancipation have occupied in this debate; and we must confess, it is to our vast surprise that we find members of so enlightened an assembly as that in which it took place giving grave utterance to so baseless a fiction as that England has voluntarily ruined her own colonies, and wishes to ruin the colonies of other nations, for the advantage of India! This allegation, however, was well and handsomely answered, and we shall say nothing more in its refutation. We must, however, recommend pro-slavery advocates to make a more correct use of such facts as they may be pleased to adduce from the history of English abolition. Two charges were brought in the course of the debate against the emancipated inhabitants of the British West Indies. Baron Charles Dupin stated, that the peasantry at Barbadoes had been guilty of plunder on occasion of the late fire at Bridgetown; an accusation founded, perhaps, on some language employed on one occasion by the Bishop, but altogether refuted by the subsequent examination and declaration of the Governor, Sir Charles Grey. At a later period of the debate, on the discussion of the first clause, Baron Dupin stated, that in Antigua, two years ago, the legislature had been obliged to make an appeal to every proprietor on the island, by declaring that the great majority of the enfranchised, who had been forced to work because they had no land, had found out that it was more convenient and more agreeable not to work at all, but to get what they wanted by other means. What the basis of this may be

we are at a loss to imagine. Proofs, however, are abundant that it has no foundation in truth.

THE debate on Mr. Hutt's motion on the armed intervention of this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, is a new feature in parliamentary proceedings. It is, we believe, the first time that a motion condemnatory of that system has been brought forward in the British legislature, and it indicates to a certain extent a change of opinion. What the views of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are on the subject will appear from the fact that, so long ago as the 21st February last, that body passed the resolutions which follow:—

"That this Committee rejoice in the rapidly spreading conviction, that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable hope of the annihilation of the slave-trade; and that it is felt not only by those who object upon principle to the use of an armed force, but by the public generally, to be impracticable to suppress it by such means."

"That a review of the experience of the last twenty-five years renders it obvious that some deeply afflicting evils have resulted from the application of coercive means for the extinction of the slave-trade; among which may be enumerated a dreadful aggravation of the sufferings and horrors of the middle passage, a fearful increase in the rate of mortality on the number of unhappy victims shipped for the slave-markets, and on the part of Great Britain, a lamentable sacrifice of life and the expenditure of an enormous amount of treasure."

"That this Committee have always been of opinion that the employment of an armed force for the suppression of the nefarious traffic would prove ineffectual, and this opinion having been confirmed by indubitable facts, would respectfully entreat the British legislature to confine its attention in future to the employment of such means as are of a pacific character in the accomplishment of this great object, and to concentrate all its efforts on the universal abolition of slavery as the most effectual mode of extinguishing the nefarious traffic in human beings."

Concurring to a certain extent with Mr. Hutt in his view of the facts, the Committee, it will be perceived, differ with him as to the *animus* and intent of his motion. He made his attack on the system of armed suppression subservient to the advocacy of the colonial immigration system. It is with him merely an indirect mode of approach to that question. On behalf of the West Indians he says, You do no good by attempting to put down the slave-trade; give us labourers, and we will do it. We must confess that we have not yet any faith in this language. Every view we take of the extended scheme of immigration which the colonists call for convinces us that it would be the slave-trade under another form; while we are not less fully convinced that every supply of imported labour would speedily elude the grasp of those who are so eager to seize it.

THE few items of interest contained in the West India mail we have extracted elsewhere. The only occurrence we need notice here has taken place in British Guiana, where a strong and general sensation has been excited by the removal of Mr. Furlong from the office of attorney-general, and the appointment of Mr. Arrindell in his place. This measure, which is said to be the issue of intrigues long on foot, must be regarded as decidedly adverse to the welfare of the colony. Mr. Furlong was a man not only of distinguished talents, but of high honour and integrity, warmly devoted to the best interests of the community, and the uniform friend of freedom and advocate of the poor. "As Attorney-General," says the *Congregational Record*, "and as a member of the Court of Policy, that gentleman has earned for himself a high reputation, and was esteemed by his fellow-colonists as the unflinching advocate of right principles,—the stern opponent of every infringement on the rights and liberties of the people. To his honesty, his integrity, his fearless resistance, in the legislative hall, of whatever threatened to invade our civil or religious liberties, he has evidently fallen a victim." Lord Stanley, we should think, must have been imposed upon by artful misrepresentations in order to have been led to so injurious a step.

OUR files of Mauritius papers have come to hand. We see with regret that the royal sanction has been given to the ordinance on vagrancy, on some objectionable clauses of which we lately commented. We find in the *Cernéen* the *projet* of a hawkers' and peddlars' ordinance, proposing to enact that no person shall pursue this calling without a licence, for which he shall pay three pounds sterling, and one pound for every porter, beast, or carriage, he may employ; and this licence is not to be given without a certificate of moral character, signed by the magistrates! A rumour is mentioned in one of the papers, that machines for facilitating the sugar manufacture were about to be introduced by a French and English company, and that, in conjunction with this improvement, Lord Stanley was to be memorialized for permission to work the labourers by night. The Protector of Immigrants, Mr. Anderson, is said to have become more indulgent to the planters, and a correspondent of the *Cernéen* intimates that this is as much to his advantage as theirs. The letter of this correspondent, Justus, refers afresh to the shameful proceedings continually taking place in connection with the distribution of the immigrant Coolies. Having spoken of "the gross abuses consequent upon the special privileges of the official interpreters, the bribes administered to them, and the good offices that money can always procure from them," he adds:—

"This very morning an English merchant, competing with a planter for a band of labourers, discovered that the interpreter, who was directed to inform them that his estate was well situated, and abundantly supplied with water, told them exactly the reverse, in consequence of which they one and all engaged with his rival."

The editor of the *Cornhill* makes long extracts from a Calcutta paper, in which some East Indian who has visited Mauritius, speaks in flattering terms of the condition of the Coolies. Even from this statement, however, we cull the following admission as to the fearful mortality which attends the voyage to that island.

"I allude to the hardships of the passage out, and although the subject has often been discussed in your paper, it does not appear to me that the whole of the melancholy truth has as yet found its way into it. The number of demises among Indians proceeding to Mauritius is enormous, and will appear incredible if it is borne in mind that none but young and healthy men are supposed to be passed. It is no less than three per cent. on an average passage of forty-five days; that is to say, that if they were to be out at sea during the whole year, twenty-seven out of 100 picked men would find a watery grave, where the European invalid goes in search of health and strength."

We know, from official documents, that the mortality on the plantations is still greater than that on the voyage.

In the House of Lords, on Monday evening, Lord Aberdeen moved the second reading of a bill for restoring to British Courts of Admiralty the judicial power of dealing with slave-trade cases, so far as the Brazilian empire is concerned; a power which had been taken from them during the existence of the Courts of Mixed Commission. This measure arises out of the expiration of the slave-trade treaty between this country and Brazil. We are compelled to defer his lordship's speech till our next.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, June 24.

SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. HUTT.—He was no advocate of the slave-trade, or defender of those who were engaged in it. He considered it an appalling traffic. But the question was, had we taken the proper means to secure the suppression of the slave-trade? (Hear.) Was it right that we should spend so much money in keeping up naval squadrons, and sacrifice the lives of many gallant men annually in that service? By the present system, we were constantly compromising the British crown, by inducing foreign nations to enter into treaties with us, which they continually disregarded; and we were repeatedly brought into collision with rival states. For thirty years they had busied themselves with nothing so much as with the abolition of the slave-trade; and for this object they had expended the public money to almost any amount; they had employed the naval forces to watch almost every sea and shore where a slaver might be seen or expected; they had established commission courts in half of the regions of the tropical globe, and had put into action diplomatic influence and agency such as this country never before concentrated on any other subject. Well, then, with all this, had they abolished the slave-trade? No, they had failed, and with consequences frightful to contemplate. These were not merely his opinions, but also the opinions of those who had been most engaged in directing the operations of our suppressing machinery. They were the opinions of Sir F. Buxton and the Anti-Slavery Society; of the noble lord the member for London, as recorded in a letter published by him in 1839; of the right hon. baronet opposite, as announced in Exeter Hall, in 1840; of Lord Aberdeen, as appeared from the papers laid on the table the other day; and of Mr. Clarkson. In confirmation of this statement, the hon. member referred to statements made by Mr. Clarkson; by Sir F. Buxton, in 1839; by Lord J. Russell, and Sir R. Peel. The hon. member also quoted from despatches addressed by Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Bulwer, our minister at Madrid, and to Mr. Hamilton, our minister at Rio, for the purpose of showing the extent of the slave traffic carried on at the present moment with Brazil and Cuba. He found by reference to official papers that at the commencement of the present century about 100,000 Africans a year were exported from their country for the purpose of being sold into slavery. At that time Great Britain was largely engaged in the traffic, to the extent of upwards of one-half. In 1807 our Slave Trade Abolition Act passed, and there ensued a large diminution in the number of slaves exported. The war which followed was unfavourable to the operations of the foreign slave-trade, and he had reason to believe that in 1814 the slave-trade had not attained its former amount. But what was now the number of those unhappy beings who were dragged from their homes, and sold to everlasting slavery? It might be more—it could not be less than 200,000 annually. With respect to Brazil and Cuba, it appeared that there were 140,000 slaves landed in the course of a year, exclusive of those that might be surreptitiously imported. To this number must be added thirty per cent., or about 40,000 more to allow for the loss of life on the passage, so that the whole number exported to Brazil and Cuba could not be less than 180,000. Then there was the importation of slaves into Porto Rico, Buenos Ayres, Texas, and even the United States, the amount of which was as yet unknown. He knew that it was doubted whether the United States imported slaves from Africa. That might be treated as a matter of doubt when the sugar duties were under discussion, but, knowing the high price given for slaves in some of the United States, and knowing that American citizens were largely engaged in the slave-trade for other markets, it would be inconsistent with all human experience to suppose that slaves were not surreptitiously introduced into America. He therefore thought it fair to conclude that the number of Africans now annually exported for the purposes of slavery must be upwards of 200,000, or double the amount exported at the commencement of the present century. It might be said that he was only arguing with respect to 1838, and that the slave-trade might have diminished since. It was true that since that time there had been some treaties, which it might have been hoped would have been effectual; there had been the right of search and the treaty with Portugal of 1842. But what said the commissioner at Sierra Leone? He stated that the slave-trade had gradually increased during 1843; and Mr. Hesketh, our consul at Rio, spoke of the clandestine importation of slaves being carried on as before. The large proportion of blacks among the population of Cuba was looked upon by the whites

with feelings of great alarm; it might be asked, then, why they did not exhibit a desire to put the slave-trade down? The inconsistency was no matter of astonishment; the very means we had taken to suppress it had enlisted in defence of it the prejudices and passions of the people. It had been remarked by the right hon. and learned member for Edinburgh, (Mr. Macaulay,) that no nation liked to be told by another, "We are more virtuous than you; we must be your monitors in morality;" yet this was the language this country constantly held towards other nations. The means this country had taken to put down the slave-trade had only given it greater stability. Though they had some account of the number of Africans carried off and sold, they had none of the multitude massacred in the course of this operation, (hear, hear.) They had no account of those who died in the barracoons on the coast waiting for exportation; none of the number who perished on board the slave-ships even during a favourable passage, and when a storm met the vessel at sea; they had no account of those heaved overboard alive when a British cruiser was approaching, or of those who perished after the capture, while the vessel was waiting for adjudication before the commissioners. Of all the horrors recorded by history the slave-trade was the most horrible. While the traffic was unprohibited there was little or nothing in it of this. When the slave-owner had a direct interest in the preservation of the article of his trade, he would take more care of it than when he had an interest paramount to that. Formerly the African chiefs brought the slaves down to a convenient part of the coast, where they were waited for by the dealers; they were leisurely embarked, and some care was taken for their physical well-being. Now the first interest of the slave-dealer was his own escape from capture. (Hear, hear.) The consequence was an accumulation of horrors in the treatment of the slaves, the like of which, to use the language of Burke, no ear had heard, no eye had seen, and no tongue could describe. This was the direct result of the system of suppression, and for that system they, the members of the House of Commons, but above all the ministers of the Crown, were responsible. If they could prevent these horrors and would not, they were participants in the crime. He would not enter into the details of the treatment to which the slaves were subjected. He would merely state, that when the chiefs brought down the slaves to the barracoons on the coast, if they waited long, thousands perished for want of food; when the slaver came, those who were rejected as too emaciated, or too ill, were deliberately murdered; the others were put on board the slaver. Many hon. gentlemen might not have had an opportunity of seeing a slave-vessel, but he had examined two. It was scarcely possible to conceive how they were crammed into the narrow space allowed them. From papers laid before the house it appeared that some of these vessels were not more than 22 inches between decks. Let them think of a mass of human beings crammed into this place under a tropical sun, and conveyed across the Atlantic Ocean; of course, they suffered dreadfully, particularly if disease appeared among them. But even with regard to those who did not perish, their bodies were frequently bent into a permanent curve. The statements of Mr. Hill's pamphlet on this subject were fully borne out by the papers laid on the table of that house. Now, was this system to last for ever? They had just entered into a treaty with France which contemplated its continuance for ten years. Were they so insensitive to such scenes of massacre and blood? No object could be good which was pursued at the expense of such sacrifices and such human suffering. He had shown that the system they were pursuing had added to the horrors which were many years ago held up to public indignation; they not only existed in the same degree, but they were aggravated by the immediate effects of their system. Nor were the Africans the only parties who suffered; the system had its victims among their own countrymen; annually the homes of their own people were weeded of their best and bravest, in support of the system of suppression; and he trusted those who viewed with such satisfaction the many treaties that had been fruitlessly made, the ships uselessly captured, and the slaves to whom they had given liberty in vain, would think of the homes of their own land which this system had left desolate. In consequence of the non-completion of returns which had been ordered, but which, to all his inquiries, had not been produced, he was unable to state to the house the loss of life to this country which this system produced; for the same reason he could not state its expense; but this Sir F. Buxton calculated at 15,000,000L, from the year 1814 to 1839; 1,300,000L was given as a bribe to Spain and Portugal to put down the trade; and the annual expense might be taken at 500,000L, or rather more. He would say at once, withdraw your cruisers, which had been productive of nothing but mischief; let them promote a much more extensive commercial intercourse with the coast of Africa. He did not mean that they should undertake another Niger expedition; that expedition had always appeared to him a most insane application of a principle sound in itself, and he did not mean to recommend any such course; but he did mean to urge them to promote more extensively the legitimate pursuits of commerce with the people of Africa. They should also throw open as much as possible the ports and harbours of the West Indies to a free importation of tropical labour. Such a course would not awaken the jealousy of foreign powers, and would be productive of the most beneficial effects. It would put down the slave trade, by underselling its product; it would destroy the traffic by rendering it unprofitable. It would give the African what it was impossible he could enjoy in his own country: it would place him in a position to avail himself of the wealth, the peace, and advantages of a civilized community. He might be told, that a withdrawal of their cruisers from the coast of Africa would be followed by an increase of the slave-trade on all parts of it; but he doubted if such would be the case, and at present they only prevented the people of Brazil and Cuba from giving effect to their own laws, by destroying that spirit which was the best support of all laws,—public opinion. If they would only give fair play to his principle, they would find the people of Brazil and Cuba were more anxious to prevent the increase of the slave-trade than themselves. Their own statements proved that the people of these countries had the best grounds for the alarm they always felt. They knew they were standing on the brink of an abyss; the elements of convulsion were around them, waiting but a word. When the hour anticipated by all travellers and observers might descend upon Cuba and Brazil it was not for them to determine, but this was certain—should the hour of insurrection ever arrive, the convulsion would be bloody and tremendous, in the same degree as the crime that led to it had been great in wickedness. Nor would it affect only the people of Cuba and Brazil; Texas and the United

States must see, in the anxieties they expressed, the danger to which they were also exposed; if they did not learn in time what must be the consequences of persevering in a system so atrocious as the slave-trade, the proud republic of America might see its most powerful provinces become states in confederation with the half barbarous people of Cuba. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That the course pursued by Great Britain since 1814 for the suppression of the slave-trade has been attended by large expenditure of the public money and by serious loss of life to the naval forces of the country, and that it has not mitigated the horrors of the middle passage, nor diminished the extent of the traffic in slaves."

Sir G. COCKBURN said, the only difference between him and the hon. gentleman who had just sat down was not as to the necessity of putting down the slave-trade, but as to the mode. He confessed he did not think that the object was to be gained by dismissing all our force, and relying on public opinion alone. He admitted that up to the last year there were great proofs of the failure of the system adopted, but since that period, since the officers of the two nations had been acting together, and the ships had been stationary, instead of sailing about, a blockade of the coast had been established. Now if there was any hope that within a reasonable time the object would be accomplished, it was surely not well to withdraw our force at once, and allow the horrible traffic in slaves to commence again. Accounts had been recently received from the commodore on the coast of Africa, bearing the date of December 31, 1844. He reported,— "The measures taken for the watching of the Gallinas had proved completely successful." And on the 5th of April, 1845, the commodore reported:—"I have the honour to submit to their Lordships' consideration the enclosed list of captures of slave-vessels, amended from the latest returns, from which it appears that the total amount of seizures during the last twelve months has been forty-five, of which one only has been released by the tribunals to which their cases were subjected. I humbly venture to hope that their lordships will be pleased to accept this result as a satisfactory proof of the zeal and diligence of the officers on this station in the execution of their duty. It is very gratifying to me to be assured that the slave-trade has been severely checked, and in some of its principal haunts effectually suppressed; and I entertain a sanguine expectation that the continued vigilance of the squadron will give it still further and more decisive blows, although it may be as yet too much to calculate on its final and total extinction; and yet, even that result is not beyond my hopes, when I see the faithful exertions made by the Portuguese Government in the cause of the slave-trade suppression on the southern part of this station." Of these forty-five vessels, twelve only were taken with slaves on board—the rest were taken in endeavouring to get in. Under these circumstances, and when there was a prospect of being able to put a stop to the system, he could not but repeat his opinion that it would be unwise to stop now. The hon. member had also misstated the loss of life. Three or four per cent. was the whole amount of deaths, from all causes. And with regard to the other observations of the hon. member, he must allow him to add that there was fully as much wretchedness under the old state of things as at present. The hon. member did not seem to remember that the slave-trader had still the same interest in getting his slaves over in a healthy state that he had before. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that the slaves used to be kept too long in the barracoons; but since those barracoons had been attacked and destroyed, very few of the slaves had been brought down in that way. On the whole, he considered that the slave-trade had received a very considerable check from the means that had been adopted to put it down; and he did not think, therefore, it would be wise at once to abandon all their efforts. Those who dealt in slaves were beginning to see that the trade was more expensive than it was, and this also, together with the increased force which the recent treaty with France would bring to bear on the coast of Africa, afforded an additional reason why the present system should be tried one season more. The hon. member seemed also to forget that the adoption of his suggestion would put an end to all our existing treaties with the chiefs on the coast of Africa, by which, in consideration of the presents we made them, they agreed to prevent trading in slaves in the districts over which they had power. If those treaties were put an end to, they would immediately make war on their weaker neighbours, in order to bring as many slaves to the coast as they could.

Lord HOWICK wished he could share in the expectations entertained by the gallant baronet as to the result of our present efforts on the coast of Africa, but he could not help thinking that the better and wiser policy for the attainment of the object in view—the suppression of the slave-trade—would be to withdraw the commission. For thirty years the same expectations had been entertained—but the ingenuity of the slave-trader had kept pace with our efforts. The evidence of our own officers went to prove that the trade was increasing more than ever in Cuba and Brazil. Great alarm was felt by the planters of Cuba at the increase of the blacks. At present the interference of our cruisers had the effect of preventing the local authorities from making efforts to put down the trade, while, on the other hand, it was notorious that the Government officers in Cuba were induced to connive at the violation of the law. The colonial authorities really had the power of putting down the trade, which we had not. There was a natural jealousy at the interference of foreigners in such matters. As for the mixed commission, it was a mere mockery. The adjudication being by lot, the representative of each nation decided in favour of that nation, and the decisions might as well be made by lot at once. With regard to the right of search, he had never condemned the right hon. baronet for giving it up, more especially when he considered the feeling which had been excited in France on the subject; but on the scheme of a combined squadron on the coast of Africa he looked with doubt. He feared that the officers would either agree too well or too ill. For his own part, he felt with the hon. member for Gateshead, that the extension of legitimate commerce would be the best mode of putting down the slave-trade.

Sir R. PEEL.—I admit that the measures adopted by her Majesty's Government have not been successful in abolishing this traffic. I also admit that the horrors of the slave-trade continue—abated in some degree, but still to an extent which every friend to humanity must deplore. But when the proposal was made to abolish the slave-trade, it was foreseen that, whatever measure you might adopt with the view

of effecting that abolition would lead in some degree to an aggravation of the evil. Still, general considerations of humanity prevailed over objections of that nature; this country determined to set an example to the rest of the world, and abolish the slave-trade; not, however, without feeling that in some particular cases the evils of the illegal traffic might be greater than those of the permitted traffic. Upon this question, as upon others, this country was subject to hot and cold influences. Although I am aware that the avidity of slave-dealers would lead them to make the passage in the shortest possible time, and although I don't mean to deny that, owing to the vigilance of our cruisers, the horrors of the voyage are increased, yet, upon the whole, I greatly doubt whether or no the sufferings of the unfortunate slaves will be diminished if you relax in your vigilance. It is notorious, notwithstanding the suspicions of the hon. gentleman, that there are but two countries now carrying on the slave-trade to any great extent—Brazil and Cuba; and I shall not despair, if the efforts of this country be persevered in, that even as regards those two countries those efforts will be crowned with the success which they deserve. (Hear, hear.) With respect to Brazil, such is the extent of cultivable land, so great is the demand for slaves, and so great also is the disposition upon the part of the authorities to connive at the introduction of slaves, that the withdrawal of your cruisers from the coast of Africa would give stimulus to the slave-trade which you can hardly imagine. I think the hon. gentleman has greatly exaggerated the number of slaves that are introduced into the different countries which sanction slave labour. I very much doubt if the whole number imported into Brazil and Cuba exceeds 35,000, whereas he has estimated them at 180,000. The hon. gentleman proposes to encourage the produce of our own colonies by the introduction of free labour, which he says will successfully compete with slave labour. But even supposing his anticipation upon that point to be well founded, see what a length of time must elapse before he could realize it. I admit the advantage of introducing free labour into your own colonies, but I apprehend that the two systems are not consistent, and that an attempt to make them so would give encouragement to the direct slave-trade. The hon. gentleman says it is carried on to an immense extent on the coast of Africa. I believe that impression to be erroneous, and I have here a letter from our naval officer which tends to prove it is so. The letter is dated from her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra*, off Quilimane, December 20, 1844; and the writer says:—"I think we are doing very well against the slave-trade on this side of Africa, and a twelve-month after this it will be a rare thing to hear of a slave vessel on the coast, if the present number of vessels are employed to prevent it. There were ten agents employed at Quilimane to collect slaves for the Rio vessels, nine of which have left, and the other remains only to collect the property and wind up the affairs of the company. There are now about 2,000 slaves ready to be embarked, and vessels are expected every day for them. It is no easy thing for them to get off safely, as the Governor of Quilimane, who has just arrived, will not allow the trade to be carried on from that river, and the Governor-General is very earnest in putting an end to it by all the means in his power. He has given me authority to capture any vessels employed in the slave-trade from any river, harbour, or roadstead belonging to Portugal, and has sent a very strong letter to the Governor of Inhamban for allowing the *Kentucky* to enter the port under American colours, telling him he will make him responsible should a similar occurrence take place." On the east coast of Africa, so far as relates to South America, we have great reason to believe that the slave-trade has been suppressed through the cordial co-operation of Portugal, whose conduct within the last two years has, I must say, been most excellent. Portugal has during that time lent us a sincere and cordial co-operation. The civil authorities of Portugal had sent out a commander who had manifested the utmost desire to give us every possible assistance for the suppression of the slave-trade. A slave vessel having been captured by the *Alert* was carried before a mixed commission on the coast of Africa; but the death of one and the removal of another of our commissioners left the matter in the hands of the two Portuguese commissioners, who, acting singly, and without any stimulus from the presence of our commissioners, proceeded at once to the condemnation of the vessel. Captures have even been made by Portuguese vessels. A Portuguese garde-marine, on the 27th of May, 1844, captured the Brazilian brig *Capador*, having on board 850 slaves; the commanding officer recommended the garde-marine for promotion on account of his vigilance; the recommendation was attended to, the promotion was granted, and Lord Aberdeen expressed his satisfaction at, and acknowledgment of, the example which had thus been set. That was not the only instance. In another case another Portuguese officer distinguished himself by effecting the capture of a Spanish slave-trade vessel, and was accordingly promoted. These acts upon the part of the Portuguese Government—these promotions of officers for capturing Brazilian and Spanish slave-trade vessels have produced an effect through the Portuguese navy which leads to the hope and belief that the co-operation of Portugal is not only sincere, but that it will be most effectual. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, the whole conduct of Portugal has been such as to deserve the grateful acknowledgments of every friend to humanity. With regard to the United States, although the force they have sent to the coast of Africa is limited in amount, and does not exceed 80 guns, the experiment has not been unsuccessful, as may be seen from the following letter:—

"Sierra Leone, April 4, 1845.

"My Lord,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch, No. 2, of the 19th February, transmitting the copy of a despatch from her Majesty's Commissary Judge at Havanna, containing a copy of his report on the slave-trade at that place for the month of December last. Of the slave vessels mentioned by Mr. Kennedy, we have already, in our despatch, No. 25, of the 24th ult., notified to your lordship the capture and condemnation of the *Huracan*, and we have now the pleasure of communicating the capture of the *Spitfire* on the 25th ult., in the Rio Pongas, by the United States vessel of war *Truxton*, Commander Bruce, by whom the prize was brought into the harbour, and is about to be despatched to Boston for trial. The seizure of the American slaver was effected by the boats of the *Truxton*, which rowed up the Pongas in company with the boats of her Majesty's

steamer *Ardent*, Commander Russell, both parties carrying British colours, upon an understanding between the two commanders, by which means the American crew of the *Spitfire* were induced to mistake the *Truxton's* boats for those of the English cruiser, and having hoisted, in supposed security, their own ensign, were immediately seized. A Spanish vessel, which was captured by the British boats at the same time alongside the *Spitfire*, is now before this court, and will be reported to your lordship in due course.

"We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servants,

"M. L. MELVILLE.

"JAMES HOOK.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T., &c."

The same course was taken with the Spanish vessel. The Spanish slaver hoisted the Spanish colours, thinking to escape, and was seized. There was no interruption here with legitimate commerce: they were vessels with slaves, and were seized by the joint operations of America and this country. I cannot therefore help entertaining a sanguine hope that if a determined effort be made by the joint action of the United States, France, and Portugal with this country, that effort will be successful. I do not think there is any evidence whatever to justify the house in adopting this motion. The loss of life and the expenditure of money to which the motion refers are no doubt open to objection, but I think, nevertheless, that upon the whole it greatly contributes to the mitigation of the horrors of the slave-trade. Whatever the amount of the present evils may be, I believe that if, at the present moment, you withdraw your squadron from the coast of Africa, and permit the unrestricted import of slaves into Cuba, but above all, into Brazil, you will give an impetus to the slave-trade which will render future efforts to suppress it useless.

Sir C. NAPIER could not agree with the hon. member for Gateshead or with the noble lord in the propriety of abandoning the blockade on the coast of Africa.

Lord PALMERSTON rose to address the house, which, however, was counted out.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE WEATHER.—We learn from St. Mary, that the weather has been so bad in that parish as to put a stop to all attempts at sugar making. We understand that on Friday last the rains were so violent, and the rivers consequently so much swollen, that a wain with two hogsheads of sugar and eight steers, belonging to Ballard's Vailey, as carried away by the river at Llanrumney, on their way to Port Maria, and totally lost. Wains laden with canes have been left in the fields, the rain being so heavy that they could not be got to the works.—*Falmouth Post*.

LABOUR COERCED BY DOUBLE RENT IN HANOVER.—The man to whom the following notice was sent, informed us that he was working upon a neighbouring estate, Copse; but for fear of the threat being carried into execution left, and came again to work at Friendship Grey. He also states that he has only a sister living in the same house, and that she pays 1s. per week, and he pays 2s. per week, and that neither of them have any "ground" on the property. Further remark is needless, the precious document which we now copy from the original will speak for itself. COPY.—"You are hereby required to pay the sum of 4s. weekly, from the 1st day of January last past, for the house and premises you have hitherto been permitted by me to occupy on Friendship Estate, in failing to do which, you will be dealt with according to law; having refused to labour on the above-mentioned property. Signed, DIANA ABRAHAM. 7th January, 1845. To John Winter, Labourer, Friendship Estate."—*Baptist Herald*.

DOMINICA.—The weather is unusually fine, in fact, the atmosphere is rather more sultry than otherwise; but it is just the thing for the sugar makers, who are just now on the *qui vive*, taking advantage of the adage, to "make hay while the sun shines." There is every hope of a good crop this year.—*Dominican*.

GRENAADA.—Some improvement has taken place in the weather during the last few days. The change of the moon has brought with it some slight showers, and present appearances indicate a further supply of rain. The country is literally parched up, and stands much in need of some heavy showers. In Carriacou the drought has been distressingly severe, and the stock and vegetation have suffered seriously in consequence.—*Grenada Gazette*.

BARBADOS.—The prospect for the future is miserable. We have not had what may be termed a rain since the fire in February; and as to planting, that is out of the question. There is no kind of provision planted as yet; and the young cane crop, I may say, is lost.—*Correspondent of the Guiana Gazette*.

TRINIDAD: THE WEATHER.—We have had, during the past month, a continuance of fine weather, which has had its favourable influence on agricultural pursuits throughout the island. Considerable progress has been made towards the completion of crop. In the last few days we have had some heavy showers of rain, which may be viewed as indicative of the setting in of the wet season. This will occasion very little, if any inconvenience, to the planters, as most of them have either finished, or nearly finished, crop.—*Trinidad Standard*.

THE CROP.—The quantity of sugar shipped is as follows:—14,190 hogsheads, 1,105 tierces, and 2,527 barrels. At the same period last year it was 14,249 hogsheads, 901 tierces, and 2,588 barrels, showing but a slight difference. It is supposed that the shipment this season will hardly exceed 22,000 hogsheads, which is much less than was ex-

pected. We stated in our last, that this disappointment is attributable to the bad yielding of the canes more than to any other cause.—*Ibid.*

ARRIVAL OF COOLIES.—The *Fate Rozack* arrived on Friday evening, with 214 Coolies on board. She was ninety-six days from Calcutta, and forty-one days from the Cape of Good Hope. With the exception of five deaths, which occurred on the passage, the voyage has been a favourable one. The deaths which have occurred, it is stated, were persons who were not in good health at the time of their embarkation.—*Trinidad Standard*.

ARRIVAL OF CAPTURED AFRICANS.—The transport ship *Senator*, arrived here to-day with 241 labourers and five returned delegates, all in good health. These people, or by far the greater portion of them, formed the cargo of a slaver, brought into Sierra Leone during the *Senator's* stay in that port, after the smallpox which had broken out amongst them had subsided, transferred to the *Senator*, to be brought out to this colony. There are also a few return delegates; but as to further immigration from Sierra Leone of people settled there, or even Kroomen, we understand it is out of the question. It only remains to be decided on what is to be done with the *Senator*. As an instance of the execrable ruthlessness of the slavers, we may mention that, amongst the captives thus fortunately wrenched from their clutches, are two little children not four years of age.—*Port of Spain Gazette*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—ARRIVAL OF AFRICANS.—The *Roger Stewart* arrived at Berbice on the 20th of May, with 256 immigrants from Sierra Leone, in twenty-four days.—*Royal Gazette*.

Two vessels, it is currently reported, have been chartered for immigrant transports, the *Louisa Baillie* for Berbice, and the *Beatrice* for the counties of Demerara and Essequibo, and will proceed shortly to Sierra Leone.—*Guiana Times*.

Miscellanea.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.—The *Moniteur* contains the returns of the slaves liberated in the French colonies from 1830 to 1844. It results from that document that their number, in Martinique, was 23,505; in Guadalupe, 13,300; in French Guiana, 1,989; and in Bourbon, 4,948—in all, 43,742.

SLAVE-TRADE.—Her Majesty's ship, *Ferret*, Captain Oakes, captured, on the 28th Sept. last a schooner, with 400 slaves on board, six days out. She was without colours, papers, or chart, having, it is supposed, all been thrown overboard. No person would acknowledge to be the captain, who, the crew said, was dead; or even give her a name, or say to whom she belonged, or where bound. It is believed her name is *Aventura*, of 140 tons, belonging to Rio de Janeiro.—*Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—We are informed by an officer on board the *Porpoise*, that the famous slave brig *Balladero* was captured by Her Britannic Majesty's brig *Albatross*, on the 10th of August, in the neighbourhood of the Galinas. She has made twenty-two or twenty-three successful voyages, and has during the time been captured three times, each time condemned and sold, and every time bought by the slavers. She was built at Baltimore, and sent from that port to the colony of Liberia with emigrants, and sailed for Havana with a cargo of slaves. Her sailing qualities were so remarkably good that nothing on the coast in the shape of sailing vessels could overtake her, and she was so highly prized by her owners, that every voyage she made she was newly coppered and rigged. On her return from a very successful voyage she was rebuilt, and most of her upper works were made of mahogany. Consequently her capture has caused more excitement on the coast than the capture of any other vessel for years past.—*American Paper*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Halstead—Jessup, F. (two years)	1 0 0
Manchester—Clare, Peter (two years)	2 0 0
Wisbeach—Peckover, William	5 0 0	
London—Sturge, Samuel	10 10 0	
Gloucester—Bowly, Samuel	5 0 0	
Cirencester Auxiliary	8 0 0	
Woodbridge Ladies' Negro Friend Society	5 0 0	
A Friend	0 3 0	
A Friend	0 2 6	
Alexander, J. B.	0 10 0
Taylor, Henry	0 10 0
Thompson, P.	0 10 0
Webster, George	0 10 0
Darlington—Pease, Edward	10 0 0	
Backhouse, Hannah C.	20 0 0	
Liverpool—Ladies' Auxiliary Society	10 12 0	
London—Gurney, Samuel	100 0 0	
Bristol—Eaton, Joseph	50 0 0	5 5 0
Norwich—Gurney, J. J.	25 0 0	
Gurney, Edmund	5 5 0	
Huddersfield, Friends at	7 16 6	

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

THE FRENCH TREATY WITH THE IMAUM OF MUSCAT.

(Translated from the original French.)

The following Convention has been made between his Highness Said bin Sultan, Imaum of Muscat, and Monsieur Lemauff de Kerdudal, Lieutenant commanding the brig *Messager*, agent of the Governor of Bourbon:—

FIRST ARTICLE.

His Highness Said bin Sultan permits all freemen, or slaves made free by their masters, being his subjects, residing in all the extent of his dominions, to go and serve for any length of time as labourers in every country subject to the dominion of his Majesty the King of the French.

SECOND ARTICLE.

The conditions of contract shall be agreed on by mutual consent between the French traders and the labourers. The indentures shall specify the number of years of the engagement, the number of hours in the day during which the labourer shall work, the manner in which he is to be fed and clothed, and all other conditions thought necessary and agreed upon by the two parties.

THIRD ARTICLE.

The indentures shall be made and agreed upon in the presence of the agents of his Highness residing at the place of hiring, and of those sent for the purpose by the Governor of Bourbon. These agents his Highness promises to acknowledge, receive, and protect, wherever they may go in his states, for the purpose of hiring labourers.

His Highness promises the same protection to the French ships and their crews.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

When the French traders wish to hire labourers, they must produce to his Highness Said bin Sultan, or to his representatives on the spot, an authorisation from the Governor of Bourbon, or his agents, stating the number of labourers of both sexes which they are permitted to hire.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

A French merchant having agreed with a slave to furnish him with the money necessary for the purchase of his freedom, provided that he engages to work for him on certain conditions, the proprietor of the slave also consenting to liberate him, the French merchant shall give to the slave the money necessary for his purchase before the judge of the place, or, if there is none, in the presence of the governor, or, in want of one, in the presence of the authorities taking their place. The act of liberation having been effected conformably to the custom of the country by the judge of the place, or by the governor, or by other authorities filling their situation; if the slave thus become free should not be willing to fulfil the conditions he had agreed to in the presence of the authorities above mentioned, he shall be obliged by the said authorities, judge, governor, or others, to give back the money which the trader has supplied him with; and if he shall not do it, the authorities already mentioned shall force him to go with the trader to whom he had hired himself.

The trader who does not give to the slave the money necessary for his purchase in presence of the above-mentioned authorities, will risk losing the money he has advanced, the local government having then no power over the liberated slave.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

When a contract shall have been entered into, according to the forms indicated by this present Convention between the French traders and the subjects of his Highness, whether free by birth, purchase, or emancipation, the said hired persons shall be obliged to go and work for the French traders during the time and according to the conditions of their contract: and, if necessary, the officers of his Highness residing on the spot shall employ force to insure the fulfilment of the contract, and the departure of the hired persons.

SEVENTH ARTICLE.

The Governor of Bourbon engages that the French traders shall execute punctually all the conditions contained in the indenture agreed on between the said French traders and the labourers proceeding from the states of his Highness Said bin Sultan.

EIGHTH ARTICLE.

His Highness Said bin Sultan promises to give to his governors, or other officers filling their situations, and representing himself, in all countries subject to his dominion, extending from Cape Delgado to the north, the necessary orders for the execution of the present convention, according to its purport, without any impediment.

The present convention will be binding, when it shall be ratified by His Majesty the King of the French, or his representative, the Governor of Bourbon, who will inform his Highness Said bin Sultan of it as soon as possible.

Done and signed in the third expedition to Zanzibar, the 21st day of the month of April, 1843.

The Lieutenant commanding the "Messager."

(Signed)

LEMAUFF DE KERDUDAL.

THE JAMAICA MEETING.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that the House of Assembly in Jamaica have shown themselves rather coy in the matter of Cooly immigration. At the instigation of certain parties in this country, Lord Stanley had the kindness to arrange for the introduction of 5,000 Indian labourers into that island; the House of Assembly, however, instead of being grateful for this unexpected liberality, had the incivility to say that they would have preferred receiving only 2,500. This shyness of ministerial bounty has given no small umbrage to certain gentlemen in England. It has been felt that a lesson must be given to the refractory House, and a meeting of Jamaica proprietors, &c., &c., has been held accordingly, and duly reported in the public prints. Besides the resolutions passed at this meeting, on which we shall comment presently, some parts of its proceedings call for particular notice.

The principal performer on this occasion was a Mr. Edward Thomson, who stated himself to be proprietor of three estates in the parish of Vere, on which Lord Elgin had seen fit to place no fewer than 160 out of the 260 Coolies who arrived there in May last; and he gave, from his own knowledge, an account of their qualities as labourers, of the quiet and effective industry into which they had settled down in Jamaica, and of their cordial welcome by the native peasantry, with which the meeting were delighted almost to extasy. It was evidently better tidings than they had expected to hear. It seemed to be nothing to these eager gentlemen that all this glowing description was founded on the observation and experience of one single week. Yet such was the fact, as stated by Mr. Thomson himself. He told the meeting that he left Jamaica on the 24th of May, a fortnight after the arrival of the Coolies, and when they had been located on his estates just seven days. Now, if this gentleman really told the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, we submit that seven days is a period ludicrously inadequate to form a just basis for any estimate of the results of Coolie immigration. Without impugning his veracity, however, the trustworthiness of Mr. Thomson's representations may be fairly doubted; and, if his eyes are as easily imposed on as his ears, they certainly deserve very little confidence. He closed his speech by retailing the language of the captain who brought the immigrants, to the effect that India was like a bee-hive, that his ship quite swarmed with persons desirous of going with him, and that thousands, and even millions, more were waiting. The admiration and applatise with which this statement was received were almost unbounded, and the absurd and monstrous fiction would have been gravely swallowed and digested by the meeting, had not an attempt been made to supply a corrective. For this purpose, Mr. George Thompson, who, with Mr. Scoble and Mr. Hinton, happened to be present at the meeting, rose to address the chair. He wished, he said, to correct two mistakes into which the preceding speaker had fallen. First, it was not true that India was over-populated. There were large tracts of cultivable but uncultivated land there. Next it was not true—Mr. G. Thompson was going to say, that Indians were eager for emigration, it being within his own knowledge that the immigrants were collected by scouts sent through the country. At this point, however, he was interrupted by Mr. Edward Thomson, who begged to say that he knew nothing of the matter, but that he had merely quoted the captain of the vessel, a party whom Sir Alexander Grant subsequently threw unceremoniously overboard, by saying that he attached no importance to his words. By this time, however, the meeting began to see that the bearing of Mr. George Thompson's speech was not likely to advance their object; and, apparently fearful lest he should approach the atrocious system of crimping and kidnapping by which it is well known that immigrants are procured, attempts were made from the chair to put an end to his speech. The first suggestion of Lord Harewood was that India was not the subject before them; to which the obvious reply was that erroneous statements had already been made respecting India, which Mr. G. Thompson only desired to rectify. The unlucky inquiry was then suggested whether Mr. Thompson was a Jamaica proprietor, and thus the question was raised of his right to be heard. Mr. Thompson stood upon his right; the meeting vehemently supported the chair. Vehemently, but not unanimously; for Mr. Bernal, M.P., in a very sensible speech, requested that Mr. Thompson might be heard. He suggested that a refusal to hear him might be interpreted into an unwillingness on their part to hear the truth, and might do them more harm in public estimation than anything Mr. T could say. This good sense, however, did not carry the meeting; and Mr. Thompson not thinking it proper to relinquish his claim to be heard, especially after an abusive sally from Sir Alexander Grant, the meeting resolved itself into a state of uproar and confusion which lasted about an hour. A policeman was sent for, under a threat of taking Mr. Thompson into custody, but Mr. Burge and the policeman between them had too much good sense to attempt the execution of this menace. At length another room

was prepared, to which the chairman and the meeting generally retired. Upon presenting himself at the door, Mr. Thompson was not only repulsed by those who guarded the entrance, but violently collared and dragged back, by a gentleman whose name was repeatedly stated to be Simpson. When Mr. Scoble presented himself for admission, a person in the room, but concealed behind the door, aimed at his head a ferocious blow with a stick, which, had it not fallen short, must have felled him to the ground; after which the same Mr. Simpson twice collared Mr. Scoble, and dragged him from the doorway. In these acts of violence Mr. Edward Thomson also made himself conspicuous; a proceeding which, indeed, was only in keeping with his words, addressed with an oath to Mr. Scoble—"If you approach me I'll beat your brains out." The scuffle ended, we are happy to say, without personal injury to any one, although without Mr. Thompson and Mr. Scoble gaining admission to the apartment. In order to correct some current misrepresentations, it may be proper we should add, that there was no beating at the door, and no gentlemen rolling over each other on the floor. Nor is it true that Mr. Hinton "sneaked into a corner." He stood during the whole affray in the midst of about a dozen gentlemen on the staircase, looking on, certainly, but with more amazement than trepidation. He took no part in the proceedings.

We have thought it right to enter into these details of an affair which will, of course, be matter of notice and comment in the public prints, in order that our readers may have a correct and authentic statement of the facts as they occurred. It is not surprising that the West India party should be displeased, and should speak in severe terms of Mr. G. Thompson and Mr. Scoble. But what have they done? Even the organ of that party itself admits that the presence of these gentlemen at the meeting was not to be complained of, "publicity being the object of it." Any alleged impropriety, consequently, must be confined to taking a part in the proceedings. But was this improper? Here, again, the admission of the organ of the party is sufficient; namely, that the language of the advertisement calling the meeting was ambiguous, and that it did not lay a ground for silencing Mr. Thompson as an intruder. We, however, may go further, and assert that the terms of the advertisement fully warranted Mr. Thompson's addressing the meeting. It convened "*a public meeting of planters, merchants, and others interested in Jamaica;*" and we are prepared to maintain that the words we have marked in italics may fairly be understood as warranting, not only the attendance, but but the assistance of all who felt a moral and benevolent, as well as a pecuniary interest in the question to be considered. Mr. Burge and his friends may not have meant this; but if so, they should take to themselves the blame of the mistake. They cannot expect to combine the snug comforts of a private meeting with the actual fact of calling a public one. Even if it were otherwise, however, and Mr. G. Thompson had been technically in error, we may appeal to all persons of common sense whether the meeting would not have done much better to hear him. The real objection to his proceeding was, not that he was not entitled to speak, but that he was saying what they did not like to hear. We put the question thus: If Mr. Thompson had said, "My lord, I have been in India, and I can confirm all that my namesake has said," would not the meeting have heard him then, and even have coupled the two Thompsons in the vote of thanks for their very useful speeches? No doubt, we think, can be entertained on this point. The gist of the objection, then was, that the meeting were afraid of what Mr. George Thompson was going to say. There had just been set before them a delicious prospect of millions of Coolies waiting for transport to the West Indies, and they dreaded lest this brilliant illusion should be dissipated by the wand of truth. They wanted it to go forth in the report of that meeting uncontradicted; and they have succeeded, but in a manner which, as Mr. Bernal forewarned them, will do them more harm than any words which Mr. G. Thompson could have uttered. Their mode of proceeding implies dishonesty. It indicates the existence of a cherished spirit of artifice and fraud. In the same spirit Mr. Edward Thomson's speech was commended, not because it was true, but because it was "useful." And in the same spirit, too, the noble chairman stated that they did not want to know what was going on in the East Indies, but to get as many immigrants as they could for the West Indies. And such is, we believe, to a great extent, the entire *animus* of the West India body in this country. With high sounding but unmeaning professions of regard to the interests of the native labourer and the religious improvement of the immigrants, they carry on, by the help of every possible artifice, their pursuit of gain. The severe contest and the dishonourable victory of Friday last are only characteristic of their policy.

The proceedings of that day demonstrate further that artifice is not the only disgraceful attribute of West Indianism. Their dread of truth drives these gentlemen, not only into meanness, but into insolence and violence. If Mr. G. Thompson's attempt to enter the lower room was a breach of the peace, they might have given him in charge to the policeman who stood at the door: if it was not, their resistance to it was a breach of the law. Indeed, assaults were committed three several times on the persons of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Scoble, both by Mr. Simpson and Mr. Edward Thomson, and by the cowardly person who, from his hiding-place, aimed so ferocious a blow—an act on which no one cried shame—at the head of Mr. Scoble. No doubt this was meant as a West Indian recompense for the long and ardent devotedness which Mr. Scoble has manifested to the cause of the slave. Ruffianism was the spirit of the whole scene, and is, with honourable exceptions, the spirit of the whole party.

The essential rule of West Indianism was well expressed by Mr. E. Thomson in his words to Mr. Scoble—"If you approach me I will beat your brains out." Yet this is the gentleman to whose benign administration the Earl of Elgin has subjected one hundred and sixty of the newly imported Coolies! Why, if he will act the bravo after such an outrageous manner in England, what will he do in Jamaica? The venom which he so eagerly spits in the face of the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society is doubtless the prevailing characteristic of that system under which one hundred and sixty Coolies have for one week been so marvellously happy.

Of the resolutions passed by the meeting we have not now space to say much. Nor is it necessary. They are characterized by the usual plausible fallacies. The fifth resolution makes the most extraordinary jump at a conclusion which we recollect ever to have seen. It absolutely pronounces at the present moment on the success of immigration from the East Indies, thus throwing into the grave form of a resolution the twaddle of Mr. Edward Thomson, and his seven days' experience. Gently, gentlemen, gently; this is somewhat too fast. Let us have a mail or two before we are called on to swallow such a dose as this. Why the very papers which come to our hand as we write instruct us better in this matter. Let the gentlemen who met at Willis's rooms observe the following statement, for example, which we take from the *Guiana Times* of June the 18th:—

"The Coolies are beginning to realize the expectations which were formed of them after their arrival. Some of them are already quitting their original locations, and are to be seen travelling thence to the distance of many miles. Free as they are, nothing is more natural than that they should become dissatisfied with the treatment which they experience on particular plantations, no matter how liberal or considerate it may be. On their first landing, there was nothing among them but reverential *salaams* to the planting gentlemen, and expressions of gratitude and affection. Even at that time shrewd managers predicted that the period would come when those marks of satisfaction and esteem would be converted into clamorous and insolent demands for novel and unreasonable gratuities and allowances. And the result has partially verified the prognostications of such persons. Thus, then, we may chance to have paid our first 15*l.*, and become bound for the second, for the sake of introducing among our native population a sturdy vagrant, who will not be idle long before he becomes also vicious and criminal."

We find, also, from the *Falmouth Post*, that discontent had made its appearance among the Coolies on an estate in Vere, Jamaica,—Mr. Edward Thomson's, we believe. And if these are the tidings now, what may they not be to come?

The sixth resolution applies the cudgel to the House of Assembly, and dictates to that honourable body not to disappoint the expectation of its would-be masters another time. The declaration appended to the resolutions is remarkable for two things. It calls for, not only a large, but a "continuous immigration." This is something new. We have heard before of a demand for continuous labour, but not, we think, for continuous immigration. We have always understood that this was to be temporary, and not continuous, to repair the alleged effect of emancipation, and then to stop. The Jamaica planters in England, however, will have continuous immigration. And they tell us they are willing to pay for it by a tax on exports, that is, on sugar. Bravo! This account will soon come to its reckoning, and the reckoning will bring these gentlemen to their senses. May we recommend to their attention an article in our columns to-day, on the results of immigration at Mauritius?

COOLIE IMMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

Two important documents have reached us direct from Mauritius, relating to Coolie immigration, which, whether viewed as unfolding its results in that colony, or as confirming the views which we have taken of the subject, are of great importance. The first of these documents is a report of the committee appointed by the legislative council of Mauritius on the 9th of September, 1844, "for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the insufficiency of the labouring population, after so large an introduction of immigrants, as well as into the means that it may be practicable to adopt for providing remedies for any or all of these causes, and also in regard to the operation and effect of the ordinance on vagrancy, in order to furnish his Excellency the Governor with sufficient grounds for recommending to the Secretary of State, and the government of India, the proposed prolongation of the term of engagements with labourers." The report is dated the 19th of February. The second document, consists of a "minute" of the Governor, Sir William Gomm, on the report submitted to him. This document bears date the 17th March.

The main questions before the committee were two: "1st, Whether or not there is a sufficiency of labour in the island to meet the wants of its inhabitants? and 2nd, Whether or not it is expedient to rescind the regulation which prohibits engagements for a longer period than one year?"

After a very elaborate investigation of the subject, from the best official data within their reach, and the evidence submitted to them by planters, merchants, stipendiary magistrates, and others, the committee arrive at the conclusion that the supply of labour in the colony is inadequate; and that the governmental arrangements for keeping up the effective strength of the gangs by the annual importation of 6,000 adult male Indians, besides women and children, is wholly insufficient for the intended purpose.

On the first point the committee give the following statistical information. The number of male immigrants introduced between

United States to Great Britain, from that period up to the end of the year 1844. In 1825, it appears the quantity exported amounted to 356,618 bales; in 1844, to 1,158,323 bales. This great supply of cotton is brought to this country chiefly in American bottoms. The quantity of foreign shipping which entered and cleared in the ports of the United States in 1839-40 was 1,148,849 tons, whilst the amount of American was as high as 3,223,955 tons. From the documents quoted in the memorial, it appears that the capital embarked in the cotton manufacture in this country is estimated at £34,000,000 sterling; that it employs in its various branches 1,500,000 persons; and that £21,000,000 sterling is annually circulated in the shape of wages. It also appears that, whilst the exports of Great Britain to the United States amounted in 1840, to only 33,842,000 dollars, the imports from the United States into this country reached as high as 60,277,000 dollars. In the case of the British North American and West India colonies it was still worse, the exports from the United States being 9,368,000 dollars, the imports only reaching to 3,325,000: showing a balance against Great Britain and her colonies during the year 1840 of no less than 32,578,000 dollars upon the year. But this is not all. Such has been the operation of the American tariff, and the protection afforded to native manufacturers, that, whereas the consumption of cotton wool in the American states amounted in 1832-3 to 194,412 bales, it reached 346,744 bales in 1844. Thus we find, not only the market of the United States restricted in respect of British commerce, but the British merchant materially interfered with in the markets of the world by American competition, whilst Great Britain is made almost entirely dependent upon her great rival for the raw material of her chief manufacture.

The Memorial points out how this dependence may be obviated. It directs especial attention to the cultivation of cotton wool in British India, and adduces the gratifying fact that, however inferior the quality of the material drawn thence has hitherto been, from want of proper cultivation and cleaning, it has, nevertheless, come into successful competition, both with the inferior kinds of American cotton wool, and especially with that from Brazil. In 1825, the amount of Indian cotton introduced into the British market amounted to 39,567 bales; in 1844 it was 239,718 bales; showing an increase of more than 200,000 bales. We can trace its effect on Brazilian cotton wool distinctly during the last few years; for, in 1831, the imports from Brazil were 174,508 bales, in 1844 they were reduced to 111,706 bales. The cotton brokers' circulars clearly attest the fact that the low qualities of American cotton wool have been displaced, to a considerable extent, by the produce of India.

In order to the further development of the resources of British India, the Memorial suggests the vast importance of rendering the land-tax permanent instead of fluctuating, the necessity of giving certainty to the tenures by which the land is at present held—and the duty of relieving the cultivators of the soil of those grievous exactions and imposts which paralyze their industry. On each of these points the deputation was heard by Lord Ripon, not only with courtesy, but with interest; and although, of course, we cannot inform our readers that the suggestions of the deputation will be adopted, we may venture to assert that much good is likely to result from the interview.

However important the facts set forth in the Memorial may be in their political and commercial bearings, the object of the deputation was to lead the noble President of the Board of Control to the consideration of their anti-slavery aspect, and to point out a weapon by the vigorous and skilful aid of which the execrable system of slavery in the United States may be effectually combated. We know the extreme sensitiveness of American statesmen on this point; and, believing as we do that, if free scope be given to the investment of capital in British India, and native industry be unfettered, the most important results will follow, we shall earnestly advocate every measure likely to secure these results at the earliest possible period.

Instead of devoting the revenue of India to conquests and wars, how wise would it be to devote it to the improvement of internal transit, now so expensive and dangerous, and by a wise and humane policy, to benefit India and England by extended commerce, and, at the same time, to advance the freedom and happiness of mankind.

THE occurrence of three extended debates in Parliament, one in the Lords and two in the Commons, since our last issue, has rendered it necessary for us to have recourse to-day to a double number. On the topics to which the debates related we have to say but a few words.

On the 8th instant, Lord Palmerston brought forward a motion for the names of the officers examined as witnesses before the French and English commissioners on the right of search, and a copy of the evidence taken. He delivered a very extended and discursive speech on the occasion, and made full use of the opportunity it afforded him for advertizing to anti-slavery topics of every kind. For the most part we shall refer our readers to the answer, also very extended, which was given him by Sir Robert Peel; but one class of his observations bears so directly upon ourselves that we must notice them more particularly. His lordship referred pointedly to a body of persons who held that the only way to abolish the slave-trade was to abolish slavery, and favoured the world with his opinion that the way rather to abolish slavery was to abolish the slave-trade. He referred, of course, chiefly to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Society is obliged to him for the terms of respect in which

he spoke of them; but we cannot say that he uttered anything adapted to alter their judgment. On this point we think he was well answered by Sir Robert Peel, who referred to the obvious case of the United States, and who might have referred also to the case, scarcely less obvious, of the British West Indies. In this instance, we think his lordship's zeal for the system of armed intervention has dimmed his perception and warped his judgment. If we were to take up the language of a print (*the Morning Chronicle*) which is usually supposed to speak the sentiments of Lord Palmerston, and which has so far deviated from the good taste of his lordship in Parliament as to describe the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as constituting an "amiable but nonsensical school," we should say, that his plan of putting down slavery by firing cannon balls at the slave-traders was nonsensical, but not amiable. His lordship's motion was negatived by a considerable majority.

On the 15th instant a discussion was raised in both houses on the correspondence between the Duke of Sotomayor and Lord Aberdeen on the introduction of Cuban sugar, the Earl of Clarendon mooted the subject in the Lords, and Lord Palmerston in the Commons. Of these debates our columns have not permitted us to give more than a very condensed abstract. The sum, however, is, that the British Government is complained of, not so much because its decision does not accord with a strict interpretation of the treaties between the two countries, as because it has lost an opportunity of creating for them an interpretation more liberal—that is, more favourable to free-trade, than ever they have yet borne. Lord Aberdeen, very fairly we think, refused to meet Lord Clarendon on that ground, confining himself to a guarded and successful defence of the right of refusal. The reply in the Commons was entrusted to Mr. Gladstone, who showed, in a manner exhibiting great research, that a course different from that which the Government had taken could not by treaty be required. Whether it might or might not have been advisable to make the Duke of Sotomayor's letter an occasion of creating new relations between the two Governments, and of advancing the general policy of free-trade, is certainly quite another question; and, friendly as we are, generally speaking, to the emancipation of trade from its restrictions, we should have been sorry, we confess, to have seen anything gained for it which would have involved the introduction of the slave-grown sugars of Spain. Ministers had large majorities in both houses.

Mr. HAWES has asked in the House of Commons for the production of some important papers, in relation both to the West Indies and Mauritius. In relation to the latter colony, he called for the Report of a Committee which the Mauritius Government has appointed to inquire into the state of immigrant labour, with the evidence on which it was founded. Mr. Hope said, that the Government had received this report, and would lay it on the table of the House, but that they had not received the evidence on which it was founded. This is far from satisfactory. No one can tell, under these circumstances, whether the Report is borne out by the evidence or not; or whether there may not be important disclosures in the evidence of which the Report takes no notice. We trust the Government will require the transmission of the evidence, and lay it before the country at the first opportunity.

In relation to the West Indies, Mr. Hawes asked whether the periodical reports of the stipendiary magistrates could not be produced; to which Mr. Hope replied, that the only objection was their bulkiness, adding that very little use had been made of those heretofore published. On this latter point we must beg to say, that Mr. Hope is not quite a competent judge. And as to the former, if they really be so very bulky, which we should scarcely have thought, since of late they have been made only half-yearly, we should suppose a selection might without difficulty be made.

WE learn, on good authority, that the first cargo of labourers has actually been landed at Mauritius from Zanzibar.

WE have received our usual files from the West Indies, but in the crowded state of our columns, we have not room for extracts. The news is not of particular importance.

THE MURDERERS OF MR. PALMER, MIDSHIPMAN, AND NINE MEN OF H.M.S. WASP.—The ten men (eight of them calling themselves Brazilians and two Spaniards) charged with the murder of the above unfortunate and promising officer and party, were brought up for examination at the Guildhall, Plymouth, on the 8th instant. It appears that on the 27th of February the boats of the *Wasp* boarded a suspicious Brazilian vessel, called the *Felicidade*, which being found fitted for slaves, was taken as a prize. Very soon after another very suspicious vessel was descried, which proved to be the *Echo*, having a cargo of 434 (who had been forty-eight hours without food) on board. Lieutenant Stupart, who was in command, took charge of the *Echo*, and directed Mr. Palmer and nine men to take charge of the *Felicidade*, into which ship nine from the *Echo* were removed. The crew of the *Felicidade* subsequently rose upon and murdered the whole of the British sailors, and resumed possession of the ship. She was afterwards retaken by another of H. M. cruisers, and thus was this horrible tragedy brought to light. The prisoners, after an examination which lasted several days, were fully committed for trial. It is for the Government to determine whether they shall be tried at Exeter or at the Central Criminal Court. As we shall give an account of the trial, we do not enter into further particulars of the examinations.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—MONDAY, July 7.

BRAZIL SLAVE-TRADE.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said that in moving the second reading of the Brazil Slave-trade Bill, he would endeavour to explain, as briefly as possible, the reasons why her Majesty's Government had thought it necessary to introduce that measure to their lordships. Their lordships were aware that a treaty was concluded between this country and Brazil, in the year 1826, for the abolition of the slave-trade. By the first article of that treaty the contracting parties stipulated that "at the expiration of three years, to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade, under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and the carrying on of such trade after that period, by any person, subject of his Imperial Majesty, shall be deemed and treated as piracy." By the second and third articles of the treaty, the contracting parties mutually agreed, with a view to provide for the regulation of the said trade till the time of its final abolition, "to adopt and renew, as effectually as if the same were inserted, the several articles and provisions of the treaties concluded between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Portugal on this subject, on the 22nd of January, 1815, and on the 28th of July, 1817, and the several explanatory articles which had been added thereto." The last treaty with Portugal, in the year 1817, contained a provision from which it appeared that the contracting parties contemplated the possible termination of that convention. By a separate article, it was agreed that as soon as the total abolition of the slave-trade on the part of the subject of the crown of Portugal should have taken place, the two parties would adapt themselves to the state of circumstances contemplated by the stipulations of the convention concluded on the 28th July, 1817; but in default of any such regulation, then the conditions of the said convention should continue in force for fifteen years from the day when the ratifications of the treaty should take place. The ratifications were exchanged between Brazil and this country on the 13th March, 1827, consequently in three years after that period the slave-trade was finally abolished in the empire of Brazil. Fifteen years from that period had now elapsed, and the Government of Brazil, on the 12th of March last, gave notice to her Majesty's minister at Brazil that on the following day the treaty between this country and Brazil would expire, and that the Mixed Commission, and all the instructions connected with it, would be at an end. It might admit of some doubt how far the contingency contemplated by the separate article had arrived to entitle the Brazilian Government to put an end to the treaty. But in a correspondence between her Majesty's late Government and the Government of Brazil, it appeared that there had been an anticipation of the probability of terminating the provisions within the time specified, and the present Government were, on the whole, disposed to acquiesce in the interpretation put upon the convention by the Brazilian Government. This country was therefore reduced to the first article of the treaty, by which the contracting parties declared that slave-trading by any subject of the Brazils should be deemed piracy. That declaration could not, of course, render the slave-trade piracy by the law of nations; but as between Great Britain and Brazil it became illegal by virtue of that compact. If any state constituted an act illegal or criminal by its own municipal laws, other states were undoubtedly not accustomed to take notice of such act, nor would their tribunals enforce the municipal law; but an act made illegal by virtue of a mutual compact gave a right to the state entering into such compact to consider the act illegal, and, in consequence, her Majesty had, by the stipulation in question, acquired the right to order the seizure of all Brazilian subjects found on the high seas engaged in the slave-trade, of punishing the parties so engaged, and of disposing of their vessels and the goods therein as *bond side* captures. When the act 7th and 8th George IV. was passed, carrying into execution this convention, care was taken to restrict the power of the courts of Admiralty and other courts, except the courts of Mixed Commission, appointed for the purpose of carrying the treaty into effect. Those mixed courts had ceased, and in consequence of the decision of the Brazilian Government it had now become necessary to renew the provisions of the act of George IV., giving power of exercising jurisdiction in cases of capture. It had been, in effect, necessary to exclude the courts of Admiralty, because otherwise they might have been called upon, and indeed it would have been necessary for them to exercise jurisdiction under the convention; but by repealing that part of the act which prohibited the courts of Admiralty from taking cognizance of such matters, they would be enabled to exercise this jurisdiction. It appeared that the Brazilian Government itself had contemplated this act on the part of the British Government. Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, and when he (Lord Aberdeen) held the same office he had now the honour to fill, the Brazilian minister made application to him that vessels should be permitted to come from the coast of Africa, having sailed before the 13th of March, without being liable to be detained and treated as pirates, notwithstanding they were met with on the high seas after the 13th March. In that request her Majesty's Government acquiesced, and vessels which had sailed from the African coast before that date were not detained. Again the Brazilian minister, after three years had elapsed from the signature of the treaty, and the trade had been finally abolished, maintained that the courts of Mixed Commission ought to cease, as they only provided for acts done in that trade during the time of its continuance. The Brazilian Government accordingly remonstrated against these courts, and desired that they should cease on the 13th of March, 1830. This application was made to him (the Earl of Aberdeen), but was answered by the noble lord who succeeded him in office, and he demurred to the abolition of the courts of Mixed Commission, giving as a reason, that some considerable time must elapse before tribunals could be constituted for exercising jurisdiction in cases of piracy, and therefore he recommended that the Courts of Mixed Commission should continue. The Brazilian Government still seriously remonstrated against the continuance of these courts, declaring that they were only of

a temporary character, instituted with a view of judging of the legality of the detention of vessels engaged in the slave-trade; but that then (in 1830), as all traffic in slaves had ceased, the tribunals for taking cognizance of acts done in that trade could not possibly be required for an object which was no longer in existence. The Brazilian Government, therefore, urged that these courts should cease. The British Government of that day, however, remarked that these courts might still have duties to perform, notwithstanding that the slave trade had become illegal and had been declared piracy, and maintained the point that the courts should be allowed to continue. It appeared, then, that the abolition of the Mixed Commission courts was looked upon as possible in a period of fifteen years, according to the terms specified in the treaty with Portugal. The object of the present bill was to remove from the courts of Admiralty the restrictions thrown upon them by the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., from carrying into execution the treaty with Brazil. It was only recently that he (the Earl of Aberdeen) had himself called the attention of the Brazilian Government to the necessity under which her Majesty's Government might find themselves of appealing to the first article of the treaty as he had described it. Their lordships were aware that the Brazilian Government had always declined to fulfil those general engagements to co-operate with the British Government for the effectual abolition of the slave-trade. In a note which he addressed to that Government in July, 1843, after strongly remonstrating with them, he declared that the time had arrived when it became her Majesty's Government distinctly to declare that the abolition which had been contracted for by the convention should fall for want of that co-operation so continually asked for by the British at the hands of the Brazilian Government, and that if the latter still declined to enter into arrangements to give effect to that convention, it would remain for her Majesty alone, and by her own means, to carry into full effect the abolition imposed upon her by the first article of the treaty. It had therefore been found necessary to repeal that part of the act which prohibited the courts of Admiralty from taking cognizance of these cases. He did not know that it was necessary for him to allude to the course pursued by the Brazilian Government generally. With rare and short exceptions the treaty had been by them systematically violated from the period of its conclusion to the present time. Cargoes of slaves had been landed in open day in the streets of the capital, and bought and sold like cattle, without any obstacle whatsoever being imposed on the traffic. (Hear, hear.) Our officers had been waylaid, maltreated, and even assassinated while in the execution of their duty; and justice, in such cases, if not actually denied, had never been fairly granted. No doubt much had happened in the course of the last ten or twelve years to call for and justify an expression of national feeling; but her Majesty's Government had no wish save to provide for the effectual execution of the treaty as stipulated for by the first article; and with that view he had brought forward the present bill, which had been approved of by the highest authorities in such matters.

The bill was then read a second time.

TUESDAY, July 15.

SPANISH SUGAR.

The Earl of CLARENDON rose to move his resolution relative to the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico; in doing which he assured the House that he was not actuated by party motives, but solely by a wish to preserve the national character unsullied. It was well known that the Duke of Sotomayor had claimed that the sugars of the islands in question should be placed on the same footing as those of Venezuela; and that he had supported this claim by a reference to various treaties, and amongst others to that of Utrecht, which stipulated that the subjects of Great Britain and Spain respectively should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations. Nothing, he thought, could be more explicit than the terms of those treaties, and which he was bound to say Spain herself had scrupulously observed; yet the Earl of Aberdeen asserted that they had no force, because it was agreed by a treaty in 1679 that the subjects of neither country should trade to their respective possessions in the West Indies. Now, even admitting that this treaty was not annulled by that of Utrecht in 1713, he was prepared to show that though the letter of the treaties might be the same, the altered circumstances of the two nations were such that the restriction specified had fallen into disuse, and in fact for more than a century past had never been binding. This taking a stand on the dead letter of a treaty was quibbling in its worst form, and would be utterly scouted in a private transaction. The noble Earl then mentioned the several treaties adduced by Lord Aberdeen in his note; and, having argued that they did not invalidate the claim of the Spanish Government, proceeded to notice severely another part of the correspondence—the distinction drawn between the subjects of a country and its produce. It was asserted, that though the subjects of Spain were to be treated on the most favoured terms, yet their produce was not to be similarly treated. But if this argument were to be admitted, it would apply to Spain equally with her colonies; and not to Spain alone, but to other countries with which similar treaties existed, and which were now treated as the most favoured nations. Why was not the same answer made to the claims of other nations? Simply because they were strong, and Spain was weak. The distinction might be well enough fitted for the atmosphere of Oxford, but it was utterly unsuited to matters of international arrangement. By the late sugar bill we had treated Brazil unfairly, and thus lost an important market, and now we were about to set an example, which would affect us most seriously, of how the engagements of a treaty might be set aside. The noble Earl concluded by moving his resolution, to the effect that the produce of Spain and her colonies should be admitted on the same terms as those of the most favoured nations.

The Earl of ABERDEEN was quite as strongly impressed with the necessity of adhering scrupulously to the engagements of treaties as the Earl of Clarendon could be, but he could not help suspecting that very little would have been heard of this Spanish claim, had it not been for the general policy of the Government on the sugar question. He was astonished to hear the statement that Spain had always observed these ancient treaties, for in the course of his experience he had met with nothing on the part of that country but a denial of their validity. It was so in the case of the family compact between France and Spain, and in many other instances, where Spain had resisted the rights of British merchants founded on these very

treaties. It was in vain to refer to the letter of these treaties, the question must be decided by the constant practice of each nation; and as Spain had repeatedly refused to abide by the obligations in issue, such also had been the invariable practice of England. By the argument of the Earl of Clarendon, Spain might claim the same rights for her ships as would be granted to those of France, supposing we made a treaty of reciprocity with that country; but of course she could never think of making such a demand, because she imposed heavy discriminating duties on our shipping. This, he thought, was decisive against the claim lately made by the Spanish minister. Of late years various treaties of reciprocity had been on the eve of being concluded with various nations, and yet not a word had been said about this Spanish claim till it had been found convenient to urge it with regard to sugar. Having shown what the relations of the two countries had been, he would proceed to say a few words on the distinction between subjects and produce which had been treated with such ineffable contempt. In the first place, the treaties referred to were framed on a very different basis from those of the present day; they stipulated only for personal privileges, and had no reference to goods, except as connected with persons possessing them. Thus, we might provide that the wine of Spain should pay twice as much duty as that of France, provided it paid no more when in the hands of a Spaniard than when in the hands of a Frenchman. The treaties lately concluded with the Sublime Porte, the United States, and Venezuela, showed that this distinction was real, for in the case of the two latter nations a special clause was inserted giving large privileges to subjects with their ships and goods. If this distinction was not kept sight of, it would lead to much confusion and absurd consequences. In conclusion he could only say that the Government had given the question their mature consideration, and they were convinced that in refusing the claim they had done nothing that was unjust. He did not lay claim to any liberal or generous interpretation of the treaties, but to such a one as was borne out by their letter, and by the conduct of both parties for a long series of years.

The Earl of RADNOR complained that the arguments used by Lord Aberdeen this evening were different from those employed in his correspondence with the Duke de Sotomayor. In his opinion, it would be better to have no treaties at all, than to put the interpretation upon them attempted by the noble Earl in his note.

The Earl of CLARENDRON, in reply, could contradict from his own experience the assertion that Spain had denied British subjects the rights stipulated in the ancient treaties. He agreed with Lord Radnor in his remarks as to the discrepancy between the correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and the speech they had just heard; and as to the fine distinction between persons and produce, he left it to the House to say whether it was convincing.

Their Lordships then divided, when the numbers were—

For the resolution	• • • • •	14
Against it	• • • • •	28
Majority	• • • • •	14

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, July 8.

RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Mr. SHEIL, in accordance with his notice, asked the right hon. baronet, the First Lord of the Treasury, what was the number of American vessels over which we had exercised the right of visit which we claimed, since the treaty of Washington?

Sir R. PEEL said that the number of vessels over which we had exercised the right of visit had been very considerable since the signature of the treaty; but he trusted the hon. member would not require a specification of the exact number. The right had been exercised where the vessels were of a suspicious character. He must also say that the exercise of it had not led to any injurious consequences. It had not provoked any ill-feeling on the part of the American squadron acting in co-operation with ours. As an illustration of the way in which these duties were performed, perhaps it might be sufficient to mention the two latest communications which had been received from the coast of Africa, where the right of search of American vessels was exercised by British cruisers in conformity with the instructions given after the signature of the treaty of Washington. The first case was contained in a letter, dated

"Her Majesty's brig *Heroine*, at sea, April 22, 1845.

"Sir,—In obedience to the orders contained in the general instructions for commanders of her Majesty's vessels employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, I beg leave to inform you that on the 22nd ult. I visited in Mayamba Bay an American schooner, *Henry*, and on the 21st February the American brig *Sterling*, of Beverley, in order to ascertain their nationality, and no objection having been made to the visit, I found them to be *bond fide* Americans, and left them as soon as possible.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"HENRY R. FORTE, Lieutenant and Commander.

"Commodore W. Jones, her Majesty's ship, *Penelope*, Commanding on the west coast of Africa."

The latest case of the exercise of this right of visit by the conjoint operation of the American and British squadron was stated in a letter from

"Her Majesty's ship *Penelope*, Ascension, May 6, 1845.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inclose a report from Commander Russell, of the *Ardent*, reporting operations in the Rio Pongas, in which he was cordially assisted by Commander Bruce, of the United States sloop, the *Truxton*. The result was successful, and highly satisfactory in all respects, two slavers having been surprised, and taken in one of their inner haunts; one vessel under Spanish colours was seized by the *Ardent*'s boats, while at the same moment the officers of the *Truxton* took possession of another schooner under American colours. The latter vessel has since been sent to Boston for adjudication. This incident, and other indications of sincerity on the part of the American

officers now serving on this station, lead me to hope for a degree of future co-operation which cannot but have desirable effects.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. JONES,

"Commodore and Senior Officer commanding.

"The Right Hon. H. T. L. Corry, &c., Admiralty."

Commander Russell writes:—"Lieut. Johnson mentions the cordial good feeling that existed between the officers and men of the two nations in the highest terms, and the zeal, energy, and activity that prevailed among them, which is gratifying for me to record." He thought that was a very satisfactory account, and the hon. gentleman would be satisfied that this right of visit which we claimed had been exercised in every case in which it was desirable it should be exercised with that forbearance and precaution which was not incompatible with a good understanding between the squadrons.

Sir C. NAPIER.—Would the right hon. baronet inform the house whether any British vessels had been visited in the same period?

Sir R. PEEL was not aware that any British vessel had been visited by the American cruisers, but had any appeared on the African coast under suspicious circumstances, there could be no doubt that they would have been visited.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Lord PALMERSTON moved for "a return of the names and description of the witnesses examined before the Mixed British and French Commission appointed to inquire into the best means for suppressing the slave-trade; also copy or extracts of the evidence given by those witnesses." The slave-trade was one which led to widely extended misery; it led to the desolation of man's happiness and to the depopulation of nations all along the southern shores of Africa. The extent to which the trade was now carried on it was almost impossible to ascertain. But the amount of misery caused by the traffic in human flesh was still alarmingly great. Every human being, whatever might be his country, if his mind had not been contaminated by a participation in the horrible trade, must join heartily in an ardent desire that the crime should be put an end to by some means or other: sure he was that no Englishman but must glory in the part which his country had taken towards effecting so desirable an object. They had indeed been told that a change had come over the minds of many, who in former times were the most consistent advocates of the measures which this country had adopted—not a change indicating the slightest diminution in the ardent desire felt by the parties to put an end to the horrors of the slave-trade by the most efficient means in their power: the change consisted in this—that many men, whose intentions he respected, and whose judgment was in general entitled to great weight, but who, in his opinion, had looked superficially upon that matter,—they had arrived at the conclusion that the efforts of this country, since 1814, to put an end to the slave-trade, had wholly failed—that notwithstanding those efforts they began to despair of effecting their object, and that we should better succeed by directing our efforts to put down slavery as an institution. Now, with all respect to those persons, he differed entirely from their opinions; he considered that their despair was without reason, and their conclusions erroneous.

It was perfectly true that slavery was the basis of the slave-trade, and that if it were abolished throughout the world, then the slave-trade must immediately cease. But it was also true that the slave-trade was the very root—was that which gave life and spirit to slavery. Then let them lay the axe to the root of the tree, let them sap its foundations and it must decay. They ought to labour for the suppression of the slave-trade, as the very best means of arriving at what they all desired, the abolition of slavery itself. When they asked a nation to emancipate the slaves which they held—when they asked a proprietor to do so, they asked him to annihilate his property—to do away with that labour upon which his means of livelihood might depend; but ask them to put an end to the slave-trade—ask them to assist in preventing the carrying of any more slaves, and at once they were enlisted in your favour, because you asked them to prevent the introduction of other negroes, whose presence might reduce the value of their own. But then it was said that all our efforts since 1814 had been fruitless. He took upon himself to deny the truth of that allegation. He admitted that they had not modified the sufferings of the passage by the exertions they had made to stop the trade; but he must deny that those exertions had in any degree augmented those sufferings, and simply because he believed it was impossible. They were not to test the efficacy of the measures taken by this country for the suppression of the abominable trade by the fact that they had not been successful in putting down the trade. The papers on the table showed repeated instances in which vessels had returned to both Cuba and Brazil empty, because they had been prevented from completing, or from shipping any cargo on the African coast, by the presence of our cruisers. There was also on the table a return of the vessels which had been condemned before the mixed commission in Sierra Leone. Since 1819 no less than 158 vessels had been there condemned, and that fact proved that they had been captured before taking slaves on board. The average number of Africans which those vessels took on board was 300, so that there was from between 50,000 and 60,000 who had been saved from the horrors of the middle passage and after-slavery by the vigilance of our ships of war. Besides, 60,000 slaves had been emancipated at Sierra Leone within the same period; therefore, he said, they had positive proof that the endeavours of this country had saved so many from their otherwise inevitable fate.

Considering the great quantity of uncultivated land in Cuba and Brazil, and also in Surinam, and the great increase in the wealth of Europe, and consequent demand for the products of these countries, was it not reasonable to have expected a great increase in the number of slaves imported into them? Had they not a right to suppose that, had this country not adopted the means she had done to check the trade, a much greater number of unfortunate Africans would have been sold to slavery? They knew that the price of the negro had risen, in consequence of the supply having been much reduced below the positive demand by our unceasing endeavours to extirpate the trade. Taking these matters into consideration, he considered that he was entitled to affirm that imperfect as our measures had been, still they had not been fruitless, and they had very much narrowed the former extent of the evil. What, he would ask, had been the system

followed by us since 1814? So far from its having been tried and failed, he contended that it had never been brought into full operation upon the principles on which it was first founded. By the first part of that system this country proposed to enter into treaties with those powers whose subjects were engaged in the slave-trade, for the purpose of having it declared a crime, and awarding punishment to those who continued to carry on the unholy traffic. Accordingly we entered into such treaties with Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Had all of those treaties been faithfully and honourably carried out, had they been faithfully and honourably executed by the respective governments, had they not contented themselves with simply promulgating them, had they taken measures to carry them rigidly into effect, there would have been no need of deplored the continued existence of the horrible and revolting traffic. Denmark, Sweden, and Holland had faithfully and honourably satisfied their engagements. France, notwithstanding the treaty of 1841, had not ceased to carry on the trade in human flesh in all its abominations. Even now thousands of slaves were imported into the isle of Bourbon, from Madagascar in order to cultivate the land. The French Government had entered into a slave treaty with the Imam of Muscat; but it was not a treaty to put down the slave-trade, but one which gave it legality. With respect to the Governments of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, the engagements into which they had entered had been systematically, perseveringly, scandalously, and dishonourably violated. No doubt they were told by the Government that of late the Government of Portugal had greatly altered their conduct; but up to 1839 and 1840 the Government of that country were as guilty of the systematic and scandalous violation of the treaty as any of the others which he had named. He was glad that Portugal had adopted another course, whatever might have been the cause for the change, but no thanks were due to them, because the change had not been wrought by any reflection on their part; on the contrary, it was owing wholly to the measure of coercion which the then Government proposed to Parliament in 1839. The Governments of Cuba and Brazil were yet violating every engagement into which they had entered. All the remonstrances of this country were met with false assertions, and our complaints were staved off by vexatious and frivolous delays. When England showed herself in earnest, as she did by the bill of 1839 with regard to Portugal, it happened, by an accidental coincidence of course, but still by a curious and happy coincidence, that at that very moment the Government of Brazil became in earnest in the execution of their laws and of our treaty; and at the very same time, also, by a fortunate coincidence, there happened to come to Cuba a governor, who, for the first time, repudiated the arrogant practices of his predecessors, refused to receive the accustomed fees on the importation of negroes, and set himself fairly to work to carry out the treaty. He had said that the first mode of arriving at the abolition of slavery was to discourage the slave-trade, and that effect would follow from the measures which had been adopted. In the first place, when the slave owner found that by exacting the greatest possible amount of human labour for the smallest possible amount of human food, or by saving the expense of caring for his slaves in illness and taking care of them afterwards and procuring fresh negroes when the old ones were exhausted, he worked his estate in the most economical manner, of course the slave was exposed to greater hardships in proportion as the owner trusted to the facility of supplying his loss; but if the slave-owner knew that when one slave died he could not buy another in the market, then his view was altered, and he treated his slaves with the same regard as a sensible man did his horses, or his oxen, or any other animals which he employed for his use. He gave the slave good food, in order that the slave might be better able to labour for his master; took care of the slave in sickness, in order that he might cure him, and that the slave might live for his use. He spared the female slave when breeding, in order that she might bring forth her offspring alive, and that that offspring might be useful to him. It was clear, then, that in accomplishing the abolition of the slave-trade we were divesting slavery of much of its horrors and its suffering. He would also show that the abolition of the slave-trade would have a beneficial effect upon another class of human beings—namely, the native Indians in the Brazils. It was stated in these papers that in the northern provinces of Brazil, in consequence of the supply of slaves being cut off, the proprietors were obliged to alter their treatment of the native Indians, to conciliate them by good treatment, and induce them to settle as labourers. They were thus brought within the pale of civilization, and accustomed to the habits and usages of social life. The next method was to strike at the markets in which the slaves were sold, and the next method to intercept them on their way to the markets to which they were consigned. This was to be done by a naval police; but it was evident that it could have no effect unless the cruisers employed in that service were armed with powers to detain and search, and send for trial, vessels engaged in the slave-trade; and that could only be done by the consent of those powers under whose flags the vessels sailed. It was not until 1831 that we obtained effectual powers to suppress the slave-trade under the flag of France; not until 1835 did we obtain effectual powers with respect to the flag of Spain; and it was not until 1839, or practically till 1840, that we obtained adequate powers as regarded the flag of Portugal. It was therefore not just to say that we had been trying this system for thirty years, and that it had failed. He had mentioned some of the methods by which the late Government had sought to abolish slavery. In addition to those methods, they had endeavoured to cut up the slave-trade in its origin—in the markets to which the slaves were brought on the coast of Africa. It was not till 1838 or 1839 that they had recourse to that part of their system. With that view they had concluded treaties with native chiefs, in order to persuade them to abandon the slave-trade, and had entered into agreements with other chiefs to allow us to land upon their coasts and destroy the barracoons of the slave traders. These measures had produced great effect. When he said that the methods proposed had not yet been fairly tried, so far as regarded the naval police, there was another reason why they could not be brought into full operation, because from time to time events had arisen in other parts of the world which compelled the Government to remove from the African station, the West Indian station, and the Brazilian station, the cruisers which were employed in that service. Unless the Government altered in some degree the arrangements which

had been made, he was afraid that that part of the system which depended upon the naval police was not likely to be very effectual. The commissioners stated that it was to the very inferior sailing qualities of the cruisers that the escape of so many slave ships was to be attributed, particularly at Gambia and Cape Coast Castle—that the steamer Soudan was in such an inefficient state that she lay at anchor for a whole year in the River Gambia; and that the Albert was so bad that, with all her sailing and steaming power, she would not exceed five knots an hour—that she was cruising on that coast without capturing a single slaver, while had she anchored in the Gallinas or the Rio Pongo, she must have prevented a large export of slaves, and afforded protection to the British settlers. In fact, we had on the African coast Lightnings and Alerts and Racers, with other vessels with names implying great speed, but which could catch nothing; and Growlers and Thunderers and others with very formidable names, which were lying in harbour with the most pacific tranquillity. Unless the naval police was executed by constables that could run, instead of those old Charlies, it was in vain to think of carrying on that part of the system with advantage. But here came a treaty by which the right of search was completely and for ever abolished. This treaty was the result of negotiations between the two Governments. These negotiations led to the appointment of commissioners who were to take evidence upon the matter, and to ascertain by the examination of naval officers, whether this right of search was or was not essentially or mainly useful for the purpose intended. The commissioners did examine, as he was informed, both English and French officers. He of course knew no more who those officers were, or what they said upon their examination, than any other person who heard the current rumours of the day; but he was informed—and he believed it, because it is quite natural that it should be so—that many of those officers, both English and French, did state to the commissioners that they considered a small mutual right of search indispensable, in order to render the naval police effectual. If, however, those officers did give that evidence, he must say that that evidence, taken as the foundation of the treaty which was to result from it, was quite at variance with and in contradiction to the treaty itself. The house had a right to know how this matter stood. This house had a right to know what was the opinion of the officers who were examined touching the usefulness of the system which the recent treaty had abrogated. That treaty was preceded by the examination of a number of persons, and the house should know whether their evidence bore out the treaty or not. Though he conceived that it did not, and the Government might rationally feel very great reluctance in producing evidence which would so far go to condemn them, yet he was sure they would not shrink from the responsibility of their own decision, and would feel it to be their duty to give that evidence, and, on the other hand, to state the reasons, which might be good ones, though he did not anticipate any good ones, why they thought it right to take the step they had done. This treaty abolished now and for ever the mutual right of search as between England and France. He contended that that was giving up a most useful power for the accomplishment of that purpose which both England and France professed equally to desire—namely, the abolition or suppression of the slave-trade. And he further contended that that right had been given up without our obtaining as a substitute anything equivalent. He presumed that it would not be disputed that the right was permanently given up. Under the convention the treaties of 1831 and 1833 are suspended for ten years, and in the fifth year the two parties may concert together and decide whether these treaties should be put in force or not; that was to say, at the end of the five years the parties might consider whether they could negotiate an honourable treaty, because the putting in force the treaties of 1831 and 1833 would at that period be exactly tantamount to concluding those treaties afresh, as the convention went on to say that if at the end of ten years those treaties had not again been put in force they would from that time be considered as abandoned. It was curious to observe how, by an ingenious arrangement of words, of "suspension," of "concert," and heaven knows what, the French negotiator had so contrived it that at the end of the ten years his country would be completely wound out of all engagements entered into under the treaties of 1831 and 1833. He was bound to say that the skill and address of the French negotiator were much deserving of admiration. (Hear, and a laugh.) He only regretted that that skill and that dexterity and ability should be employed in so bad a cause—a cause which he the more regretted to see identified with the name of the Duke de Broglie. He really must say that it was too much for any man to ask us to believe him serious when he said, as had been said in France, that this right of search was objected to as indicating some sort of authority on the part of England, or as being an instrument by which we are to exercise some advantage over the forces of France. Surely we could be no more desirous that our merchantmen should be stopped, and visited, and searched, and overhauled by French ships, than the French could be that their merchantmen should be subjected to that treatment by English ships. It was an inconvenience on both sides which we submitted to gladly, because we thought it conducive to the great object of humanity. As to its being by possibility conducive in any way whatever to any English interest, as contra distinguished from that interest which we had in promoting the humane purpose of abolishing the slave-trade, the assertion was so palpably absurd that he could not give any man, even the slave trader, who made such an affirmation, credit for having acted upon a belief in its accuracy. The clamour to which her Majesty's Government had yielded in abolishing the right of search was a clamour arising from a conspiracy of slave traders, not only in France, but in Cuba, Brazil, and elsewhere. In the papers of last year it was stated that the slave traders of Cuba were raising a subscription to get England well abused in the French newspapers, and the clamour which had been raised was not a clamour arising out of any real national jealousy which was entertained by the French nation of England; it was not the result of any abusive exercise by us of the right which the treaties he had referred to gave us; it was a clamour raised for interested purposes, adopted by a party who made it at one time an instrument against the French Government, and yielded to by entire weakness on the part of her Majesty's advisers. Upon former occasions the right hon. baronet said that it was the result of national irritation, occasioned by the transactions of 1840. He thought he had good authority for saying that there was no blame, as arising out of these measures, to be attached to the Government of that day. (Hear, hear.) Why, who approved of these measures?

The right hon. baronet himself and many of his present colleagues. The policy which the right hon. baronet had often by implication impugned, but which he (Lord Palmerston) defied him to get up and say he that disapproved of, might and did create for the moment a very undeserved irritation in the public mind of France. He most deeply regretted that that should be its result; but, nevertheless, the object attained was so great in importance, so necessary for the peace of Europe, and so necessary even to the peaceful relations—the permanent peaceful relations—between England and France, that he thought then, and did so still, that the creation of a temporary irritation in the minds of the French people was not too dear a price to pay for the permanent good that that policy was likely to produce. But he denied the fact that that irritation was the cause of the abandonment of the right of search; because, after that irritation, and after the offending Government of England—if they were an offending Government—went out and their very conciliatory successors came into office, the French government signed the additional treaty of 1841. The recent convention was attributable to the weakness exhibited by her Majesty's Government in submitting quietly, and without any remonstrance whatever, to the refusal of the French Government to ratify the treaty of December, 1841. And he could prove his assertion. Because the Government took quietly that most unexampled breach of diplomatic engagements, the opposition in the French chambers urged their Government to go a step further, and require from England the abrogation of the treaties of 1831 and 1833. And what was M. Guizot's reply? He said, "I refuse to comply with your request, and I will tell you why. If I made such a proposal to England, it would be a proposal that I have no right to make, and would meet with a peremptory denial. To be denied the request which one has no right to make is a humiliation, and I will not in my person expose my country to be so humbled before the Government of another country." Well, that did for a time; but in the course of the following year the French chambers and the French Government found that her Majesty's ministers were not giving denial so peremptorily as M. Guizot first thought. The many transactions of that year showed him that if sufficiently pressed it was possible to find them more yielding. The next year, therefore, when the proposal was repeated, he said, "I think I see my way, and now I will try." From that time negotiations had been going on, and those negotiations had ended in the entire abrogation of the treaties of 1831 and 1833, and, as he contended, without any equivalent in their stead. But he might be told that there was an equivalent for giving up the right of search in the employment of two squadrons of 26 vessels each—one French and the other English—upon a certain portion of the western coast of Africa. But the right of search was more extensive. It extended wherever the slave-trade was carried on. It embraced the West Indies, the coast of Brazil, the western coast of Africa, and a radius round Madagascar, applying to a certain degree also to the eastward of that island. The substitute was limited to only one portion of the western coast of Africa. So that in territorial extent we had not an equivalent for what was given up. Then, had we an equivalent in the number of vessels to be employed? Fifty-two would be the whole number, whereas it appeared, from a return which he had called for, that taking the average of the warrants outstanding on the 1st January and the 1st of July, from the year 1840 to 1844 inclusive, there were 52 French vessels in possession of English warrants and 54 English vessels in possession of French warrants; together 106, or more than double the number to be employed under the recent convention. Then, he contended, that those 52 vessels would not be worth 52 vessels sailing under the English flag; for with regard to English and French flags they would be mutually powerless. Only one half of them would be invested with any power. The French cruisers could not examine any but French ships, or ships hoisting the Danish, Swedish, or Dutch flags; they were perfectly powerless with regard to the British, Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian flags. None of these four flags would a French cruiser be able to stop, even if he found the ship crowded with slaves. France had no treaty with Brazil, Spain, or Portugal; and he should like to know whether the French Government, after using all their efforts to get us to abrogate the right of search, would go now and propose a treaty of right of search to those three countries. If they did not, their cruisers would be of no use whatever, except for capturing vessels sailing under French, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch flags. Even within that part of the coast of Africa to which the treaty was limited, that treaty was inefficient as compared with the system previously adopted. Unless our cruisers could go about chained together like the Siamese twins, hunting in couples and never out of hail, it was impossible but that under the new system many ships would escape which otherwise would be captured. He (Lord Palmerston) should like further to know, if the French Government were so sincere as they professed to be in this treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, why the engagement was limited to the Western coast of Africa? Why was it not extended to the West Indies? Why not to the coast of Brazil? Was it that alliance between the Royal Family of France and the Royal Family of Brazil might have rendered more deference desirable from the French Government towards the Government of Brazil? Was that the reason? Why was it not extended also to the eastern coast of Africa? There were upwards of 2000 miles on the West coast of Africa where the slave-trade was carried on, but there were also 1700 miles on the east coast where the trade was carried on. And he would lay his life that if the treaty were successful in that part of the world to which it applied, and the slave-trade were driven from that 2000 miles on the west coast, it would only be driven thence to be carried on upon the east coast. So that, in fact, it would be transplanted from one coast to the other. Why did he say this? Because there was evidence that a great extent of slave-trade prevailed on the eastern coast of Africa. He said it, moreover, because it appeared from the papers that the French Government had lately concluded a treaty with the Imam of Muscat, by which they were to be enabled to engage, as it was said, free labourers, and to hire slaves and carry them to the Isle of Bourbon for the purpose of cultivation. It was said that those slaves were to be imported as free labourers into a colony in which slavery existed by law; and that after a period they might return to their native country, carrying back with them all the benefits of civilisation, and of the knowledge they had acquired. Those were pretences that were too palpable to deceive any man. Free persons they might call them, but when they were brought into a slave colony they were as much

slaves as any that were existing there before, just as much slaves as the unhappy *emancipados* of Cuba and Brazil. As for saying that those people were to go back again to Africa, it was possible indeed that their spirits, when freed from slavery by death, might be permitted in their passage to a future place of rest to cast a parting glance at the homes of their birth; but as for the idea of their bodies going back again to Africa it was too absurd for any man ever to give the slightest belief to it. He should like to know how the Government would reconcile the treaty which we had concluded with the French with the treaty which we had lately made with the Imam of Muscat, by which he bound himself not to permit his subjects to deal in slaves with any power. He (Lord Palmerston) held the two treaties to be at variance. The mere stipulation that the French were to hire slaves indicated that slaves were to retain their character as such after they had got to the island of Bourbon. But did the house know what that treaty of the French with the Imam of Muscat was calculated to encourage? The French were to get their slaves from Madagascar. Now they had heard a great deal of the horrors of the middle passage—of the sufferings of the negroes when being conveyed from the coast of Africa to America—of the horrible tortures they endured on board the slave ships; but did the house know what the sufferings of the negro were when carried from the slave markets of Zanzibar. Mr. Fowell Buxton described the vessels which carried those slaves as unwieldy open boats without decks, in which bamboo enclosures were erected, leaving a narrow passage in the centre; within these the negroes were stowed, first along the floor of the vessel, two adults being placed side by side, with boy or a girl resting between them; over them was placed a platform an inch or two above their bodies, on which the second tier of bodies lies stowed, and so on until they reach the gunwale of the vessel. The voyage was generally expected not to exceed twenty-four or twenty-eight hours; but let them conceive, if they could, the amount of suffering that would be endured by those unfortunate creatures even in twenty-four hours, their dreadful condition; and if a calm happened to come on, or an unexpected land-breeze delayed their progress, in such a case a few hours were sufficient to decide the fate of the cargo. Those of the lower portions of the cargo that died could not be removed; they remained until the upper portion also died and were thrown over. Of a cargo, consisting of from 200 to 400 negroes stowed in this way, it had been often known that only a dozen at the expiration of twelve days had reached Zanzibar. Now that was the trade which that slave treaty of the French Government was about to encourage and increase—that was the trade which a Government professing to co-operate with us in an anxious desire to suppress the slave-trade on the west coast of Africa was encouraging on the east coast of that quarter of the globe. He need not ask them why the French Government did not extend the operations of their suppressing squadron to the east coast. They had made a treaty with the Imam of Muscat, to enable their colonists to hire slaves from him, and yet the Imam had bound himself in a treaty with us not to permit his subjects to sell slaves to any Christian power; and additional power had been obtained for searching his vessels found at sea, carrying on the slave-trade. In his letters to us he had said he agreed to that—that he had made a great sacrifice of revenue when abolishing the slave-trade with the Red Sea; but he asked them not to require him to give up the slave-trade that came coast wise; that that would entail on him a pecuniary loss which his finances could not bear, and he therefore prayed them not to press him so far. In the paper produced last year, there occurred a letter from him (the Imam) to Lord Leveson, in which he said on this subject the Angel of Death it was that had appeared, and that he must submit to his fate—if it was the will of God, he had no choice. He had then sent over a minister to this country, who was most kindly received by the present Government, and he said that the reception given to his application had relieved his mind, and brought him to life again. The result of the communication with him was, that he said he would give up, though at a great sacrifice, his slave-trade with the Red Sea and Egypt; but he entreated that he might not be compelled to give up the coastwise slave-trade, which furnished a great source of revenue. But he was then told that it would look better if the exception in favour of the coastwise slave-trade were to appear to be a reservation made by himself, rather than a direct sanction given by the British Government. He (Lord Palmerston) quite agreed that it would be better, but he did not think there was much difference. However, he really did wonder how it happened that, with the statement which he had read before them, the Government, if they thought it right still not to persist in requiring the abandonment of the coastwise slave-trade, did not insist on the Imam's making certain regulations for the better conduct of that trade. Why not insist that he should make a law, fixing the number and proportion of the negroes to a cargo, so as in some degree to mitigate the horrible atrocities of the trade as it is now carried on? Such a proposition, too, would be consonant with the interest of the Imam, who derived his revenue, not from the dead bodies which were left upon the shore to be swept away by the next tide, but from those who survived the voyage. On the arrival of the vessels at Zanzibar the cargoes were landed, and those of them that could walk up to the beach were ranged along the shore for the inspection of the officer of the Imam, and those that were too weak to stand erect, or who were maimed, were left on the beach till the coming tide relieved them from their miseries. It would be then, even putting it in that light, for the interest of the Imam to render the traffic more humane. He thought, then, that her Majesty's Government were guilty of great neglect in that matter. This treaty, then, he objected to as omitting the eastern coast of Africa, Brazil, and the West Indies, and as being deficient in its provisions with regard to the western coast of Africa, to which only it applied. But it contemplated operations by land; treaties were to be made with the chiefs, and, if necessary, operations were to be carried on upon the shore for the purpose of enforcing them. To show he was not speaking with any party feeling, he would say he was glad to see that portion of the treaty, and he was so for two reasons. In the first place they contemplated operations by land, and by treaty with the chiefs, as had been done in 1841; they contemplated arrangements which were eminently conducive to checking the slave-trade. Next he thought he saw another effect which this treaty would have, which would be advantageous both to England and to France and to the permanence of the good understanding between the two countries. Great complaints had been made recently of certain proceedings of the French Government in

respect of their settlements on the coast of Africa, of their attempting to exclude British commerce from those places; and the French entertained similar jealousies with respect to us. Now he considered this treaty bound both countries from making further settlements on the African coast within the prescribed limits, that was, between 15 degrees north and 16 degrees south, because it said that the territories of native chiefs were to be confined solely to the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, and that no operations on land were to be undertaken except with the consent of both parties. He thought that any compact which should tend to leave that part of the African coast independent, and prevent either party from encroaching on the territories of the other, conferred a benefit on the commerce of both, and prevented things happening which would be likely to disturb their peaceful relations. But there was one stipulation which he did not really understand. It was said in article 3 that the squadrons might take a joint or separate permanent station for the suppression of the slave-trade; and in case of a station being specially committed to the charge of the cruisers of one nation, those of the other nation might enter it for the same purpose of exercising the rights respectively belonging to them for the suppression of the slave-trade; and the article seemed to draw a distinction between the cruisers and the merchantmen, and seemed to imply that when the cruisers of one country had taken up a station for the suppression of the slave-trade, no merchantman of the other nation was to be permitted to come into that station for the purposes of legitimate trade. Why had that article been inserted at all? Was it meant that those cruisers in taking up stations were establishing a belligerent blockade? Certainly not. They were to take up their stations for the purpose of watching the coast for the suppression of the slave-trade. It certainly did appear to him that that article, unless differently explained, seemed to show that merchantmen of the other country should be excluded. He trusted the matter would be explained. Those, then, were his objections generally to the treaty; he also objected to it on the ground of form. The preamble stated that her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and his Majesty the King of the French, considering the conventions of the years 1831 and 1833 had effected their object in preventing the use of the English and French flags in carrying on the slave-trade, but that the desire for the traffic still existed, and that the said conventions were insufficient to ensure the suppression of the slave-trade. Was it possible, he would ask any British plenipotentiary to put his name to a preamble which recorded that the use of the British flag in the slave-trade had been put an end to by the treaties of 1831 and 1833? Why, that was a foul calumny on the British nation. Again, article 9 treated of the prohibition for ever in the British as well as French colonies of the slave-trade, which would lead one to the inference that slavery still existed in the British colonies. Because, to say they would prevent the slave-trade in colonies in which there was no such thing as slavery, was a gross and palpable absurdity. That article then argued a disposition on the part of the British nation and parliament to re-enact slavery in our colonies, and thus contained a foul calumny on both, and was a gross insult to them. (Hear, hear.) Those were his observations to this treaty, which he conceived showed great indifference on the part of the Government to the subject of the slave-trade, which was unworthy the Government of this country. The papers, connected with the subject, exhibited a great apathy on the part of the government—an unnecessary desire to make concessions, and a low tone in dealing with foreign Governments. He might mention a few instances. We had a consul-general at Havana, who, in common with all other consuls, was entitled, as our representative, to make any representations he might deem proper to the authorities of the country by virtue of orders from home, and in discharge of his duty for the protection of British subjects and of British commerce. Well, our slave-trade commissioners were instructed not merely to adjudicate cases which came before them, but were specifically ordered by himself, and he believed by the present Government, to make representations to the local Governments of all infractions of the treaty that might come under their knowledge. The consul-general at the Havannah, and the slave-trade commissioners, were perpetually gaining knowledge of events in contravention of the treaty, such as the arrival of slaves, the landing of negroes, their sale in the town, the coercion of British subjects not liable to be kept in slavery, and the ill-treatment of emancipados who were entitled to freedom, but were kept as slaves. They had consequently been in the habit, for some years past, of making communications to the Governor of Cuba of such of these facts as came to their knowledge. If the governor were a good governor, he was obliged to them for the information, and acted accordingly; but if he were a bad governor, as was more frequently the case, he was in the habit of thanking them much for the information, assuring them that he would make inquiry, and then, after due delay, informing them that he had ascertained the statements were without foundation; that all was perfectly right, and that their minds might be quite easy on the subject. (Hear, hear.) That was the result, that their communications were received and treated at least with civility. But lately there came to Cuba General O'Donnell, a gentleman who thought the government of Cuba might contribute to the rapid accumulation of a large fortune. He was therefore determined to go at once head and ears into the corrupt practices of his predecessors, to let slaves come in without stint, to take the usual number of dollars a head that was paid for their admission, and to be troubled as little as possible upon the subject. Well, he found these representations of the consul-general and the commissioners very irksome, and accordingly he looked over some old papers, and found an obsolete proclamation of about the year 1760, to the effect that the governors of Spanish colonies should permit consuls to act commercially only, and not diplomatically, and he thereupon determined to confine these commissioners to their judicial duties, and not to suffer them to interfere in other matters. As soon, therefore, as he received information from these gentlemen that negroes were being landed, and every kind of illegality practised, he told them he was very sorry, but he could not write to them again, because he could not acknowledge their right to address him on these matters. Well, they still went on making these representations; they were ordered to do so, and one of these unfortunate consuls having written to the Foreign Office to know whether he was still to communicate with the governor or not, received in reply one of the severest rebukes he ever read, conveying to him the censure of the Go-

vernment for having doubted on the subject and not at once made the communication. The consul-general and members of the Mixed Commission were told that it was their duty to make these communications, and that they should continue to make them. Well, the governor finding these communications went on, civilly returns them their letters. On the next occasion they write again; the letter is again returned; and so it went on, until at length the unfortunate consul-general and commissioner judges represent to the Foreign Office that a duty of this kind was most repugnant to their feelings, and pray the Government to restore them to a proper footing. The Government then took the matter up, and wrote a strong letter to the Government at Madrid, demanding that orders should be given to the Governor of Cuba not only to receive these communications, but to act upon them. The Spanish Government, however, seeing the course adopted by the French Government, and the success which attended it, took up the same tone, and wrote an angry and somewhat haughty reply, saying that, according to Spanish custom, Governor O'Donnell was right, and they would give no such order. The result, therefore, was, that when the consul-general or the commissioners should find that a cargo of slaves was landed the previous night, and publicly sold in the morning, instead of informing the governor, and ascertaining whether he would interfere or not, they had to write on the subject to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Foreign Affairs would have to write to Madrid, the Government at Madrid would have to write to Cuba; and after all these letters the Governor of Cuba would say, "Oh, this happened at least a year ago; it is therefore impossible to obtain any correct information on the subject; but I assure you I have reason to believe there was nothing irregular." (Hear, hear.) Nevertheless, to that answer of the Spanish Government no reply was made, so far as was shown by those papers. He presumed, therefore, that the Government had acquiesced in the refusal of the Spanish Government to permit the British consul-general to do that which the unfortunate consul at St. Jago de Cuba was censured for not doing, and that they sanctioned this great alteration in the international usages of Europe, and assented that the consul-general and the mixed commission should not make these representations. (Hear, hear.) But if that was their intention, much as he condemned them for it, he thought it was their duty at least to withdraw their former order. Instead of this, however, no communication was made—the consul and the commissioners still went on representing to the governor infractions of the treaty, and the governor still persisted in returning their letters; and thus our officers and the country they represented were made the laughingstock of Cuba and of the world. (Hear, hear.) Then, with regard to Surinam, there was a great number of negro British-born subjects, who were carried there under British, French, and American masters, in contravention of the law, and kept in slavery. Their number was stated at 5000 or 6000. He said every one of these was entitled to his freedom. He knew the Queen's Advocate said the contrary, but he disputed that opinion. He might be presumptuous in law, but he said it was wrong, and that plain sense would prove the opinion was as bad in law as in feeling. Well, at first demands were made for inquiries into cases of this sort by our commissioner judge. At first the Dutch governor returned an answer, but took no further notice, and afterwards he left the letters unanswered. The commissioner judge complained, and begged the Government at home to support him in the performance of this unavoidable duty. Our Government accordingly wrote to the Government at the Hague, and made the same demand as to the Government at Madrid. In their first application they were urgent, but after some time they contented themselves with expressing an earnest hope that the Dutch Government would write to their governor. That hope still appeared to subsist, for "love will hope, when reason would despair;" but although years had passed away, they had hitherto been unable to extract an answer. It thus appeared, that at Cuba our letters were sent back unopened, and at Madrid the Government refused to attend to our representations, while at Surinam and at the Hague our remonstrances were alike treated with silence. (Hear, hear.) There was one passage in the correspondence with Spain, in which it was said that we believed, so long as Governor O'Donnell continued at Cuba, all expectation of the fair execution of the treaty would be useless, and he believed that Governor O'Donnell was continued at Cuba for precisely that purpose. (Hear, hear.) He would not trouble the House with going into other instances. He thought he had said enough to prove the feebleness of the remonstrances of our Government, and their want of perseverance, their submission to the unjust decisions of foreign governments, and their apathy in interfering in the great subject which had so long engaged the attention of parliament and the country. (Hear, hear.) He addressed himself, not so much to the house as to the nation on this subject. He was quite sure of the feeling of the people of this country on the subject of the slave-trade. He was quite sure there was no abatement in their zeal to put an end to it. We were in possession of great actual power and political influence, and it was given to us for the accomplishment of great and important ends. We were not only intrusted with great means, but we were possessed of great rights. We had acquired by treaties rights which, if duly enforced, would go far to put an end to this monstrous and calamitous evil. He said, then, the people of England would not perform that duty, which, as responsible men, was incumbent upon them, if they did not urge the Government—if they required urging—or encouraging the Government, if all they wanted was encouragement—to exert all the legitimate power and influence of this country to compel the enforcement of those rights, which had been acquired by treaty for the purpose of extinguishing this diabolical system (cheers.) He ventured to predict, if the Government supported—and he hoped they only required support—but urged, if they required pressure, by the people of this country, would only take those steps which, without danger to the peace of this country, without peril of failure, they were authorised, and, he contended, had power to take, they would at once put an end to the abominable and cursed slave-trade. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL would, before proceeding to matters in which he must come into immediate controversy with the noble lord, shortly state what respects he agreed with the noble lord. He perfectly agreed with the noble lord, that it would be a misfortune if this country relaxed in its efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade; that it would be difficult to calculate the results of a too great forbearance on our part in pressing

for the full performance of the conditions of our slave treaties; and also that it would be dangerous not to continue our vigorous attempts to suppress the traffic in slaves on the coast of Africa. He concurred also in a great degree in the opinion of the noble lord, that we ought not to estimate success so much by the positive good we gained as by the evil we avoided; but he was not quite so sure that he concurred with the noble lord in thinking if we suppressed the slave-trade that this would lead to the total suppression of slavery. If the slave-trade were suppressed, it might have a material effect in ameliorating the condition of the slaves, but not in the way supposed by the noble lord. In slaveholding countries, if the slave-owners were impressed with the conviction that he could no longer supply his slave establishment in the usual way, he would, not from motives of humanity, but from motives of a sordid character, be led to provide in particular his female slaves with better treatment, and probably also use his other slaves with a greater degree of mercenary kindness. He begged leave to remind the noble lord, that although America had suppressed the slave-trade, yet slavery still existed in America (hear, hear), and it was his opinion that the ultimate extinction of a status of slavery in America would not arise from the mere suppression of the slave-trade. Though the slave-trade might be abolished, it was not unlikely that slave-owners, from interested motives, would give greater attention to the condition and the breeding of slaves, and thus slavery would not simultaneously be extinguished with the slave-trade. But with the progress of civilization and knowledge, and with an example at their doors of the advantages of free over slave labour—with the increasing intercourse between our colonial possessions and the United States—with these circumstances in operation, he could not bring himself to believe that slavery would continue to exist in America as a permanent institution (hear). He much regretted the tone and temper displayed by the noble lord when he spoke of Portugal. He (Sir R. Peel) really believed that Portugal would zealously co-operate with England in putting an end to the slave-trade. We might require the mere observance of the treaties between the two countries; but much of the efficiency of co-operation depended on the cordiality in which it was given. And, looking at the results of the treaties with Portugal, he thought it was neither necessary nor correct on the part of the noble lord to say that all that had been done by Portugal was owing to compulsion, and that Portugal was entitled to no credit on the score of good and humane intentions. While Portugal continued to show by her actions a disposition to punish offenders, and to promote officers who had distinguished themselves by their activity in suppressing the slave-trade—while this cordial disposition was evinced to unite with us in putting down this inhuman traffic, he really thought that Portugal deserved to have credit for higher motives in her proceedings than the noble lord appeared disposed to award (hear). The noble lord, in speaking of the policy pursued by her Majesty's Government, referred to the question of Surinam. The noble lord, with a complacency all his own, remarked, it was true that the Queen's Advocate had given a legal opinion on the point, but he (the noble lord) would venture to say that the Queen's Advocate was entirely wrong, and that he had laid down the law incorrectly. Now, without wishing at all to undervalue the legal authority of the noble lord, he would just remind the noble lord that it was usual for a Government, on points of international law, to depend on the Queen's Advocate for an opinion.

Lord PALMERSTON.—I spoke of the law officers.

Sir R. PEEL.—Then the noble lord said that the law, both of the law officers and of the Queen's Advocate was wrong (laughter.) He (Sir R. Peel) would repeat what he had said the other night, that on questions of international law, with all due respect to the noble lord, the presumption was in favour of the law of the Queen's Advocate; but that if it had asserted that certain parties were entitled to their freedom, no legal opinion from any quarter should prejudice that question; that he would assume the grounds advanced by the noble lord to be correct, and if it should turn out there was reason to believe the opinion given on the case was an erroneous opinion, no person should be deprived of his liberty from a determination on the part of Government to adhere to the opinion of any one (hear.) This opinion he was willing should be reconsidered; the liberty of a man, whether black or white, was too serious a question to be regarded with indifference, and, therefore, if any opinion had been given depriving any one of liberty, he had a right to claim that opinion should be reviewed and retracted. So much, then, for that case. Then with respect to the Imaum of Muscat; he did not think the noble lord was exactly justified in viewing the question with reference to that power's relations with France. He did not say the subject was not important, but it was utterly impossible for the House to gather its true bearing from the speech of the noble lord. The noble lord began by stating that a treaty had been entered into between France and the Imaum of Muscat, which enabled France to take the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat and employ them as slaves; and the noble lord chose to assert that France had refused to sign the convention which other powers had signed, because of her intention to carry on this trade with the Imaum of Muscat. The noble lord was at liberty to speak of France as he might think fit, but considering the noble lord's position, he (Sir R. Peel) must say that it was not calculated to add to the amicable feeling or to promote the friendly relations between the two countries for the noble lord to speak so constantly of France in such disparaging terms (hear). The noble lord should have, in fairness, quoted the whole of the case. The noble lord referred to the letter of her Majesty's commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen, apparently with the view of showing that France made a treaty with the Imaum of Muscat, which enabled France to take the Imaum's subjects, and to place them in a state of slavery. The noble lord referred to the Hill Coolies; but in their case we do not take them and place them in a state of slavery. We take great precautions with respect to the Hill Coolies, and he was quite ready to admit if precautions were not taken that great danger would exist. But in the case of the treaty with the Imaum of Muscat—as the noble lord quoted the extract, it did appear to him that France was empowered to take the subjects of the Imaum, make them slaves, and treat them so. He (Sir R. Peel) did not mean to say that an inquiry ought not to be made whether such an engagement was compatible with our treaty with the Imaum; but what was the concluding portion of the extract, which the noble lord had omitted to read? The paragraph itself was this:—"It does not, however, appear that there is any export trade in slaves thence, but we have heard that a French ship of war was ag-

Zanzibar about the middle of last year, the commander of which concluded a treaty with the Imaum, giving the French permission to hire subjects of his highness as labourers for the French colonies, and that a clause in this treaty allows slaves also to be hired for this purpose, provided that the price of their freedom is paid, and that they embark willingly. Unfortunately, we have not been able to procure a copy of this instrument, but we are told that there are other stipulations inserted which take away from the proceeding all appearance of an infraction of the slave trade treaty between the British Government and the Imaum; and our informant states that the provisions of the treaty are such, that, if they are adhered to, the condition of the slaves so hired will be improved, as they are to be sent home again after a certain time, with the money they have earned, to which possibly they may add the knowledge of a trade, and habits of industry and civilisation. But it appears to us that the treaty, as far as it regards the slaves, may do mischief, as it will tend to keep up the coasting trade in slaves for importation into Zanzibar." The noble lord had not read the concluding part of the paragraph. The noble lord did not read that part which denied there was any infraction of the treaty with this country, and yet the noble lord charged the Government with remissness in not seeing that the treaty was not violated. Upon the whole, he was of opinion that the conclusion to which the house would be led on this subject by the statement of the noble lord ought not to be hastily adopted. The noble lord referred to the correspondence with Spain on the subject of the conduct of Governor O'Donnell. Now he must remind the noble lord that one particular evil was consequent on such treaties—that it almost inevitably involved the parties in angry correspondence. The noble lord had declared that her Majesty's Government had shown tameness in their correspondence with Spain. Here was one specimen of the sort of tameness used by Government in their correspondence with Spain. Lord Aberdeen wrote—"The bribes which the authorities of Cuba have for many years received for upholding the slave trade of that island have been well known, and have been pointed out to the Government of Spain, and they had been often urged to put a stop to these iniquities. The precise sum given for each slave, the officers among whom it was divided, and the proportion in which it was shared, were notorious. * * * * * But whatever measures, with this view, the Spanish Government may in its prudence adopt, the flagrant violations of the treaties with Great Britain which are almost daily perpetrated in Cuba, and the equivocations and false statements with which the remonstrances of her Majesty's servants have been met by the representative of the Spanish Crown, give her Majesty's Government the right to require that effectual means shall be taken to put an end to these acts, and to prove that they are not committed under the authority of the Government at Madrid. It is the conviction of her Majesty's Government that the honourable observance of the treaty of 1835 is impossible, unless the penal law prescribed by it shall be enacted and enforced, and unless General O'Donnell shall be recalled from the Government of Cuba." It very often happened that a correspondence was conducted in such a dilatory manner that it did not close in a year. It was the case in the present instance. Since he had entered the house he had received a despatch, dated 1845, on the very question—on the right of the consul to present remonstrances to the Governor of Cuba. The noble lord must be well aware of the delay which attended this sort of correspondence, and must likewise know that representations to the Government of Spain did not always meet with the readiest attention. It was for this reason that the papers before the house gave a very imperfect view of the correspondence which had occurred. He would now proceed to address himself to that which was more immediately the object of the noble lord. He (Sir R. Peel) had no apology to offer for this convention. It was his belief the convention was a wise and prudent measure, and that by its help we had one more efficient means, with the cordial co-operation of France, of suppressing the slave trade than we ever had under former conventions. In reviewing what had passed, the noble lord referred to the refusal of France to ratify the treaty of 1841. Was the noble lord really of opinion that the refusal of France to ratify the treaty was a sufficient cause of war?

Lord PALMERSTON.—No.

Sir R. PEEL.—The noble lord says "no," but the noble lord said Government tamely acquiesced in the refusal of France to ratify the treaty, and that we made no remonstrance to the French Government. The noble lord's statement was entirely without foundation (hear, hear.) He agreed with the noble lord that the refusal was unprecedented, that the act was without precedent, and that Government had a right to remonstrate; but that the refusal was not a sufficient cause for war. The question was, did Government remonstrate? The noble lord challenged him, (Sir R. Peel), to inquire into the cause of the refusal of the executive Government of France to ratify the treaty. The noble lord asserted that the clamour against the slave trade was purely factitious. The noble lord stated that on three successive occasions in the years 1842, 1843, and 1844, the popular assembly of France, by a unanimous vote, recorded its objection to the ratification, and recommended their Government to make efforts to modify the existing conventions; yet, notwithstanding this, the noble lord deliberately asserted that whilst this clamour was being raised against the slave trade, France really wanted to carry on the slave-trade. He had heard the noble lord state that the slave-trade had been extinguished in France, and that the subjects of France no longer carried on that traffic. He (Sir R. Peel) believed that both these declarations were facts. He believed also that the noble lord was doing an injustice to the feelings of that country, in his remarks, as he stated he believed that the sole ground of the proceedings of the French Chamber for three years had been a desire to carry on the iniquitous traffic. He (Sir R. Peel) agreed that the prejudice in France against the right of search was unfounded. He believed this prejudice arose out of the irritable state of feeling in the public mind, produced by the events in Syria. The noble lord said that in 1841 he (Sir R. Peel) was disposed to support the Syrian policy of Government; and further, that he had offered his support to carry a bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. In 1840, certainly, he was not disposed to inquire very minutely into causes; but he was willing to lend all the aid he could for the interests of the country when war was threatened. He did not think that the noble lord ought to make the course he then pursued a subject of reproach (hear.) He did not want to insinuate blame against the noble lord by asking for an inquiry into the cause of the ill-feeling which was created in France. There was no doubt that an ill-feeling did exist, and

that the popular feeling, acting with hostility to the executive, had caused serious difficulty. But then he was bound to do justice; he was bound to say that the King and the executive earnestly wished to ratify the treaty (hear.) It would have been inconsistent with their position and character had they sought to evade the opportunity of signing the treaty: but when the executive Government were necessarily controlled by the popular assembly and by popular opinion, it was not surprising to find that an honest government had not sufficient power to fulfil the treaty. The question would have been materially altered if the executive Government had first signed the treaty, and then sought means to escape from its obligations. The question was, whether the reason for its non-ratification was an honest one, namely, the control and influence exercised by the popular assembly. He believed it to be so; and although he thought that we had decided right to remonstrate, even if it had been a case in which a resort to hostilities would have been justifiable, still it would, in his opinion, have been an element in considering the course to be pursued, to see whether the executive Government acted honourably towards this country, or was merely assigning a pretext for the non-ratification of the treaty. After the signature of the treaty, and after a debate in the French chambers, M. Guizot proposed that the protocol should be left open. The British Government peremptorily refused to accede to any modification. The noble lord asserted that the Government had tamely acquiesced in the demands of the French Government, and were afraid to remonstrate. Not proposing to mark its dissatisfaction by any practical measure, or by any resort to hostilities, could the Government have placed on record in stronger language its objections to the course which the French Government proposed, or rather were compelled to adopt? Lord Aberdeen, writing to Lord Cowley, on the 12th of February, 1842, stated, speaking of the non-ratification of the treaty, that, "The consequences of this decision, should it be finally adopted, appear, to her Majesty's Government pregnant with mischief, and will prove more injurious to the lawful exercise of the Royal prerogative in France than any event which has taken place for many years. An incident of this novel and almost unprecedented nature may be sufficient to shake the confidence of all foreign states in the engagements of the French Government; and this is more likely to be the case in the present instance, and the inconsistency rendered more striking by the cabinet of the Tuilleries having united with that of Great Britain in inviting the three other powers to become parties to the treaty." If the noble lord himself had had to make the remonstrance it could not have been couched in more emphatic or more dignified terms. Surely, menace—unless the Government had decided that the circumstances justified a resort to hostilities—would have been most unseemly. The Government thought the novel precedent set by France dangerous, and therefore placed on record the remonstrance. The letter went on to say, "The proposed alterations, in themselves, are confessedly of little value." That was a proposition to us to admit slight modifications, in order to conciliate the public feeling in France, and thus be enabled to gain the ratification of the treaty by a small concession. The answer of the Government was, "that the proposed alterations were of themselves of little weight, but they received weight from their origin and the motives by which they have been exacted." Then, "what M. Guizot," the letter proceeded to say, "calls a concession to national susceptibility, we regard as a concession to calumny and injustice, and it is only natural that we should refuse to acquiesce by our own conduct in such unfounded imputations." Could more have been said? (loud cheers.) Was this the language of tame acquiescence? (renewed cheers.) It was possible that the ratification of the treaty might have been procured by a slight concession offered as a sacrifice to the wounded honour of France, but the Government said "No, we feel that we have a just cause, and we will not secure the advantage of a ratification by any such concession." The communication went on to say, "After the enormous sacrifices of every kind which Great Britain has made to abolish slavery and the slave-trade, that we should be told that we were engaged in so extravagant, impracticable, and Quixotic an undertaking might perhaps have been expected: but that in such an assembly as the Chamber of Deputies we should be suspected of interested and dishonest motives, appears scarcely credible. We are convinced, however, that if these suspicious were sincerely entertained, it is impossible they can long continue; but if these odious imputations only afford the evidence of hostile feeling, we cannot hope that it would be mitigated by the proposed concession, and at all events we could not consent to purchase even this result by our apparent submission to accusations so injurious and unfounded" (hear, hear.) Now he appealed to the house, if, as the noble lord had admitted, the refusal to ratify did not afford a ground for hostilities, whether this can be called a tame acquiescence in that refusal of France? He appealed to the house whether he had not completely established that accusation to be wholly without foundation? (loud cheers.) The French Government, however, did decline to ratify, and the consequence was, that France was no party to the treaty of 1841 which she had signed. The three other powers of Europe who had signed the treaty did ratify it, and were still bound by it. That refusal, therefore, left the relations of this country with France, as far as the slave-trade suppression was concerned, dependent on the two conventions made in 1831 and 1833. It was not necessary for his present purpose, to allude particularly to the convention of 1833, which was supplementary to that of 1831. There were important provisions in the treaty of 1833 calculated to facilitate the execution of the former treaty; but as it did not in any respect increase the power as to the zones within which the right of search was to be exercised, he might dismiss it from his consideration for his present purpose. The treaty of 1831 was that which gave us such a right of search as we were enabled to exercise, such as we were now enabled to exercise until this convention came into force. Now, he felt most strongly, and he thought he could demonstrate that the provisions of that recent convention were more effectual for the suppression of the slave trade than the provisions of the treaty of 1831. He presumed it would be admitted that the right of search was not *per se* good for this country (hear, hear.) He presumed it would be admitted that the advantage of the right of search depended upon its efficacy as an instrument for the suppression of the slave-trade (hear, hear.) We did not ask it to establish any proof of maritime supremacy, or secure any advantages for our commerce. We did not seek it by way of a triumph over France; we only asked it as an effectual means for the suppression of the slave-trade. If, for the right of search, which he would not deny was calculated to provoke angry feelings, any substitute could be found, with the perfect goodwill of the country with which we had that reciprocal right, equally efficacious for the purpose, was there any man who would advise this country to insist on its maintenance, and refuse to accept an equivalent? (hear, hear.) What

was this convention of 1831? That convention established a reciprocal right of search between this country and France; but not a universal right. The right of search was limited on the western coast of Africa to that part of it which extends from Cape Verde, being in the 15th degree of north latitude to the 10th degree of south latitude; but that part of the coast was not the only part of the western coast where the slave-trade was carried on. The slave-trade was carried on between Africa and the Brazil, several degrees to the south of the tenth degree of south latitude, and the treaty was imperfect in not establishing a reciprocal right of search, on the whole of the western coast, which was the seat of slavery. The convention of 1831 gave no right of search on the eastern coast, and did not enable the British Government to interfere in the slightest degree with the transport of slaves from the territory of the Imam of Muscat. So far as the east coast was concerned, there was no reciprocal right of search. The right of search extended within twenty leagues round Madagascar, and within a certain distance of the coasts of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil. Did that convention stipulate that France should be bound to keep up any number of vessels? No such thing. The whole of the stipulations of 1831 were warrants authorising the right of search should be given by each country, but that this country should not be allowed to have more than double the number of vessels which might be employed by France. Well, supposing that France declined to appoint more than four, it would be an invasion of that treaty to send more than eight; in short, it placed our power of exercising the reciprocal right of search entirely in the hands of France, who might determine what number of vessels we should keep on the African coast. The warrants were renewable every year, thus allowing France to exercise her discretion in the matter every year. It became most important in order to ascertain the intentions with which the treaty was entered into, to refer to the correspondence which took place between the noble lord and the French Government at the time when this treaty was entered into. The noble lord asked the French Government to assent to an unlimited right of search; the French Government positively refused to acquiesce in that proposal, and these were the reasons assigned by the French minister:—On the 7th of April, Count Sebastiani, in answer to a communication from Lord Granville, who had proposed a general reciprocal right, said, "The French Government has already repeatedly declared the reasons which precluded its acquiescence in that proposal. These reasons have lost nothing of their weight or importance. The exercise of the right of search during peace would be, notwithstanding the reciprocal right tendered by England, and is contrary to the principles of the French law, and would wound public opinion in France in a point in which it is very sensible." The noble lord then directed Lord Granville to furnish the French Government with a statement of the atrocities and horrors which attended the carrying on of the slave-trade, and invited them to acquiesce in a qualified right of search. The French Government having that very year passed a law which enabled them to punish most severely all French subjects concerned in the slave-trade, Lord Granville stated, and the noble lord stated his belief in the statement, that the law would prove effectual for its purpose. The noble lord said that "his Majesty's Government, however they may lament the refusal of the French Government to concede a general right, are of opinion that a modified proposition on this subject might be made, which would sufficiently accomplish the object in view without conflicting too much with the prejudices of the French naval service. Your excellency is, therefore, instructed to propose that instead of establishing a general and permanent right of reciprocal search, each of the two Governments should furnish to those cruisers of the other, which may be employed on the African station, a written and specific authority, empowering them to search vessels, not being ships of war, found navigating under the flag of either country, within certain degrees of latitude and longitude, to be specified in the instrument. These documents might be confined to the commanding officers of particular vessels, and might be limited, both as to their duration in time, and as to their extension as to space. They might, for instance, be given for three years, subject to renewal at the end of that time, or to revocation during that period, if any abuses or inconvenience were found to arise out of them. . . . It appears to his Majesty's Government, that this partial and temporary experiment, which would still leave the question at all times within the control of the two Governments, might prove extremely useful, and might either remove the objections now felt to a more permanent arrangement, or render such arrangement unnecessary." Instead of three years the duration of the warrant was limited to one year, giving to France an annual discretion of renewing the warrants, and limiting the number of cruisers, and the noble lord had admitted it to be a partial and temporary experiment which would leave the question at all times within the control of the two Governments. That letter was dated the 7th of April, 1831, and on the 30th of April, no new proposition having been made, the convention was signed, the period of one year having been substituted for three. He quoted from the parliamentary papers. The noble lord now found it convenient to depreciate the efficiency of the French squadron on the coast of Africa, but he urged in the strongest manner on the French Government, if they would not consent to a general right of search, to send cruisers to the African coast, to co-operate with us. The noble lord urged on the French Government, without loss of time, to send to the coast of Africa ships to enforce the law on all vessels bearing the French flag, and said—"His Majesty's Government could not anticipate any objections to the cordial co-operation of such squadron with his Majesty's ships on that station," and saw no reason to doubt that the united efforts of England and France, so exerted, would speedily accomplish the object which the two countries had mutually bound themselves by solemn engagements to carry out. It was to this convention, with such an explanation of the motives with which it was entered into, to which they would have been left, and with that exclusively, if no new convention had been entered into. He would now proceed to contrast the advantages under the present convention with those under the former one. He admitted to the noble lord that we were relinquishing, when this new treaty came into force, the right of search (hear, hear.) But for what was the right of search efficacious? Was it for the suppression of the slave-trade in French ships? He ventured to assert that the slave-trade on the west coast of Africa, carried on by French ships, was at an end. If the trade was still carried on in French ships, he admitted that under this treaty we had lost the power which we formerly possessed. But he asserted that trade in French ships to be at an end, on the authority of Mr. Rotheray, a gentleman most familiar with these services, whose name must be familiar to the noble lord and to whom were brought all the condemnations of vessels carrying on the slave-trade. He had a return from that gentleman, giving a statement of

all the vessels condemned for slave-trading which had come under his notice since 1819. They amounted to no less than 6398 vessels, and of these only 13 were French vessels, belonging to French subjects carrying on the slave-trade; and of these 13, 11 took place between 1819 and 1831; since 1831, there had been only two cases falling within his cognisance of French vessels carrying on the slave-trade. He would give the names of the two ships, which were the *Senegambia* and the *Marathon* (as he understood.) In 1839, speaking of the Portuguese treaty, the noble lord, if he recollects rightly, stated that the slave-trade was no longer carried on by France. Mr. Sturge, he believed, who paid a visit to Martinique, expressed an opinion that no importation of slaves into that island had taken place since the accession of the present king to the throne of France. He was, therefore, justified in assuming that the right of search could be no longer requisite as regarded French vessels. He now came to the abuse of the French flag, and he admitted that having abolished the right of search, we ought to be cautious that the French flag might not be assumed by vessels of other powers carrying on the slave-trade and hoisting French colours. What were our precautions against this abuse? Compare the convention of 1845 with that of 1831. As he had before stated, on the west coast of Africa the convention of 1831 was limited to a portion only of the coast of Africa where the slave-trade was carried on. It extended only from Cape Verde to the 10th degree of south latitude, whereas the present convention includes the whole of the west coast of Africa, where by any possibility the slave-trade could be carried on. It extends from Cape Verde to 16½ degrees of south latitude, and from this latter point to the Cape of Good Hope there is no opportunity of carrying on the slave-trade. Therefore we had 10½ degrees more of geographical space under this convention than we had before. But what is our present security as to the abuse of the French flag by other parties? Have we conceded anything of the right to visit, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any vessel has the real character of nationality which by the use or abuse of any flag she might claim? No such thing. For in this convention we have it admitted by the Government of France that that right of visit, which the American Government was disposed to question, is a right fully sanctioned by the maritime law of nations. The instructions we have given to our cruisers is clear and distinct on this point, and they desire them to exercise this right of visit which is referred to in the 8th article of the convention. There is, therefore, a full admission, on the part of France, that the cruisers of this country seeing any vessel carrying the French flag under suspicious circumstances have a right to visit her, in order to ascertain whether the national character which such vessel assumes be real or otherwise. Look to the instructions which are given to the French cruisers. The noble lord spoke of the double sets of papers furnished to vessels. Why, by the present law of France this is made piracy. What are the instructions given to the French cruisers? They distinctly authorise the French officers seeing a vessel under suspicious circumstances, and bearing another flag, to visit such vessel, under due precautions, in order to ascertain her nationality. The French law, moreover, states that persons engaged in the slave-trade are engaged in an action of piracy, and that vessels carrying double sets of papers are also guilty of the same. We are now, therefore, to have 52 vessels cruising on the coast of Africa, having full sanction of the two Governments, to put an end to and prevent this trade. I fully admit, with the noble lord, that the French vessels have not the same power with British cruisers in preventing the slave-trade, with respect to the right of visit and search of the cruisers of Brazil and Spain. So far as the abuse of the French flag is concerned, will not the assistance of twenty-six French vessels afford a very strong additional precaution against the assumption of the French flag in carrying on the slave-trade by the vessels of other countries? (Hear.) The noble lord approves of that portion of this treaty which sanctions and encourages the entering into stipulations with the native princes for the suppression of the slave-trade and the destruction of barracoons. When these treaties with the native princes shall have been framed, the French cruisers will be enabled to give the most material aid in carrying them into effect. What is the fact with respect to the suppression of the slave-trade? Up to this the whole burden of expense of the efforts for its suppression have fallen exclusively on this country. There has not been in any other country any effective exertion made for the suppression of the slave-trade. The labour of it has fallen entirely upon us. The noble lord says that we have not a sufficient number of cruisers on the coast of Africa, and that the stimulus which the slave-trade gets by the occasional withdrawal of our naval force there is such as to increase its progress and make its suppression more difficult. Surely having an increase of 26 vessels to that force cannot have the effect complained of; and seeing that the minimum number of vessels employed in suppressing the trade shall be 52 in future, that is some security that it shall be put an end to effectually. The noble lord says, that during the Chinese war, and the dispute with New Grenada, vessels were removed from the coast of Africa, and that, consequently, the treaties formerly entered into for the suppression of the slave-trade were rendered ineffectual. But we take this new precaution, in this new treaty, that France should bear half the expense and burden of this matter, and that there never shall be less than 52 vessels engaged in blocking the coast of Africa; in forming treaties with the native princes, and thereby giving full effect to this treaty by the cordial co-operation of two of the greatest maritime powers of western Europe. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord asks some questions with respect to a particular article of that treaty. I begin with the preamble, to which the noble lord takes exception. The noble lord says that preamble is most disgraceful to this country, because it begins in this style:—"That whereas their Majesties the Queen of Great Britain and the King of the French consider that the convention entered into in the years 1831 and 1833, having effected their object of preventing vessels carrying the English or French flag from carrying on the slave-trade, they have agreed to a new convention." The noble lord says that this admission of the existence of the slave-trade under the British flag is disgraceful. But what does the noble lord say to his own convention of 1831, when there was no reason for supposing that the slave-trade was carried on amongst British subjects? It was difficult for us to hold different language from that used in 1831 and 1832, and that was as follows:—"The Courts of Great Britain and France being desirous of rendering more effectual the means of suppression which have hitherto been in force against the criminal traffic known under the name of the slave-trade, they have deemed it expedient to negotiate and conclude a convention, for the attainment of so salutary an object;" and this con-

vention gives a mutual right of search, giving French vessels a right to search British vessels, and British vessels a right to search French ones, and thereby assuming the possibility of the necessity for the same for the suppression of the trade. The noble lord referred to the third article of the treaty, to which he seemed to attach great importance, and expressed a wish that I should explain its meaning. I think I can do so, to the entire satisfaction of the noble lord and of the house. The noble lord wishes to know, whether the meaning of this article is to prevent British commercial vessels from plying in the mouths of certain harbours. I can assure the noble lord the third article has no such object. It provides that certain stations shall be selected, to be under the more immediate protection and supervision of the French and English cruisers respectively; to give them rights to exercise for the suppression of the slave-trade on stations more contiguous to their own territories. It is right, however, that we should have the power of entering on the French stations, because we have more means of suppressing the trade than the French have. It might so happen that upon those stations the slave-trade might be carried on by the vessels of Spain and Portugal, whose vessels the French cruisers have no right to search, while ours have. That different stations there have been assigned to the cruisers of the different nations was not to prevent our cruisers from entering upon the other stations. I trust I have satisfied the noble lord on this point. I am not aware there is any other question arising on the consideration of the treaty to which I have to apply myself on the present occasion. The 9th article merely requires that neither of the contracting parties shall in any of their possessions be concerned in carrying on the slave-trade. The noble lord seemed to think—nay, accused France of carrying on the slave-trade with the Imaum of Muscat; yet he objects to a stipulation in the treaty by which both countries bound themselves not to carry on that trade. I hope the noble lord will not contend for it, that we should expect from France a stipulation to that effect, and yet not be ready to enter into a corresponding one with respect to our own country. I consider that a great public object is attained by this stipulation, and that a certain desirable end should be secured, not by municipal law, but by a positive engagement entered into. I therefore contend that we have, under the new convention, increased means of suppressing the slave-trade beyond those which we enjoyed under the old. We have gotten this convention, too, with the cordial goodwill of France, and with an assurance of that cordial co-operation from that country which we never could have had under the old convention. (Hear.) I have no possible motive in withholding the evidence given by the French and English officers with respect to different stations to be assigned to the cruisers of both countries, the parts where the slave-trade was carried on, and other particulars connected with it, except the consideration that it would be inexpedient for the public service to disclose this evidence for the present. I am, therefore, compelled to refuse the production of that evidence, but I have no objection to give the names of the parties, examined, if required. There were five English and three French officers, who had been engaged in the suppression of the trade on the coast of Africa, who gave their evidence on the occasion, but I am bound to say the treaty was not founded on that evidence. It mainly referred to matters with respect to which I conceive it would be inconsistent with my duty as a minister of the Crown to give to the public. I entreat the house to bear in mind who were the parties to whom the consideration of this question was committed, and by whom this convention was carried on (hear, hear.) They were two men holding in their respective countries the highest rank and station amongst public men, and remarkable for their ability, their integrity, and their high private character. Above all, they were distinguished from most men, for having throughout their lives been both unceasing in their exertions to put an end to this detestable traffic in the blood of our fellow-creatures (hear, hear.) The two men who considered this question, and signed this convention, could have been influenced by no political motives. Dr. Lushington, during the time he was in public life, was opposed to the political views of her Majesty's present Government. The Due de Broglie has been for a long time separated from all party feelings or influences in France, and has never shown the slightest disposition to sacrifice his private feelings to political motives. The Due de Broglie has an interest in maintaining the convention of 1833, for it was during his administration that the treaty which was to give effect to the convention of 1831 was carried out. If he was remarkable for any part in political matters since 1839, it was in improving the system of education in his own country, and in endeavours for the suppression of the slave-trade (hear, hear.) During the whole of his political life Dr. Lushington was opposed to her Majesty's present Government; but he was chiefly remarkable, more so than any other man, except Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Wilberforce, or Sir Fowell Buxton, for his exertions in preventing the continuance of this detestable traffic (hear, hear.) These are the men who have signed this convention; and no possible consideration could have induced either to sign it but the conviction that they were placing in the hands of their respective countries more powerful means than any which yet existed for the suppression of that trade. The convention came recommended to the house, therefore, so far as authority went, by the highest authority by which it could be recommended. It came recommended to the house, he believed, by the application of reason to the provisions it contained, as contrasted with the provisions of preceding treaties.

Mr. SNEYL had heard no satisfactory reply given to the statement of his noble friend. He had been greatly struck by one assertion of his noble friend, and had waited anxiously, if not impatiently, for its contradiction. His noble friend had stated that it was not only currently reported, but universally believed, that the officers who had been examined before the Mixed Commission had given evidence that the surrender of the right of search was most prejudicial. Now, that statement on the part of his most noble friend had struck him when it was made. He had waited for an answer, but no contradiction of the statement had been given. His noble friend was, he thought, entitled to call for the evidence relating to that particular point. His noble friend had only asked for extracts; he had read his notice with attention as regarded that point. The right hon. gentleman referred to the evidence taken relative to the state of the coast of Africa, and the relations existing between France and England in reference to Africa, and said that it was inconsistent with the interests of the public service to produce that evidence. But it was not inconsistent with the interests of the public service to give them that which relates to the exercise of the right of search, which was the real point at issue between them (hear, hear.) It was a remarkable circumstance that that portion of the evidence had been

withheld. The object of the right hon. gentleman was to show that the convention of 1845 was better than the treaties of 1831 and 1833. But let the house mark the fact that was set forth on the very head and front of the convention itself. The treaties of 1831 and 1833 had been successful. It was said that by the treaty of 1831, there was only ten degrees of south latitude and fifteen degrees of north latitude, but that now they had got six degrees additional on the coast of Africa. But what was the use of referring to the convention of 1845, when they had that of 1831 to refer to? They had given up a treaty, the efficacy of which had been proved, and by which it was admitted the slave-trade had been put down, for a convention the success of which could only be matter of doubtful prediction. There was this great difference between the treaty of 1831 and the convention of 1845, that the former gave the right of search in the West Indies, Cuba, Brazil, and over the whole coast where the slave-trade raged, on to Madagascar, and the reply of the right hon. gentleman was, that it did not extend to the east coast of Africa, although it extended to Madagascar, where a large trade in slaves was carried on. Thus, then, they came to a geographical comparison between the convention of 1845 and the treaty of 1831, and even there they found immense geographical advantages on the side of the treaty of 1831. He then proceeded to state, that so far from their Government having tamely acquiesced in the non-ratification of the treaty, that Lord Aberdeen, in the month of February, had remonstrated against the violation of the engagement into which France had entered. The language was remarkably strong at that period when a modification of the treaty was tendered by France, which the Government declared they would not submit to. But did it not follow from this, that if they were not to make concessions—if no modifications were to be submitted to, much less should they have amended the treaty of 1831, or the treaty of 1833? If it was a matter of boast that they would not permit the slightest change or modification of the treaty of 1841, what defence had they for abandoning the whole of the treaty of 1831? There were in his mind numerous objections to the treaty of 1845. Was it not injudicious to stipulate that France should have twenty-six ships of war on the African coast, to enable her to acquire a familiarity with the sea, and to divide with her their "home upon the deep?" Was there no risk that the right of visit would lead to division and dissension between them and France? They were making the quarter-deck of a slaver a floating Court of Admiralty to decide whether the vessel was French or not French, and to have the question decided by men having too many national antipathies and prejudices. But his great and permanent objection to the convention was this:—Before that convention the English ships of war were furnished by a commission, with which if they met a French slaver, they were authorised to seize her, board her, and through their instrumentality, life and light, and liberty, were poured in upon the living charnel-house. What was the case now? After the treaty of 1845 was in force, what would happen? From the topmast of the English frigate a bark, whose peculiar configuration bespoke her purpose, was descried. She was pursued, and despite the swiftness which the skill of the naval architects of Marseilles or Toulon had conferred on her, she was overtaken. She was almost doomed, when suddenly the tricolor was run up to the mast head, and the chase was at an end, and she would pursue her undisturbed way to Bahia or Cuba, or the Havana; and the marinier of England would have only to imprecate a compact by which so detestable and scandalous a traffic was protected. That was his objection, because it was not denied that if a French slaver was met with, she was allowed to pass with impunity. The result was to render two other important treaties comparatively valueless, and to benefit other nations, to say that the right of search was incompatible with their honour; and, besides, that they had done the cause of humanity a mischief which not all their distinctions of culture and climate—not all their fine fiscal and sentimental discriminations—not all their abandonment of the commerce of Brazil, and their violation of the treaty of Utrecht, and their quarrel with Spain, would be able to repair (cheers.)

Sir R. INGLIS could not help feeling that in the diplomatic relations between two great nations the greatest care ought to have been taken. There was one expression in the preamble of the treaty, gratuitously made on the part of England, which might compromise a principle which involved rights which no statesman, without the deepest consideration, and certainly never without reluctance, would concede to another power. He felt that the noble lord opposite, when he called the attention of the house to the terms of the preamble of the treaty, had urged an objection which was far too well sustained, (hear, hear,) and he therefore regretted that his right hon. friend Dr. Lushington had ever put his name to such a paragraph. He felt, also, that the ninth article had not been explained by the right hon. member in a way which relieved it from the objections of the noble lord. He felt with the noble lord, that the declaration made on the part of her Majesty, that her Majesty would continue the prohibition of the slave-trade in the colonies of this country might raise the presumption that except for such a declaration the slave-trade—say for instance to Jamaica—might have been carried on. That, in his opinion, was a most gratuitous assertion on the part of her Majesty, and in making it her Majesty had done much to verify the French proverb—by excusing she had accused herself, for a mere declaration that she would not endanger the slave-trade implied that without such declaration she might have encouraged it; and it was on that account that he regretted that a convention should have been signed in the name of her Majesty containing such a passage or which no satisfactory defence had been made by the Government. He could never hear the noble lord address the house on the subject of the slave-trade without feeling how much they owed to him for his zealous and constant conduct during the long period of thirty-seven years, in endeavouring to suppress that traffic. He could not help taking advantage of the reference which the noble lord had made to the existence of the slave-trade in other parts of the world, to call the attention of the Government to a notice which he had given in the early part of the session, and to the motion which followed it, on the subject of the revival, or rather the creation of a slave-trade in our own colonies, under the pretence of a voluntary migration. He believed they were giving good cause to their enemies in every part of the world to accuse them of gross political hypocrisy in the denunciations which they make of them with respect to the slave-trade. He would refer in the first instance to the case of Trinidad. He believed that the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was aware that at a period when there was a greater necessity for supply of free labour than there now was, the planters of Trinidad had met, and had issued a report stating the necessity of their being allowed to obtain in a fair and honourable way the labour which they might require, wherever it could be

found. They stated that from the continent of Africa a suitable number of free labourers might be engaged, by which all their difficulties would be surmounted; but that if a sufficient number of free labourers could not be found to emigrate, then that some unhappy persons who were there held in bondage should be purchased—he begged the attention of the Under Secretary of State to the word—should be purchased and manumitted, in order to be sent to the colonies, and they added that they felt assured that if such a scheme proved successful, it would effectually extinguish any slave-trade, except that which they had in contemplation. He must at the same time do but perfect justice to the governor of Trinidad to say that, as soon as their report had reached him in the month of July, 1841, he addressed a letter to the chairman of the body, in which he said:—"As it appears that the investigation had extended to a much wider field than it was originally intended, his excellency must decline any further participation in the proceeding." He introduced those facts for the purpose of showing the necessity there was for labour, and the unscrupulous way to which they resorted for the supply of that necessity. He said there was something too like slave-trading going on at the present moment. He had had committed to his care a letter from Sierra Leone, dated the 23rd April 1845, after the period he presumed when the discussions in this house had reached that place. The house would no doubt recollect that upon the occasion to which he had alluded, he had moved for the production of certain papers having reference to the emigration of free labourers from Africa to the West Indies, such being the Africans recently liberated from the slavers. He had then stated, upon the authority of Mr. Pascoe Hill, that those liberated Africans came in in such a state of weakness and disease, that for some time after their release they were incapable of exercising any free discretion at all. He was told that the negroes thus liberated from the slave-ships, and under the authority of Lord Stanley's proclamation, were no longer permitted to remain as they had recently been permitted to remain, but were now placed in a great stone-yard, and were there excluded from all intercourse with their own countrymen, and that they were open to the solicitations of the emigration agents from Trinidad, Demerara, Jamaica, and from other parts of the West Indies where labour was required. The letter he had referred to went on to say, "Imagine to yourselves a large yard enclosed by a high stone wall, filled with Africans from the slave vessels, the door opens, the emigration agent enters, and he is received by the deluded people with demonstrations of joy and the clapping of hands; he tells them he is their friend, and he gives them money, tobacco, meat, &c., and promises to send them to a fine country, where they shall be well taken care of, and he thus proceeded to use every such means to persuade them to emigrate to the West Indies. All other persons who would be likely to describe a different state of things, must be carefully shut out, and must not be allowed to enter the yard. For this purpose the gate-keeper has strict orders to prevent such persons gaining admission. A few days ago a gate-keeper, who had been in this office for three years, had been dismissed for letting such persons enter the yard, although he strongly denied the charge. From that time the slaves were sent to the West Indies through the instrumentality of these agents, and no other persons were ever allowed to visit them." Under these circumstances, observed the honourable baronet, it was clear that there was no discretion left to these unhappy people, but they made their fellow-subjects—for after they were liberated they became their fellow-subjects—believe that they had a choice, which was a most delusive one, and persuaded them to take a course which would possibly end in misery, and could scarcely prove to them a benefit. There might be some one in this yard nearly and dearly connected with those outside of the yard, and in the latter part of the letter to which he had referred, that conclusion was justifiable. "A circumstance has lately occurred here worth mentioning, in respect to a Spanish vessel which was brought to Sierra Leone as a prize, captured by the British cruiser. Among those unhappy persons so mercifully delivered, the clerk, who was a liberated African himself, found his own mother's sister." The option, however, that was given to these so-called liberated Africans within these stone walls was either to get to the West Indies or to starve, for according to Lord Stanley's proclamation, dated the 8th July, 1844, it could scarcely be considered anything else. It was nothing but cruel hypocrisy to say that the emigration agent allowed them to make their own choice—that choice was a perfect delusion and a mockery. To prove the danger of permitting those persons to have intercourse with those faces which they had often met before, he was informed that they were even taken from the yard to the place of embarkation by a back gate, and by a private way, because it was said that, if they were permitted to walk through the public streets, their own country people who would see them, would probably explain to them the advantages of still remaining in Africa, and the disadvantages of going in another vessel to the West Indies. He had felt that he had not unwarrantably occupied the time of the house when he thought that there was another slave-trade likely to rise up of a much more injurious character to the nation than the former one.

Sir C. NAPIER concurred in the opinions expressed by the noble lord, relative to the first paragraph of the preamble of this treaty. What had we got in return for the concession of the right of search? Twenty-six French vessels were to be employed on the coast of Africa, in conjunction with twenty-six English vessels, to teach them, he supposed, as had been well said by the hon. member for Dungarvon, to make "their home upon the deep." That was the most impolitic thing that could be done. The right hon. bart. had said that the right of visit was not as dangerous as the right of search. Was he certain that the right of visit would not become as obnoxious as the right of search? What was the right of visit? An English vessel was on the coast of Africa. She discovered a vessel which hoisted French colours. If the officer did his duty he must send to ascertain whether she was really a French ship. It was nonsense to say that he must have good reason for suspicion, for she might be so disguised as not to be distinguishable from a French ship. Then in what a delicate and polite manner were the instructions how to act given to our cruisers; they must surely have been drawn up by some gentleman who was familiar with drawing-rooms. The officer was to judge from their manoeuvres. How could their manoeuvres be different from the manoeuvres of any other vessel? Then, what would happen? The captains of the French merchant vessels and French cruisers considered that England had been bullied into giving up the right of search. They fell in with an English vessel; would they not say, "What am I brought to for? I belong to *la grande nation*," and the smallest turn of the helm would run the boat down. The right hon. bart. smiled. He could assure him that these things were com-

mon. Another French vessel might be in sight; he would appeal to her; the captain would say, "Why have you boarded this vessel?" and it was impossible to foresee what might take place. He much feared that this treaty would lead to more difficulties than the right of search. The fourth article said that treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade should be negotiated with the native princes conjointly. Article 6 said, that whenever it should be necessary to employ force conformably to the law of nations to compel the due execution of the treaty, no such force should be resorted to without the consent of the commanders of the British and French squadrons. Suppose the two commanders-in-chief entered into such treaties with some of the native princes, and in the mean time the officers of an English and a French vessel saw these princes collecting the slaves and placing them in barracoons. He wondered where the two officers were to find the two commanders-in-chief. One might be at Cape South and the other at Cape Verd, so that it would be perfectly impossible to get their approbation and consent to destroy these barracoons. If it was necessary to have French vessels to assist us on the west coast of Africa, should we not have French vessels on the east coast of Africa, where he understood a brisk trade in slaves was carried on? He would not be astonished if Russia were to offer to enter into a similar treaty, in order that they might receive the benefit of that instruction which the French would receive from the close contact they would now have with our vessels. If it were determined that we should blockade the whole coast of Africa, he would much rather that England should bear the expense of the whole 52 ships, than hunt in couples with either Russia or France.

Mr. HOPE wished to say a few words in answer to what had fallen from his hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford. His hon. friend had most properly praised the local Government of Trinidad, because they had set themselves against the system of purchasing slaves for the purpose of manumitting them; but he ought to have gone further, and given some praise to the home Government, who had always met the proposal with decided discouragement. He had already discussed the case of the liberated negroes with his hon. friend, and upon that occasion he had proved to the house, by the authority of a committee, that those liberated Africans were much more beneficially settled in the West Indies than in Sierra Leone. He considered it was the duty of the authorities by every fair means, and none other ought to be employed, to give them the option, and induce them to transport themselves thither from the coast of Africa. His hon. friend himself now admitted that they bribed the African to leave Sierra Leone to go to the West Indies by bounty money—he acknowledged now, contrary to his former statement, that the negroes obtained great advantages to induce them to go. Much exaggeration was used by parties in Sierra Leone to keep them there, neither would the negroes attend to any one but their own countrymen, speaking their own language, and who had some knowledge of how they were likely to be treated in the West Indies. His hon. friend said if the negro had once agreed to go, he was allowed no opportunity of changing his mind. Now, that was not the case; from the time he agreed to go until the time he was put on board ship, he had every opportunity of changing his mind if he pleased; in fact, there was one case in which 180 had altered their mind, and they were allowed to remain. The advantages of emigration were pointed out to the liberated African, but no compulsion was ever used towards him; he was allowed to be a perfectly free agent.

Captain PECHELL said the right hon. bart. had totally mistaken the purport of the convention, and the benefit he expected to derive from it. He denied that the clamour in France against the right of search was occasioned by any of the arguments or observations used by his noble friend in that house. The hon. and gallant member then quoted the authority of M. Guizot, Admiral Roussin, and other French authorities, that the slave-trade could not be put down without the right of search. He, therefore, thought there was no reason whatever for making the enormous sacrifice that had been made in the recent convention. The means adopted would be perfectly harmless and useless, and it would be a delusion upon the country to hold out an expectation that any weight would be produced by the exertions of a French squadron in conjunction with us, unless they landed upon the coast, and destroyed the slave factories. Much more harm would arise to our mercantile interests, by the presence of French vessels on the coast of Africa, than could arise from collision under the right of search. He had much jealousy of twenty-six French ships being sent out to interfere with our commerce, and carry on their own traffic under the pretence of putting down the slave-trade. He repeated that no benefit was arrived at, at all commensurate with the sacrifices we had made.

Lord PALMERSTON replied. The right hon. bart. (Sir R. Peel) said that he (Lord Palmerston) had taken every opportunity of speaking disparagingly of France. He denied the charge. He never did think disparagingly of France. He never meant to do so. He felt what every sensible man must feel, great respect for the French nation, and a great and earnest desire that France and England should be on a friendly footing together. (Hear.) And without boasting, he might say that he thought the late Government did more to cement the good understanding between the two countries than it was possible for the present Government to accomplish. What he had stated with reference to the refusal of the French Government to ratify the treaty of 1841 was founded on what had fallen from the minister in the French Chambers, who said that England had made no complaint or remonstrance upon the refusal being given. With regard to the right hon. baronet's explanation of the nature of the evidence given by the officers, he was willing to make a bargain. If the right hon. bart. would consent to his motion as he proposed to modify it, and supply him with a list of the names of the witnesses examined, and extracts of such parts of their evidence as related to the value of the mutual right of search, as a means for the suppression of the slave-trade, he would leave it to the Government to use their perfect free and uncontrolled discretion in selecting such portions of the evidence as corresponded with those words. Otherwise he should take the sense of the house on the question.

Sir R. PEEL declined this proposal; and

The house then divided; when the numbers were—

For the motion	-	-	-	-	51
Against it	-	-	-	-	94
Majority against the motion	-	-	-	-	43

TUESDAY, July 15, 1845.

SPANISH SUGAR.

Lord PALMERSTON, in introducing his motion upon admission of the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico, observed that the subject which he was

about to bring under the consideration of the house was one of great importance to the honour and interest of England—it was of great importance to the honour of the country, because it raised the question, whether the engagements of the crown had been fulfilled; and to the interest of the country, whether its engagements for the advantage of our commerce had not been needlessly and foolishly thrown away. The question arose out of the correspondence which had recently taken place between the Governments of Spain and England in consequence of a claim by the Government of Spain that the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico, the produce of slave-labour, should be admitted into the British ports on the same terms as the sugars of Venezuela and of the United States. That claim had been rejected by her Majesty's Government; and he now came forward to ask the house to join him in presenting an address to the Crown, praying it to adopt a different course with respect to that claim. In 1841, the late Government had proposed to make in the then existing state of the sugar duties an alteration which they thought would increase the revenue of the country, would give development to its commerce, would reduce the price of sugar, and would add to the comforts of the poorer classes. The party then in opposition thought it a fit occasion to make a trial of their strength with the Government. In order to raise a feeling in the country, they stigmatized the measure as one calculated to afford an additional stimulus to the slave-trade and to slavery. They succeeded in their attempt—the Government was defeated—and the party in opposition took possession of office. They had not been long in power before they too came to a resolution that a change in the sugar duties was expedient; and, judging from the free-trade doctrines which they had since broached in the house, he was quite satisfied that if they had been free agents, and not pledged to support the West Indian interest, they would have proposed some measure very similar to that which the former Government had recommended. They were, however, fettered by their pledges, and, in consequence, they exercised their ingenuity, and bethought themselves of a notable experiment, which they conceived would add a little to the stock of sugar imported into the country without giving offence to the West Indian interest. After describing the system of sugar duties introduced by the present Government, Lord Palmerston proceeded to state that ministers were told at the time that their measure was founded on mere childish absurdities, and that practically it must be inefficient, for it would be incapable of preventing evasions of its enactments. Ministers were also warned that it would fail from another cause—they were warned that there were powers who were entitled to all the rights and privileges of the most favoured nations, and that if they admitted sugar the produce of free labour at a reduced duty, they would be compelled to admit sugar the produce of slave labour on the same terms. That admonition was treated very lightly by the Government; they passed their measure, and what followed? Soon afterwards Venezuela and the United States, having treaties with the most favoured nation clause, demanded that their sugars should be admitted on the same terms as those of Java and other Eastern sugars. The treaties were examined, the claims of these two powers were found to be irresistible, and their sugars were admitted on the terms they required. The consequence was, that General Narvaez made a similar claim on behalf of the Government of Spain. The Duke de Sotomayor sent in his paper, and an answer was given to it by Lord Aberdeen, which he was sure that Lord Aberdeen had never written. That answer was not only full of fallacies, but also full of what was usually designated legerdemain logic; for in discussing the construction of the treaties between Spain and England, some new words were very skilfully slipped in very like those originally used, but essentially differing from them; and upon this superstructure of words, thus unfairly substituted for the words really employed, the reader was brought to a conclusion of which he never could have dreamt, when he first commenced the perusal of it. The noble lord then entered into a minute criticism of the documents signed by the Duke de Sotomayor and the Earl of Aberdeen, contending that the former had made out a valid claim for his country, partly on the provisions of the ancient treaties signed in 1667 and 1713, between Great Britain and Spain, and partly on certain commercial decrees issued by the King of Spain in 1824, and on certain orders of Councils issued by the British Government in 1828. He admitted that the Government had been placed in a very embarrassing situation by this claim of the Spanish Government; for if ministers had acted towards Spain as they had acted towards Venezuela and the United States, their boasted system of sugar duties would have been blown to shivers. They would have been exposed to taunts in that house, and to sarcasms in the newspapers, and to squibs at the next elections; but all this they ought to have encountered rather than have sacrificed the honour of their country. He contended that the treaty of 1670 did not exclude the West Indian colonies of Spain and Great Britain from the benefits of the treaties of 1667 and 1713, and denied that the two last treaties which he had named warranted the conclusion of Lord Aberdeen—namely, that though there was an obligation imposed upon England to treat the subjects of Spain as the subjects of the most favoured nation, there was no obligation to treat the produce of Spain as England was used to treat the produce of the most favoured nation. The astonishment of the country was inexpressible on hearing that ministers had rested our case on such a paltry pettifogging village attorney's argument; but he was not astonished at it; for he knew that there was nothing but this pettifogging quibble to rest on. He then went into a course of ratiocination to prove that the argument of Lord Aberdeen in reply to the claim of Spain was inconsistent with the plain and simple meaning which any man of common sense would put upon the treaties between the countries. He designated it as a disgraceful mockery of justice, and observed that if he should be told that it could be justified by the opinion of the Crown lawyers, he should reply that it mattered not, for the present was not a question of law, but a question of honesty. Had Government, however, considered the consequences which were likely to accrue from their present doctrine, that the treaties between England and Spain applied to persons, and not to produce; and that we were entitled to levy higher duties on the sugars of Spain than on the like articles of other countries? Recollecting that when the present Government was in opposition, the members of it were perpetually attacking him for not being an active and vigilant guardian of British commerce, he was indeed surprised that they had been so extremely indifferent to the dangerous doctrines involved in their answer to the Spanish claim. They had torn to pieces in that answer all the treaties between England and Spain. The

papers which had been presented to the house that very afternoon, and which few persons have yet had time to read, showed that there already existed on the part of Spain an inclination to impose heavier duties on our linens than on those of Belgium, and on our ships than those of France. He would lay his life that ministers, by their recent conduct, had lost the trade of this country with Spain, just as they had lost by their own absurdity the valuable trade with the Brazils. His objection to our recent diplomacy was, that we had broken faith with Spain, and without even the vulgar and popular excuse for it, that it was for our interest to do so. The Government had set an example which would do them injury far beyond Spain. They had preached up to foreign nations equality of commerce; they had asked foreign Governments to place this country on the footing of the most favoured nation; and yet we were refusing to put Spain upon that footing, when she had a right to demand it on the faith of ancient treaties. Sir R. Peel had said that the only reward which he and his colleagues wished to obtain for their labours was posthumous fame. Sure enough were they to obtain posthumous fame; but it would not be that which Caesar obtained when he carried the arms, and arts, and glory of Rome to the banks of the Thames, the Rhine, and the Danube; but that which the degenerate rulers of Rome purchased for themselves when the god Terminus, under their disgraceful sway, was obliged to shrink for shelter under the walls of the Imperial city itself. In the four years during which the present ministers had been in office they had sacrificed more great interests than any of their predecessors had done during the longest administrations. They had sacrificed our territorial interests in North America from unreasonable fear. They had sacrificed our commercial interests in the Brazils, and now again in Spain, for the maintenance of a favourite crotchet, which was in itself utterly indefensible. They had sacrificed the mutual right of search, which their predecessors had been fortunate enough to obtain from every maritime power of first importance, first by the Ashburnham capitulation, and afterwards by the negotiations between Dr. Lushington and the Duc de Broglie. They had now sacrificed the good name and good faith of the country, which had lived through all the storms and difficulties of England, whether her arms were defeated or triumphant. Never hitherto had the good faith of England been brought into question. Mr. Wilberforce had once observed, that we were too honest to deal with the Governments of the Continent. He thought that if Mr. Wilberforce had lived to the present day, he would have retracted his censure on foreign Governments, and his eulogium on our own. We had given very bad reasons for adopting a very bad course—we had set an example which, if followed up, must entail great damage upon the country—we had given up the engagements of two centuries for no other reason than a senseless wish to maintain a distinction raised on no intelligible ground, which it would have been much wiser to have abandoned without a word. Thinking, then, that the answer given and the decision adopted were not founded on the true interpretation of treaties, and that the course of Government was highly detrimental to the commercial interests of the country, he called upon the house to combine with him in imploring the Crown to take a different and a more honest course.

Mr. GLADSTONE regretted that, when the noble Lord could not find time to enter into the real merits of the question before the House, he should yet have been able to enter into a dissertation on the Ashburnham capitulation, on the Brazilian trade, and on the mutual right of search, which had nothing to do with the matter in debate, and to which he had been led by nothing else than that tenacious animosity which induced him to repeat, again and again, the same invectives against the policy of the present Government. He then entered into a minute and critical review of each of the twelve different commercial treaties which the Government of England has concluded with the Government of Spain during the last 200 years, and of the commercial practice which has grown up under them, for the purpose of showing that it was unwarranted and almost extravagant to state that the treaties on which Lord Palmerston had rested the claims of Spain had now complete existence. He did not mean to say that those treaties were annulled altogether, but he showed that whatever those treaties might be, they were distinguished in many important particulars from the other treaties which stood on the list of our engagements. Accompanying the treaty of 1783, which consolidated into one treaty all the previous ones between the two countries, were the declarations of the two negotiators who signed it; and the declaration of the British negotiator made distinction between personal privileges and commercial regulations, for which the British Government now contended. What, then, became of the "pettifogging village attorney's argument," on which Lord Palmerston had rested so much weight? He showed that Mr. Pitt's tariff had established a low rate of duty for various kinds of merchandise imported from France, and asked Lord Palmerston to explain how, if Spain had a right to all the privileges of the most favoured nation, she had then submitted, without remonstrance, to the imposition of a higher rate of duties upon the same description of commodities. He contended that the various treaties between Spain and England did not stipulate for the imposition of the *minimum* duty on the produce of Spain imported into this country, but only for the personal advantage and benefit of the subjects of Spain who traded within our dominions. He entered into several nice and intricate dissertations on the course of our former negotiations with Spain, and proceeded to maintain that from the plain meaning of words, the evidence of facts, and the absurd consequences which would follow it, the construction which Lord Palmerston had put upon these treaties could not be the correct one. Lord Palmerston measured the treaties of 200 years ago by the practices of the present day, and not by those which then existed; and therefore it was that he could not understand the distinction which had been drawn between the subjects and the produce of Spain. The literal meaning of these treaties was a rational meaning, and was in direct contradiction to that which Lord Palmerston had endeavoured to extract from them. He showed that at different periods of our history the produce of Spain and the ships of Spain had been taxed at the will of the British Parliament, and argued therefrom that the recent conduct of the British Government on the present question did not involve the slightest impeachment on the national honour. He denied that the decision of the Government had untied the hands of Spain, and had left all our treaties with that Power entirely at its mercy. Spain had now propounded doctrines in direct opposition to the practice which she had followed for the last 200 years, and which she was pursuing even at the present day; for at that very moment she was levying duties on British shipping, and on various descriptions of British goods,

higher than those which she was levying on the shipping and goods of other countries. Having gone through an immense mass of details, which he had accumulated from every quarter, and which he could have increased to a still greater extent, had he not been afraid of trespassing too long on the kindness of the house, he contended that he had submitted an amount of proof which it was impossible to resist, for the purpose of demonstrating first, that Spain was not in a condition to make such a demand as that which she had recently made upon us; secondly, that the treaties did not contain the stipulations which Lord Palmerston attributed to them; and, lastly, that laws and facts spreading themselves over a long period of history give a direct contradiction to that construction which the noble lord had endeavoured, very unwisely, to foist upon them. He therefore called upon the house to resist the motion.

Mr. LABOUCHERE condemned the policy of the part which the Government had played upon this question. Much as he admired the general talent of Mr. Gladstone he had never experienced greater pain than in listening to the very long speech which he had just delivered. He was convinced that if Mr. Gladstone's cause had been better his speech would have been shorter: for he had enveloped the question in a mass of details from which it was very difficult to extract any definite meaning. He could not help thinking whilst Mr. Gladstone was speaking, of the glorious opportunity which we had just lost. Here was Spain asking us to put upon these treaties which might be obscure and ambiguous, an interpretation which would have converted them into clear and intelligible compacts for the manifest advantage of both countries. For what object was it that the Government was compelling the country to make this great commercial sacrifice? For the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade? Certainly not; for its recent policy had not prevented a single slave from being transported across the Atlantic. He then delivered himself of a speech against the impolicy of the sugar duties. He believed that the Government would not be unwilling to have a little gentle violence applied to them upon this question; and he expressed a hope that it would be constrained to restore the harmony of our commercial relations with Spain, and also with Brazil, by being compelled to retrace the steps which it had recently taken.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL had expected to have heard from Mr. Labouchere an argument upon the construction of the treaties with Spain, to which Lord Palmerston invited the house, and not an argument on the policy of the sugar duties. Instead of meeting the Government on the ground which Lord Palmerston had selected for the battle field between himself and the Government, Mr. Labouchere had flown far away from it, and had endeavoured to divert the attention of the house to questions of policy and expediency. The learned gentleman then entered into an argument of considerable length for the purpose of proving that her Majesty's Government had placed a correct interpretation on the treaties with Spain.

Mr. F. BARING maintained that the construction which Spain had placed upon these treaties was the very one which on grounds of sound policy this country ought to have put upon them. He called the attention of the house to the singular fact that the argument of Mr. Gladstone was distinct from, and set aside entirely, every argument contained in the state paper signed by Lord Aberdeen. The argument of Mr. Gladstone was, that these ancient treaties had no existence. Now, if they had no existence, what was the use of arguing upon them? But Lord Aberdeen contended that they were in existence—had founded upon them the defence of the Government in resisting the claim of Spain—and as the representative of the British Cabinet, had put them forward to the world as the grounds of its decision. He reminded the house that there was great danger in admitting the doctrine which Mr. Gladstone had that evening contradicted. "Though the treaties have no complete existence," said he, "I will not say they are annulled altogether." Why, this was nothing else than advocating in covert terms the law of the strong! That part of the treaties which served your purpose would always exist; that part which opposed your purpose would always be done away with. He then entered into an examination of the Attorney-General's argument on the construction of the treaties between the two countries, for the purpose of proving that the hon. and learned gentleman was utterly wrong, and that Government was bound to admit the sugar of Cuba and Porto Rico into British ports on the same footing as the sugar of the United States and of Venezuela.

Sir G. CLERK contended that Lord Palmerston had not made out the very grievous charge which he had preferred against the Government—namely, that of having tarnished the good name and the good faith of the country by refusing to concede to Spain the benefits to which she was entitled by ancient treaties. He then defended, amid great impatience on the part of the house, the State paper signed by Lord Aberdeen from the attack made upon it by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. F. Baring.

Mr. BARKLY then attempted to address the house, but in consequence of the outcry with which he was met, moved the adjournment of the debate.

By the interference of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, comparative silence was obtained, and the motion being withdrawn, Mr. BARKLY proceeded to contend that Spain had no claim of right for the admission of her produce into this country, and no claim of favour either, as she had perseveringly and systematically violated the treaties which she had concluded with us for the suppression of the slave-trade. The hon. Member then made a speech of considerable length, of which scarcely a syllable was heard in the house, owing to the discordant sounds which were raised from all quarters to warn him that his eloquence at that period of the night was considered very unseasonable.

After a few words in reply from Lord PALMERSTON, the house divided, when there appeared—

For the motion	87
Against it	175
Majority for Ministers	88

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MEMORIAL ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR R. PEEB, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY,
&c., &c., &c.

Sir.—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having had under their review the papers recently laid before Parliament relating to the slave-trade, would venture respectfully to direct your attention to the considerations to which they have given rise.

It is evident from these papers, that the slave-trade during the years 1843 and 1844 has very considerably increased, notwithstanding the augmented force and vigilance of the British cruisers employed for its suppression, and the aid which they have received from no less than eight steam vessels in their operations.

Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana, in their report for the year 1843, observe that, "Under the government of the present Captain-General of Cuba, the trade in this place (Havana), almost extinguished previously, revives with nearly its former activity." In a subsequent report, dated August 7th, 1844, after having remarked "that the slave-trade had exhibited proofs of unabated activity," they proceed to say, that "great numbers of negroes have been recently introduced is beyond all doubt, as we know from unquestionable authority the barracoons in this neighbourhood (Havana) are full of them. Notwithstanding this," they add, "the Captain-General writes to his Government that no negroes have been admitted, and this statement will, no doubt, be repeated in answer to your Lordship's remonstrances, though nothing can be more contrary to the truth." In a later report from her Majesty's commissary judge, dated Havana, Oct. 25th, 1844, the Committee find it stated, that "the present non-observance of the treaties with England is flagrant;" that "the Captain-General of Cuba affords the slave-trade his protection openly, and with scarce the formality of disguise even to the British functionaries;" and that "it may be feared that the cunning of self-interest, operated on by the hope of such profits as a successful adventure affords, will long continue to baffle those efforts, unless also supported by this local Government."

At Matanzas, Santiago de Cuba, and other outports, the traffic in human beings has been carried on with equal vigour.

In proof of the success with which the slave-trade is carried on, the committee may adduce, among others, the case of the *Palmyra Segunda*, so frequently referred to in the Commissioners' despatches. In their monthly report, dated 7th March, 1844, they say, "With regard to this vessel making, as she has done, four successful voyages in the course of twelve months, we are led to fear, not only that she has the direct support of this Government, but also correspondences and resorts on the coast of Africa, beyond the reach of her Majesty's cruisers." That this is the fact there can be no doubt, inasmuch as we find evidence to prove that American, and even British vessels are employed as tenders to the slavers, so that they have nothing to do on the coast but ship their cargoes of human beings, and sail direct to the ports indicated by their owners. In subsequent reports, the latest of which is dated September, 1844, the Commissioners notify that the *Palmyra Segunda* had effected two additional landings, one of which was within half a mile of the Captain-General's country-house. The smallest cargo this notorious and successful slaver brought to the Havana was 600; the largest, 1200 slaves. Here we have the fact of six successful adventures of one vessel in a period of eighteen months, during which period not a single capture was made off the Island of Cuba of the numerous slavers which had gone thither.

This *Palmyra Segunda* belongs to the wealthy slave-trading company at the Havana, trading under the firm of Don Pedro Blanco and Co.

And the Committee regret to say that what is true of Cuba is equally so of Brazil.

Her Majesty's Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro, in their report on the slave-trade for the year 1843, observe, "We are assured that nearly 40,000 negroes have been landed within these provinces in this period. This sudden augmentation during the past year," they add, "is attributable to the continued encouragement and protection afforded by the Brazilian administration to all slaving adventures;" and they further state, that "the greater number of slave shipping which effected the landing of their cargoes have escaped our vigilant observation in consequence of the novel system recently followed by the slave-dealers, which has proved eminently prosperous." The novel system alluded to is the practice of unloading the slaves by means of numerous small boats, which are always on the look out for them off the coast, and for the safe landing of which they are paid about twenty-two shillings per head. "Thus," say the Commissioners, "we hear of large parties of new negroes being marched from place to place within these provinces, but have no clue to the name of the vessels which brought them."

The lists of the departures and arrivals of vessels suspected of

being engaged in the slave-trade, during the nine months ending September, 1844, furnished by her Majesty's consuls at Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco, prove uncontestedly the vast extent to which it has been carried on during the last year, and the direct sanction which has been given to it by the Brazilian Government.

By consulting a return on the slave-trade, (No. 73, 1845,) the Committee learn that, from 1829 to 1843, both inclusive, 1,467 slavers were reported to her Majesty's Government as having successfully landed their cargoes of human beings in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, consigning, probably, half a million of human beings to the degradation and sufferings of slavery. The Committee feel satisfied, however, from the general reports of her Majesty's Commissioners and Consular Agents residing in those countries, as well as from private sources of information, that not one half of the vessels which landed their cargoes were, or could be, known to these functionaries; yet they find that during that period only 407 vessels, having on board 57,639 slaves, were captured by her Majesty's cruisers, and adjudicated in the Mixed Commission courts at Sierra Leone, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro. The expenditure connected with this service, first and last, has been estimated at more than twenty millions of pounds sterling. So vast an expenditure of treasure with so little fruit, the Committee are of opinion, clearly shows the hopelessness of suppressing the slave-trade by the means hitherto adopted for that purpose.

From another return, (No. 561, 1841,) the Committee gather that from 1829 to 1841, the loss of life connected with the cruising system amounted to 840, of which eighteen were killed in action, and seventy-eight by various accidents on the coast, though the number of vessels employed in the service during those years, was scarcely, on the average, one third of that at present engaged.

In calling your attention, Sir, to these painful facts, the Committee think they are fully justified in reiterating their conviction, that the coercive means adopted by the Government for the suppression of the slave-trade have signally failed of accomplishing their object; and, when it is added that they have greatly aggravated its horrors, without diminishing its extent, it appears obvious to them that it is not by such means this monstrous evil can ever be put down.

Happily, Sir, there are means by which this inhuman traffic may be destroyed. The Committee allude not to the increased detestation and horror with which, in civilized states, it is regarded, but, to a determination, rapidly gaining strength among the most enlightened and religious men in almost every country, to attack the root of the evil, slavery itself, as the most efficient, if not the only means of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings. And, in the promotion of this great object, her Majesty's Government have it in their power to render the cause of humanity and justice the most efficient service. First, by the firm and consistent support of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour. On the wisdom and humanity of the course hitherto pursued by her Majesty's Government on this subject, though the Committee could have wished the principle carried out to its legitimate extent, the following extract from a communication on the slave-trade made by her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana to Lord Aberdeen, in January, 1844, is a striking comment. They say, "In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have for some time been unable to meet their engagements, and are therefore unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause," they add, "prevents the further putting down of canes, and the making or extension of estates; it was for these purposes that the new negroes were required." The Committee would also add another cause which increased the demand for slaves; namely, the great mortality connected with slavery in Cuba, which required, and will continue to require, a large annual importation of negroes to keep up the strength of existing slave gangs, or the estates they have cultivated must be abandoned.

And the Commissioners specially notice, among the memorials presented to the Captain-General against the slave-trade, one from "the highly respectable and wealthy trading house of Drake Brothers and Co., setting forth that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, when, if this could be effected, at the rate of even 50 per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they could obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present." It requires no great sagacity to see, from these statements, how vast an impulse would be given to the slave-trade were the British markets open to Cuban sugars. The Committee cannot, therefore, but rejoice that her Majesty's Government have not found themselves bound by the arguments recently addressed to them by the Spanish Government, in support of the claim to have the sugars of its slave colonies introduced into the British markets on equal terms with those from the possessions of some other countries enjoying that benefit.

Secondly, By giving an enlarged extension to the cultivation of

tropical productions in British India. This may be done, the Committee are of opinion, by fixing the amount of the land-tax throughout all the British possessions in India on equitable terms, and thereby rendering it permanent instead of fluctuating; by giving certainty to the tenures by which lands are held by the natives and Europeans; and by relieving the labouring population of those exactions and imposts which press so heavily on their industry. To the free investment of British capital in the cultivation of cotton and sugar in British India, conjoined with improved modes of cultivation and manufacture, and the unshackled industry of the natives, the Committee attach the very highest importance, inasmuch as this country would not only derive political strength and a large extension of commerce from it, but would be enabled to strike the heaviest blow against slavery and the slave-trade wherever they exist.

Thirdly, By pressing upon Spain and Brazil the *bond fide* execution of the treaties which exist, in so far as the right to personal liberty is concerned of the immense multitude of slaves, or the survivors of them and their descendants, who have been illicitly introduced into the colonies or territories of those countries respectively, contrary to their stipulations, and the laws which have been passed by them for giving those stipulations due effect. The Committee need scarcely remind you, Sir, that, in 1840, her Majesty's late Secretary for Foreign Affairs forwarded to the British minister at Madrid a draft of a convention designed to secure that object, and that her Majesty's present Government, though it suspended negotiations in relation to this convention, did not abandon its right to claim the liberty of the unhappy class of persons to whom reference has been made. They would therefore hope that, without delay, her Majesty's Government may be induced to prosecute this great object, as the most effective practical measure in their power for checking the slave-trade; for it must be clear to the meanest apprehension, that, if this step were taken, and the liberation of any number of slaves resulted from it, of which there could be no doubt, all hope of future gains to the slave dealer would be counterbalanced by the certain and absolute loss that would be sustained by so important an act.

In conclusion and addition, the Committee would, Sir, respectfully call your attention to the accompanying resolutions* which embody the deliberate opinions of the Committee on the question they have now ventured to submit to you.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

REPLY.

Whitehall, July 18th, 1845.

Sir,—I am desired by Sir Robert Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, transmitting by the direction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Committee, held on the 21st February last, on the subject of the state of the slave-trade, and a memorandum on the importance of drawing supplies of cotton and sugar from British India for the use of the home market.

Sir Robert Peel desires me to add that he will not fail to bring this communication under the notice of her Majesty's confidential servants.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) G. ARBUTHNOT.
John Scoble, Esq.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT AMONG THE FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

We insert with much pleasure the following documents, which have been forwarded to us by Mr. Sturge, with the following note.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

As one of those who have deeply regretted that the members of my own religious society in America did not take a more active part in the abolition of slavery, I have much pleasure in forwarding the inclosed communications, received from an highly respectable "Friend" in Pennsylvania, and should be obliged by their insertion in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Respectfully,

Birmingham, 7th mo. 1845. JOSEPH STURGE.

The first of the two documents thus transmitted to us is an invitation from some members of the Society of Friends to their fellow-members to attend a meeting in relation to an anti-slavery organization at Philadelphia, on the 20th of June. It is as follows:

TO OUR FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF FRIENDS.

There is probably no proposition in political economy more indisputable, than that the demand for an article which human industry or ingenuity can produce will infallibly bring it into the market. Many of the improvements in science may be traced to the demand created by the wants and refinements of the age.

The mechanical arts advance or recede according as the demand

for their products improves or declines. Numerous instances might be given of manufactures having flourished in one age and disappeared in the next, for no other reason than because there was no longer a demand for their products.

Numerous tracts were issued, proving and exposing the evils of intemperance; yet the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits could not be prevented, so long as a large demand remained. But, where the progress of temperance has excluded the demand, the manufacture and sale have ceased of course.

The iniquity of the African slave-trade is now generally acknowledged, and few can be found who will undertake the defence of slavery upon rational or Christian principles; yet the former is prosecuted in defiance of laws, human and divine, and the latter is maintained in half the States of the Union, and in many of them with a tenacity which manifests the hold it has taken of the passions and prejudices of the people. Now this arises from the interests, real or imaginary, which are involved in the system.

Men are seized on the African shore and transported to the western world, because they can be sold here, and held in hereditary slavery; and they are brought here because a profit is supposed to be deducible from their labour. Slavery confers a mercantile value on the victims of the trade, and the demand for the products of slave-labour sustains this mercantile value in the persons of the slaves and their posterity.

Human beings are converted into chattels, and retained in that unnatural condition, simply because the products of their extorted labour find, or are supposed to find, a remunerating value in the market.

Thus slavery and the slave-trade, like arts and manufactures, are necessarily supported by the demand for their products. If we could close the markets of the world against the productions of slave labour, we should annihilate the value of the property which is supposed to be vested in the persons of men, and leave the moral and religious objections to slavery at liberty to exercise their force without the counteracting influence of interest.

If those who are conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves would agree to apply the same practical rule to this evil as to others—to manifest their disapprobation of slavery by withholding their aid from its support—there can be no reasonable doubt that a sensible impression might be made, without strife or commotion, on this great opprobrium of the western world. Many of the articles now generally produced by the labour of slaves are among the common conveniences of life; but the total abandonment of the use of these articles is not necessary, for they may be produced by the labour of free men. The productions of tropical climates are among the provisions supplied by the all-bountiful hand for the convenience and comfort of man, and as such they ought to be received with thankfulness. But the Most High never made a slave to cultivate them. He created free men, and man has made slaves. Whatever his hand has supplied for our use may be, and ought to be, cultivated and manufactured by the hands of free men. Whatever slaves can perform may be accomplished by hands which the Creator made free.

It is well known that neither slaves nor their masters prosecute their business with the energy and skill which appear where the operatives are free. Hence it is generally found that the products of slave labour are more costly than those of free.

If in any case the former come into the market on lower terms than the latter, the difference is only a part of what is deducted from the lives and comforts of the operatives; for a large part of the profits of slave labour is employed in supporting the idleness and negligence of the masters.

The expense of keeping the slaves in subjection, of preventing elopements, and of recovering fugitives, must also be charged on the system.

Consequently, an effort to supply the market, through the instrumentality of free labour, with those articles which are now mostly extracted from the drudgery of slaves, is an attempt to substitute, for a wasteful and demoralizing species of cultivation an improved method, to which neither moral nor economical objections can be made. So far, indeed, is such a course from being a compulsive one, that its primary object is to substitute encouragement for compulsion; to steer clear of connection with a system of force, and to promote voluntary exertions among managers and labourers. It would be a lame objection to the labours of the friends of temperance, that they are compelling the distillers and retailers of liquors to abandon their employments. Yet the argument would be as just as in the case before us. If the markets of the world were instantly closed against the products of slave labour, they might be opened immediately by emancipating the slaves. In order to procure an union of efforts among Friends, it is now proposed to form an association within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, for the special purpose of promoting and encouraging the production by free labour of the articles which are generally procured from servile hands. With this view, a meeting of a number of Friends was convened in Philadelphia, on the 23rd of 4th month, 1845, and a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution. The subscribers, on behalf and by direction of that meeting, now respectfully invite such of their fellow-members of our religious Society as approve of the measure, and are willing to take part in the labour, to meet at Clarkson Hall, north side of Cherry, above Sixth-street, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 6th day, the 20th of 6th month, 1845, at three o'clock, P.M., when the constitution prepared by the

* The resolutions of the 21st of February, already published.

Committee will be submitted for consideration, revision, and adoption.

Women Friends are also invited to attend.

ENOCH LEWIS,	THOMAS WISTAR, Jun.,
SAMUEL HILLES,	ABM. L. PENNOCK,
WILLIAM KIRKWOOD,	DILLYN SMITH,
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,	EDWARD GARRETT,
WM. J. ATKINSON,	SAMUEL RHOADS.

The next document is a letter from a private individual, giving a gratifying account of what took place at the meeting thus convened.

Pennsylvania, 6th month, (June) 23rd, 1845.

My dear friend Joseph Sturge,—The invitation contained in the annexed circular, was answered by the attendance at Clarkson Hall, on the 20th instant, of about thirty Friends, who organised themselves into an association under the title of the "Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," adopting a constitution, in the preamble of which is the following declaration—"We believe that slaveholding is diametrically opposed to the whole spirit and tenor of the Christian religion, and that, while it sustains the traffic in slaves, it is mainly supported by the traffic in, and consumption of, the productions of slave labour." And one of the articles is (Article VII.), "The Association shall aim to procure correct information of the condition of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse in respect to free and slave labour, and the means of discriminating between their productions where they exist together, and shall endeavour to ascertain and disseminate the facts which show the injustice and the destructiveness of human life which belong to slave labour—the impolicy of it, and the duty of disconnecting ourselves from its support. It shall adopt means for obtaining a supply of such articles the production of free labour as are not readily to be procured through the ordinary channels of commerce and manufactures." At this meeting committee was appointed to collect such useful information as they may be able to obtain, to be submitted to a future meeting, of which Committee I am one.

It seems to me that there must be, in the Parliamentary papers which contain the reports of the British Consuls in the different slaveholding countries on the subject of slavery and slave labour, a fund of information which cannot fail to be highly interesting and useful to us, in carrying out the purposes of our Association. Thou mayest think we enter upon this important work with a small number of labourers, but we are not discouraged by that fact, or the circumstances which evidently occasioned it. The opposing influences will be temporary and reactive. Undismayed by them, we were greatly cheered by the information that the recent Yearly Meeting of New York, with entire unanimity, so far as appeared from an abundant expression, recommended the subject of freely using and trading in articles produced by the labour of slaves to the careful examination of its members, in an excellent essay prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, and that a meeting of from four to five hundred Friends was held, upon notice given at the close of a sitting of the Yearly Meeting, in the Yearly Meeting house, at which an association was organized, on a plan, and for purposes similar to ours. We were encouraged also by some letters read, founded upon careful inquiries, which showed that in several of the slave States there existed an amount of free labour, the avails of which, if collected at a small cost, and which could be collected, would furnish an ample supply of cotton for one or more extensive manufacturing establishments. One of these letters from a friend in New York, proposed the establishment of a joint stock company for manufacturing free cotton goods, towards which he offered a large subscription. The effect such an establishment would have, in giving an impulse to free labour in the slave States, is obvious. Whether that proposal can be now accomplished may be doubted, though it should be energetically attempted. It seems to me that, on your side the water, there might be a successful and most useful operation of this kind, and that Friends would do well to look to it. In attempting to carry out the objects of this Association, we know too well the power of commercial interest and connection to look for much aid from our cities. Men intimately associated with an evil are the last to discern its character. This is as true of persons trading in the spoils of slavery, as in the unjust results of any other wrongdoing. To our honest-hearted country Friends we look for the first fruits of an effort to break our connection with slavery—to cease, in effect, to be the slaveholders, but we cannot expect from them much pecuniary aid in an enterprize such as is above proposed.

I remain, thy affectionate friend,

P. L. A.

We shall want correspondents in Great Britain. Canst thou name persons who will give us their hearty aid?

THE SLAVE TRADE.

(From the Parliamentary papers.)

HAVANA.

The number of vessels despatched from Havana in 1842, suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, was three; one Spanish, one Portuguese, and one American: the number of vessels which arrived during the year 1843, and of which the Commissioners obtained information, was nineteen; of these thirteen landed 5650 slaves. There sailed during the year 1843, suspected of being

engaged in the slave-trade, twenty-three vessels, fourteen of which were Spanish, and nine American.

"Of the nineteen arrivals of vessels in our list, it may be observed that eleven have occurred during the last six months, when expectations were entertained of a change of policy with regard to the connivance as to the trade, or from the laxity arising from the unsettled state of public affairs in Spain. Yet nevertheless, on the whole, we do not suppose more than about 8000 negroes have been introduced during the year, which would give a number far inferior to the estimate of former years, even if we suppose a third more should be added to those reported in our notices."

In reference to the American vessels, the Commissioners say that they are used as tenders for "carrying out equipments, and other articles for the African market."

From January to October 1844, the Commissioners report that ten vessels had sailed suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and that thirteen had arrived and safely landed 6730 slaves. They state, however, the great difficulty they find in obtaining information respecting the movements of the slavers, and intimate that it will be almost impossible in future to gain any intelligence respecting them, "as every day affords fresh proof of support given to the slave dealers by the present Captain-General, and other authorities of the island." It is now a common thing to see Bozal negroes conducted "along the high road," and "in open day, through the streets," as well as "in boats in the harbour," in utter defiance of the laws. Few vessels are now cleared out for the coast of Africa; the slave-dealers disguise their destination by sending them ostensibly to Barcelona, Rio de Janeiro, &c. In one of their reports (Aug. 1844) the Commissioners observe, "During the month, we regret to have to state, that we hear of many vessels having arrived from the coast of Africa, though we cannot learn all the particulars we could wish, from the degree of constraint under which this community is now held." To show the character of the Captain-General, O'Donnell, and how little is to be expected from him, we give the following quotation from the reports of one of the Commissioners. In September, 1844, Mr. Kennedy writes:—

"Within the last few days I am informed, from a quarter on which I can rely, that the Captain-General declared, at one of his evening *tertullias*, that he considered the animadversions passed on him by the British Ministry as a great honour, inasmuch as it was a proof that he had consulted the honour and interests of Spain, rather than yielded to the selfish policy of England. He added, it is also said, that he would only pursue what course he thought proper, and, if the Spanish Government would not sanction it, they might relieve him; and that he had written saying, that, if Spain wished to preserve the island, the trade in negroes must be continued, because, if it were not, the negro race would in ten years become so diminished that nothing could prevent the whites from asserting their independence. This opinion used also to be maintained by General Tacon; and both, I believe, learned it from Don Joaquin Gomez, who has so long and so successfully carried on the trade that he defends it unscrupulously as patriotism, or even a higher virtue."

It may be suspected that the Captain-General is also influenced by another motive, for we learn, not only that he was "in direct communication with the slave-dealers," but that he expected to receive not less than 10,000^{at the least} on "6000 negroes," the arrival of which was expected.

Among the most successful vessels employed in the slave-trade we particularly notice the *Palmyra Segunda*, belonging to a wealthy association of slave-traders at the Havana, known under the firm of Don Pedro Blanco and Co. "With regard to this vessel," say the Commissioners, "making, as she has done, four successful voyages in the course of twelve months, we are led to fear not only that she has the direct support of this Government, but also correspondences and resorts on the coast of Africa beyond the reach of her Majesty's cruisers. This vessel usually lands from 800 to 1100 negroes each trip. Subsequently to this report (July, 1844), they observe "that the slave vessel *Palmyra Segunda*, which has made so many successful voyages from Africa with large cargoes of slaves, has returned with another, and landed them on this coast, in number about 1200. Again they say, (Sept., 1844), "the *Palmyra Segunda* arrived on the 14th August, and landed a cargo of upwards of 600 negroes at Charera, a creek only one league from this city" (Havana). No slaver was condemned in the Mixed Commission Court of Havana during the past year.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

From the analysis of the traffic in slaves forwarded by her Majesty's Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro to Lord Aberdeen, we learn that, during the year 1843, forty-seven vessels sailed from that port for the coast of Africa; and that the arrivals were fifteen, showing the total number of slave adventures between Rio de Janeiro and Africa to have been sixty-two vessels. By a return, however, which accompanies the analysis, we learn that it had come to the knowledge of the Commissioners that thirty-seven slavers had successfully landed their cargoes within the province of Rio during the year 1843, having on board 14,891 slaves, twelve cargoes of which were from Angola, six from Cabinda, one from Congo, seven from Benguela, three from Ajuda, three from Mina, one from Ambiz, one from Gabao, and three from Quillimane. But they add, "The total number of slaves as shown by the present return is not one-half of the actual number successfully imported. We are assured that nearly 40,000 have been landed in these provinces within the period." They attribute this state of things "to the continued encouragement and protection afforded by the Brazilian administration to all slaving adventures."

The number of vessels which cleared out from Rio to the coast of Africa, from 1st January to the 30th September, 1844, was 241; arrivals, 11. From Bahia during the same period, cleared out, 41 vessels; arrivals, 25. From Pernambuco, from 1st January to 31st March, 1844, cleared out, 4; arrivals, 5.

The British Consul at Bahia says, "Your Lordship will perceive that nearly 3000 slaves have been landed in this vicinity during the last three months, (September, 1844), besides others of whom accounts may not have reached the consulate." The Consul at Pernambuco writes—"As respects the traffic in slaves, your Lordship will perceive that seven vessels have sailed for the coast of Africa from this port, six have arrived thence, and 1115 slaves landed in the province during the past year" (1843). In reference to one of the slavers, the *Garrapés*, the Consul states that she "was run on shore at Porto dos Gallinas, and ultimately destroyed; she is reported to have left the coast with 350 slaves, of which 160 died during the passage, from the leaky state of the vessel and other causes; 60 (all children) were drowned, or killed, by a heavy lurch of the vessel when she grounded; the remainder, 130 in number, were landed in a weakly state, and hurried into this city, under very suspicious circumstances." In reference to another slaver, he observes, "Intelligence reached this yesterday of the total loss of a Brazilian patacho, with about 300 slaves on board, at a spot called Toboadó. It is supposed the vessel struck on the reef in the course of the night, and that every soul on board perished."

Such is the general view presented by the slave-trade papers of the present year of the extent of the slave-trade. Appalling, however, as it is, it by no means conveys an adequate idea of the enormous evil. The demand for slaves is still excessive, and the traffic is most lucrative. One successful voyage will cover the loss of three failures. Yet we firmly believe it will terminate—that slavery itself will be abolished—and that the children of Africa will yet, in the ordering of divine Providence, be permitted to enjoy freedom in common with the rest of the human race, and receive a large compensation for the cruel wrongs and injustice which have for so many centuries been inflicted upon them.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 6, 1845.

It is now some days since the public papers announced the unanimous and eager consent of the Texan congress to the proposals of the United States. The resolutions which have been passed render it highly probable that annexation will be completed, and that thus a scheme which has been cherished and pursued for many years by American politicians will be crowned with success. But success is at once the blessing of God upon a good cause, and his curse upon a bad one; and it may with confidence be expected that the Supreme Ruler will, in his providence, vindicate those eternal laws of rectitude which have, in this instance, been so shamefully violated. Fraud and robbery are here in their most atrocious forms, and their ultimate mischiefs must be much greater than their immediate gains. As connected with slavery, the question of annexation has always been to us of the deepest interest. Its tendencies to evil in this respect are obvious; but we are not without hope that it may be found to give origin to some counteracting elements of great power. Who can tell but it may give an impulse to the cause of abolition in the Union, by the force of which the entire enormity shall be speedily swept away?

THE most important intelligence brought by the last West India mail was the final adoption of the Immigration Loan ordinance of British Guiana, at a special session of the Combined Court, in the technical form required by Lord Stanley, although not, as Lord Stanley said he would require, throwing the expense on exportable produce. The editor of the *Guiana Gazette* is quite overwhelmed by the magnitude of this event. "The passing of the Loan Act," says he, "in the expectation of which we have so long been kept in suspense, is to us like the elevation of the curtain, that places it beyond doubt that the drama has really commenced, which may so soon, as scene shall follow scene, or one strange incident grow out of another, enthrall the senses of the spectators; or, like a cable cut loose from the strand, that sends an Argo to far-off climes in quest of some golden fleece." And he confesses his "curiosity and wonder," to know what these "coming novelties" may be. Without any pretensions to prophecy, it is easy to tell him this. Coolie immigration, only have enough of it, will make Guiana a second Mauritius: and worse cannot be said for the condition of any colony. Our contemporary, however, has yet some secret misgivings. "There is reason to suspect," he says, "that the chief difficulties in the matter of this Immigration Loan will have yet to be encountered."

We suspect so too. The rum-shops which abound upon the estates are affirmed to come into pernicious contact with the newly imported Africans. The *Berbice Gazette* says:—"The first earnings of the newly introduced African are spent in rum—he is the great and constant customer of the grog-seller—and we have authority for saying that everywhere, where there are Africans, and a facility for purchasing rum on the same estate, there are daily instances of the most beastly intoxication. Two cases of death from this cause have occurred recently in this county, and more must follow."

The Jamaica papers supply a characteristic instance of the spirit of the olden time. At a meeting of the Trellawney Agricultural Society, the Committee of which had recommended that the headmen of estates should be invited to become members of it, a Mr. Lemonius is stated to have bitterly denounced such a "system of equality." "A pretty thing, indeed, it would be," said this old slave-master, "to see a parcel of common labourers seated at a table with respectable gentlemen!" It is but fair to add, however, that this burst met, according to the account, with universal disapprobation.

Since writing the above, we have received the West India papers delivered yesterday. They contain nothing calling for remark. The crop of sugar is stated to be very large, that of coffee small; and the Coolies to work well in all weathers. This is ominous of evil. If the Coolies have been put to work in all weathers, there will soon be among them a fearful mortality.

OUR files from the United States acquaint us with the liberation of Captain Jonathan Walker from his imprisonment at Pensacola, after paying for fine and costs about seven hundred dollars. They inform us, also, of an important Anti-Slavery Convention held at Cincinnati on the 12th of June, under the presidency of our old friend, Mr. Birney. The Convention has published an able address, which is, however, too long for our columns, advocating the principles and advancement of the Liberty party. Ecclesiastical agitation on the subject of slavery continues; and we remark particularly that a leading portion of the Congregational body in New England have adopted a resolution decidedly in advance of their position hitherto.

FROM the *Jamaica Despatch* we learn that the Mr. Edward Thompson who took so distinguished a part at the late meeting at Willis's Rooms, is no less a personage than the Honourable Edward Thompson, Custos Rotulorum of the parish of Clarendon. We are furnished by the same paper with the following information concerning the ulterior movements of this honourable gentleman.

"We learn that Mr. Thompson is so satisfied of the success likely to accrue from the employment of Coolies on estates here, that he leaves the island this morning in the packet for England, and that it is his intention, if he can obtain the co-operation of one or two Jamaica proprietors, to visit Calcutta, via the Isthmus of Suez, with the view of procuring a thousand or two of Coolies to come here on the private account of those who engage them, unconnected with the Government scheme."

Mr. Thompson left Jamaica when the Coolies had been upon his estates just seven days!

FROM the further notice which has been taken by the Duc de Broglie and the *Journal des Débats* of the allegations made by the British Commissioners and Lord Palmerston, respecting the treaty between the French Government and the Imaum of Muscat, we are led to the following view of what has taken place. The treaty which we published in our last number was ratified by the Governor of the Isle of Bourbon, and in consequence of this was acted upon for a time, thus justifying the representation of the British Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope. This treaty, however, was rejected by the French Government, and is consequently in force no longer. A second, or commercial treaty, was then entered into with the Imaum, into which the governor of Bourbon wished to introduce a clause for the hiring of labourers, which clause also the French Government rejected, lest it should serve as a pretext for slave-trading. These things being so, due credit must be given to the French Government in this transaction.

We find with regret the following passage in M. Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire of France," vol. iv., p. 93, Colburn's authorized edition:—

"Far be it from us to treat such a sight with contempt! For these chiefs" (Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, and Christophe) "assuming the authority to force their fellows to work, even for their exclusive advantage, those blacks submitting to it without any great profit to themselves, compensated solely by the idea that they were free, excite in us more esteem than the spectacle of idleness, profligacy, and moral debasement, exhibited by the negroes left to themselves in the recently enfranchised colonies of England, where premature emancipation has proved a total failure."

We can have no objection to M. Thiers directing his admiration as ardently as he pleases to the conduct of the men (although his statement of their conduct is inaccurate) who achieved the liberties of Saint Domingo; but we are sorry that so eminent a writer and statesman should have contented himself with so superficial and unjust a treatment of the great fact of British emancipation. Abundant proofs have been supplied, and the fact has been acknowledged by French statesmen themselves, that, whatever the issue of that important change may have been economically, physically and morally

it has been of the most beneficial kind. If M. Thiers had spoken of diminished produce we could at all events have understood him; but, when he speaks of "idleness, profligacy, and moral debasement" as fruits of emancipation, he proves nothing but "a total failure" of the care with which a historian ought to consult evidence, or the impartiality with which he ought to reflect on it.

We have reported at great length the trial of Majaval and his companions for the murder of Mr. Palmer. The sentence on the seven convicted men is respite, that the opinion of the fifteen judges may be taken on the points of law raised by Mr. Serjeant Manning.

TRIAL OF THE PIRATES FOR THE MURDER OF MR. PALMER.

WESTERN CIRCUIT.—*Exeter, July 24.*

This being the day fixed for the trial of the pirates, long before the hour for commencing business the doors of the castle were besieged with parties anxious and eager to gain admission.

Precisely at nine o'clock the learned Judge took his seat on the bench, when the prisoners were placed in the dock.

They were, Francisco Feriera Santo Serva, Janus Majaval, Manuel Jose Alves, Florenso Ribeiro, Juan Francisco, Jose Moria Mortinos, Antonio Joaquim, Sebastian de Santos, Monvil Antonio, and Jose Antonio.

They were arraigned on an indictment which charged Janus Majaval with the murder of Thomas Palmer, on the high seas, on the 3rd March, by stabbing, and the others with being present, aiding and abetting. There was a second count, charging the murder to have been committed by drowning.

Mr. Godson (who attended specially as council for the Admiralty), Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Hayward, and Mr. Polden, conducted the prosecution. Mr. Collier appeared for Majaval, Alvez, Serva, and Santos; and Mr. Serjeant Manning for all the others.

Upon the prisoners being called to plead, Mr. Serjeant Manning deferred to the indictment; but his objection was overruled.

Mr. Serjeant Manning then prayed that they might be tried by a jury *de medietate*, which was granted, and six foreigners, who were in attendance for this purpose, were called to the box, with six Englishmen.

An interpreter was then sworn, and the prisoners were called upon to plead. They all pleaded, through the interpreter, Not Guilty. The jury being sworn,

Mr. Godson opened the case on the part of the prosecution. He commenced by pointing out the grave importance of this trial, reminded the jury that the prisoners were foreigners, and expressed a conviction that, so far from this circumstance operating to their prejudice, it would induce the more earnest attention to the evidence, and make them watch every part of it for the purpose of seizing on, and giving full effect to, any point which made in the prisoners' favour. He then went over the leading facts of the evidence. Having gone over these facts, he referred to "Forster's Criminal Law," page 255, where it is laid down that if the killing is proved, it is for the prisoner to show such circumstances of accident or justification as will remove the presumption which the law raises upon such evidence, that the party so killing has been guilty of murder. He knew not, but perhaps it would be contended, that this killing was in the defence of the prisoners' own ship, and that these men were not in legal custody. His learned friend, in strictness, was bound to prove all this, if he relied on such topics, the prosecutor having nothing to do but to prove the killing. But he should anticipate any objection of this sort, and show, on the part of the prosecution, that there was a treaty between the Brazilian Government and this country which rendered the seizure of the prisoners' vessel perfectly justifiable. This treaty had been recognised, and legislated on by the 7th and 8th George IV., c. 74, and its effect was to render the acts of the prisoners piracy. He had also the original treaty signed by Don Pedro. This treaty made parties engaged in the slave-trade guilty of an act of piracy, if such slave-trade was carried on three years from the ratification, and there was a recital in the 7th and 8th George IV., c. 74, before referred to, that such ratification had taken place before the passing of that act. The prisoners, as he should prove, being Brazilians, were bound by this treaty, and, as they were engaged in the slave-trade at the time they were taken, their capture was legal—they were in proper custody, and, being so, the killing the parties who were placed to guard them was clearly an act of murder.

Lieutenant Stupart was then called. He stated as follows:—I was on board of the *Wasp* in February of this year. We were near Lagos, on the coast of Africa, engaged in preventing the slave-trade. On February 27th, we saw a strange sail, and went in pursuit of her. Not being able to come up with her in the brig, by Captain Usher's orders I went into a boat and gave chase. I had both the gig and cutter with me, one being in charge of Mr. Hockin, and the other of Mr. Palmer, the deceased, who was a midshipman on board the *Wasp*. We came up with the vessel about eight o'clock at night, and took possession of her. She proved to be a schooner sailing under Brazilian colours, and evidently fitted out for the transport of slaves. This was manifest, as she had a slave deck, and also from the quantity of water and provisions which she had on board, the latter being the provisions given to slaves. She had a crew of twenty-eight men, and Captain Don Antonio di Cirqueira. There were no slaves on board, but the place where she was taken in was where vessels come and cruise till they can take their slaves on board. It was in latitude 6 deg. north of the equator. The name of this vessel was the *Felicidade*. About two hours after her capture I sent a report to Captain Usher, and received orders to take out the men in her and send them on board the *Wasp*. This was done, but afterwards some of the men were sent back. I went on board in the evening, and gave up command to Mr. Roberts, our master. Eventually, Cirqueira and Majaval were left on board the schooner. Towards the evening I went on board again, and took Mr. Palmer with me, and sixteen men in the jolly boats. Roberts returned to the *Wasp*. We had five cutlasses and two pistols on board with us. Shortly after, I received orders from the captain of the *Wasp* to chase in a particular

course. I could see no vessel, as we were too low to do so. I obeyed those orders, and gave chase, but did not come up with any vessel that night. In the morning I tacked and stood towards Lagos. On the 1st of March I saw a brigantine, when I hoisted colours and went along side of her. She hailed to know what we were, and I replied English. On hearing this she made sail and got away. Next night I saw her again, and gave chase. We came up to her, and I then sent a boat to her. I did not go in the boat, but sent Mr. Palmer with her. She proved a Brazilian brigantine, called the *Echo*, with 434 slaves in her. I had seen her before several times, and carrying Brazilian colours. Mr. Palmer boarded her carrying British colours flying. He was in his uniform as a British officer. I had frequently boarded her before, and they knew me. Sebastian de Santos then acted as her commander, and he knew me very well. I was in my uniform on those occasions. He had a crew of twenty-eight men. I was obliged to divide my men in order to secure this vessel. I put Mr. Palmer in charge of the *Echo*, and returned to the *Felicidade*. I left with him all the arms except a cutlass, which had been lost overboard in boarding. About nine o'clock in the morning I returned to the *Echo*, and sent Mr. Palmer on board the *Felicidade*, and intended to return there myself when I had got a few things done on board the *Echo*, which it was necessary should be done. I left nine of our men with Mr. Palmer. The slaves were greatly in want of food, and I had them fed. Whilst this was going on, I perceived the *Felicidade* coming down upon us, with Brazilian colours flying. She hailed, but not understanding Portuguese, I did not understand what was said. I saw Serva and Francisco on board. I did not heave to, and she came up and fired a gun into us, and nineteen shots were lodged just above the boom. No one was hurt. She kept on, and when she came athwart our bow she fired again. She kept on our bow a short time, then tacked and bore away. There were eight of the crew of the *Echo* in my vessel at that time. They had been in the boat at the stern, towing, but I ordered them in and sent them below. I could see that the *Felicidade* was retaken, as she came down on us, as there was none of our men to be seen in her. I followed her as long as I could, but as she sailed much better than the *Echo* on a wind, she got away from us.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Manning.—I hoisted no colours when I took the *Felicidade*. I found no colours on board the *Echo*. It was about eight at night, and dark when I took her. I had colours then, and a person could see them if they went close.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier.—I kept the colours flying in the jolly boat, which was placed just abaft the bow. I had printed instructions with me. Did not show them to the captain of the *Felicidade*. Her decks could not have been laid for any purpose than to receive slaves. There were no places for bolts. I could not say if there had been any slaves on board. She had been several times on shore. We had chased her six or seven times before, or a vessel very much like her. I do not know that any authority was shown to the men in the *Echo* except the English uniform and the ensign flying in the boat.

Re-examined.—Serva knew me very well the next morning when I was talking with him. I told him I detained him as slaver. This conversation took place in the *Felicidade*, with Serva, Cirqueira, and Santos. I am sure they knew that I was a British officer, and that they were detained as slavers. The *Wasp* boat was abaft the forecastle of the *Felicidade*. I hoisted the colours in her, and called the men to witness that they were up. When I left Palmer the colours were taken down.

By the Jury.—I was about fifteen or sixteen miles from the coast when I took the *Echo*. The men would have been landed at the first port we made, when their expenses would have been paid.

Antonio di Cirqueira.—I had the command of the *Felicidade*. She was fitted out for smuggling. By smuggling, I mean carrying slaves. [After giving an account of the capture of the *Felicidade*, and of the subsequent capture of the *Echo*, he proceeded]—Twelve of our men were sent on board the *Felicidade*. All the prisoners were among them except Majaval. They were put in the forecastle, and a sentry put over them, except Serva and his brother-in-law, who were allowed to remain on deck. They remained there all night, until the officer went on board the *Echo*, when Santos went with him. That night I had no communication with them. The next morning Serva and his brother-in-law asked me the time of the day. Serva asked me if I had any coffee on board. I answered no, but said there was some tea. Serva sent a lad to take some coffee out of a bag. After it was made we all sat down to drink it, myself, Serva, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Stupart. Then the officer got up to go below. Serva put the question to me about killing the Englishmen. The first word he said was, "We have got something here to do. I have four men I can put confidence in to kill all the English and throw them overboard, and then take the schooner, and after that we can take the brigantine." I said, "Don't you forget that you are here between the English cruisers, which are crossing to and fro; that a steamer was cruising, and likewise the *Star*." Serva's answer was, "You are a man void of spirit. I have four men I can put confidence in," repeating what he had before said. I then answered him as I had done before. Serva replied that I wanted spirit, on which I said if he did not hold his tongue on such a thing as that I should make it known to the officers. Serva said he would say nothing more about it. Immediately after the lieutenant went into the boat, and Serva's brother-in-law went with him to the *Echo*. The brother-in-law was present during this conversation, and could hear it. Three Englishmen and two Kroomen were standing on the deck, and the quartermaster. I saw no other until the young officer came from the *Echo*. He came with an Englishman and seven other men. This was Mr. Palmer. When he came on board he went to bathe himself, and let the boat drop astern with the men in her. None of the men in the boat are here, but one of the witnesses not in court was in that boat. The officer, after bathing, came on board and was sitting aft shaving himself. It was about eight or nine in the morning. The other Englishmen were thus placed—one was at the helm, another sitting with Palmer, another in the bow forward, who was tipsy, another was midships, asleep, and the other was placed as sentry over the hatchway, but was asleep. There were no more Englishmen, but the two Kroomen were there. At this time Serva went to the hatchway and called the men to come up and commit the murder. I was aft, but came forward, seeing Serva at the hatchway, and having suspicion. I caught Serva by the hand and said, "Don't be foolish." Serva was still calling

the men to come up. When I saw they were determined I made a sign to the quartermaster and Mr. Palmer. The quartermaster ran and caught a bar of iron and struck Alvez on the head, and then caught him up and flung him overboard. When struck down he fell on the fore part of the deck on the starboard side. Alvez was coming up the hatchway when he was struck with a knife in his hand. All had knives. More than two at a time could not come up. Alvez was the first, but was on the deck when the quartermaster struck him. As soon as he had thrown Alvez overboard he took a handspike and began to defend himself. They were all upon deck at that time, except two or three who stopped below, saying they were poorly. Antonio Joaquim, Santos, and Jose Antonio were on the deck before, on the plea that they were poorly. I never saw a knife in their hands, but they had got knives in their belts. Antonio Joaquim was lying down forward. When the men came up they all began with their knives on the quartermaster. There were four or five upon him. Majaval was not there; he was ast in the cabin, making bread. Francesco, Martiaos, and Ribeiro, all had knives. They fell on the quartermaster. He was trying to defend himself with a handspike, but they wounded him with their knives. In the meantime Serva called the men out of the boats, and Majaval ran up out of the cabin with a long cooking knife in his hand. He went up to Palmer and struck him on the left side. He fell on the gunwale of the vessel. Then Majaval caught hold of his feet and pitched him overboard. After that he went and gave his assistance forward. The next man was killed by one who killed himself afterwards. He killed one of the men lying down. The men forward were cutting and slaying forward. The man they had been cutting was lying outside the vessel, and had hold of the fore sheet. This was the sentry. Some struck him on the head with great pieces of wood, but he did not let go. Ribeiro then cut his fingers off and he sunk. I cannot tell who killed Mullins, the quartermaster, as they were all upon him, but he was killed and thrown overboard. The two Kroomen jumped overboard themselves. Serva was standing on the deck, having taken command, calling out "Kill them; kill them and fling 'em overboard." After all were killed and thrown overboard, Serva ordered the peak of the mainsail to be lowered, as a signal to his brother-in-law to rise and kill those in the *Echo*. He then gave orders to hoist the Brazilian colours, which was done, and they made off to the *Echo*. They shipped the gear on the side next the *Echo*, and placed them in readiness to fire. Serva ordered me to point the gun. All the men were standing behind me. I was obliged to do this. I elevated the gun, but did not fire. One of the prisoners fired. Then Serva gave me orders to hail the *Echo* to heave to, and likewise to hallow to his brother-in-law that all the Englishmen were dead. I did this. I saw Lieutenant Stupert, an English sailor, Serva's brother-in-law, and another prisoner, who ran up in the fore top. We sailed on until we came to the bow of the *Echo*, and then fired another gun. This was done by Serva's orders. After firing the two guns, finding the brigantine did not heave to, we made off. Four days after we fell in with the *Star*. About three or four o'clock, the *Star* took possession of her. During the chase Serva gave orders either to luff or keep away, as the case required. When he found he could not get away, he began to drink rum and wine. The *Star* when she came up fired ten muskets and a gun, and then took possession of her. As soon as the *Star* came alongside the men began to stow themselves away, except Serva and the man at the helm, who remained on deck. Serva was drunk. All the men were taken on board the *Star*. When I came on board Serva said, "You say that I am a passenger." They gave the commander the name of *Virginia* as the name of the *Echo*, and desired me to say the same. In the course of four days I communicated to the commander what had happened. The commander was very kind and free, and I thought justice would be done. I thought an unjust crime had been committed. I waited four days, because I was in fear, not being sure whether the officers would be kind or rash.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Manning.—The instant I got hold of Serva's hand I made a sign to the quartermaster. He was thirteen or fourteen feet from the hatchway at the time. I pointed one hand to the hatchway, and beckoned with the other for him to come. I made no signals to either of the other Englishmen when we hove down on the *Echo*, by private orders. I took the helm and steered.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier.—When Alvez was thrown over, he got into the boat, and remained there until it was all over. When he came on board he took up the blood from the deck in his hand, and drank it. He did this because he had not had his revenge.

E. F. Rozegres was then called. After giving an account of his voyage on board the *Echo*, and the capture of that ship, from whence he was removed to the *Felicidade*, and placed in the boat which was towed astern, he proceeded as follows:—Could not see on deck. Saw two blacks come overboard, who swam away. I saw two white men in the water, who disappeared all in a moment, and there was blood in the water. This noise lasted a good half hour, if not three-quarters. I heard a voice say, "Kill, kill." I could not see Serva. I think the voice was Serva's, but I could not swear to the voice. The first one who called to me and others in the boat was Serva, to come on the deck. He told us to come on deck as there was nothing more to fear. We went on deck. I found all the prisoners on board, but could not swear they were on deck. Alvez was on the deck, near the main hatchway. Four were wounded and covered with blood. The blood came from their heads. I did not see Martinos at first, but saw him three or four minutes after. He was coming from the fore part of the vessel. The same day I learnt that he had been wounded. I saw them dressing their wounds. The blood was spread in different places on the deck, and afterwards it was trod about by the feet. There were footmarks. Serva was on board. Every one was giving orders, but under the orders of Serva. He was the principal person. Serva gave orders to steer down alongside to the *Echo*. We went down. There was a shot fired at the *Echo* in midships and another on the bow. I heard some one speak; it was Serva. He said, "Joye, throw yourself in the sea." That was his nephew. He said, "There is no fear, there are no more English on board." I did not see any colours hoisted, but I saw them afterwards lowered down and put away. After they fired, they hauled up the boat alongside, and sailed away. Three days after, about two in the morning, they fell in with the *Star*.

This witness was cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Manning, Mr. Collier, and the Judge; but nothing important was elicited.

July 25th.

The same intense interest which was manifested yesterday was increased rather than diminished to-day.

The first witness called this morning was Seberino da Costa. I went on board the *Felicidade* with the other prisoners, in a boat under the command of English sailors. I was put down with the others in the forecastle. I saw Majaval looking down the hatchway, conversing with the other prisoners below. I also saw Cirqueira in the schooner in the morning. Majaval was the cook. Francesco and Alves were talking below. I could hear what passed. All of them were present, and could hear. Either Alves, or Francesco, said one to the other, "Oh, go up and kill the Englishmen, and go and take the brigantine." All agreed except Ribeiro, who said, "No; but let the English land us at Onen. The cruisers would take us and make an end of us." The others then called him a coward and a fearful man. He afterwards consented to go. Ribeiro said, after some time, "Well, when you are ready, I am ready." Francesco asked me if I had a knife. I said, "No." He replied, "I have a knife to give you." I said, "You had better let it alone." Francesco then said, "If you don't go I'll kill you." He then described the mode in which they hid their knives, and went on deck. He then heard a noise of scuffling, and Ribeiro came below (where he the witness had remained), with his head cut open. He then went on deck, the appearance of which he described as the other witness had done, and went on to confirm him in reference to the other events which immediately followed.

Thomas Lethbridge.—I was as corporal on board the *Star*. On the 6th March we were returning from Prince's Island to Lagos. We saw a sail and gave chase. Sent boats under the command of Lieut. Etheridge, who took her. She proved to be the *Felicidade*. The crew were below, and were about twenty men. They were all sent upon deck. The ten prisoners and three witnesses were there. Four of them, Alves, Ribeiro, Francesco, and Martinos, had wounds. They were the seventh sabre cuts and were fresh. They said the wounds were occasioned by the falling of a mast. Lieutenant Etheridge asked the name of the vessel, and was told the *Virginia*. I was sent with the prisoners, and three or four other men on board the *Penelope*. On the 5th and 6th of May they were sent on board the *Rapid*, where I found the prisoners, and came home with them to Plymouth.

Thomas Wood.—I was a seaman on board the *Wasp*. On the 2nd of March I accompanied Mr. Palmer with seven men from the *Wasp* in the jolly boat. We boarded the *Echo*, and hoisted the red ensign. The same night about ten o'clock we took fourteen of the crew of the *Echo* to the *Felicidade*.

Lieutenant Wi'son.—On the 6th of March we chased a vessel. Lieut. Etheridge boarded her. She was the *Felicidade*. I went on board the same day with seven men. Prisoners on board said she was the *Virginia*. They were all removed to the *Star*, except ten, which I took with me in the *Felicidade*. On the 16th March we met with a squall and the vessel was capsized. We made a raft, and were on it twenty days. Five of the ten men died. When the *Felicidade* went down, belts, such as they wear round their bodies, went down in her. One was saturated with blood.

Lieutenant Stupert, recalled.—All that was done in taking possession of the *Echo* was done by my orders. The *Felicidade* was so near at the time that we almost ran foul of each other.

By a Jurymen (we believe a Frenchman, who asked a great many questions throughout the trial with considerable skill and propriety).—Cannot say whether the men in the *Felicidade* had any knives. They were searched on board the *Wasp*. When the fourteen came from the *Echo* to the *Felicidade*, I ordered them to be searched and their knives taken away, but I cannot say if they had any, as I was not in a position to see them. When they were sent below they were quite safe, and one man could have kept the whole.

Louis Hastlett stated that he was keeper of the papers in the Foreign Office, and produced the Brazilian treaty, and proved the signature of Don Pedro annexed to it. By the first article of this treaty it is declared that any Brazilian or English subject engaged in any way in carrying on the slave-trade shall be guilty of piracy.

Cirqueira also was recalled, to speak to the blow which he stated he saw the quartermaster give to Alves. He said it was with the stanchion, and that the quartermaster swung it, and then let it fall, as he thought, rather gently on his head.

The same juror as before again put some questions to him, at which another jurymen complained, saying it was a waste of their time. But the foreigner persevered, saying it was a most fearful responsibility which they had cast upon them, and he wished to satisfy his mind on every point, a declaration which was warmly approved of by the learned judge. He elicited that Cirqueira had not seen three of the prisoners take any actual or decisive part in the murders. These were Santos, Jose Antonio, and Manoel Antonio.

Mr. Godeon informed the Court that this was the case on the part of the prosecution.

Mr. Serjeant Manning then rose, and submitted to the learned judge that there was no case to go to the jury. The offence with which the prisoners stood charged was alleged to have been committed on the high seas. It was a clear proposition of law that offences committed by a foreigner out of the jurisdiction of this country were not cognisable in our courts. Here the offence, if committed at all, was committed on board a Brazilian vessel, wrongly detained, as he should clearly show, by the officers of the *Wasp*, and consequently, for the purpose of jurisdiction, must be considered to be done in the territory of Brazil. The capture of the *Felicidade* was altogether illegal. By the treaty with Brazil it was stipulated that for carrying out the objects of that treaty, all the provisions of a treaty made with Portugal in 1817 should be taken as incorporated in this treaty, as if all its provisions were named in it. One of the provisions of this treaty was, that certain instructions to be prepared under that treaty should be taken as a part of it. By the ninth article of this convention the contracting parties consented that their respective ships should have power to search each other's vessel, and in the event of there being slaves there, may take such vessel. And in the first article of the instructions it is expressly enjoined that ships where no slaves are found shall not be detained. It will follow, therefore, that the capture of the *Felicidade* was illegal, seeing she had no slaves on board at the time of her capture. It is true, by the first article of the convention between

Brazil and this country, which had been relied on by the counsel for the prosecution, it was stated that whoever should in anywise trade in slaves should be deemed pirates. But even supposing this first article of that convention was alone to govern this case, without any reference to the treaty with Portugal, the capture would still be illegal, as the *Felicidade* was not trading in slaves. Her being fitted up to carry slaves was not a trading in slaves; for if it were, where would you commence? You might say she had begun trading, when she was in a harbour in Brazil, if it was determined to send her on such a voyage. If, then, the *Felicidade* was illegally captured, the officers of the *Wasp* had no right to take the crew of the *Echo*, and confine them in her. But not only was the capture of the *Felicidade* illegal, but the capture of the *Echo* also. By the seventh article of the instructions, which must be considered as a part of this treaty, it was ordered that no search should take place by any officer, under the rank of a lieutenant. In this case the search and capture of the *Echo* was by Mr. Palmer, the deceased, who was only a midshipman! It is not sufficient that Lieutenant Stupart was within hail; that was no compliance with the instructions, and, consequently, the capture and seizure were illegal. If these vessels were thus wrongly taken, then it would follow that the prisoners were illegally imprisoned, and in such a case they had a right to use all the force that was necessary to escape from such imprisonment. And even if these circumstances should not justify the violence altogether, they would have the effect necessarily of reducing the offence of the prisoners from murder to manslaughter.

Mr. Collier followed on the same side, contending that the Court had no jurisdiction, and insisting it would be an act of injustice to try parties by laws of which without fault they were utterly ignorant, and which might be altogether opposite to the laws under which they lived. He also contended that it was necessary, under the Portuguese treaty, and consequently under this, that there should be instructions on board the capturing vessel, and it was proved in this instance that there were none on board the *Felicidade* at the time of the capture.

Mr. Godson, *contra*, contended that there was clear jurisdiction, as the offence was committed on a vessel under the dominion of the Queen, and which must therefore be within her jurisdiction. Then the capture was perfectly legal. The first treaty with Portugal was in 1815. There was another with the same country in 1817, and then came the treaty with Brazil in 1823. The former treaties are no longer in force. By the first article of the Brazilian treaty, parties engaged in the slave-trade were declared to be pirates, if so engaged three years from the signing the convention. By the second article, provision was made for the suppression of the trade, until the final abolition of it, at the end of three years, should take place. In the third article, it is agreed that the provisions of the Portuguese treaties should be incorporated in this treaty. But this was only for the three years, at the end of which the first article of the convention was alone in force, and this was the only governing rule or law when this offence was committed. But even if this was not the case, the capture of this vessel was legal. With respect to the *Felicidade*, she was evidently fitted out for the slave-trade, and her own captain has confessed and proved that he had carried slaves in her, and was there for the purpose of dealing in slaves. The *Echo* had actually slaves on board, and she was taken by Lieut. Stupart, as he was sufficiently near to give his orders. It was not necessary that the taking possession by him should be with his own hand, if it was under his immediate orders. There were also instructions on board the *Wasp*. It was not necessary they should be on board the *Felicidade*, or it would follow that the boat of no ship could take a slaver, if they fell in with one. But these instructions, if not complied with, would be of no consequence, as they are only directory, and do not at all affect the validity of the capture. The capture of those vessels was therefore legal; the prisoners were in legal custody, and if they killed their guards to get out of it, they were guilty of murder.

Mr. Cockburn followed on the same side, and contended that if the *Felicidade* was to be taken to be engaged in the slave-trade, which was the only doubtful point in the case, the capture was quite legal. That she was engaged in the slave-trade was clear, as she was proceeding on a voyage for that purpose. If it were held that a vessel could only be considered as engaged in the slave-trade when she had slaves actually on board, the object of the treaty—viz., the prevention of the slave-trade, could never be effected. If she was so engaged, then, by the first article of the Brazilian treaty, her crew was guilty of piracy; and although the regulations referred to may be questions to be argued with regard to any proceedings to be taken for the condemnation of the vessel as a slaver, they could have no effect in a case like the present. If they were pirates, they were lawfully detained, as any other pirates would be, and their capture was legal.

Mr. Hayward followed on the same side.

Mr. Serjeant Manning and Mr. Collier having replied,

Mr. Baron Platt ruled that those vessels were clearly engaged in the slave-trade—that their being so made them guilty of an act of piracy—and that they were, therefore, legally captured. That the directions contained in the instructions which had been referred to, even if they were in operation, were only directory, and could not at all affect the question of the legality of the capture, at any rate so far as this case was concerned.

July 26th.

Mr. Serjeant Manning and Mr. Collier severally addressed the jury, at considerable length, on behalf of their respective clients.

Mr. Godson then replied on the part of the Crown.

Mr. Baron Platt summed up the case most carefully and minutely, going over every fact given in evidence, and commenting upon each at considerable length. His lordship was nearly four hours in the discharge of this duty.

The jury retired from court to consider their verdict. They were absent about half an hour, and then returned, when they pronounced a verdict of Guilty against seven of the prisoners, and acquitted the other three, who were Sebastian de Santos, Manuel Antonio, and Jose Antonio.

The crier demanded the usual silence, which being obtained,

Mr. Baron Platt, in an impressive manner, sentenced these seven miserable men to be hung, holding out no hope of mercy to them.

Majaval, through the interpreter, then requested that he might be per-

mitted to inform the Queen of Spain of his situation, and complain that justice had not been done to him.

The learned Judge said he might ask for any indulgence of the government, about which he would not at all interfere.

The prisoners were then handcuffed, and removed from the court.

It was stated that Serva was a man of considerable property, and that Majaval had belonged to a good family in Spain, from which country he had been obliged to fly.

TEXAS.

It is very mortifying to perceive that those races in America which uphold slavery and the old aristocracy of colour should be thriving and increasing in numbers, wealth, peace, and power, whilst that race which has proclaimed the great principle of human equality, and acted upon it, should remain poor and divided, its industry paralyzed, its efforts at political organization utter failures, and its very existence threatened by the encroachments of its neighbours. The Anglo-Americans and the Portuguese-Brazilians thrive; the Spanish race, even in the most favoured position, dwindles. Within 20 years the Anglo-Americans have swollen from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000; within the same time, being about the period of their freedom, the Mexicans have increased from 6,000,000 to 7,000,000, that, too, being mostly Indian increase. There are 1,000,000 of whites in Mexico, 2,000,000 of mixed race, 4,000,000 of Indians. How can such a population withstand or compete with the expansive power of the Anglo-American? And yet the philanthropist could not hesitate which to prefer. In Mexico, the Indian walks armed by the side of the white man, his best support, his free labourer, and friend. The American drives his slave gang before him to the cultivation of a new soil. The worst features of humanity are prominent in the one, the best features in the other; but the bad prevails, and, as we cannot take upon us to set straight by the strong hand what we think unfitting in the ways of Providence, we must deplore and abide. There does indeed seem to be a powerful demon employed counteracting and undoing all that we have done or can do against slavery and the slave-trade. Nowhere has it more completely baffled our efforts than on this very land of Texas. But the struggle was from the first a vain one. Had we, indeed, on first recognising the independence of Texas procured a recognition of it from Mexico, and poured European capital and population into it, we might have reared an independent state; but capital refused to repair thither, the American alone migrated to Texas. In such circumstances to hope that Texas would not declare itself politically Anglo-American, as it was left to become in population and commercial connection, was idle. How strong the national current ran in that direction we see from the unanimity of the Texan assemblies. They are all American to a man. If they ever affected to desire independence, it was to force Jonathan to grant them fair terms. Thus they seem to have got, though not without terrifying President Polk, by shaking hands with Captain Elliot. The conditions of the United States were churlish; the grudging Senate of Washington passed them in order that the Texans might demur, that fresh negotiations might take place, that thus the matter should again come before Congress, and allow time and European interference to defeat annexation. President Polk has, however, defeated the purpose of his own Senate, he has out-promised and out-maneuvred England, cajoled the Texans into a vote of annexation, and acted thereon promptly by the despatch of ships and regiments to the Rio Grande. Polk has shown himself in this a worthy son of Jackson; indeed, an improvement upon old Hickory, since he has avoided the violence and bloodshed which accompanied the General's seizure of the Floridas. The question now is, whether the British Government and that of France, having failed, will be content to refrain from all further interference. Will they give up their treaties with Texas? Will Englishmen give up their claim upon Texas, as portion of Mexico, for the 60,000,000 dollars due by Mexico to them? Will these European powers remain strangers to the settlement of a new frontier between Mexico and the 30th state of the union, or will attempts be made, by negotiation at Washington, to settle these in conjunction with the Oregon frontier? Mr. M'Lane is on his way to England to negotiate the latter affair. The very mission shows a desire, on the part of the President, to come to some amicable arrangement, and the sooner this is done the better, for the American zeal for territory having been satisfied in the direction of Texas, will now throw itself into the Oregon question with the usual fury of appeals to popular desires. It remains to be seen what attitude will be taken by the American Whigs, by those who stigmatized annexation. If Mexico remain quiet, they will have but weak arguments to bring forward. President Polk's success will add to his popularity, as well as that of the Democrats, and there seems little doubt that these are determined to follow up their victory by reducing the protecting tariff down to a tariff requisite for revenue alone. It seems to be confidently asserted that Mr. Walker will propose this measure at the opening of Congress. Should it take place, it will in some measure reconcile England to the loss of free-trade with Texas.—*Examiner*.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—Amongst the numerous proofs that are arriving of the rapid advance of the anti-slavery cause in the United States, none I consider more striking and important than the following opinion, given by the venerable ex-president, John Quincy Adams, contained in a letter I received from a friend a day or two ago, who had just visited him, and who, while speaking warmly of his kind and cordial reception, and of his hospitable and simple entertainment, quotes John Quincy Adams's observations on the anti-slavery cause thus:—

He said, that his observations during the last six months had led him to believe that the time was now approaching when the stronghold of

slavery would be shaken from its foundation, and he had now more hope for its extinction than he ever had before. He believed that the excitement produced by the Texan annexation had brought the subject in a new light before the American people; and that, in future, measures would be debated by both the North and South, in relation to their bearing on slavery, and thus opportunity would be frequently given to have the whole case discussed in Congress. He had always thought that slavery would never bear free discussion, but the great difficulty was to get the Southerners willing to discuss it; and now, having commenced it themselves, (alluding to Dr. Fuller's controversy with Dr. Wayland,) he thought there was no going back, but that, in future, they would be obliged to come out and defend it.

Believing I shall not be improperly infringing upon private confidence in sending the foregoing for publication in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*,

I am, respectfully,

Birmingham, 7th month, 19, 1845.

JOSEPH STURGE.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—MARYLAND SLAVERY AND SLAVE-JAILS.—
(Extract of a letter from C. T. Torrey):—“I may as well improve this occasion to add a few illustrations of Maryland slavery and slave-jails.

“Your readers in years past will not fail to remember the atrocious colonization laws of this State; laws almost perfectly nullified by the voice of public sentiment. Now and then men greedy of gain will enforce them. A coloured man, free, poor, of good character, belonging to Frederick county, Maryland, went into Pennsylvania with a drove of cattle, and was gone more than the legal twenty days. On his return, two miscreants worthless in purse and character, but with whitish faces, complained of him, got him in jail, and in various ways contrived to run up the bill of fine and costs to over 70 dollars. For this he was sold as a slave for life, purchased by a slave-trader in this city (Slatter, I think), and sent to the far South. It was this summer.

“Another case: a certain Dr. D——s, of Howard district, sent to this jail an old black man, his wife, a bright mulatto woman, and her four little cl ‘Iren, all whiter than their mother! Two of them the woman said were her master’s; the husband said they all were. No doubt of it. They have since been sold to the slave-traders. Such occurrences are by no means unusual here. Yet the Christians of Baltimore never know anything about them when you ask; in truth, it would be incredible news to nine-tenths of the better sort of people of this city, that from two to four thousand slaves are every year sold in their midst, including at least five hundred members of the body of Christ, humble, prayerful, ignorant, but sincere Christians. Such topics they do not inquire into. ‘The righteous perish, and no man’ of them ‘layeth it to heart.’ Why? the victims are poor black, or yellow, and American slaves, victims of the great American slave-trade. But it is perfect folly to rebuke the slave-trade. The trader is the mere agent of the slave-holder. The great crime is holding a man in slavery.

“Items of a different class:—It is very common here for the police, and other slave-hunting knaves, to play tricks on slave-holders. I will give you a few samples. One police firm has in pay over twenty coloured spies here, besides others in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Their business is to inveigle slaves to run away, hide them up, and betray them. When the master misses them he soon advertises his 100 dollars reward; often he applies to this very police firm for aid! In a few days they are ready, of course, to hand over the poor victim of their arts, and pocket the reward, besides getting praised as very vigilant officers! They once had in their pay an active member of a northern vigilance committee, who is well known to me. He is not now on the committee.

“Another trick is somewhat similar. Many coloured people, for ten miles around, are suffered to come to Baltimore on the sabbath to see their friends and attend church. A constable desirous of raising the wind finds one without a pass, puts him in jail or some place of confinement—sometimes in one of the slave-prisons—says nothing about it till the master offers his reward, and then Mr. Constable coolly pockets the reward of his knavery. Besides, the slave, as a suspected runaway, is commonly sold to the traders at a low price, and the trader, out of pure gratitude, (!) gives the officer another fee. I defeated one such precious scheme since my imprisonment by writing to the slaveholder, a humane man, and thus saved a pious slave from being torn from his family for life. I got two enemies by it.

“Another trick is managed by the connivance of the jail-keepers. A runaway is put in jail, and the keeper, for a specified fee (five dols.), gives exclusive notice to a particular trader of the fact; this gives the trader a chance to negotiate with the master at a distance, and get his slave at half-price, buying him ‘on the wing.’ This has often been done this summer. One of the visitors of the jail, to whom I mentioned it, defended it as a perquisite of the prison officers.

“Another ‘perquisite’ of these gentry is 20 per cent. of the fees for all the cases they are able to give a lawyer, with whom a bargain is previously made. Of course, none but a very inferior lawyer would degrade himself by making such a bargain.

“This summer a very amusing quarrel took place between our keepers and their legal coadjutor, as to the honesty of the latter in paying over the proper share of the fees! They tried to drive a bargain with another, one of my friends, but received no countenance from him. You see the art of ‘spooing’ is not altogether to be classed among ‘the lost arts’ of a primeval world.

“These hungry animals are very ready to plunder the slaveholder; they do it often: of course, they will not scruple to do the like with the free coloured man, and others of the more defenceless classes. I believe I owe not a little of the brutality and vile reports of which I have been the object to the vengeance of parties whom I disappointed of such profits since my imprisonment.”

THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.—We copy the following from the *River State Review*, a paper published in Marion, Alabama:—“Negroes sold last sale day at the court-house rather high, it seems to us, for the buyers and times, but most assuredly not too high for those compelled

to part with them. Fellows brought near 650 dollars, average; one brought as high as 692 dollars. Women sold for from 500 dollars to 610 dollars, one only bringing the latter sum. Girls about fourteen years old sold from 375 dollars to 400 dollars. Some families sold in proportion much less.” The annexation of Texas has raised the price of slaves from thirty to fifty per cent., and the effect of this is a most powerful stimulus to the slave-trade, and to the breeding of slaves for sale. The domestic slave-trade was never livelier than it is now, in most parts of the south and west. The rush of emigration to Texas is prodigious, and the purchase of slaves for that market is beginning to be prosecuted with astonishing vigour. The roads towards New Orleans, and the routes via the Red River, are thronged with slaves.—*New York Express*.

A NEGRO STEALER named Lewis arrived at St. Louis lately with two black boys, whom he sold for 900 dols., receiving the money, and then eloped. Next day the boys divulged that Lewis had enticed them from their owner, a Mr. Nelson, of Memphis, under a promise of running them off to Canada.—*New York Sun*.

BRAZIL.—The legislature has enacted that an additional charge of 20 per cent. on the existing duty upon British goods shall be imposed, until Brazilian sugar shall be admitted into the British market on the same terms as that of other countries. This will raise the duty from 30 to about 36 per cent.

PORTUGAL.—The flattering testimony rendered by Sir Robert Peel in Parliament to the sincerity and loyal conduct of Portugal in causing her cruisers to take active measures on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty signed in July, 1842, has afforded great satisfaction to the Government here and to public men. Most opportunely comes at the same moment official intelligence from Venezuela, by the fine frigate *Don Fernando*, lately built at Zoa, and making her appearance now at Lisbon for the first time, that a splendidly successful effort has just been made by the Portuguese navy on the coast of Africa, by which three different slaving expeditions have been defeated at the same period, two prizes made, and a third ship destroyed. The gratifying details are as follows: The schooner of war, *Nymph*, gave chase, on the 4th of May last, to a small schooner without name, flag, or papers, and captured her, after a pursuit of six hours, with 92 slaves on board. She was pronounced a good prize at Loanda on the 14th of the same month—a most creditable degree of celerity. On the following day (5th of May) to the preceding capture, the corvette *Relampago*, a capital sailer, made prize at the mouth of the river Coanza of a slaving brig, the *Constance Amizade*, with Brazilian papers, and every proof of the illicit traffic. On the 16th she carried the seized brig into Loanda, there to be judged by the Mixed Commission. The *Relampago* subsequently gave chase to another brig, which its slaving crew ran ashore near the mouth of the same river Coanza, where the heavy breakers speedily dashed her to pieces. I thus have the satisfaction to record three distinct and complete successes, and to add my belief that the slave-trade repression will be zealously and cordially concurred in by the Portuguese navy.

ALGERIA.—Dr. Alexander Record, having visited Algeria, has gone to Italy, to demand of the Pope authority to place a chest in the French churches, to receive money for the redemption of slaves in the French colonies.—*Le Sud*.

Miscellanea.

MR. COMMISSIONER SCHENLEY.—Mr. and Mrs. Schenley and family have returned to Shute House, the seat of Sir William Pole, bart. We are glad to see this intrepid agent in the good work of suppressing the slave-trade once more restored to the shores of old England. His steadfast exertions in the cause of humanity entitle him to the thanks of the community; and if public rewards are to be given for services rendered, sacrifices made, and risks endured, we should hope that Mr. Schenley’s three years’ residence in Surinam, in addition to his previous residence at Havana, will entitle him to some signal mark of approbation from our gracious Sovereign, in order that others may be encouraged to pursue an equally honourable and fearless course. It requires not less courage to face the insidious evils of a pestilent clime, than the open force of hostile array; and when to these are added the fearless discharge of responsible public duties, under circumstances requiring great moral courage and practical benevolence, we think that the bestowal of public honours becomes more a matter of duty to the public than of reward to the recipient.—*Western Times*.

THE SUGAR TRADE.—[From Trueman and Cook’s Circular.]—A very minute inquiry has been instituted among the grocers and retail dealers throughout the metropolis and adjoining districts, the result of which is both curious and interesting. In the wealthier quarters the increase in the consumption of sugar varies from 10 to 20 per cent., but in the eastern parts of the town and poorer suburbs, it actually ranges from 30 to 60 per cent.

THE SUGAR MARKETS.—The Russian Government has thrown open the markets of that country for a twelvemonth; and it is said that the English refiners are preparing “refined goods,” that is, sugars, for that market with so much vigour, that they will be able to send in a supply for two or three years. This is one cause of the present activity of the sugar refining trade.—*Liverpool Times*.

CHINESE SUGARS.—We understand that the Chinese sugars imported into London were very much better than the samples shown at Liverpool, and that there is a prospect of a considerable trade in sugar with the Chinese empire.—*Liverpool Times*.

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WEST INDIA COLONIES.

As very little information of an official character has been laid before Parliament during the last two years relative to the emancipated colonies, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society forwarded to their correspondents residing in them a series of questions embracing the most important branches of inquiry relative to their present condition and future prospects. The answers to these questions have been numerous from the principal colonies, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Antigua, and the general result we now propose to lay before our readers.

SUPPLY OF LABOUR.

JAMAICA.—In some parishes and districts it is said that the number of men employed in agricultural labour has decreased, they having greater opportunities of employing themselves in other occupations than females; but that women, who have no families, are employed in nearly the same ratio as formerly; those who retire, in whole or in part, from agricultural labour, are chiefly married, and devote themselves to domestic employments, and, as a result, there is in every respect an immense improvement in their families, as well as in their own appearance, manners, and condition. In other parishes and districts, it is alleged that there is a superabundance of labourers, so that, upon the average, the island is supplied with labour to an extent equal to its requirements, and the means the planters possess for securing it. The number of children occupied in agricultural labour has also decreased since the termination of slavery, but the number of those above fourteen years employed in agriculture is constantly increasing. A fair proportion of the children are in attendance at schools, and when such is not the case, they are occupied at home, assisting their parents in cultivating their grounds, and performing other useful offices. Indolence is neither encouraged nor practised to any extent among them. The result of European immigration has not been favourable: the number of deaths among the immigrants has been great; many have been removed, and but few remain. It is generally understood that there has been a considerable increase by births in the emancipated classes: it is computed to be from five to ten per cent. since 1838, with reason to look forward, as marriage becomes more general, to a progressive improvement in a still greater ratio. The census of 1844 was very imperfectly taken.

NOTE.—Lord ELGIN, in transmitting the particulars of the census, for 1844, of the Jamaica population, states that there is an apparent increase in the number of children under six years of age, as compared with the number returned in 1834, of 20,512. Unfortunately, the details sent home do not enable us to ascertain, with any degree of correctness, the whole increase, by natural means, which has taken place in the population since the complete abolition of slavery took place.

DEMERARA.—It is calculated that there are 70,000 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits in this colony. About two-thirds of the females able to engage in field work are employed. Many devote themselves to domestic duties, others give a portion to the house and the remainder to their provision grounds. In proportion as there is a cessation from field work, on the part of women, do they improve in social habits and personal appearance. The children now engaged in receiving instruction in the schools are generally under twelve years of age: so soon as they arrive at that age they are employed in the field, but in no cases are they brought up in indolence. The fact of their being able to earn as much as old people is a reason why they are introduced sooner than they ought to hard work. The number of immigrants introduced at the public expense, between the years 1835 and 1842, is stated to be 20,071; of these, 3,031 were from Africa, and 17,040 from other parts, including captured Africans from the Bahamas. Fever cut off one-half of the Portuguese, and a large mortality took place among the Coolie emigrants. Many of the Portuguese have returned home. There has been an increase in the population amongst the emancipated class. The census for 1844 will show this.

BERBICE.—The number of agricultural labourers has increased since slavery was abolished. The women, as a class, are more extensively employed in field labour than men. In many instances they engage in domestic duties exclusively, but this has been partial and gradual in its working. In proportion, however, as they are exempted from field labour do they improve in social character and general habits. The children generally attend school, until about fourteen years of age, when they enter on the duties of agricultural life: they are, therefore, brought up in habits of industry, and not in indolence. The introduction of immigrants has been extensive; but the removals, by death or otherwise, have been great. The increase in the emancipated class in this province has not been great, the deaths at an early age having been many, which, added to the deaths of adults, almost equals the number of births; but there are reasonable grounds for calculating upon a progressive aug-

mentation of the colony in future; but on this point the census of 1844 should be consulted.

NOTE.—The population of British Guiana, including Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, as taken by the census of 1844, was 98,133; of whom 49,787 were males, and 48,346 were females. In transmitting the particulars of this census to the Home Government, Governor Light remarks, "Upon these details the proprietary body ought to be satisfied that, but for emancipation, there was an annual decrease of their population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than their fears have predicted would occur since that happy period. It is now clearly proved that the Creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for increase, are in greater ratio than in any other portion of the population; and that in females, infants under five years of age, the excess over the same ratio of males is considerable; and the excess, both of male and female, under the same age, is greater than in the time of slavery."

TRINIDAD.—The present labouring population is between 30,000 and 40,000, five-sixths of whom are engaged in the cultivation of sugar, the remainder in that of coffee and cocoa. The women are principally engaged on the estates, but they do not, as formerly, exclusively devote themselves entirely to that kind of work. Some of the women are engaged in domestic duties, but the change has not led to that amount of improvement which could have been desired. The proportion of children employed is as great as formerly; the charge of indolence does not apply to them. The number of immigrants introduced has been from 7,000 to 8,000, 1,856 of whom were from Africa. The number of deaths among them has been considerable.

NOTE.—The population of Trinidad, according to the census of 1844, is stated to be 59,815, composed of 30,713 males, and 29,102 females. The Governor of the colony, Sir H. Macleod, gives it as his opinion, that the total amount of the population is 62,200.

ANTIGUA.—The number of emancipated negroes actually engaged in the cultivation of sugar is about 14,000, per census taken in 1844. Women are engaged to a considerable extent, but generally they are disinclined to be so employed; one half of them may be considered to have withdrawn from the cultivation of sugar. There is considerable improvement in their social character, personal cleanliness, and dress. The proportion of children employed is limited compared with the periods of slavery; those employed engage at more advanced ages, say thirteen or fourteen years. Up to the time of entering on agricultural labour they attend school, and occasionally assist their parents in the house and the garden. It is not true, therefore, that they are brought up in habits of indolence. Forty European labourers have been introduced, but with that exception, there has been no immigration into this colony. The conduct of the Europeans has been approved of.

NOTE.—The population of Antigua, according to the census of 1844, is stated to be 36,178, of whom 16,722 are males, and 19,456 females. The Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, states the increase by natural means to have been 3,000 within the four years.

WAGES.

JAMAICA.—In some parishes the rate of wages is 1s. 6d. per day, for first-class labourers; in others, 1s. 3d.; whilst in others, as *Trelawney* and *St. Ann's*, it is only 1s. per day. In the lowlands of *Clarendon* and *Vere*, the price of labour has averaged 1s. per day for the last twelve months. In *Hanover* and *St. James's*, a day's labour upon the roads is given for 1s. sterling. On estates, a first-class labouring man, by the day, will get 1s. 6d.; a second-class man, and able female, 1s. 3d.; third class, 9d. An attempt was made in the parish of *Trelawney*, in 1844, to reduce the wages to 9d. per day; the people, however, refused to take this sum, and, after three weeks' strike, were requested to turn out on their old wages, which they did. In some parts of the island, during the recent droughts, the price of labour fell to 9d. per day, and in some cases, even lower than that. Job work is preferred by the labourers and the planters, though not remunerated so highly as formerly. Cane hole digging, formerly 2s. 6d. for 100 holes, now 1s. 6d. for 100 holes. Cleaning and trashing canes, 6s. per acre; former price, 12s. per acre for cleaning only. This refers specially to *Hanover* and *St. James's*. The price of labour varies in different parishes in relation to tradesmen, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 6d. per day, and in some instances they have been known to earn as much as 4s. per day. Task work for making a sugar hogshead, 2s.; rum puncheons, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. each. In crop time, those employed about the works get an advance of wages of one-fifth, and sometimes one-fourth, say from 1s. 9d. to 2s. *per diem*. The day's labour in Jamaica varies in different districts; it may be ordinarily taken at nine hours: the labour performed beyond this time is rewarded by extra pay.

DEMERARA.—The average rate of wages varies from 1s. to 1s. 4*½*d. and 1s. 8d. per day, according to the ability of the workmen. Work is, however, principally done by the job. Tradespeople and artificers are paid at the rate of from ten to fifteen dollars per month. During crop, head boilermen are paid twelve to fifteen dollars per month; others in proportion to the time they give. Ordinarily seven and a half to nine hours is the average of a day's work; but during crop it extends to twelve and even more hours, according to circumstances.

BERBICE.—The wages vary in different parts of the colony, and on different estates; but the average is, by the day, 1s. 4*½*d., and by the month eleven to fifteen dollars, according to ability. The average rate of wages for a carpenter is five bits (1s. 10d. sterling) *per diem*; on the estate, four bits, (1s. 4*½*d.) during the crop season, six bits (2s. 1d.); boilermen working extra hours, 2s. 1d. The ordinary day's work is seven and a half hours, but there is no particular limit in crop time. The price of job work is regulated between the employers and the labourers according to its nature.

TRINIDAD.—The wages vary from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. per day. Task work is more general, but whether wages or task, about the same amount is received. Tradesmen on estates get sometimes a dollar per day; at others, twenty dollars a month. In the crop season, in consequence of long hours, the wages rise as high as from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day. It is expected that a reduction, which is now partial, will soon become general in consequence of an overstock of labourers. The usual day's labour is nine hours.

ANTIGUA.—The average rate of wages paid to agricultural labourers is from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day. Young persons, 9d. to 1s. Tradesmen obtain from 2s. to 3s. per day. Work is chiefly performed by the job. Agricultural societies have resolved upon scales for the regulation of labour and wages, but the planters do not always adhere to them. A larger amount is usually gained by job work, than by stated wages. Nine hours constitute a day's work.

NOTE.—The question of wages may be now considered as generally settled, the planters no longer complaining of their being exorbitant; but, on the contrary, admitting them to be reasonable. The complaint is, the want of "*continuous labour*," which means, the want of from sixteen to eighteen hours' labour during the season of crop, to complete the manufacturing process in the production of sugar. However, the largest and best conducted, and consequently the most productive and profitable, estates in the colonies, do not complain of a want of labour at any season of the year. Their proprietors state that they have the command of an ample supply of labour, and oftentimes more than they can usefully employ. They also give the labourers the greatest praise for steadiness and industry.

CAPITAL.

JAMAICA.—The amount of capital in this colony does not appear to be adequate to the payment of wages regularly; nevertheless there is some improvement in that respect. On some estates, especially those exposed to litigation, payments are extremely irregular, but in general wages are seldom in arrear more than one or two weeks together. On those estates where the wages are regularly paid, there is no want of labourers, and if the whole of the working population were to engage, there would be a superabundance. If there ever is any lack, it is when the higher class of labourers, who work their own provision grounds, find sufficient occupation connected with the ingathering of their own produce. The amount of interest paid by the planters for advances made by merchants and money lenders is usually 6 per cent., which is run up with charges for agency, &c., to 8 per cent. If advances are made by the Bank, 11 per cent. is paid. Non-residence and expensive management are great drawbacks on the profitable cultivation of estates.

DEMERARA.—Wages are generally paid with regularity, although some complaints have been lately made on this head. Where wages are regularly paid there is no lack of labourers, except in remote districts. The number of estates existing, as compared with slavery, is nearly equal; many of them are, however, burdened with mortgages: their prosperity depends very much on their management. The estates of residents yield a better return than those of non-residents. The present mode of cultivation is susceptible of great improvement from the extensive introduction of the plough and other implements of agriculture, which have been much neglected; but an agricultural society has lately been formed in the colony, which it is hoped will be the means of effecting an improvement. The want of capital is much felt for carrying on cultivation with vigour.

BERBICE.—The amount of capital is not equal to the payment of wages punctually; but where wages and good treatment are combined, an adequate amount of labourers can be obtained. The rate at which money is borrowed is 6 per cent., which is swelled by charges to 8 or 9 per cent. The want of capital, joined with improper management, has tended to decrease the exports.

TRINIDAD.—The amount of capital in the colony does not appear to be equal to the payment of wages, they being frequently months in arrear; indeed the wages have continually to be taken out in goods. Where labourers are punctually paid, there is no want of hands. The amount of interest paid for advances of money varies from 6 to 10 per cent., but the planter has frequently to pay indirectly more than 10 per cent. The diminution of exports has arisen rather from a want of capital than a want of labourers.

ANTIGUA.—There appears to be sufficient capital in the colony for the regular payment of wages.

Note.—Subsequently to the abolition of slavery, not a few speculators, taking advantage of the necessities of resident, and of the ignorance of non-resident, proprietors, have purchased their estates chiefly on credit. These are the parties who are loudest in their complaints of the want of labour, when, in point of fact, what they most want is money to secure it. Things are, however, working their own cure, and the time is not distant when the *bond-fide* holders of property in the West Indies must either become residents, or adopt a system of rental, or make up their minds to sell their estates at the market price. The system of having overseers to look after the headmen, and managers to look after the overseers, and attorneys to look after the managers, and no one to look after them, is a system too expensive to be endured under the free system. Whose estates soever are unprofitable, those of the great planting attorneys are not. They manage to get good crops off their properties; and are ever on the watch to purchase the properties of others when they are forced into the market.

IMMIGRATION MANIA IN SAINT LUCIA.

An attempt is in progress to introduce the immigration mania into the small island of Saint Lucia. On the 31st of May last there was presented to the Legislative Council of that island a memorial from the following London houses:—Joseph Marryatt and Sons; Cavan, Brothers, and Co.; Ellice, Kinnear, and Co.; Finlay, Hodgson, and Co.; Chalmers, Guthrie, and Co.; Henckel du Buisson and Co.; and Gillespies, Moffatt, and Co. The memorial was in the usual West Indian style, affirming the want of labour and the necessity of immigration; and recommending the raising of an immigration loan, under the assumed sanction of the Government. This document is dated, "London, 31st August, 1844;" but wherefore not presented at an earlier period does not appear. At the same time there were presented to the Council two other memorials from parties in the island, one in favour of the scheme, and one against it. After the reading of these documents, a member of the council, Mr. Goodman, brought forward a proposition, ready cut and dried, for the introduction of 1000 immigrants, annually, and the imposition of taxes on sugar and other produce, to meet the charges of the loan. The scheme, however, met with vigorous, and to a certain extent successful opponents, in Messrs. Muter and Paret. The discussion which took place, as reported in the *Independent Press*, was long and desultory; but it is so instructive that we must try to give the substance of it in a small space.

On a motion, (substituted for Mr. Goodman's,) "that it is the opinion of this Board that this colony is labouring under great depression from the want of labourers to carry on the cultivation of estates,"

Mr. Muter said, it was not the want of labourers that caused depression, but want of capital to render the machinery on the estates efficient, and directed attention to the comparison between this island and Saint Vincent, as to the population and exportable produce. If it was not invidious he could cite certain estates where the want of machinery rendered them unproductive—there was the Vide Bonne estate, a fine property in the neighbourhood of the town, with a large extent of cane cultivation, but there was only a water-mill, and they could not take off half the crop; and then a little further on was the Choc estate, belonging to the same gentleman, which was similarly situated; it was nothing but want of machinery that prevented these estates extending their cultivation, and more than doubling the amount of produce—and it was almost the same thing in every part of the island. He had raised from complete abandonment two estates, one of which in Gros-islet, and the other to windward, and which were now giving large returns, solely from having efficient machinery.

Mr. Mallet Paret said, he saw no advantage to be derived from bringing immigrants to so small a colony; he would not consent to make St. Lucia the first to try an experiment which might be beneficial for Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica, but which must be useless here, unless we could prevent the small settlements of provision-growers: to bring Africans and Coolies would only be adding to the number of that class of the people, and instead of working on the sugar estates, they would become growers of manioc.

Mr. Muter was prepared to show that the principle of the government plan was not at all adapted to this colony;—he had explained to many gentlemen who had signed the memorial for immigration, what the government plan was, and they were decidedly of opinion that it was not applicable to this colony, and had they previously known the nature of it, they would not have signed the memorial.

Mr. Mallet Paret begged leave to move as an amendment, that it is not the opinion of the board that the present depression of the colony was to be remedied by immigration at the public expense.

Mr. Muter seconded Mr. Mallet Paret's amendment.

The Collector of Customs asked, if Mr. Muter could give any reason why the labouring population on the estates was so small in comparison with other islands.

Mr. Muter said, it was easily accounted for by a great majority of planters endeavouring to give a very inadequate rate of wages, and a great many of the labouring population were employed in planting canes in halves, which withdrew a large number from estate's work, and though it gave a greater revenue to the labourer, it was doing much injury to the colony. There was a large number employed on small properties of their own, where they had hand-mills, and a large quantity of labour was lost from want of good machinery.

The Collector of Customs inquired, if the honourable member thought his railroad induced a large number of labourers to work at Roseau.

Mr. Muter said he had no doubt it did. It facilitated their work.

The Attorney-General wished to know, if machinery was applicable to planting the canes.

Mr. Muter said it was; the plough would be a very great saving of labour in planting and weeding the canes; but for that they wanted good artificers. In this island during the last three years they had nearly doubled their exportable produce, and if they had more capital, they would more than double that quantity. At Roseau there had been many abuses allowed by the former manager, Mr. Clacherty, which he had been endeavouring to correct, and the consequence had been, that there had been hardly any labourers at work for some time past, but they were now again returning.

Mr. Mallet Paret's amendment was put, and lost by a majority of 5 to 3. The original motion was then carried by 6 to 1.

Colonel Torrens said, he had received a very satisfactory return of the produce of last year, which exceeded that of many years during slavery in this island.

Mr. Muter observed that it was most satisfactory, and this favourable result had been arrived at without the expense of immigration.

Mr. Goodman said, he as well as others had procured immigrants. There was one of his estates which was worked by a gang of 60 immigrant labourers, the crop of which had fallen to less than 60 hogsheads, and by means of these immigrants he had nearly doubled that quantity. But he had imported upwards of a hundred entirely at his own expense, and within a twelvemonth afterwards they were taken away by his neighbours; and that was one reason which called for immigration under the superintendence of Government.

Mr. Goodman's original motion was then read.

Mr. Muter said, I must conclude that what is meant by the motion, is immigration into this colony on the principles authorized by her Majesty's Government, and with all the conditions attached to those principles. Now what are those principles, and what are those conditions? The first principle, that each colony authorized to import labourers from Africa and the East Indies must attend to and act upon is—to provide the sum of 25*l.* sterling for each labourer or immigrant; viz., 15*l.* sterling for the expense of bringing him to the colony, and 10*l.* for the expense of taking him back to his native country, at the expiration of five years. If the labourer remains in the colony and works his term of five years, he can demand to be sent back again to Africa or the East Indies at the expense of the colony. But the next principle is, that the moment the immigrant puts his foot in this island, he is quite free to leave it again the same day, or the next day, or at any future period, without serving out the five years or any part of it—only if he does not remain all the five years, he forfeits his claim on the colony to be carried back to his native place at the expense of the colony. He is also quite free to labour in the town or in the country, and if he has the means of supporting himself without working, he cannot be compelled to work, for he is as free as every one else in the colony. The present rate of wages now in the colony on an average, is one shilling sterling per day for each able-bodied labourer. Now it is quite evident, that immigrants, "Africans or East Indians," cannot be brought to the colony to cost less—he felt persuaded they will cost the colony and the planters a great deal more. First, with respect to the colony. The 25*l.* sterling per head, as he had mentioned, is not the only expense the colony must be put to. There is the expense of an immigration agent—of a receiving-house at Castries—of food and clothing whilst they remain at Castries, waiting the employer to engage them and to take them into his employment. Then if they arrive sick, they must be taken care of. The cost of medical attention, medical advice, food and medicines, &c. These are the expenses to be incurred in the first stage of the transaction. The next stage is the expense to be incurred by the planter or proprietor receiving them. He must prepare suitable houses to receive and lodge them on his plantation; and he had been informed by those who had formerly been accustomed to see new negroes imported into this colony, that it requires a year or two to acclimate them before they can be of any real use on a plantation. They must be taught everything, even to speak the language of the country. The honourable member said he had conversed with some of the gentlemen who had signed the petition or memorial, praying His Excellency to procure a loan for encouraging immigration, and when he explained to them the foregoing particulars, they at once declared that it was not what they understood, and that immigration on such principles and under such conditions would be of no benefit to this colony; and that if they had known such was the case, they would not have signed the memorial. The Assembly of Jamaica had decided against it, and Jamaica is in many respects circumstanced like this colony, though on an extended scale, and that ought to be a sufficient guide and warning for them. A population in St. Vincent of 27,248, exported last year 16,732,902 lbs. sugar, while a population in St. Lucia of 20,694 exported the same year only 6,469,012 lbs. sugar. He would ask how is this? and reply that the labour of the St. Lucia population is misapplied for want of efficient machinery. Instead of labourers being employed beneficially for themselves and the colony, their labour is wanted, and employed in hand-mills to grind the canes, so that their physical force is employed to do that which a horse or a mule should be employed to do. It was therefore his opinion, that it was not labourers that are wanted here to increase the crops, so much as capital to procure efficient and improved machinery and agricultural implements. He moved an amendment, "That it is not the opinion of this board that it is the interest of this colony to raise a fund for the introduction of immigrants into the colony."

Mr. Mallet Paret said, in seconding the amendment, it would record his opinion against the original motion, but whether it was passed or not, it could never be carried into effect.

The amendment was lost, 7 to 2.

The original motion was then put; but the impression made by Mr. Mater's observations was so strong that it had no chance of being carried. The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Collector of Customs, were all of them so much embarrassed that they would not vote at all; and Mr. Cotter threatened to vote in the negative; so that the man was glad to get permission to withdraw his motion. And here, for the present—we would hope for ever, the matter rests.

We think our readers will agree with us now, that, when we said this debate was instructive, we did not speak unadvisedly. It is clear that, on the part of the Council at large, the whole affair is nothing more than a play of puppets, the wires being pulled by the great firms in London, who, either as proprietors or as mortgagees, have, or think they have, the control of everything. The resident planters of St. Lucia would never have stirred the subject of immigration. And when at last they did so, they did it under gross ignorance. They thought the Government was about to lend money on the security of property, and that the loans might be spent on the improvement of their estates! When they came to understand the nature and operation of an immigration loan, they recoiled from it as unnecessary and ruinous. Even Mr. Goodman, who, as having undertaken to bring the matter forward, ought to have made himself acquainted with it, was so uninformed as to assert that the immigrants would be bound for five years! Really the colony has had a happy escape; and we tender our sincere congratulations. Much praise is due to those members of the Council who offered to the insidious proposition so effective an opposition; and more particularly to Mr. Muter, who is, we believe, the largest proprietor in the island, whose enlightened views and perfect knowledge of the subject were of invaluable use.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN WALKER.

We have already stated that this truly excellent man has been liberated from prison. He is now in the Free States exhibiting his branded hand, to him a stigma, not of disgrace, but of honour. The expense incurred in securing his liberation from prison has amounted to 1,400 dollars, which has been cheerfully contributed by the friends of the anti-slavery cause.

The following letter from Captain Walker will be read with deep interest. It is a reply to the letter and resolutions of sympathy which were transmitted to him whilst imprisoned at Pensacola, in Florida.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, LONDON.

New York City, July 12th, 1845.

Very kind and highly esteemed Friends,—I arrived this day in this city, and embrace the earliest convenient opportunity to acknowledge the reception of the kind letter of your worthy secretary, John Scoble, and the accompanying resolution adopted at your meeting in London, on the 4th of October, 1844, expressive of your opinion of, and feelings toward, Charles T. Torrey and myself. The letter was forwarded through the kindness of a friend in New York, and reached me just two months after its date. But it is impossible for me to express upon paper the feelings which the reception of the letter and resolution excited.

I am an American-born citizen, and have lived forty-five years under this republican form of government, but I am ashamed to acknowledge that, while enjoying the greatest social and religious privileges of any nation upon the earth, boasting of our liberal and free institutions, of the inherent right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," of our arts and science, civilization, and the dispensation of the gospel; yet we cherish in our midst the most heinous, unjust, oppressive, and God-provoking system that ever cursed the dwellers of earth, nourishing jealousy and discord through the land, poisoning the life-streams of our Union, corroding the vitals of this young and growing nation, and destroying the mental and moral faculties of one portion of its inhabitants, to corrupt and debase the other; and if any one is found among her sons whose humane feelings prompt him to extend an act of sympathy towards his deeply-injured fellow-subjects, who have nowhere to look with any earthly hope for the mitigation of their wretchedness but in the hearts of the few, and are denied the privilege of seeking redress from the laws and counsels of their country—such an one is sought out and hunted like a beast of prey, and dealt with as a traitor to his country, and as a slayer of his fellow-men; and this, notwithstanding every precaution has been used to prevent any act of violence on the part of the truly wronged, and none but pacific means are countenanced to obtain relief.

While my mind has been filled with such considerations, and while undergoing the most degrading punishments that human invention has produced from the hands of my own countrymen, I receive from a high and honourable source, in a foreign and monarchical country, the warm and cordial sympathies, and favourable consideration and approbation of the cause for which I suffer, and contestation of the course pursued against me from entire strangers, whom I never saw, and probably never shall see this side of another world.

I heartily respond, gentlemen, to the declaration in the last clause of the resolution which you adopted, that "the laws under which

we were to be arraigned are utterly disgraceful to a civilized community, and in the highest degree repugnant to the spirit and precepts of the gospel."

You are probably aware, ere this, of the result of my first trial in November last, under four indictments. Since that time, I have been detained in prison until the 16th of June, when, after having undergone a second trial on the 10th of May, under three indictments, I was released by the liberality of friends, in paying the fines and costs of prosecution which were charged against me. With the exception of two and a half months, I was kept in chains during the whole of my imprisonment.

Let me assure you again, my dear friends, of my gratitude for your kind and humane consideration. It is a source of deep regret to me that the original letter and resolution were taken from me while in prison by the authorities, but not, however, until I had secured a copy of each, which I hold invaluable. They were laid before the Legislative Council of Florida, and a report made thereon, a copy of which I inclose.

Trusting that all needful blessings from our Divine Lord may attend you individually and collectively in all coming time, and enable you to accomplish much in the righteous cause you have espoused for the amelioration of the condition of the deeply injured and oppressed children of man,

I remain, respectfully, your grateful Friend,
JONATHAN WALKER.

POPULATION OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE RECENT CENSUS.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

Colony.	Date of Census.	Males.	Females.	Total Census, 1844.	Number of slaves according to the Compensation Returns, 1834.	Total, 1844.
1. Jamaica	3 June 1844	181,633	195,800	377,433	311,970	1,901
2. Honduras	—	—	—	10,000	10,086	10,086
3. Bahamas	—	12,623	12,621	25,292	83,150	83,150
4. Barbados	3 June 1844	56,004	66,194	122,198	28,793	23,638
5. Grenada	—	13,732	15,191	27,923	—	—
6. St. Vincent	—	12,680	14,648	27,248	22,266	22,266
7. St. Lucia	—	9,871	11,130	21,001	13,291	13,291
8. Tobago	—	6,152	7,056	13,208	11,589	11,589
9. Antigua	15 March 1844	16,722	19,456	36,178	29,121	29,121
10. Montserrat	3 June 1844	3,336	4,029	7,365	6,401	6,401
11. Barbuda	—	223	286	509	—	—
12. Dominica	—	10,788	11,681	22,469	14,175	14,175
13. St. Christopher	—	10,523	12,654	23,177	19,780	19,780
14. Nevis	—	—	—	—	8,815	8,815
15. Virgin Islands	—	4,418	5,153	9,571	—	—
16. Trinidad	3 June 1844	3,130	3,559	6,689	5,135	5,135
17. British Guiana	10 Oct. 1841	30,713	29,102	59,815	20,657	20,657
		49,787	48,346	98,133	82,824	82,824
				889,209	663,899	663,899
				Total		

FRENCH CONSULAR AGENTS.

Mr. RICHARDSON having forwarded to us a copy of a letter which he has addressed to M. Guizot, we lay it before our readers without comment.

"*Gerba, May 6th, 1845.*

"Sir,—I was surprised on hearing that the French consular agent Mustapha Ben Ibrahim, Rais of the Isle of Gerba, was the owner of some four or six slaves; but my surprise was changed into astonishment when I further heard that this French functionary had, in January, 1844, sent a forged document to the British Consul-General of Tunis, and signed by two public notaries, purporting to have liberated some two or three years previously all his slaves, mentioning their names and otherwise distinguishing them, on the alleged occasion of the celebration of the circumcision of his grandson, and this in order to escape direct dismissal from his post as British agent at this island, which he had been for fourteen years.

"In proof of this document being false or forged, I have the testimony of all the respectable Europeans on the spot, as well as the slaves themselves, one of whom came to me yesterday imploring my assistance, and declaring that he was still a slave, notwithstanding his name had been mentioned in the document sent to Tunis, pretending to have given him his freedom.

"Mustapha Ben Ibrahim Rais is descended from an Algerine family, and has an Algerine or French passport, and, besides being consular agent for France, is the agent of all the other European powers, except England, Sardinia, and Austria. He resigned the post of British agent at the moment of the discovery of the forgery of the document.

"Sir, believing that if the *entente cordiale* is to have any meaning in the international affairs of France and England, and sup-

posing that the aforesaid document of the moor Mustapha must be still in the possession of the British Consul-General of Tunis, the French and English Governments cannot better fulfil their public professions before mankind than by exerting their joint influence in this case, to punish the most deliberate fraud, and to shield humanity from the accursed scourge of slavery.

"Begging you, Sir, to excuse this great liberty of pressing myself on your attention, and occupying your most valuable time, I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,
(Signed) "JAMES RICHARDSON."

To M. Guizot,
&c., &c.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 20, 1845.

THE West India Mail has arrived, and from a cursory glance at the colonial papers which it has brought we can discover no articles of great importance for home readers. It is gratifying, however, to perceive that amidst the loud outcries which have been made of want of labour, Jamaica will ship this year from 12,000 to 15,000 hogsheads of sugar more than it did in 1844, with the additional prospect in 1846 of a still further increase. Antigua is apparently alive to agricultural improvements. The plough and horse-hoe have been tried with every prospect of success. Other colonies are following the example, though not with equal energy. The news from Hayti is distressing. It appears that the Spanish and French portions of the island are again in conflict, and that great cruelties have been practised by the former, which have been followed by reprisals on the part of the latter. The cause of the outbreak is not given.

THE Texan Congress has met, and consummated by a legislative act, with only a single dissentient voice, the giant iniquity of modern times, the annexation of the new republic to the American union. The 4th of July, a day regarded by Americans as sacred to liberty, was selected by the Texans for the commission of this act of national treachery and suicide. The true American citizens, the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, the men of high resolve and Christian virtue, will bear this in mind; and will endeavour to wipe out the deep stain which southern slave-masters and Texan robbers have cast on the fame of their country. For our parts, aside from its political bearings and results, we are inclined to believe that it will defeat the object for which it was intended, and weaken instead of strengthen the institution of slavery.

Now that the policy of the Southern or slave States has become apparent, the Northern and Western free States will awake to a deep sense of their political degradation; and we predict that the great question, ere long, will be, not which of the great political parties existing shall possess the legislative and governmental power, but which section of the United States, the free or the slave, shall rule the mighty destinies of that great empire.

Henceforth the free, whether from Europe or from the Northern States, will emigrate to the free States of the West, for it is in them alone that their industry, skill, and enterprise will find their appropriate reward. Free-men instinctively shun the regions of slavery. Hence, while Kentucky, an old state, though possessing a noble domain, is languishing in poverty; Ohio, a new state, is rapidly filling up with settlers, and developing her resources in a ratio utterly unknown to the wealthiest and most populous of the Slave States. The removals to Texas will be from the Southern States. Planters, with their gangs of unhappy slaves, will resort thither, because its soil presents inducements for cotton cultivation, which can no longer be found in the great majority of the Slave States. But in proportion as Texas becomes populated, the older Slave States will be abandoned, and the free portions of the United States will take it for their inheritance, and change its whole aspect, as if by magic. Can any one doubt that Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky will soon merge into free States? They are ripe for it now; and only wait the appearance of some bold and decided men to lead them on to the adoption of the necessary measures to secure this great object and its attendant blessings.

The annexation of Texas will give double energy to the movements of abolitionists in the United States, and multiply their numbers and resources tenfold; and they are not the men to abandon their ground, because the enemy appears to have gained a momentary advantage.

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of the 23rd ult., we called attention to a Report of a Committee of the Legislative Assembly of

Mauritius on Coolie emigration, which clearly demonstrated the ruinous consequences of the measure, and the remedies proposed in order to render it more successful in future. The Minute of the Governor, Sir William Gomm, which we then referred to, takes up the consideration of the remedies, the first of which is lengthening the term of engagements from one to five, or at least three years. No doubt it would be more advantageous to the Proprietors to have the Indian labourers secured to them under indentures of five years; but inasmuch as it would be an act of the grossest injustice to the labourers already in the Colony, and would remove the safeguards which the present contract law raises against oppression, the Governor is opposed to the application of the first remedy. In reference to the second, the necessity of importing so large a number of Coolies as should beget competition for employment, his Excellency conceives that a largely increased introduction of labourers upon the plan submitted by the Committee, would be unprofitable to the introducers themselves, and might entail the utmost misery upon a large body of immigrants who could obtain no employment, as well as subject the Colony to very serious responsibility and expense. For these reasons he is opposed to the second remedy. With respect to the third, the alleged want of a more stringent vagrant law, the Governor thinks that it is misemployment rather than vagrancy, which characterizes the Indian labourers, and cautions the Committee against "the appearance of a desire" to convert police regulations "into an engine of extensive coercion, and an ever-active stimulus to the exertions of free labour;" and, he wisely adds, "let us take good heed, lest, in whatever we do in this matter, we lay ourselves open to a charge, even by implication, from our detractors, and more than our detractors, of inviting the Indian Government to send its people into captivity amongst us." Now, with the fear of being considered detractors before our eyes, we venture to assert that this is just what the Mauritius Planters want. Their idea of freedom is long contracts and stringent police regulations to enforce them; they want, in short, to make "captives" of the Coolies; but Sir William Gomm very properly says he can be no party to a scheme of this kind. So much for remedy the third.

But were the Governor of Mauritius ever so desirous of doing the Planters a favour, he is utterly precluded by want of funds. The surplus fund in the Colonial chest, to upwards of 284,000*l.* sterling, intended to have been applied to important public works, has been expended on immigration, and must be restored. Besides which, as the Committee itself remarks, "the future must be provided for." The Colony is already burthened with taxes which it is not desirable to increase; hence, any additional immigration beyond that already contemplated, is entirely out of the question.

From these instructive documents the West Indians may learn a useful lesson, namely, to be content with their present number of labourers, and to husband their resources instead of squandering them on the importation of Coolies.

We learn from the *Glasgow Argus*, that the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, and the Emancipation Society of that city, held their anniversary meetings on Friday, August 1st, and that they were well and respectfully attended; the latter body by at least 2,500 persons. It would have afforded us great pleasure to have transcribed the spirited proceedings of our fellow-labourers in the cause of suffering humanity; but our limits interpose an insuperable difficulty. We hope, however, to find room in our next number for the memorial agreed to be transmitted to the United States, on behalf of our Scottish friends. Dr. Willis, of the Free Church, presided over both meetings, held at different periods of the day, and did his duty manfully towards his brethren. We honour him for his faithfulness, and trust his example will be generally followed. We can merely add that the "Scottish Congregational Magazine" for this month contains the admirable and truly Christian address on slavery of the ministers and members of the Scottish Congregational Churches, passed at the last general meeting of the body. We trust it will have an extensive circulation in the United States, and produce the best results.

From a Parliamentary Paper we have inserted to-day a general Abstract of the late Census of the population of the British West Indies. The document from which we have taken it, although far from communicating all the information which could have been desired, contains, nevertheless, much interesting matter, of which we shall have something more to say hereafter.

We direct the attention of our readers to the first article in this day's paper. It is an abstract of the information respecting the state of the British West Indies, received by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in reply to a set of queries which they issued some time since. It will repay perusal.

We have the pleasure of introducing to the notice of our readers, the Sixth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which has just issued from the press. On the present occasion the Report is not accompanied with the matter which has heretofore constituted the Appendix, but merely with an account of the Annual Meeting at the Hall of Commerce, and a list of subscribers. It is in consequence of smaller bulk, and ready at a much earlier period than would otherwise have been possible. In its present form it is adapted for an extensive circulation, which, we trust, will be given to it by all the friends of the Society. The matter usually given in the Appendix will not be withheld from the public, but will be hereafter issued in a separate form.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, July 24.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

On the order of the day for going into committee on the Slave-trade (Brazil) Bill,

Mr. M. GIBSON said, that viewing this bill as a penal act against a friendly power, he had felt it his duty to ask the right hon. gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) for such information as would enable the house to judge whether or not they would be justified in giving it their assent. The correspondence which had passed between her Majesty's Government and the Brazilian Government had been laid on the table of the house, and, having given it a very attentive perusal, he must say it appeared to him that there yet remained very important matters for examination before they would be in a condition to judge whether or not it would be proper for them to share the responsibility of commencing hostilities against the Brazilian empire. (Hear, hear.) What was the bill which they had before them? Hon. gentlemen might imagine that it was a measure quite in accordance with others which had been passed, requiring the Government to execute conventions with foreign powers in reference to the slave-trade. But although in its title it resembled those measures, they would find, that by this bill Parliament was called upon to give her Majesty's Government power to exercise acts of hostility towards subjects of Brazil which might lead to retaliation and resentment, and bring about most serious difficulties as regarded the commerce of the two countries. This bill would entitle her Majesty's Government to stop and seize all vessels which were suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and to grant letters of marque to privateers for the same purpose. It would have the effect of enabling any persons, however incompetent, to form a judgment on such proceedings, to stop any vessel on the high seas, on suspicion of its being engaged in the slave-trade, and would thus lead to the detention of papers, and to a variety of circumstances which would bring us into serious difficulties with respect to foreign powers. Now, the real state of things was this:—They had a convention with the Brazilian empire, a portion of which had expired. In that portion of the convention which had expired there were provisions, giving to England and Brazil the mutual right of search and visit, and there was also a provision establishing a mixed commission court for the purpose of adjudicating upon the cases of vessels which might be seized under the treaty. But then it was said that, beyond that part of the treaty which had expired, there existed a solemn obligation on the part of the Brazilian Government to abolish the slave-trade, an obligation which was to be found in the first clause of the treaty of 1826, whereby the Brazilian Government declared that the carrying on of the slave-trade by any of its subjects should be treated as piracy. The question here arose whether they would be justified in giving her Majesty's Government power to enforce the obligations of that clause? It was said that the time had come when, if the Brazilians would not themselves abolish the slave-trade they should abolish it for them. This was an important question, as affecting the law of nations; and for his own part, he did not feel himself competent to give an opinion upon it. He had, however, the highest authority for stating that the granting of such powers was not consistent with the custom in similar cases, namely, the opinion of the Duke of Wellington and the Lord Chancellor, expressed in the form of a protest, when a similar bill had been introduced by the noble lord the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston). The hon. member then read the protest, which expressed dissent from the bill, because it authorised an officer of the Crown to order the adoption of measures of hostility not founded on any public declaration of the Sovereign or message to the house in the usual form, and because the powers proposed to be given were not necessary to obtain from Portugal the due execution of the treaty, and were likely to lead to permanent if not interminable hostilities. There was a second protest to the same effect. But it might be said, these protests applied to principles not involved in this bill. He could only say that this bill was exactly similar to the act respecting the treaty with Portugal. When this country made the slave-trade piracy, there was an express proviso in the act of Parliament to the effect that British subjects and British ships, if captured in following the slave-trade, should be tried by British tribunals; and the act gave no power whatever to any foreign tribunal to adjudicate on British subjects. That seemed to him to show, that it was thought by the Legislature when that law passed, that every nation ought to try its own subjects only. He admitted that there was a feeling in every breast that when foreign country entered into a treaty with us, if there were manifested a disposition on the part of the foreign state to elude the performance of the provisions of the treaty, we had a right to take some mode to enforce their obligations; but in the case of Brazil we ought to consider that the executive government could no more do what they pleased with reference to slavery or the slave-trade than the right hon. gentleman could do what he pleased with reference to the corn laws or any other subject which a great party in this country were banded together to support. The Brazilians felt it to be humiliating that their independence should be interfered with, or that they should be dictated to by England; the passions, the prejudices, the long-continued habits of that people, were against the Government of England when they attempted anything of the sort, and therefore, it was right that the Government should consider what the executive Government could do, and how far they were at liberty to go in putting down the slave-trade, before they called upon the Legislature to adopt a measure of hostility to the Brazilians. The present policy of the right hon. baronet he (Mr. M. Gibson) could not think was likely to bring about the destruction of the slave-trade, unless the force of public opinion abroad was brought to bear upon it. The fact was, the Brazilians had done as much as other nations similarly situated had done to put down the slave-trade. But then all at once it became apparent, as might be seen in these papers, that the Brazilian Government had come to a determination not to put down the trade. In August, 1841, the Brazilian Government submitted to her Majesty's Government a distinct proposition to put down the slave-trade; they submitted plans and specific proposals for that purpose; and her Majesty's Government were negotiating with them, when in 1842 the Brazilian Minister here

peremptorily refused to pursue those negotiations. But what period was that? Why, the exact period when her Majesty's Government first put forward the doctrine of slave-grown sugar, and their determination to exclude sugar of that description, and when they sent out Mr. Ellis as minister to Brazil, with instructions which had never yet been made public. Now, that negotiation being concluded, no public interest could be injured by the production of those instructions; and before the right hon. baronet asked the house to assent to this extreme measure he was bound to show the house, by the production of all the papers relating to the subject, that his own policy had not been the cause of the present situation of affairs with respect to Brazil. If this bill were adopted, it would amount to nothing short of a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain against Brazil. The house must have Mr. Ellis's instructions and the whole case before them, before, in his (Mr. M. Gibson's) opinion, they would be in a condition to adopt this measure. Lord Aberdeen himself had acknowledged, as appeared from these papers, that the measure was an extreme measure, and had said that he adopted it with regret, and that if the Brazilian Government would enter into the measures he pointed out, he should repeal this measure. He intimated that he was taking a harsh and hostile course. Then he (Mr. M. Gibson) said, let the Government take the responsibility of it; let them order their cruisers to act; and then let them come to the House next session, and they would get an indemnity if they could make out their case. It appeared to him that the executive Government was shrinking from its duty on this occasion, and that they felt it to be doubtful whether they really had the powers which the clause in the treaty of 1826 purported to give them. Although Lord Aberdeen had threatened the Brazilians that he would get an Act of Parliament to enable him to carry into execution the provisions of that treaty, was it clear that the Government had done that in this bill? There was no power in the bill of dealing with Brazilian subjects; the bill only gave a power of dealing with and confiscating ships: therefore the Government seemed to him to shrink from taking the whole of the powers which this clause in the treaty gave them, if, indeed, it did give them any such powers. Then, was it proper to proceed with such haste with a bill in a case where such important interests were involved? There had been one important amendment introduced into this bill, providing that parties who should seize these Brazilian ships should be entitled to bounties and tonnage dues. It would be newly in the recollection of the House that they had voted lately out of the consolidated fund no less than from 30,000*l.* to 35,000*l.* to officers for these seizures. But the fact was, that when the Government seized these slaves on the Brazilian coast, they sent the negroes found in them to our own colonies. What was said? Why this:—"England wants labour in her colonies, and takes this short road of supplying them with negroes." Further, it appeared from these papers, that the mortality amongst these negroes, thus sent to the colonies under the sanction of the British authorities abroad, was as great on the voyage as on the middle passage; and by this means, therefore, this country was made guilty of those very horrors which had been so often denounced by Great Britain. It appeared from a letter in these papers, from Sir H. M'Leod, of Trinidad, written in February, 1844, that a captured vessel that had sailed thither from Rio Janeiro with 300 negroes on board, had arrived with only 288, having lost twelve by death on the passage. From these cases the people of Brazil concluded that the object of the British Government was to supply our West Indian colonies with negro labour. That was what was said of this country; and it was said, too, that our officers in command of our cruisers on the coast of Brazil, were actuated by the desire of bounties and pecuniary advantages to push the search too far. These, of all other things, were just those which were calculated to excite the passions of the people against this country. When England was a slave-trading nation she would have repelled with indignation any such interference on the part of a foreign power. The whole policy was a most questionable policy. It was very doubtful whether our cruisers on the coast of Africa and the coast of Brazil had not increased the evil they were sent out to prevent, and he could only say that if his hon. friend, the member for Gateshead, would move, next session, for a committee of inquiry into that policy, he should support him, for he should like very much to see the matter probed to the bottom. What was our position as to our own manufactures with regard to Brazil? Brazil said she would put a discriminating duty of twenty or thirty per cent. on the manufactures of this country, and would continue to do so until we gave up our policy with respect to her sugar, and admitted it on the same terms as those of the most favoured nations. He called upon the right hon. baronet to state distinctly to the house that it was not his own policy that had brought Lord Aberdeen into the disagreeable necessity, as he now admitted it, of carrying out the clause of the treaty of 1826 in this hostile spirit. That noble lord informed them, some time ago, that he had no doubt that treaty was then concluded with Brazil, and that British property was safe in that country; but no such news was brought by the last mail—no such treaty appeared to have been concluded. He asked, then, how long the manufacturing interests of this country were to be trifled with in that manner, and the lives and property of British subjects to be jeopardized in order to favour the peculiar views of a small section of the anti-slavery party? He believed that the majority of that party disapproved of the policy of the Government, and in the memorial which they had presented to the Government they had deprecated this armed interference. Under these circumstances he should certainly take the sense of the House against going into committee on this bill.

Sir R. PEEL said, the international engagements between Brazil and this country in respect of the slave-trade now rest on a convention concluded between the two countries in 1826. By the first article of that convention it was provided that it should not, from a time therein named, be lawful for a subject of the empire of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on the African slave-trade under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and that the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person or subject of his Imperial Majesty should be deemed and treated as piracy. There was, therefore, an international engagement between this country and Brazil, that from a certain time the subjects of the Brazilian empire engaged on any pretext or in any manner in carrying on the slave-trade should be guilty of the offence of piracy. The Brazilian subject was not merely by the municipal laws of his own country liable to the penalty for

piracy, but there was a solemn engagement entered into between the Brazilian Government and this country by which the offence was made piracy. Shortly after that convention there was another entered by Brazil, adopted from one that was existing between Portugal and this country, which had for its object the determining, by mutual arrangement between the two countries, in what mode effect should be given to that object. A mutual right of search was given in the case of Brazilian ships and English ships, and courts of mixed commission were appointed for determining offences at variance with the existing engagements. Either Government had the power in its own discretion to terminate that convention, in the month of March, 1842, a period of fifteen years from the time it was entered into. Brazil thought fit to give notice of her intention to terminate that subsidiary convention, and this Government thought fit to accede to such desire on the part of the Brazilian Government. But there remained in force the original article of the treaty of 1826, and the object of this measure is to give effect to the stipulations of that treaty. A great part of the hon. gentleman's speech appeared to be in favour of the abandonment of all policy on our part for the suppression of the slave-trade. The hon. gentleman says, imputations are thrown out on the faith and integrity of this nation, and that on that account we ought to be particularly careful how we interfere with the rights of other countries. No doubt such imputations are thrown out, and thrown out from interested motives. There is no doubt a desire to depreciate the character and paralyze the exertions of this country in the suppression of the slave-trade; but I think the sacrifices this country has made for the mitigation of the evils of the slave-trade, and for the termination of the status of the slave-trade, may enable her safely to defy all such unjust suspicions. (Hear.) The hon. gentleman says there was a time when this country herself carried on the slave-trade, and the bishops in the House of Lords made speeches in its favour. The fact may be so; but does the hon. gentleman think that that constitutes an argument why we should relax in the efforts we have made for the suppression of the slave-trade? The Government proposes this measure with regret. It would have been infinitely more satisfactory to them that Brazil should have consented to enter into a new engagement in substitution of the engagement of 1817, and should have acted in ready concert with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. I have laid on the table the correspondence that has passed on this subject, and I leave it to the house to judge whether any effort on the part of her Majesty's Government for the last ten years has been omitted in order to induce the Brazilian Government of its own good-will to enter into that friendly concert. The house will see what have been the proposals that have been made from time to time: not recently, but during the period my noble friend Lord Aberdeen has been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and during the period the noble lord opposite held the same office the house will find that repeated exhortations were addressed to the Brazilian Government, for the purpose of inducing them to enter into amicable concert with us, and to enable us to search Brazilian vessels, and to punish those who were engaged in the slave-trade under that act which had been agreed to by the Brazilian Government of its own free will. But those efforts have failed. The Brazilian Government have from time to time distinctly stated to us, that her views on this subject are entirely at variance from ours, and from the Brazilian Government we can expect no assistance or co-operation in the suppression of the slave-trade by her own subjects. Shall we then altogether abandon our efforts? Shall we hold the convention of 1826 to be of no effect? and, notwithstanding that international engagement between Brazil and this country, shall we permit Brazilian subjects and ships to carry on the African slave-trade without any independent effort on our own part to suppress it? First, I say, that Brazil herself has admitted that this country, under the convention of 1826, has a right of its own authority, failing other engagements entered into with Brazil, to suppress the slave-trade carried on by Brazilian subjects. The hon. gentleman will observe in the correspondence that has taken place, in a note presented by the Brazilian Government, that at an early period subsequent to the last convention Brazil expressly considered that under the convention of 1826 this country had a right to interfere for the suppression of the slave-trade. He will find in page 7, of the printed papers, that in a document issued by the Brazilian Government it was stated that that Government had received from the British Minister an assurance that certain Brazilian vessels which had been employed in trafficking in slaves, but which could prove that on or before the 30th day of March, 1830, they were not so employed, should be allowed to proceed and finish their *bondá fide* voyage without incurring the liability of being treated as pirates, according to the convention of 1826. The hon. gentleman again will find that the Brazilian Secretary of State relied on the article in the convention of 1826 as proof that the slave-trade was totally forbidden to Brazilian subjects. No law was passed in Brazil at that time making the slave-trade piracy; for the Brazilian Secretary of State said, that the slave-trade was abolished, and that the offence was constituted piracy; and in saying that he was not speaking of the municipal laws passed by Brazil, but of the effect of that convention which had been signed between this country and Brazil. But efforts were made to put an end to the mixed commission. Objections were made to it by the Brazilian Government; but in making those efforts the Minister of Brazil urged that the continuance of the mixed commission was unnecessary, because under the convention with England there was a power on the part of the two governments to suppress the slave-trade by making it an offence cognizable by their own respective legal tribunals. There was then a distinct admission that we had a right to consider the offence as piracy, virtually by the law of Brazil. The hon. gentleman says he will not share in the responsibility of the Government in bringing forward this measure. What is the effect of it? We consider that the Crown is empowered to direct the detention of Brazilian vessels. We have not acted without the fullest deliberation. It was the impression of the noble lord opposite, than whom none has paid more attention to this subject, that on the suspension of the last convention, an act of Parliament would be absolutely necessary to give effect to the convention of 1826, and the noble lord inquired of me whether it was my intention to propose a bill for that purpose. It is true that we did not proceed without mature deliberation. We approached the subject with great caution and reluctance, for we were most anxious that Brazil should take the course which Spain took in 1835, and Portugal

in 1842, and by mutual stipulations should have enabled us to effect this object. But all we do by this act is not to give the Crown the power to issue these orders, for we think that the Crown has the power to direct the detention of Brazilian vessels, in virtue of the convention, and we are prepared to take on ourselves the responsibility of issuing these orders. But at present the Vice-Admiralty Courts of this country are prohibited from taking cognizance of these offences. (Hear, hear.) At present, without the intervention of an act of Parliament, I apprehend that the Vice-Admiralty Courts could not proceed to the adjudication and condemnation of Brazilian vessels, and it is necessary to provide in this case, as you did in the case of Portugal, that the Vice-Admiralty Courts should have that jurisdiction of adjudication and condemnation, with respect to vessels seized on suspicion of carrying on the slave-trade, which they would not have without it. The hon. gentleman tells us to issue the orders on our own responsibility, and trust hereafter to an act of indemnity. It is infinitely better to ask from Parliament the power of adjudication upon vessels that are seized, rather than to issue orders and leave it in doubt whether there be any jurisdiction competent to decide upon these points. The hon. gentleman refers to a speech made, and a protest entered into, by my noble friend, in 1839, with reference to the bill proposed by the noble lord, enabling the British Government to detain Portuguese vessels concerned in the slave-trade. I, for one, seeing there was an indisposition on the part of Portugal to fulfil the obligations of her treaty with this country, with respect to the slave-trade, felt that the noble lord was justified in the measure he proposed. I saw the unavailing attempts he had made to prevail on Portugal to fulfil those stipulations into which she had entered with this country, and that after benefits received from this country, and every diplomatic effort having failed, I thought that the noble lord was fully justified in calling on Parliament for their assistance. Both houses have, from time to time, presented addresses to the Crown for the suppression of the slave-trade, and have assured the Crown of their willing co-operation in case legislative interference was necessary. These addresses were unanimously carried, and therefore, on the part of the Crown, I think, after the convention of 1817, I should be abandoning my duty, if after those addresses, I permitted that state of things to arise which would arise unless you give to the Vice-Admiralty Courts the jurisdiction which this bill proposes. But the noble lord proposed, in the case of Portugal, an act of Parliament expressly giving to the Crown the power of issuing orders, and enabling the Vice-Admiralty Courts to exercise these powers. At a subsequent period, after some difficulties in respect to the first bill, the House of Lords acquiesced in what was proposed by the noble lord; but the case of Brazil is very different from the case of Portugal. In the case of Portugal there was no such treaty as in the case of Brazil. There was an engagement on the part of Portugal that she would co-operate with you generally in the suppression of the slave-trade, that she would pass a law prohibiting the slave-trade, that she would give you a right of search, and she engaged to do various things which she did not do, and entered into various stipulations which she did not perform, and the noble lord asked for the interference of Parliament to compel Portugal to do that which the British Crown had required of her, but which she refused to do. But that was a *casus belli*. The noble lord thought the conduct of Portugal justified the Crown, first in making the most urgent diplomatic remonstrances, and, these failing, then to call on Parliament to compel Portugal to enter into her engagements. If the hon. gentleman refers to the protest of my noble friend, he will see that it proceeded upon these grounds: because the constitution of this country and the usual practice had been to leave it to the sovereign, acting on the advice of her ministers, to come to a decision upon all questions of peace and war; and to carry into execution such measures, and to order such operations, as her ministers proposed. My noble friend contended that in the case of Portugal it was a *casus belli*—that the Crown ought to have proceeded upon its own imperial authority, and declared war against Portugal to compel her to perform her engagements. But this is not a *casus belli*, it is a *casus foederis*. There are stipulations by Brazil with this country expressly declaring that carrying on the slave-trade by Brazilian subjects should be piracy; we therefore do not ask Parliament to enable us to declare war against Brazil. We are content under the convention, after taking the advice of the highest authorities in this country, including my lamented friend Sir William Follett, whose name I shall never mention without a feeling of respect for the memory of that distinguished man (hear, hear.) After the best consideration, and after communication with the Queen's Advocate, he and the other highest authorities in this country, gave us deliberately their opinion, that, under that convention, failing the agreement and consent of Brazil to other measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, we were entirely authorised in continuing to exercise the right of search over Brazilian vessels. The right now reverts to the Crown of acting under the convention of 1826; and, supported by the advice to which I have referred, we feel it to be our duty to abide by it, in so far as to give to the Admiralty courts the power of exercising the rights conferred by that convention. I think the hon. gentleman cannot complain that I have thrown any difficulty in the way of the production of all the papers which, consistently with my sense of public duty, I could lay before the House. He will see that, in the last communication we made to the Brazilian Government, there is an expression of deep regret that considerations of public duty compel us to propose this measure, and an assurance that we shall have the utmost satisfaction in proposing to Parliament its repeal, if—influenced by the act of the noble lord in 1829—Brazil shall enter into a treaty with us, not for the suppression of slavery, not for interference with any institutions in Brazil, but for the purpose of giving effect to the original engagement of 1826. We have waited to the last; for a series of years we have implored Brazil to substitute something efficacious in lieu of this temporary measure; at length we feel driven to the necessity of interfering ourselves, to enforce the exercise of our right. But, at the same time, while we intend to exercise that right for ourselves, we accompany the intimation of our intention with an earnest exhortation to Brazil to relieve us from this necessity by entering into amicable engagements with us on the subject. The hon. member for Manchester says that this measure is imperfect, because some alterations were proposed by me in committee into which the House went *pro forma* the other night. But what was the alteration that was then made? It was simply this:—as the

mixed commission, with the consent of the two parties, are to continue their operations for six months, in order to preclude any doubt as to the validity of their decisions a clause was inserted giving to the decisions of that commission all the force which their decrees had under the former convention. As the period for which that commission is to sit is continued beyond the term specified in the original convention, the object of that clause was merely to solve a doubt which might have arisen as to the validity of their subsequent decrees. I also introduced into this bill the usual clauses—similar to those contained in the Portuguese act, and in every other measure of the same nature—enabling the Lords of the Treasury to award to vessels which succeed in capturing slave-ships a proportion of prize-money. These clauses, being regarded as money clauses, were omitted in the other House of Parliament; and it became my duty to propose their insertion in the committee in this House. I think, therefore, that the hon. gentleman's charge, that this bill has been got up with such haste as to render considerable alteration necessary, is, so far as it regards the alterations to which I have referred, altogether unfounded. I am not aware that there is any other point to which it is necessary for me to refer. The correspondence I have already laid on the table will probably afford sufficient explanation of the circumstances under which the bill was prepared. I again repeat, that it is with reluctance I propose this bill; and I trust that the necessity of continuing it will be removed by the voluntary act of Brazil, in entering into a treaty with us similar to the treaties we have concluded with Spain and Portugal. I can assure the hon. gentleman I shall have much greater pleasure in recommending the repeal of this bill than I now have in proposing it to the House. The negotiation with Brazil—not for a tariff, but for a commercial treaty, is still making progress; and if I felt that any good object could be promoted, or the success of the pending negotiation advanced, by the further production of papers and instructions, I would readily consent to lay them before the House. The instructions I have already produced will, I think, afford proof that I have been desirous to lay upon the table such information, bearing, in my opinion, immediately upon the subject, as I could do consistently with my public duty; but I regret that I cannot consent to produce the instructions issued to Mr. Ellis, alluded to by the hon. gentleman opposite.

Mr. HURR said, he believed that if this bill were passed its effect would be, in the course of two years, to destroy all commercial intercourse between this country and Brazil. Although this measure might, to some extent, prevent the Brazilian flag from affording protection to the slave-trade, he believed hon. gentlemen were mistaken if they supposed it would have the effect of preventing that trade from being carried on to the same extent as at present. His conviction was, that this measure would not diminish the slave-trade; and in a fruitless attempt to effect that object, the Government were sacrificing some of the best interests of this country, and bringing us to the very verge of war, or at least placing us in circumstances which it would be the highest wisdom to avoid. He therefore felt it his duty to oppose this bill.

Lord PALMERSTON said,—I certainly do not concur in the view of this question which has been taken by the hon. gentleman near me, but I am quite prepared to give my support to the bill now before the house. Indeed, I cannot pursue any other course, having, as the right hon. baronet has reminded me, been the first to suggest the proceedings which have rendered this measure necessary. A treaty was concluded between this country and Brazil in 1826, and the question for the house to consider is, whether that treaty is to be allowed to remain a dead letter—to remain unfulfilled,—or whether this house is prepared to take such measures as will enable the Crown to carry that treaty into execution. Now, I think, that after Parliament has addressed the Executive repeatedly since the year 1814, urging the Crown to conclude treaties with foreign powers, and pointing out the object of those treaties to be the suppression of the slave-trade—in some cases actually suggesting the means by which those treaties were to accomplish their purpose, it would be utterly disgraceful to the country if treaties so made were allowed to be defeated by the bad faith of the Governments with which they were concluded. I am sorry to say it is impossible to state in exaggerated terms the just accusations which may be brought against the Government of Brazil, as having been guilty of bad faith with regard to the engagements entered into with reference to the slave-trade. It is true that the Government of which I was a member did, for the whole ten years during which we were in office, year after year, by every possible argument, urge the Government of the Brazils to fulfil the engagements by which they were bound; but all our inducements, our arguments, and our persuasions, were utterly fruitless; and whenever the subject of the slave-trade has been discussed in this house, the bad faith of the Brazilian Government in this respect has been admitted on all hands. The question, therefore, is, are they to be permitted to carry on their slave-trade with perfect impunity, or are you to take the only means for preventing it which the treaty with Brazil places within your power? I am quite prepared to share any responsibility which attaches to a member of Parliament who gives his support to this measure; but at the same time I must admit that there is some force in the observation of my hon. friend, that possibly, if Her Majesty's Government had taken a more reasonable and judicious course than they thought fit to pursue towards the Government of Brazil on the question of the sugar duties, they would not have been placed in the situation in which they now find themselves, for undoubtedly the course they adopted was calculated to produce a great deal of unnecessary irritation in Brazil. I do not at all admit the argument of my hon. friend the member for Manchester (Mr. M. Gibson), that we cannot expect the Brazilians to submit to the measures now proposed, because England would not submit if any foreign power were to assume, for purposes of professed humanity, to exercise on our coasts that system of inspection and police which we exercise on the coast of Brazil. But if we were bound by treaty to do so, I hope and trust that we should submit to it. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced we should; for I have that high opinion of the honour of this country, that I am quite certain we should submit to any inconvenience, however galling it might be to our national pride, if we were bound by stipulations of treaties to do so. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, in asking the Brazilians to fulfil their engagements, we are only asking them to do what, under similar circumstances, at the requirement of any foreign country, we should ourselves be prepared to do. I must at the same time own I entertain some apprehension

sion that the anticipations of the hon. member for Gateshead (Mr. Hutt), as to the effect of this treaty, may be fulfilled. I am very much afraid we shall find the effect of this treaty will be, not to put an end to the slave-trade of Brazil, but to drive that slave-trade to take shelter under some other flag. It is quite clear, now that our mutual right of search with France is given up, and whereas a right of search does not exist with America, that the Brazilian slave-trade will be carried on under the flags of France and of the United States. (Hear.) Nevertheless, I still think a point is gained by preventing this trade from being carried on under the flag of Brazil, for that undoubtedly will be the effect of this measure. His lordship then adverted to the treaty between France and the Imam of Muscat, and proceeded as follows:—We are at present in treaty with the Imam of Muscat. I think this opportunity should be taken to urge upon him the expediency, the justice, and the humanity, of coming to some arrangement by which the horrors committed under his authority might be mitigated. It will readily be remembered by the house that not very long since I read to them an extract from a work of the late Sir Fowell Buxton, in which he depicted in glowing, but not exaggerated terms, the fearful cruelties which were inflicted upon the unhappy negroes who were conveyed in vessels belonging to the subjects of the Imam of Muscat. I am sure, that if the British Government make strong representations on this point, they cannot fail to be attended with good results; and I do also trust that the Government of this country will not permit the conduct of the Governors of Cuba and of Surinam to pass altogether without notice or remonstrance. I hope they will not allow our consuls and our commissioners to be sent to Coventry by those Governors.

Sir R. PEEL said, that the conduct of those governors had been made the subject of remonstrance.

Lord PALMERSTON.—But have the governors of Cuba and Surinam consented to receive the communications of our slave-trade commissioners?

Sir R. PEEL.—The strongest representations have been made to the Spanish Government on the subject. Her Majesty's representative at the Court of Spain has insisted upon these statements being received with attention.

Lord PALMERSTON.—What has been done with respect to Surinam?

Sir R. PEEL was understood to intimate that the cases of Cuba and Surinam were dissimilar.

Lord PALMERSTON.—It is probable that the matter may have escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government. I know as well as any one the calls which are made upon their time and thoughts; but I am sure, if they would only make a strong remonstrance to the Dutch Government, it would be attended with ultimate success. The question stands thus:—The negroes now in Surinam were carried thither contrary to the law of England. The law of this country forbids their conveyance, and by that law they became forfeited to the Crown; the result of that was their entire freedom. No foreign power had a right to retain them in a state of slavery. Though it might be said that they were purchased, yet the purchase was illegal, because every one must hold that British subjects—as they undoubtedly were—cannot lawfully be retained in a state of slavery. I do hope, therefore, that the subject will engage the attention of the law officers of the Crown, and that the Spanish and Dutch Governments will not claim a right to retain negroes in a state of slavery whom circumstances have thus placed temporarily within the reach of their power. Then as to the Emancipados, there is no difficulty in giving them their freedom by treaty. During the government of Valdez a certain number of them were set free; there were, however, not less than 2,000 or 3,000. It was suggested that there might be some hazard in setting so many at liberty by a single act, and this was not objected to so long as the number who received certificates of freedom went on annually increasing; but from the time that General O'Donnell succeeded to the government of Cuba the progress of emancipation was completely suspended. I do hope, then, that Her Majesty's Government, by means of a treaty, will endeavour to put an end to this suspension of the enfranchisement of these slaves. On that point the late Administration addressed many communications to the Spanish Government, and used their best exertions to accomplish the object by treaty, and I hope that the present Government will energetically follow up the same important object. Even if the treaties now in existence were acted on they would go a great way towards effecting the suppression of the slave trade; and I trust that the papers which will be laid on the table of this house next year will justify, more than those of last year did, our saying that they contained satisfactory proof of activity and energy on the part of the Government in putting an end to slavery.

Mr. M. GIBSON rose to explain that what he said was, that the Brazilian Government might have spoken of the slave trade as being piratical, but that they never enacted a law making it piracy. England, then, could not make a law to bind the Brazilians.

The bill then went through committee, and was subsequently read a third time and passed.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.—(Extract of a letter from H. B. Stanton to Joseph Sturge, dated Boston, July 31, 1845.)—“The good cause is making steady advances in our country. To-morrow the anniversary of West India emancipation will be celebrated quite extensively by our Anti-Slavery friends in various parts of the Union. In the forenoon I address an assemblage at Milton, near Boston, and in the afternoon and evening I am to be at Lowell, for the same purpose. You have seen an account of the Grand Liberty Convention, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, in June. It was a noble gathering,—the largest, perhaps, our cause has ever witnessed. We are taking measures to rival our western brethren, by a great convention in Boston, about the 1st of October, to be comprised of delegations from the six New England States, and from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The official invitations will be issued in few days. Our friends are full of spirit and determination. Though the Texas annexation iniquity will doubtless be

consummated, it will not paralyze our labours, nor damp our ardour, nor cloud our hopes. The abolitionists of this country did not band together merely to oppose the annexation of Texas, nor to resist the enlargement of our slave territory, but to overthrow slavery itself. Their principles, their measures, their purposes remain the same, whether Texas be within or without the boundaries of the American Union. It would greatly cheer us to meet any of our British friends at our Boston convention, about the 1st of October. Large meetings on behalf of the slave have recently been held in the states of New York, Vermont, and Maine. The spirit manifested was fully equal to any previous demonstration.”

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—A battle took place on Monday near Hagerstown, Maryland, between twelve runaway slaves and ten of their pursuers. Two of the negroes, and two of the whites, were dreadfully wounded, and most of the negroes escaped.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—(Extract of a letter from L. Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated July 30th, 1845.)—“A Congress has been held in Texas, i.e., their legislature, and voted almost unanimously for annexation. A convention was held on July 4th, and this body agreed to it with only one negative vote. The convention was proceeding to form a constitution. This will be submitted to our next Congress, December next. If agreeable then, Texas will be admitted as a sovereign state of this confederacy—no doubt; and senators from Texas will be at Washington in December, to take their seats as soon as the forms are gone through with. There is, therefore, little or no doubt that Texas will ere long be merged in this Union. What effect this will have on Mexico, or this country, remains to be seen. The democracy of this country have seen fit to accomplish this nefarious measure, as it would seem, in defiance of both God and man. Methinks I hear a voice from heaven saying, ‘Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?’ But we do not despair. The Anti-Slavery cause is onward. New papers are starting up, new advocates are appearing, new evidences are occurring that slavery is doomed,—that universal freedom will yet be proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.”

GERMANY.—Extract from the protocol of the twenty-first sitting of the Germanic Diet, June 19, 1845.—“Fully appreciating the sentiments and principles of Christian charity which have induced the Courts of Great Britain and Austria, of Prussia and Russia, to conclude the convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, dated the 20th of December, 1841, and animated with a desire to contribute, as far as in their power, towards the entire abolition of this criminal traffic, all the Germanic powers agree to prohibit the trade in slaves. In consequence whereof, in all the states in which there are no laws for the punishment of this traffic, it shall be punished as piracy; and in the states whose laws make no special mention of piracy, it shall be punished in the same manner as rape, or in a manner not less severe.”—*Journal de Francfort.*

Miscellanea.

CAPTURE OF SLAVERS.—On the 26th of April the *Mutine* being desirous of overhauling a suspicious-looking, very large, and fast-sailing vessel, that soon proved her slave-dealing character by bearing away, was in full chase of her when the *Mutine* grounded on the bar of Quillimaine, the tide then ebbing; upon seeing which, the crew of the slaver gave three cheers, and endeavoured to increase her distance from the brig as much as possible. The *Mutine*'s crew set to work to get the vessel from her dangerous position, and, after nearly two hours' exertions, the brig was fairly forced over the bar. The chase was then resumed, and the brig now displayed her sailing qualities, and made up for lost time. Gaining on the chase every minute, she was alongside the notorious Brazilian slaver, the *Principe Imperial*, in the course of seven hours. She endeavoured to detach the brig from pursuing her by hoisting the stripes and stars of the United States, and assuming the appearance of an American whaler: she was well calculated to deceive one not thoroughly convinced of her character. The prize was upwards of 400 tons burden. She had made three successful consecutive trips to Santos, in the Brazils, and had carried altogether 2,400 slaves. When captured, she was quite ready for the reception of 800 or 900 slaves. The *Principe Imperial* was given in charge of Lieut. the Hon. T. A. Pakenham, under whose command she sailed to Sierra Leone for adjudication. She had previously been chased by several other cruisers, and had escaped capture by her superior sailing. Since capturing the *Principe Imperial*, the boat of the *Mutine*, under the orders of Lieuts. Mends and the Hon. F. Curzon, on the 6th, off Madagascar, after a very spirited and well-managed chase, captured an Arab slaver, with 231 slaves on board. The Arabs, though desperate men, and well armed, jumped overboard at the moment their vessel was boarded. The Arab vessel was not in a fit state to undertake a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope at this tempestuous season, and was therefore destroyed. The *Mutine* sailed with her cargo, mustering nearly 200, including crew and supernumeraries.—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

SIAM SUGAR.—The *Gazette* contains an Order of Council, agreeably to the Act of 1844, declaring that the sugars of Siam are not the produce of slave-labour, and admitting them into the market subsequent to July 1st, 1845, at the reduced duties. The order is dated August 8th.

THE MISSOURI.—By private letter which has reached us from Gibraltar, we are informed, upon good authority, that 20,000 slave-shackles for men, women, and children, in all fourteen cart-loads, have been fished up from the wreck of the American war-steamer *Missouri*, lately burnt at that port.—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

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WEST INDIA COLONIES.

(Concluded.)

We proceed with the analysis of the answers received from our correspondents in the West Indies and British Guiana.

LAND IN CULTIVATION.

JAMAICA.—The proportion of land under cultivation as compared with the period of slavery is about the same, if the small freeholds held by the emancipated classes be taken into the account. The amount of land cultivated for raising provisions on estates is much less than heretofore, the people located on them depending more on money wages than on the profits to be derived from working their own grounds; added to which the enormous rental which is required for the land prevents an increase of small cultivators on the plantations. The emancipated class exclusively furnish the markets with ground provisions; some of whom, in consequence of the distance from the markets, are compelled to keep beasts of burden in order to carry their stock.

DEMERAERA.—The amount of land now under cultivation is nearly equal to that employed under the later period of slavery. Whilst some estates have been abandoned on account of exhaustion of the soil, new land has been brought into cultivation in some districts. There has been a decrease in the cultivation of the provision-grounds on estates in this province. The emancipated classes supply to a great extent the markets with ground provisions and small stock.

BERBICE.—There is an equal quantity of land under cultivation now, as in the time of slavery. The proportion of land cultivated for the growth of ground provisions has considerably increased: the emancipated class almost exclusively furnish the markets with them.

TRINIDAD.—The quantity of land under cultivation is not so great as formerly; but there is not much diminution. The quantity of land cultivated for raising provisions is small. The emancipated classes do not furnish the markets to any great extent.

ANTIGUA.—There is more land under cultivation here than in the days of slavery. Since the earthquake, however, some planters have reduced their cultivation. The quantity of land set apart for raising provisions is small as compared with the times of slavery. Since the earthquake the provision market has been principally supplied from neighbouring islands.

NOTE.—The foregoing statements relating to the amount of land in cultivation is the best that could be obtained, in the absence of an authentic survey of the colonies to which they refer. By the late census returns of Jamaica, it appears there are in that island 644 sugar estates, 671 coffee plantations, 378 breeding-pens, 822 pens with residences, and 22,703 farms and other settlements. The actual extent of cultivation, however, is not given. In the islands of Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago, it is estimated at present that 130,000 acres are in cultivation. From other colonies no satisfactory information has been obtained.

ESTATES.

JAMAICA.—It cannot be stated with precision what number of estates have been abandoned since 1838. It may, however, be observed that those which have been given up were abandoned principally in consequence of the heavy incumbrances upon them, suits in Chancery, exhaustion of soil, &c. Many estates are still mortgaged, and were so previously to 1838: indeed the greater part of the incumbrances existed prior to that time. Some estates are of course better located than others, and others better managed; in such cases the expense of production is consequently decreased. The estates of resident proprietors are generally in a better state of cultivation, and yield better returns than those of non-residents. There has been since 1838 a series of droughts, the last of which was distressing in the extreme, which has greatly diminished the exportable produce; so that estates which, in good seasons, made from 200 to 300 hogsheads of sugar, did not, during the last crop, make 100. There is no doubt that a system of rental of estates would be preferable to the present system of working them by agents. The plough and other implements of husbandry have, in some instances, been introduced with good effect, and have consequently lessened the demand for human labour. The agricultural societies have been the means of disseminating, to a certain extent, a knowledge of improved modes of cultivation, and are found to be generally beneficial, though they are not attended to so much as could be wished.

DEMERARA.—No information under this head.

BERBICE.—But very few estates have changed hands since 1838. They are generally, almost universally, mortgaged, and were so previous to emancipation. Some estates are necessarily more ex-

pensive in their management than others, from their situation. They are generally badly managed; the overseers despising the improvements which agricultural machinery might effect. The benefits resulting from resident proprietorship would be incalculable. The seasons have not been so favourable to cultivation as formerly. A system of rental of estates it is believed would be preferable to the present system of non-residence.

TRINIDAD.—The number of estates now under cultivation varies little from the number under slavery. Several estates have changed hands, and fallen into the possession of more spirited proprietors. Many are mortgaged, and were so prior to emancipation, whilst others have fallen into the hands of the mortgagees. The expenses of some estates are greater than others, through their being involved in debt. A sufficiency of capital would lead to proper cultivation. The estates of resident proprietors are far in advance of non-residents, and are more economically managed, though better wages are paid on them than on others. The expenses of cultivation might be greatly reduced by the introduction of an improved mode of cultivation, and of mechanical implements, such as the plough; but there appears to be a reluctance to depart from old practices. A system of rental of estates would undoubtedly answer. There is an agricultural society in the colony, but it is not well supported.

ANTIGUA.—The number of estates now in cultivation is quite equal to that of the period of slavery. Some estates have passed from the mortgager to the mortgagee, but the claims of the mortgagor existed prior to emancipation: few, if any, estates have been mortgaged since emancipation. A system of rental would be advantageous. On all well-conducted estates the plough has been in operation for some time with advantage. There are agricultural societies in existence, but they have hitherto done little; but it is hoped they will do more.

NOTE.—Whatever changes may have taken place since the period of emancipation in relation to estates, no one will venture to affirm that they have been subjected to anything like the same amount of fluctuation as during the period of slavery. Here is a picture of Jamaica in 1792, set forth in an official document printed by the House of Assembly:—"In the course of twenty years 177 estates have been sold for payment of debts, 55 estates have been thrown up, and 99 are in the hands of creditors." And it appears from the returns of the Provost Marshal for that period, that "80,121 executions, amounting to 22,563,786*l.* sterling, had been lodged in his office during those twenty years." Here is another picture drawn by the same house in 1807:—"Within the last five or six years 65 estates had been abandoned, 32 sold under decrees of Chancery, and 115 more respecting which suits were depending, and many more bills preparing." In 1812 we have a similar picture:—"Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island." And this was true of all the colonies, for "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the preceding twenty years (1813), been sold or given up to creditors." In 1829, and again in 1831, the picture was equally dismal, insomuch that Lord Goderich, then colonial secretary, observed,—"I cannot but regard the system (of slavery) itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not only at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just." At the period of emancipation, the debts due to mortgagees and merchants exceeded the amount of the compensation of 20,000,000*l.* sterling. It should be observed, that the estates purchased, especially in British Guiana, by bodies of negroes, were such as had been abandoned by their owners previously to the abolition of slavery.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

JAMAICA.—A great number of villages have been formed throughout the colony since 1838: this has arisen from the oppressive demands of the planters for rent for the merest huts. Their names will be sufficient to explain the circumstances under which they were raised:—"Comfort Hill," "Retreat," "Save Rent," "Ease Heart," &c., &c. The old villages have also greatly increased in population. The houses of the emancipated classes are much superior to those inhabited by them during the periods of slavery. Some thousands of acres of land have been purchased and brought into a state of cultivation, and constant additions are being made and new houses erected thereon. The inhabitants of the villages contiguous to estates devote the greater portion of their time, say four or five days a week, to their cultivation, and are found at work as freely and as frequently as those who continue to reside on them; and from being so closely located, they form depôts from which the planters select their labourers.

DEMERARA.—The population of the towns in this island has increased since emancipation, but chiefly by immigrants. The people who work contiguous to the towns live in the vicinity. Villages have sprung up in all directions, to the number, it is said, of 100, which are inhabited by at least 3,400 families. These villages, in

many instances, consist of small lots of land purchased by the negroes, on which they have erected cottages. Their houses are much superior to the huts formerly inhabited by them. The land is brought into a good state of cultivation. The villagers devote the whole of their time to the cultivation of neighbouring estates, except sometimes Fridays or Saturdays, which they give to their own lands.

BERBICE.—Those of the emancipated classes who for two or three years after the abolition of slavery lived in the larger towns, and erected dwellings there, have been compelled to remove into the country in consequence of the town-tax, and the expensive licenses required for shopkeeping or huckstering, amounting almost to a rental. Many new villages have been formed in almost every parish throughout the colony, on the front of lands, or in the immediate neighbourhood of estates where the emancipated labour. The houses are much superior to those formerly inhabited by them. In the first instance they erect a rude dwelling, but by diligence, economy, and perseverance, they are enabled ultimately to raise a comfortable house. It is computed that 5,000 small houses have been thus raised by them. The extent of land possessed by them varies from one quarter to one acre, which is devoted to the raising of garden produce. The labour of the estates is performed by the villagers, who devote as much time to labour as those who live on the estates.

TRINIDAD.—A large number of the negro population have located themselves in the larger towns since the abolition of slavery, who still labour on the estates; whilst others have located themselves in villages which they have formed in surrounding districts. The houses erected by them in many instances are neat in their appearance, but in others they are mean. A greater number of villages would be formed were not an exorbitant price required for the "lots," which deters many from purchasing them. The villagers in the rural districts are, in every respect, more moral and creditable in their conduct than those located in towns, and labour more regularly on the estates. The emancipated class who live in towns, copy too frequently the evil practices which they observe in the white man.

ANTIGUA.—There has been a great resort of the emancipated classes to towns since the abolition of slavery; but villages are springing up in every direction throughout the island. The houses are superior to those formerly inhabited by them. The labouring classes are anxious to obtain a home of their own, in addition to which they strive to secure small portions of land, for the purpose of raising ground provisions. The inhabitants both of towns and villages labour on the surrounding estates, and when they are properly treated, devote themselves to labour with regularity.

NOTE.—It must be obvious that without a large amount of industry and frugality, the emancipated classes could never have obtained the means for purchasing small lots of land, and the building of cottages, to the extent they have done since the abolition of slavery. Their free villages place them beyond the control of arbitrary and coercive masters; and now that they feel themselves independent, they engage themselves willingly and cheerfully to any who may require their services. It is also a cheering fact, that wherever they have erected their villages, they have not omitted to have some place of religious worship attached, and to secure for themselves and their children the advantages of moral training and Christian education.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES.

JAMAICA.—The physical condition of the negroes is greatly improved since emancipation. They are generally cheerful and happy, and altogether their appearance betokens improvement; they are better fed and clothed, disease seldom visits them, cutaneous affections have almost ceased to afflict them, and "yaws," a severe disease, has become very rare; the duration of life has consequently increased; there has been a great improvement in the condition of the women; their children are reared with increasing care, and there is abundant evidence of the maternal solicitude exhibited towards them. In their habits the negroes are generally moral, scarcely a case of concubinage is now to be met with among them, the zeal of missionaries has effected a complete revolution in this respect; the number of marriages now is equal, in its ratio, with that of other civilized countries. From an official return we learn that the number of marriages which have been solemnized in Jamaica from 1841 to 1844, amounts to more than 28,000.

DEMERARA.—The condition of the emancipated classes is improved beyond description. They are better fed, being able to obtain fresh meat, on which they thrive better than on salt provisions. Their clothing is much better, and where temperate habits have been formed, there is every prospect of lengthened life. The women are generally healthy and robust, and are most anxious about their children. The moral habits of the negroes are improved in every respect. The number of marriages is increasing, and generally there is a decided improvement.

BERBICE.—The general physical condition of the labourers is much improved. The effect of emancipation on the women has been to render them more domesticated and attentive to their offspring. Their moral habits are decidedly improved, and were it not for the pernicious example set them by the whites, the improvement would be still greater. The average number of marriages is 500 yearly. The proportion is 100 to one in favour of freedom.

TRINIDAD.—The physical condition of the emancipated class is improved. The women are improved; their children receive from

them every attention which maternal affection can suggest. There is no very decided improvement in moral habits—the black, coloured, and white, live in concubinage as heretofore. Nevertheless, there is some increase in the number of marriages.

ANTIGUA.—The general physical condition of the labourers is greatly improved since emancipation; they are better fed and clothed than formerly, their health and general appearance indicate a favourable change. The women manifest the greatest solicitude for their children.

NOTE.—Trinidad is the only colony from which discouraging accounts have been received relating to the moral improvement of the people. It is, however, to be observed, that few British colonies are so destitute of wholesome religious teaching as Trinidad. In all the other colonies there are the most cheering indications of moral improvement, and advance in religious knowledge and excellence.

GENERAL EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION.

JAMAICA.—The whites have not improved as a body since emancipation, either in manners, habits, or morals. The higher branches of literature are not cultivated among them, neither are there any literary or scientific institutes established in the colony for their use. Among the coloured there is a perceptible improvement; the tone of their morals is more healthy and elevated. The children of the emancipated are taught the rudiments of knowledge in the various schools, which have now become general; and where there is proper application, the improvement is generally creditable, and in some cases truly surprising. The usual charge for education is 3d. per week. The British and Foreign and the Scotch systems of education are most generally adopted. There are some free schools where education can be obtained gratuitously; there are also infant and adult schools established. The attendance in most cases is good. The places of worship have increased three or fourfold since emancipation. The churches have been raised by grants, and from taxes; the chapels, by voluntary contributions and assistance from England. They are usually well attended, frequently to overflowing, the peasantry being devoted to religious services. The sabbath schools are well attended, and the attainments of the children in scriptural knowledge is satisfactory. The number of *bond fide* members of Christian churches varies in different parts: in some places one-tenth, in others, one-fifth, and even one-third; but perhaps, on an average, one-fifth. The amount of contributions in aid of missions and other religious purposes, varies according to circumstances, depending greatly on the amount of wages received, and the state of the crops; but usually they contribute liberally. The prejudice as to caste and colour is giving way.

DEMERARA.—There has not been any perceptible improvement in the morals and habits of the "whites" since emancipation, but the coloured classes give evidence of moral health and rectitude of conduct. Schools have been established in great numbers, and are well attended by the children of the emancipated classes. The general improvement is creditable. The charge made for education is one guilder (16*d.*) per month. There are Sunday schools connected with most of the places of worship, where children receive instruction in Divine things, in which their progress is encouraging. One-third of the congregations in attendance in the places of worship are *bond fide* members. They contribute liberally, for their means, to the cause of God.

BERBICE.—The white population evidence no improvement in their morals or habits. There are no literary or scientific institutions in the colony. The mixed race are less vicious than the white, whilst the negro gives evidence of decided improvement. There are from thirty to forty schools established, attended by about 3,000 scholars, who are generally the children of the emancipated. The charge is one shilling per month. Many of the schools are free. The progress of the pupils is generally satisfactory. The British and Foreign system is mostly adopted. There has been a great addition to the churches and chapels of the colony. Since emancipation eighteen new ones have been erected, connected with each of which there are usually four smaller ones, or little out stations. The six new churches which have been raised have been erected at the expense of the colony and Parliamentary grants; the chapels at the cost of those who worship in them, and by aids and grants from the London Missionary Society. The attendance at the established churches is meagre, whilst the chapels are well filled. The Sabbath schools are well attended, and the proficiency of the children is satisfactory. About one-third of the congregations are *bond fide* members of Christian churches—they contribute liberally for their means to the missions.

TRINIDAD.—There has been no visible improvement in the white population since emancipation; they live in a deplorably demoralised state. The black population following in too many instances the evil example set before them, so that there is but little general improvement amongst them. There are, however, some happy exceptions. There has been a great increase in the number of schools since emancipation, but they are imperfectly attended. Many of them are free, but where a payment is made it averages twopence halfpenny per week. Where the children apply themselves their attainments are equal in every respect to those of English children. The British and Foreign system is most general. There has been a considerable increase in the number of places of worship, say from twenty to thirty, the attendance on which is not equal to the accommodation. There are Sabbath schools connected with the chapels and churches, which are well attended. The number of

members of churches in proportion with the congregations is one-fourth.

ANTIGUA.—Emancipation has restrained the habits and manners of the Whites, and to a certain extent improved them. Some, who for years lived in a state of concubinage, have married their former mistresses, it being now considered disreputable to live in that state,—the exertions of the ministers of the gospel have operated beneficially on all classes. There is a library society in the colony from which those in the humbler walks of life can obtain books stored with useful knowledge at a trifling subscription. The coloured classes have shared largely in the benefits arising from emancipation, they are conscious that their elevation and advancement in society depend on their general good character. A more kindly feeling prevails among all classes, nevertheless old prejudices are deeply rooted in the minds of the whites. Some few of the coloured people have been elected to the magistracy. There has been a great addition made to the number of churches and chapels, which are usually well attended; the number of *bond fide* members is at one-third to the congregations. Schools have been established in connection with the places of worship, which are well attended. The children progress very satisfactorily in Christian knowledge. There are day schools throughout the colony on an extensive scale, in which religious knowledge is the primary consideration; writing and cyphering, and in some schools a knowledge of geography and the use of the globes, is taught. There has been a diminution in the amount of crime, and generally there has been an improvement in the emancipated classes.

Nova.—To the correspondents of the Society the Committee return their best thanks for the valuable body of information forwarded to them. They would earnestly request them to keep the Society fully informed of every change for the better or for the worse, in their respective colonies. Their letters cannot fail to be of the greatest service to the cause of freedom, and will be extensively used in this country, as occasion may require.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN TRIPOLI.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Tripoli, 21st July, 1845.

TRIPOLI offers the sad and disgraceful spectacle—but happily the only one in Barbary—of a regular slave-exporting country.

During the last two or three weeks the Turkish authorities have been busy in the trade of human flesh, and of embarking slaves. A vessel belonging to a very wealthy Georgian, vulgarly called here Rais-el-Marsa, who has at different times enjoyed British protection, if he does not at the present, sailed about ten days ago with some forty or fifty slaves on board for Constantinople. Some three or four other vessels are about to follow, with the same number of slaves in each of them. There were some circumstances about the sailing of the vessel of the Georgian worth relating. A Maltese was to have gone as mate in her, and a Frenchman as pilot; but by the energetic and persevering efforts of Col. Warrington, this scandal, in open day, to all Christendom was prevented, and these men saved from a criminal prosecution. In fact, the English Consul refused to give the Maltese his passport, and menaced the Frenchman with reporting him to his Government; in both which cases Col. Warrington was only discharging his bounden duty. Your correspondent may also, perhaps, take a little credit for arresting the evil. The people spread an absurd report in town, which was not the less believed by some, that he had written to the British Admiral in Malta for a cruiser, which would seize the slaver as soon as she left Tripoli; and it was said that this had decided the Frenchman to give up the pilotage of the vessel.

The greatest slave-dealer here, one who the other day bought the whole of the slaves of a caravan from Fezzan, is Sidi Seid, the Governor of the town of Tripoli. This individual has risen rapidly since the arrival of the Turks in 1835. He was once an itinerant auctioneer in the bazaars, and sold slaves for others; and his wicked propensities for dealing in human flesh stick to him in his present fortune and elevated dignity. I visited 120 slaves belonging to this man. They were mostly young, and some of them quite children. According to their account of themselves, they were kidnapped—in fact, stolen by men-stealers in the fullest sense of the term. Their price varied from forty to eighty dollars. I saw some sold also in the slave-market for fifty and sixty dollars. They sell much higher at Constantinople, and the slave-dealers can afford to pay a handsome freightage for them. Many of the chiefs of the departments of government in Tripoli, I am told, also speculate in slaves, and find it very profitable.

Amongst the female slaves of the Governor was a white woman, who, I was told, having fully satiated the appetites of his Excellency—for it was said he had become tired of her—that very morning in which I visited these slaves was ordered to be resold. I saw her taken off to the bazaar, to be sold, and sold again, and treated, of course, in the same way by some other wealthy Mohamedan brute. Thus we see that there is only one step between white and black slavery; but, in truth, they are one and the same.

It becomes now a question how long this sort of thing is to go on, and whether the two or three millions sterling which Great Britain spent for propping up the Ottoman empire, during the late Syrian campaign, were merely spent to enable the Porte to carry on the slave-trade from the heart of Africa to the shores of the Mediterranean—entailing countless miseries upon the unfortunate Afri-

cans—and thence between its various dependencies. I press this question upon your consideration, more especially now, since France and England have concluded a new treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade on the western coast of Africa, which has left these two powers more at liberty to pursue their anti-slavery measures, if they are indeed sincere, either separately or unitedly, in other parts of the world. From the western coast they, of course, will naturally turn to the northern coast of Africa, if really they are anxious to put an end to this enormous evil.

I am grieved to think that England, for all her waste of money in keeping together the Ottoman empire, and propping up the falling throne of the Sultan, could not by any possibility wring from that sovereign's Government the paltry concession, in a political point of view, of the stopping of the exportation of slaves from the port of Tripoli to the Levant. But so it is. Foreigners, however, think differently. They boldly impugn the motives of our Government, and allege that, inasmuch as the export of slaves from Tripoli to the Levant does not affect the English colonies, England will let it go on, whilst, if she chose, she might, by holding up her little finger, annihilate this Mediterranean slave-traffic for ever.

As France, however, has entered anew into anti-slavery international measures, it is probable that the project of getting stopped this export of slaves from Tripoli may gratify her new-born zeal, and the Sultan, provided France and England make a cordial and united representation, may probably condescend to abolish this export traffic of slaves from Tripoli to the Levant, if it be only to get rid of their importunities.

At any rate you will agree with me, that the present system is pregnant with dangers to Europeans themselves. In the case of the departure of the vessel of the Rais-el-Marsa, you have seen that two persons narrowly escaped a criminal prosecution, and only the active interference of Col. Warrington saved them. If France and England, therefore, have any respect for themselves, and any anxiety for the welfare of their people, they will immediately put down a system which exposes them to dishonour, and their people to ruin.

UNITED STATES' INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.

(From a Correspondent of the *Trenton State Gazette*.)

We have in this country thousands of men and women who are daily “dealers in human flesh,” who constantly perpetrate the same enormity, in various places, for which Flory (the captain of the *Spitfire*) has been condemned. Nor are these the scum of society. They are not men whom we recognise as outcasts; they are, in many instances, the legislators, judges, and executive officers of the country; they wield the political power, control the action of the Government, and, in a great measure, create and direct the public sentiment of the nation. We are informed by them, that the slave-trade in which they are engaged, in the very heart of our country, is scarcely less atrocious and infamous than that perpetrated in Africa. It has all the loathsome features of the foreign trade, with the additional one of “breeding and raising slaves for sale,” which stands out in disgusting prominence, defying all competition. Nile’s Register, published at Baltimore, vol. 35, p. 4, states that “dealing in slaves has become a large business—establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cow-skins and other whips, oftentimes bloody.” From these prisons they are driven in droves to the Southern market, and the cruelties and atrocities practised upon them between Baltimore, Washington, and New Orleans, are scarcely excelled by the agonies of the middle passage.

The *Maryville (Tenn.) Intelligencer*, of October 4th, 1835, speaking of these droves of human cattle, remarks: “They are driven with heavy galling chains riveted upon their persons, their backs lacerated with the knotted whip, travelling to a region where their condition through time will be second only to the wretched creatures in hell; this depicting is not visionary, would to God that it was.”

The *New Orleans Courier*, of February 15, 1845, says, “We think it would require some casuistry to show that the present slave-trade from Virginia is a whit better than the one from Africa.” And the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, in 1835, in an address to the churches under its care, says: “Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are separated, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and agony often witnessed on such occasions proclaim with a trumpet-tongue the iniquity of our system. There is not a neighbourhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts whose mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts hold dear.”

Of the extent of this trade few of us have any just conception. Between the years 1817 and 1837, a period of twenty years, 300,000 slaves were taken from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland, to the Southern market, agreeably to the statement of the Rev. Dr. Graham, of North Carolina; and in 1835 it was estimated by the most intelligent men in Virginia, that 120,000 slaves were exported from that State during the preceding twelve months. About two-thirds of these accompanied their owners, who removed; the remaining one-third were sold at an average of 600 dollars each,

amounting to 24,000,000 dollars, which the domestic slave-trade poured into Virginia in one year. "In 1836," says the *Maryville (Tennessee) Intelligencer*, "60,000 slaves passed through a little western town on their way to the Southern market, and in the same year four States imported 200,000 slaves from the North." In 1837, a committee appointed by the citizens of Mobile (Ala.) to inquire into the causes of pecuniary distress so prevalent, reported that, between 1833 and 1837, Alabama alone imported from the Northern slave States 10,000,000 dollars worth of slaves annually, amounting to forty millions in four years, the price paid by one State alone, for the bodies and souls of men, women, and children, in the heart of a republic.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

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All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 3, 1845.

We have devoted a large part of our paper to-day to intelligence from the United States, which is of a highly interesting character. We recently referred to the Southern and Western Liberty Convention, held at Cincinnati on the 11th of June, under the presidency of our friend Mr. Birney; and to-day we have the pleasure of inserting a large portion of the address to the people of the United States issued by that important meeting. With much satisfaction we observe also that the action of ecclesiastical bodies on the subject of slavery is continually extending; and, in particular, we notice an instance of joint action on the part of the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies.

The escape of slaves seems to be going on in all quarters with increasing rapidity, and the State of Maryland is agitated by it in an unprecedented manner. Recently in this State nearly a hundred slaves started for freedom in company, a remarkable occurrence, the details of which will be found in our foreign intelligence. The slaveholders have evidently been struck with amazement and consternation by it. The following extracts from the papers are very significant.

"Last Saturday night, or early Sunday morning, some seventy or eighty, and perhaps more, as it is impossible to ascertain the correct number, negroes absconded from this vicinity. They went off without any provocation, and, on the part of their owners, the least suspicion. There is, from what we learn, not the least doubt but this move has been some time brewing, and it appears up to the time of some of them leaving their masters' premises on Saturday afternoon—their usual holiday—they had not the remotest idea of running away at the time they did. A gentleman residing about six miles from this village had every negro on his place except two of the gang. This is the second gang that has left this county within a few weeks, and we fear if some mode is not fallen upon to put a stop to it, our planters will have a beggarly number to gather their crops. There seems to be a strange and singular spirit come over this portion of our population of late."

NEGRO INSURRECTION IN MARYLAND.—This movement of the negroes in Maryland, according to all accounts from Washington, is quite alarming; nothing like it has taken place since the time of the great Southampton insurrection or massacre produced by the agitation of the abolitionists through the northern presses. No doubt this attempt of the negroes in Maryland has been produced by the same influences—the recent agitation of the slavery question, both north and south, and various movements of the abolitionists in the free States. And the worst of it is, that we can hardly hope that the mischief will stop here. There is every reason to believe that some still more desperate and bloody movement will take place ere long. The collection of a hundred negroes, and the march upon the State of Pennsylvania, would seem to indicate that a new idea has seized the minds of these creatures. What is there to prevent the organization of large bands of negroes in all the States adjacent to free States, and a universal system of insurrection and rebellion; and all produced by the agitation of the rabid politicians and frantic fanatics who are marshaled under the banner of abolitionism?"

This looks well. And it looks still better that the slaveholders have not confined themselves to words. They held a meeting with great promptness, and resolved upon measures of repression of the most violent and desperate kind, one of which was the forcible expulsion from the State of all free people of colour before Christmas next. For the boasted land of liberty this is passable, and will serve for a new joke to "jeering Europe." We counsel these champions of freedom, however, that, if they cannot keep their slaves at home by any other measures than these, they cannot do it at all. The new state of things is, in this case, quite past contending with, and they had better submit with a good grace. The *Emancipator* suggests with some truth that they have themselves to thank for it, and that "it is only Torrey going to seed." While the good people of Maryland are thus astounded by the departure of their slaves, those of Virginia are perplexed by that of the free

white persons, many of whom, it appears, have found that they can no longer live in a slave-region, and have removed into free States. This is regarded as so bad an omen by the slaveholders, that they have issued an address calling upon the Legislature to take this, and other startling symptoms, into consideration. Together with all this, Cassius M. Clay's newspaper, the *True American*, proceeds with vigour and success, fresh light breaking in upon his course at every step. Captain Jonathan Walker, whose release from captivity we have already mentioned, has been enthusiastically welcomed at the North, and the brand of SS on the palm of his hand distinguished as "the mark of honour." The spirit of the abolitionists is altogether one of high courage and expectation.

For ourselves, we most sincerely congratulate our friends on the other side of the Atlantic on the onward attitude of abolition, and view their plan of new exertion with the warmest sympathy and hope. In conclusion, we quote with pleasure from the *Anti-Slavery Standard* the following cordial acknowledgment of aid afforded to the cause by British abolitionists.

"We owe much to the co-operation and sympathy of British abolitionists, in the direction which they have laboured to give the public mind in the cases of John L. Brown, Jonathan Walker, and others. Without political interference, without individual officiousness, without a deed of which the law of nations could take cognizance, or one which the law of love could condemn, the prompt expression of feeling on the part of British abolitionists in the case of John L. Brown, was of avail to nullify the bloody sentence of the South Carolina judge, and set the victim of the slave-law free. This is the might of moral suasion. This is the efficacy of well-directed opinion. God bless the abolitionists of Great Britain, and make them strong to utter the words of truth in behalf of freedom, in the hearing of every American State, and every American citizen! May no temptation of worldly interest, though clothed in the livery of heaven, ever prevail with them, (as is the case of Dr. Burns, Cunningham, &c., of the Scotch Free Church,) to keep silence when it concerns the cause of human freedom that they should speak."

FROM our files of Mauritius papers we find that the articles which appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* some time since in relation to that colony have attracted some attention. Our contemporary of the *Cerneen*, in particular, favours us with a notice extended to the length of three columns, and indicating a considerable degree of soreness with us. We have, as he alleges, "dexterously extracted from his journal three articles," which he intended for one purpose, and we have applied to another; and he, of course, does not like his artillery to be so effectually turned against himself. He quarrels also with the statistics inserted in the letter addressed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Sir R. Peel. On this point our reply to him is, that the Parliamentary papers present very defective returns, and that the numbers given in the document on which he animadverts are derived from a private but authentic source—the most authentic source from which any information respecting Mauritius can be obtained. We have at this moment no doubt of its correctness. Some of the allegations contained in the same letter he characterises as "supremely ridiculous." It were better if he could have shown them to be false. We know them to be true; and we know also that the evidence of their truth is in the hands of the Home Government. For the rest, according to him, "ignorance, party spirit, and calumny are conspicuous in every line" of this document; it is "in open violation of the laws of modesty and decency, and most impudent lying." And for ourselves, we "lie for the cause of humanity;" nay, we are "condemned to lie unceasingly, and to keep on acting our farce of mock philanthropy." This will do very well. Abuse is the last resource of a helpless antagonist. It is clear that we have touched the real sores in the social state of Mauritius; and, from the irritation of the patient, we hope not without a salutary result. On the question of immigration the *Cerneen* is still rabid, but we are glad to perceive that it is far from expressing on this point the universal sentiment. The *Mauritius Watchman* admits that there is nothing in the letter of the Committee worse than has actually occurred there in the Coolie trade. And from an article in the same paper we extract the following satisfactory and encouraging sentences:—

"We are beginning to feel that the true interests of the colony would be promoted in a far higher degree by the proper and judicious employment of the force at present resident here, than by expensive and uncertain importations. Every complaint that is made against the resident labouring population would apply with equal force to any that can be imported, for the same causes will always produce the same effects. We must have either a competition for labour, which can only arise from an excess of hands, or a degree of independence among the labouring classes which will lead to complaints and difficulties with all those whose disposition or circumstances prevent them from rendering their workmen comfortable. The first of these two cases would inevitably involve a great degree of misery and poverty, and consequently of crime; and we therefore consider the evils of the latter as far less than those of the former. Ergo, we should do much better to make the most of our resident labourers as they are, than flatter ourselves with the prospect of better and cheaper service, which is, to say the least, very uncertain to be realised."

It appears from the papers that Lord Stanley has disapproved a clause of an ordinance in relation to estate hospitals, which went to authorise compulsory confinement of labourers there during sickness—in other words, during the pleasure of their masters. This scheme for making prisons of the hospitals is one of the old tricks of slavery, and the disallowance of it makes the planters very angry. A correspondent of the *Cerneen* declares that he will break the law,

that is, he will illegally imprison his labourers, and the editor abets him in it! The finances of the colony are still in a deplorable condition. On an expenditure for the year of about 120,000*l.*, there is a deficit of not less than 96,000*l.*

We are glad to see that two ordinances have been passed, the one to prevent Coolies from being taken to any other place than Mauritius, and another to provide security for the property of Coolies who die intestate.

The Friend of India, just received, gives an account, from a correspondent, of the progress and issue of Coolie emigration to Mauritius. We content ourselves at present with a single extract, which we make for two reasons:—first, for the evidence it supplies that the Mauritians are getting tired of the Coolies; and next, for the purpose of correcting the misrepresentation with which it concludes. The passage is as follows:—

"It is a general complaint that the Indians spend very little money in the colony: this is one reason why the Mauritians wish to procure labourers from the eastern coast of Africa. It is said that the negro has not the same local attachment to his country as the Indian, and it is anticipated that, instead of hoarding up his cash, as the Coolies do, he will spend it in the colony. Moreover, the negro does nearly twice as much work as the Indian, and his keep is not so expensive; he is content with rice and salt meat, and does not require the expensive luxuries of ghee, mussala, and daule. Where an Indian makes eighty holes per day, the negro will, it is said, make 120. There will be less difficulty in getting women over, it is thought. I believe there is no apprehension of the authorities there fostering an internal slave traffic in Africa. *The vessels are to bring labourers from those parts where slavery does not exist, as Quinos, Zanzibar, and the territories belonging to the Imam of Muscat.*"

We have marked the last sentence in italics for the purpose of drawing attention to it, and of giving it an emphatic contradiction. Slavery exists universally on the eastern coast of Africa, and is nowhere more rife than in the territories of the Imam of Muscat; nor can there be any doubt that the efforts now making to draw labourers from Africa to Mauritius will foster an internal slave trade on that continent.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ADOPTED BY THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN LIBERTY CONVENTION, HELD AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 11, 1845.

From this very able and important paper, to which we have already cursorily referred, we give with pleasure the following extracts. They are as extended as our space will allow. After adducing documentary evidence of the original anti-slavery policy of the American people and Government, the address thus proceeds:—

Fellow Citizens.—The public acts and the recorded opinions of the fathers of the revolution are before you. Let us pause here. Let us reflect what would have been the condition of the country had the original policy of the nation been steadily pursued, and contrast what would have been with what is.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania had become non-slaveholding States. By the ordinance of 1787, provision had been made for the erection of five other non-slaveholding States. The admission of Vermont and the district of Maine, as separate States without slavery, was also anticipated. There was no doubt that New York and New Jersey would follow the example of Pennsylvania. Thus it was supposed to be certain that the Union would ultimately embrace at least fourteen free States, and that slavery would be excluded from all territory thereafter acquired by the nation, and from all States created out of such territory.

This was the true understanding upon which the Constitution was adopted. It was never imagined that new slave States were to be admitted; unless, perhaps, which seems probable, it was contemplated to admit the western districts of Virginia and North Carolina, now known as Kentucky and Tennessee, as States, without any reference to the slavery already established in them. In no event, to which our fathers looked forward, could the number of slave States exceed eight; while it was almost certain that the number of free States would be at least fourteen, it was never supposed that slavery was to be a cherished interest of the country, or even a permanent institution of any State. It was expected that all the States, stimulated by the examples before them, and urged by their own avowed principles recorded in the declaration, would, at no distant day, put an end to slavery within their respective limits.

It cannot be doubted that, had the original policy and original principles of the Government been adhered to, this expectation would have been realised. The example and influence of the general Government would have been on the side of freedom. Slavery would have ceased in the district of Columbia immediately upon the establishment of the Government within its limits. Slavery would have disappeared from Louisiana and Florida upon the acquisition of those territories by the United States. No law would have been enacted, no treaties made, no measures taken for the extension or maintenance of slavery. Amid the rejoicings of all the free, and the congratulations of all friends of freedom, the last fetter would, ere now, have been stricken from the last slave, and the principles and institutions of liberty would have pervaded the entire land.

How different—how sadly different are the facts of history! Luther Martin complained at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, "that when our own liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of men: the danger being thought to be passed which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more and more insensible to those rights." This insensibility continued to increase, and prepared the way for the encroachments of the political slave power, which originated in the three-fifths rule of the Constitution. This rule, designed perhaps as a *ensure upon slavery by denying to the slave States the full representation*

to which their population would entitle them, has had a very different practical effect. It has virtually established in the country an aristocracy of slaveholders. It has conferred on masters the right of representation for three-fifths of their slaves. The representation from the slave States in Congress, has always been from one-fifth to one-fourth greater than it would have been, were freemen only represented. Under the first apportionment according to this rate, a district in a free State containing thirty thousand free inhabitants would have one representative. A district in a slave State, containing three thousand free persons and forty-five thousand slaves, would also have one. In the first district a representative could be elected only by the majority of five thousand votes: in the other he would need only the majority of five hundred. Of course, the representation from slave States, elected by a much smaller constituency, and bound together by a common tie, would generally act in concert, and always with special regard to the interests of masters whose representatives in fact they were. Every aristocracy in the world has sustained itself by encroachment, and the aristocracy of slaveholders in this country has not been an exception to the general truth. The nation has always been divided into parties, and the slaveholders, by making the protection and advancement of their peculiar interests the price of their political support, have generally succeeded in controlling all. This influence has greatly increased the insensibility to human rights, of which Martin indignantly complained. It has upheld slavery in the district of Columbia, and in the territories, in spite of the Constitution; it has added to the Union five slave states, created out of national territories; it has usurped the control of our foreign negotiation, and domestic legislation; it has dictated the choice of the high officers of our Government at home, and of our national representatives abroad; it has filled every department of executive and judicial administration with its friends and satellites; it has detained in slavery multitudes who are constitutionally entitled to their freedom; it has waged unrelenting war with the most sacred rights of the free, stifling the freedom of speech and of debate, setting at nought the right of petition, and denying in the slave States those immunities to the citizens of the free, which the Constitution guarantees; and, finally, it has dictated the acquisition of an immense foreign territory, not for the laudable purpose of extending the blessings of freedom, but with the bad design of diffusing the curse of slavery, and thereby consolidating and perfecting its own ascendancy.

Against this influence, against these infractions of the Constitution, against these departures from the national policy originally adopted, against these violations of the national faith originally pledged, we solemnly protest. Nor do we purpose only to protest. We recognise the obligations which rest upon us as descendants of the men of the revolution, as inheritors of the institutions which they established, as partakers of the blessings which they so dearly purchased, to carry forward and perfect their work. We mean to do it, wisely and prudently, but with energy and decision. We have the example of our fathers on our side. We have the Constitution of their adoption on our side. It is our duty and purpose to rescue the Government from the control of the slaveholders; to harmonise its practical administration with the provisions of the Constitution, and to secure to all, without exception, and without partiality, the rights which the Constitution guarantees. We believe that slaveholding in the United States is the source of numberless evils, moral, social, and political; that it hinders social progress; that it embitters public and private intercourse; that it degrades us as individuals, as States, and as a nation; that it holds back our country from a splendid career of greatness and glory. We are, therefore, resolutely, inflexibly, at all times, and under all circumstances, hostile to its longer continuance in our land. We believe that its removal can be effected peacefully, constitutionally, without real injury to any, with the greatest benefit to all.

We propose to effect this by repealing all legislation, and discontinuing all action in favour of slavery, at home and abroad; by prohibiting the practice of slaveholding in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction, in the district of Columbia, in American vessels upon the seas, in forts, arsenals, navy yards; by forbidding the employment of slaves upon any public work; by adopting resolutions in Congress declaring that slaveholding in all States created out of national territories is unconstitutional, and recommending to others the immediate adoption of measures for its extinction within their respective limits; and by electing and appointing to public station such men, and only such men as openly avow our principles, and will honestly carry out our measures.

The constitutionality of this line of action cannot be successfully impeached. That it will terminate, if steadily pursued, in the utter overthrow of slavery at no very distant day, none will doubt. We adopt it because we desire, through and by the Constitution, to attain the great ends which the Constitution itself proposes, the establishment of justice, and the security of liberty. We insist not here upon the opinions of some, that no slaveholding in any State of the Union is compatible with a true and just construction of the Constitution; nor upon the opinions of others, that the Declaration of Independence setting forth the creed of the nation, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right of liberty, must be regarded as the common law of America, antecedent to and unimpaired by the Constitution; nor need we appeal to the doctrine that slaveholding is contrary to the supreme law of the Supreme Ruler, preceding and controlling all human law, and binding upon all legislatures in the enactment of laws, and upon all courts in the administration of justice. We are willing to take our stand upon propositions generally conceded:—that slaveholding is contrary to natural right and justice; that it can subsist nowhere without the sanction and aid of positive legislation; that the Constitution expressly prohibits Congress from depriving any person of liberty without due process of law. From these propositions we deduce, by logical inference, the doctrines upon which we insist. We deprecate all discord among the States; but do not dread discord so much as we do the subjugation of the States and the people to the yoke of the slaveholding oligarchy. We deprecate the dissolution of the Union, as a dreadful political calamity; but if any of the States shall prefer dissolution to submission to the Constitutional action of the people on the subject of slavery, we cannot purchase their alliance by the sacrifice of inestimable rights and the abandonment of sacred duties.

Such, fellow citizens, are our views, principles, and objects. We invite your co-operation in the great work of delivering our beloved country

from the evils of slavery. No question half so important as that of slavery, engages the attention of the American people. All others, in fact, dwindle into insignificance in comparison with it. The question of slavery is, and until it shall be settled, must be, the paramount moral and political question of the day. We, at least, so regard it; and, so regarding it, must subordinate every other question to it.

It follows as a necessary consequence, that we cannot yield our political support to any party which does not take our ground upon this question.

That there is such a party is well known. It is the Liberty Party of the United States. Its principles, measures, and objects, we cordially approve. It founds itself upon the great cardinal principle of true democracy and of true Christianity, the brotherhood of the human family. It avows its purpose to wage implacable war against slaveholding as the direct form of oppression, and then against every other species of tyranny and injustice. Its views on the subject of slavery in this country are, in the main, the same as those which we have set forth in this address. Its members agree to regard the extinction of slavery as the most important end which can, at this time, be proposed to political action; and they agree to differ as to other questions of minor importance, such as those of trade and currency, believing that these can be satisfactorily disposed of, when the question of slavery shall be settled, and that, until then, they cannot be satisfactorily disposed of at all.

And now, fellow citizens, permit us to ask, whether you will not give to this party the aid of your counsels? Its aims are lofty, and noble, and pacific; its means are simple and unobjectionable. Why should it not have your co-operation?

Are you already anti-slavery men? Let us ask, is it not far better to act with those with whom you agree on the fundamental point of slavery, and swell the vote and augment the moral force of anti-slavery, rather than to act with those with whom you agree only on minor points; and thus, for the time, swell a vote and augment an influence which must be counted against the Liberty movement, in the vain hope that those with whom you thus act now, will, at some indefinite future period, act with you for the overthrow of slavery? There are, perhaps, nearly equal numbers of you in each of the pro-slavery parties, honestly opposed to each other on questions of trade, currency, and extension of territory, but of one mind on the great question of slavery; and yet, you suffer yourselves to be played off against each other by parties which agree in nothing except hostility to the great measure of positive action against slavery, which seems to you, and is, of paramount importance! What can you gain by this course? What may you not gain by laying your minor differences on the altar of duty, and uniting as one man, in one party, against slavery? Then every vote would tell for freedom, and would encourage the friends of liberty to fresh efforts. Now every vote, whether you intend it so or not, tells for slavery, and operates as a discouragement and hindrance to those who are contending for equal rights. Let us entreat you not to persevere in your suicidal, fratricidal course; but to renounce at once all pro-slavery alliances, and join the friends of liberty. It is not the question now whether a Liberty party shall be organized: it is organized and in the field. The real question, and the only real question, is—will you, so far as your votes and influence go, hasten or retard the day of its triumph? Are you men of the free States? and have you not suffered enough of wrong, of insult, and of contumely, from the slaveholding oligarchy? Have you not been taxed enough for the support of slavery? Is it not enough that all the powers of the Government are exerted for its maintenance, and that all the departments of the Government are in the hands of the slave power? How long will you consent, by your votes, to maintain slavery at the seat of the national Government, in violation of the Constitution of your country, and thus give your direct sanction to the whole dreadful system? How long will you consent to be represented in the national councils by men who will not dare to assert their own rights or yours in the presence of an arrogant aristocracy? and, in your State legislatures, by men whose utmost height of courage and manly daring, when your citizens are imprisoned without allegation of crime, in slave States, and your agents, sent for their relief, are driven out, as you would scourge from your premises an intrusive cur, is to protest and submit? Rouse up, men of the free States, for shame, if not for duty! Awake to a sense of your degraded position. Behold your President a slaveholder; his cabinet composed of slaveholders, or their abject instruments; the two Houses of Congress submissive and servile; your representatives with foreign nations, most of them slaveholders; your supreme administrators of justice, most of them slaveholders; your officers of the army and navy, most of them slaveholders. Observe the results. What numerous appointments of pro-slavery citizens of slave States to national employments! What careful exclusion of every man who holds the faith of Jefferson and Washington in respect to slavery, and believes, with Maddison, "that it is wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man," from national offices of honour and trust! What assiduity in negotiations for the reclamation of slaves, cast, in the providence of God, on foreign shores, and for the extension of the markets of cotton, and rice, and tobacco,—ay, and of men! What zeal on the judicial bench in wrenching the Constitution and the law to the purposes of slaveholders, by shielding kidnappers from merited punishment, and paralyzing State legislation for the security of personal liberty! What readiness in legislation to serve the interests of the oligarchy by unconstitutional provisions for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and by laying heavy duties on slave-labour products, thereby compelling non-slaveholding labourers to support slaveholders in idleness and luxury! When shall these things have an end? How long shall servile endurance be protracted? It is for you, fellow-citizens, to determine. The shameful partiality to slaveholders and slavery, which has so long prevailed, and now prevails, in the administration of the Government, will cease when you determine that it shall cease, and act accordingly.

Are you non-slaveholders of the slave States? Let us ask you to consider what interest you have in the system of slavery; what benefits does it confer on you? What blessings does it promise to your children? You constitute the vast majority of the population of the slave States. The aggregate votes of all the slaveholders do not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, while the votes of the non-slaveholders will number at least six hundred thousand, supposing each adult male to possess a vote.—It

is clear, therefore, that the continuance of slavery depends upon your suffrages. We repeat, what interest have you in supporting the system?

Slavery diminishes your population and hinders your prosperity. Compare New York with Virginia, Ohio with Kentucky, Arkansas with Michigan, Florida with Iowa. Need we say more?

It prevents general education. It is not the interest of slaveholders that poor non-slaveholders should be educated. The census of 1840 reveals the astounding facts that more than one-seventeenth of the white population in the slave States are unable to read or write, while not a hundred and fiftieth part of the same class in the free are in the same condition, and that there are more than twelve times as many scholars at public charge in the free States as in the slave States.

It paralyzes your industry and enterprise. The census of 1840 also disclosed the fact that the free States, with two millions and a quarter inhabitants more, and ninety-eight millions acres less than the slave States, produce annually, in value, from mines thirty-three millions dollars more; from the forests, eight millions dollars more; from fisheries, nine millions dollars more; from agriculture, forty millions dollars more; from manufactures, one hundred and fifty-one millions dollars more. At the same time, the capital invested in commerce by the free States exceeds the capital similarly invested in the slave States by more than one hundred millions of dollars; and the tonnage of the former exceeds the tonnage of the latter by more than a thousand millions of tons! This enormous disparity, which will strike attention the more forcibly when it is considered that much of the capital employed in the slave States is owned in the free, can be ascribed to no cause except slavery.

It degrades and dishonours labour. In what country did an aristocracy ever care for the poor? When did slaveholders ever attempt to improve the condition of the free labourer? "White negroes" is the contemptuous term by which Robert Wickliffe, of Kentucky, designated the free labourers of his State. He saw no distinction between them and slaves, except that the former may be converted into voters. Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, teaches that, "so far as the mere labourer has the pride, the knowledge or the aspiration of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation." And he likens the labourer "to the horse or the ox," to whom it would be ridiculous to attempt to impart "a cultivated understanding or fine feeling." Governor M'Duffie, in a Message to the Legislature of South Carolina, went so far as to say that, "the institution of domestic slavery supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and the other appendages of an hereditary system of government." Of course the slaveholders are the noble, and you, the non-slaveholders, are the ignoble, of this social system.

Slavery corrupts the religion and destroys the morals of a community. We need not repeat Jefferson's strong testimony. In a Message to the Legislature of Kentucky, some years since, the governor said, "We long to see the day when the law will assert its majesty, and stop the wanton destruction of life which almost daily occurs within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth." And the governor of Alabama, in a Message to the Legislature of that State, said, "Why do we hear of stabbings and shootings, almost daily, in some part or other of our State?" A judge in New Orleans, in an address on the opening of his Court, observed, "Without some powerful and certain remedy our streets will become butcheries, overflowing with the blood of our citizens." These terrible pictures are drawn by home pencils. Can communities prosper when religion and morality furnish no stronger restraints on violence and passion?

Slavery is a source of most deplorable weakness. What a panic is spread by the bare suggestion of a servile insurrection! And how completely are the slaveholding States at the mercy of any invading foe who will raise the standard of emancipation! In the revolutionary war, according to the secret journals of Congress, South Carolina was "unable to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy." We need not say that if the danger of insurrection was then great, it would be, circumstances being similar, tenfold greater now.

Slavery seeks to deprive non-slaveholders of political power. In Virginia and South Carolina especially, has this policy been most steadily and successfully pursued. In South Carolina the political power of the State is lodged in the great slaveholding districts by the Constitution, and to make assurance doubly sure, it is provided, in that instrument, that no person can be a member of the legislature unless he owns five hundred acres of land and ten slaves, or an equivalent in additional land. The right of voting for electors of president and vice-president is, in South Carolina, confined to members of the legislature; consequently, in that State no non-slaveholder can have a voice in the selection of the first and second Officers of the Republic. In Virginia the slave population is considered the basis of political power, and the preponderance of representation is given to those districts in which there is the largest slave population. The House of Representatives consists of one hundred and thirty-four members, of whom fifty-six are chosen by the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and seventy-eight by the counties east. The Senate consists of thirty-two members, of whom thirteen are assigned to the western, and nineteen to the eastern counties. Already the free white population west of the Blue Ridge exceeds the same class east in number, but no change in the population can affect this distribution of political power, designed to secure and preserve the ascendancy of the slaveholders, who chiefly reside east of the Ridge, so long as the Constitution remains unchanged.

These, non-slaveholders of the slave States, are the fruits of slavery. You surely can have no reason to love a system which entails such consequences. Yet it lives by your sufferance. You have only to speak the word at the ballot-box, and the system falls. Will you be restrained from speaking that word by the consideration that the enslaved will be benefited as well as yourselves; or by the selfish expectation that you may yourselves become slaveholders hereafter, and so be admitted into the ranks of the aristocracy? If such considerations withhold you, we bid you beware lest you prepare a bitter retribution for yourselves, and find, to your mortification and shame, that a patent of nobility, written in the tears and blood of the oppressed, is a sorry passport to the approbation of mankind.

We would appeal also to slaveholders themselves. We would enter at

once within the lines of selfish ideas and mercenary motives, and appeal to your consciences and your hearts. You know that the system of slaveholding is wrong. Whatever theologians may teach and cite Scripture for, you know—all of you who claim freedom for yourselves and your children as a birthright precious beyond all price, and inalienable as life—that no person can rightfully hold another as a slave. Your courts, in their judicial decisions, and your books of common law, in their elementary lessons, rise far above the precepts of most of your religious teachers, and declare all slaveholding to be against natural right. You feel it to be so. God has so made the human heart, that, in spite of all theological sophistry and pretended scripture proofs, you cannot help feeling it to be so. There is a law of sublimer origin, and more awful sanction than any human code, written in ineffaceable characters, upon every heart of man, which binds all to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. And where is there one of all your number who would exchange conditions with the happiest of all your slaves? Produce the man! and until he is produced, let theological apologists for slaveholding keep silence. Most earnestly would we entreat you to listen to the voice of conscience and obey the promptings of humanity. We are not your enemies. We do not pretend to any superior virtue; or that we, being in your circumstances, would be likely to act differently from you. But we are all fellow-citizens of the same great republic. We feel slaveholding to be a dreadful incubus upon us, dis honouring us in the eyes of foreign nations, nullifying the force of our example of free institutions, holding us back from a glorious career of prosperity and renown, sowing broadcast the seeds of discord, division, disunion; and we are anxious for its extinction. With Jefferson, we tremble for our country when we "remember that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever." With Washington we believe "that there is but one proper and effectual mode by which the extinction of slavery can be accomplished, and that is, by legislative authority; and this, so far as our suffrages will go, shall not be wanting."

We would not invade the Constitution; but we would have the Constitution rightly construed and administered according to its true sense and spirit. We would not dictate the mode in which slavery shall be attacked in particular States; but we would have it removed at once from all places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the national Government, and also have immediate measures taken, in accordance with constitutional rights and the principles of justice, for its removal from each State by State authority. In this work we ask your co-operation. Shall we ask in vain? Are you not convinced that the almost absolute monopoly of the offices and the patronage of the Government, and the almost exclusive control of its legislation and executive and judicial administration, by slaveholders, and for the purposes of slavery, is unjust to the non-slaveholders of the country? Can you blame us for saying that we will no longer sanction it? Are you not satisfied, to use the language of one of your own number, "that slavery is a cancer, a slow consuming cancer, a withering pestilence, an unmitigated curse?" And can you wonder that we should be anxious, by all just, and honourable, and constitutional means, to effect its extinction in our respective States, and to confine it to its constitutional limits? Are you not fully aware that the gross inconsistency of slaveholding with our professed principles astonishes the world, and makes the name of our country a mock, and the name of liberty a byword? And can you regret that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to redeem our glorious land and her institutions from just reproach, and, by illustrious acts of mercy and justice, place ourselves, once more, in the van of human progress and advancement?

Finally, we ask all true friends of liberty, of impartial, universal liberty, to be firm and steadfast. The little handful of voters, who, in 1840, wearied of compromising expediency, and despairing of anti-slavery action by pro-slavery parties, raised anew the standard of the Declaration, and manfully resolved to vote right then, and vote for freedom, has already swelled to a great party, strong enough numerically to decide the issue of any national contest, and stronger far in the power of its pure and elevating principles. And if these principles be sound, which we doubt not, and if the question of slavery be, as we verily believe it is, the great question of our day and nation, it is a libel upon the intelligence, the patriotism, and the virtue of the American people, to say that there is no hope that a majority will not array themselves under our banner. Let it not be said that we are factious or impracticable. We adhere to our views because we believe them to be sound, practicable, and vitally important. We have already said, that we are ready to prove our devotion to our principles by co-operating with either of the other two great American parties, which will openly and honestly, in State and national conventions, avow our doctrines and adopt our measures, until slavery shall be overthrown. We do not, indeed, expect any such adoption and avowal by either of these parties, because we are well aware that they fear more at present from the loss of slaveholding support than from the loss of anti-slavery co-operation. But we can be satisfied with nothing less, for we will compromise no longer; and, therefore, must of necessity maintain our separate organization as the true democratic party of the country, and trust our cause to the patronage of the people and the blessing of God!

Carry, then, friends of freedom and free labour, your principles to the ballot-box. Let no difficulties discourage, no dangers daunt, no delays dishearten you. Your solemn vow that slavery must perish, is registered in heaven. Renew that vow! Think of the martyrs of truth and freedom; think of the millions of the enslaved; think of the other millions of the oppressed and degraded free; and renew that vow! Be not tempted from the path of political duty. Vote for no man, act with no party politically connected with the supporters of slavery. Vote for no man, act with no party unwilling to adopt and carry out the principles which we have set forth in this address. To compromise for any partial or temporary advantage, is ruin to our cause. To act with any party, or to vote for the candidates of any party which recognizes the friends and supporters of slavery as members in full standing, because in particular places or under particular circumstances, it may make large professions of anti-slavery zeal, is to commit political suicide. Unswerving fidelity to our principles; unalterable determination to carry those principles to the ballot-box at every election; inflexible and unanimous support of those and only those who are true to those principles, are the conditions of our ultimate triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled, and our tri-

umph is certain. The indications of its coming multiply on every hand. The clarion trump of freedom breaks already the gloomy silence of slavery in Kentucky, and its echoes are heard throughout the land. A spirit of inquiry and of action is awakened everywhere. The assemblage of the Convention, whose voice we utter, is itself an auspicious omen. Gathered from the north and the south, and the east and the west, we here unite our counsels, and consolidate our action. We are resolved to go forward, knowing that our cause is just, trusting in God. We ask you to go forward with us, invoking His blessing who sent his Son to redeem mankind. With Him are the issues of all events. He can and He will disappoint all the devices of oppression. He can, and we trust He will, make our instrumentality efficient for the redemption of our land from slavery, and for the fulfilment of our fathers' pledge in behalf of freedom, before Him and before the world.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ELOPEMENT OF A LARGE GANG OF SLAVES.—The following details of this remarkable movement are given in the *Liberator*, as an extract of a letter from Washington:—"Eighty-four slaves passed through this place some days since on their way northward. They were all from Charles county, Maryland, which is down the river south-east of the city, and a hard kingdom it is. They left there in the night, and after arriving here, which was about three o'clock in the morning, they separated into three companies and took different roads, and bolted on to the north as hard as they could go. In the morning, one of the owners, who said seven of them were his, pursued this far, and not knowing which company to follow, became exasperated, and gave out that he would give a thousand dollars for them, or the heads of them. This started out the 'nigger pen' keepers and all the tavern loafers, some on horseback, some in buggies with fleet horses, and some on foot in pursuit; but after being out all day under a burning sun, they returned unharmed and unprofited to the city, and sneaked into their holes, the worthy citizens of Rockville having scented them out and arrested them twenty miles north of this place. Two parties are not yet heard of, but a dispatch having been sent on, a party of thirty-one was overtaken by the Rockvillians eight miles north of that place, and, being armed with guns, they commanded the runaways to give themselves up, or every man would be instantly shot. They resisted—and, resorting to stones, said they would go on; they were going up there to do some work. The whites pressed them, and the most officious one was fired at by one of the slaves who had a pistol, and the others exhibited some arms. They were then fired on, and eight of them soon shot. Part of them were captured; and afterwards, say the next day, the whole party of thirty-one was lodged in the Rockville, Montgomery, county jail, and were on the next day paraded through the streets of Washington, heavily ironed, and placed in one of the slave prisons, the one kept by the man who regularly advertised in the *National Intelligencer* and other city papers for 'young negroes,' whose prison, with its high walls, is here called the 'nigger pen,' and may be pointed out from the capitol steps of 'the freest nation on earth!' It is reported that the runaways were headed by a white man; but this does not appear to be true, as no such man has been seen, and it is hard to distinguish between black men and white men when many white men (to all appearance) are slaves. One of the men was left in Rockville jail 'to be hung' for snapping the pistol at one of the assailants." We learn by a private letter that nine of these fugitives had reached the land of liberty.

MEETING OF SLAVEHOLDERS.—At Port Tobacco, Charles County, Md., a large meeting of citizens was held on Friday last, to consider what measures were most likely to put a stop to the elopement of their slaves, the recent gang arrested in Montgomery county being owned in that vicinity. A preamble and series of resolutions were adopted, recommending the appointment of an additional police, and the watchful care of their masters. Votes of thanks were tendered to the citizens of Rockville for their promptness and energy, and all free negroes were notified that their presence would not be tolerated within the limits of the county after the first of December next, the meeting pledging itself to purchase all their property at fair prices. Ministers of the gospel are hereafter positively prohibited from holding night meetings for the attendance of slaves, who are not to be allowed to leave their quarters after dark on any account without a pass from their masters. Religious instruction during the day is not prohibited, provided one or more of their masters should be present; and the employment of free negroes at the fishing landings hereafter will not be allowed. Funds were raised to secure the enforcement of these resolves, and the meeting empowered the president to call them together again at any time that he may deem such a course necessary. A committee was also appointed to endeavour to procure from the legislature additional legislation for the protection of their property and civil rights.—*Baltimore Sun*.

LIBERTY FOR SIX TO SEVEN HUNDRED SLAVES.—Stephen Henderson directed by his last will that his slaves (600 or 700 in number) should be sent to Liberia, by the American Colonisation Society. His directions were, that at the end of five years from his death (which took place about six years ago,) the slaves should be permitted to draw lots, and the ten on whom the lot should fall should be sent to Africa; at ten years from his death twenty others, by lots; and in twenty-five years the whole of the residue should be sent, after securing an outfit of one hundred dollars. The heirs brought a suit against the executors of the will in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and the court has decided that the will must be carried out, and the slaves sent to Africa.—*Journal of Commerce*.

HOW TO OBTAIN EVIDENCE.—Miss Webster, in her published narrative, gives the following description of a flogging administered on a slave in order to extort evidence against her:—"The reviling, swearing, and threats continued, mingled with heavy blows, and the cries, and groans, and prayers of the bleeding victim. I advanced coolly but resolutely to the window, and felt that I was facing an enemy on the field of battle. O the horrors of that moment! Poor Israel (the hackman) was kneeling on the pavement pleading for his life. He was an old man, a true and faithful servant, an humble Christian, and had spent his life in unrequited toil; and now they told him he must die, unless he would admit that he carried off the slaves. He begged for his life. Again and

again he protested his innocence; and, in the most touching appeals, called on Heaven to witness the injustice of his punishment. He was ordered with a loud voice to take off his shirt, and with every breath almost this order was repeated, and each time accompanied with a violent lash over his head or face with a cowhide. Still he dared not take off his shirt. Poor man! he knew too well his skin would come off next. At length his master standing by, seeing the relentless tyranny and high-toned fury of the whipper, seemed slightly moved with pity, and, speaking in a moderate tone, said, "Why, then, don't you take off your shirt?" At this he instantly obeyed, and the regular whipping commenced. I resolved to count the blows, knowing that the extent of the law did not exceed the infliction of thirty-nine lashes, even if the man was guilty of the crime alleged against him. The whipper said the boy must have lied to him, adding, that it was impossible for the slaves to escape without assistance, at the same time declaring with a solemn oath, that unless Israel would tell the truth, and admit carrying off said negroes, at least the boy Lewis, he would tear his body in pieces and scatter it over the pavement. Israel begged for mercy—sometimes crying aloud to be delivered from the torturing lash, at others his power of utterance seemed gone, and deep and stifled sobs alone were heard. But enough. The reality mocks my feeble effort to describe, and my heart recoils and sickens at the recollection.

"O! were it not for perfect bliss, where God and angels dwell,
Seraphs must weep at scenes like this, while devils blush in hell."

None but eye-witnesses to these deeds of darkness can realise the depth of cold-blooded oppression. With purpose fixed I gazed in silence on the spectacle before me. My heart was riven, but my cheek was dry. This was no-time for tears. Fifty lashes scored the old man's back—all was darkness—I saw no more. My trembling limbs refused their weight, and I should have sunk to the floor, but, raising my hands, I grasped the iron bars, and kept myself from falling. This motion drew the attention of some below, and they hastily cried out, "Stop! stop! Miss Webster is looking on! Take him out of sight! Take him to the barn!" The order was obeyed, and all was once more quiet. The jailor (Mr. Thomas B. Megowan) now entered, closed the window, and withdrew without speaking. Before noon Israel was brought back from the barn and placed in the dungeon; and his persecutors, eager to tell their success, rushed up stairs, saying, "Well, we've got it out of him! Rather than die, he at last came out and told it! We knew he would."

The following is cut from a St. Louis paper, in which it appears as an advertisement:—"Lost Child.—Came to the brick house, corner of Third and Elm-streets, about nine o'clock night before last, a black female child, about seven or eight years of age. That its anxious and humane owner may find it, I describe it:—A good-looking child, marked and branded on its head, face, nose, ears, lips, chin, neck, breast, back, sides, shoulders, arms, hands and fingers, hips, thighs, knees, legs, ankles, feet, heels and toes, by what appears to have been the cowhide, or some other humane instrument. If not called for soon, it will be turned over to the Court, to be dealt with as the law directs. S."

The tow-boat *Swan* passed a dead body on the 22nd inst., about ten miles above the Passes, supposed to be a bright mulatto—had on a blue flannel shirt and duck pantaloons, with an iron collar around the neck, to which was attached about ten feet of rope!—*New Orleans Bee*, April 24, 1845.

TRAGEDY IN MISSISSIPPI.—A slaveholder, a short time previous to his death, made provisions for the liberation of his slaves. Those who were entrusted with the execution of his designs failing or refusing to carry out his last will and testament concerning the slaves, the latter became restive and impatient to enjoy their long-looked-for boon. At length, disappointed, expecting to be sold, and incensed at their oppressors, they set fire to their overseer's dwelling, and burnt it to the ground. A little child, which they were unable to rescue, was consumed in the flames. The slaves, eight or nine in number, were taken, and two of them hung on the spot. The others were taken into an old log-house and chained to the floor. The house was then set on fire, and they were, by a slow fire, burned to death in a most shocking manner, while the air was rent with their unavailing shrieks and screams.—*Correspondent of Cincinnati Herald*.

ANOTHER VICTIM.—Lewis W. Paine, formerly of Fall River, in this state, during four years past a teacher in Georgia, is now prisoner in Thomaston, Georgia. He is accused of having aided a fellow-man in escaping from bondage. When arrested, he was assailed by twelve of the chivalric sons of Georgia, all armed to the teeth with bowie knives, pistols, dirks, rifles, and other such-like implements of *Christian freemen*. A pistol ball was fired through the arm, and a rope made fast around his neck.—*Worcester Gazette*.

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON SLAVE-HOLDERS.—On the Wachta river, in Louisiana, two planters living on adjoining plantations had a difficulty. An unruly horse belonging to one, jumped into a lot belonging to the other, which was shot. Soon after, a negro belonging to the owner of the horse, went over to the said plantation; he, too, was shot. The same evening, the planter who owned the horse and the slave, took his gun and went over to the planter's house who had shot his horse and slave, and, as he stood in his yard, deliberately shot him dead. The son of the dead planter hearing the report of the gun, came out of the house, when he was commanded to stand. As soon as the gun was re-loaded, the son was shot, and immediately expired. The daughter of the planter then came to the door, when the monster drew his bowie knife, and cut her throat from ear to ear, and fled. The slaves on the plantation raised the alarm, and the fiend was pursued and taken, and committed to the nearest jail to await trial.—*Cincinnati Commercial*.

EXPEDIENT TO ESCAPE SLAVERY.—On the 8th of June, a box, labelled, "This side up, with care," marked, "To J. Bennett, Louisville, Kentucky," and, in another place, "Crockery-ware," was brought up to the wharf, at Memphis, preparatory to shipping. Soon after the box was landed on the wharf-boat, a strange noise was heard within, and, upon its being opened, a live negro was taken from it. He had been almost suffocated in his confinement: hence the alarm. It seems that this negro, who was a slave belonging to a gentleman in the vicinity of Memphis, had paid J. Bennett, a free negro, fifteen dollars to transport him to a free state, and he, according to contract, boxed him up, and would have set him at liberty had he been successful.—*American Paper*.

DEATH PREFERRED TO FLOGGING.—A slave having committed some trifling offence, refused to be whipped, and ran into a creek near by, refusing to come out. Austin Gore, the overseer, a proud, ambitious, cruel man, told him he would shoot him if he did not come out. Three calls were to be given him. He stood firmly. Gore, equally determined, raised his musket, and in an instant poor Derby was no more. He sank beneath the waves, and nought but the crimsoned waters marked the spot. The murderer earned renown by the deed, and still lives in Maryland, as much respected as ever.—*Frederic Douglas, at American Anti-Slavery Society*.

RUNAWAY NEGROES.—A BATTLE WITH THE WHITES.—We learn from the Hagerstown (Maryland) papers, that on Monday morning, the 26th of May, about three o'clock, ten runaway negroes were discovered passing through Smithsburg, Washington County (Maryland), on their way to Pennsylvania, and a party started in pursuit. Upon the negroes being overtaken, they were commanded to halt, when they drew themselves up in battle order, their leader exclaiming to them, "Now, boys, G-d d-n you, fight!" They were armed with pistols and tomahawks, and immediately commenced an attack upon the whites, felling several of them to the earth at the onset. The whites being unarmed, except with bludgeons, found themselves engaged in rather an unequal and hazardous contest. Repeatedly the negroes were knocked to the earth, but they returned to the contest with redoubled fury; and being all stout and very athletic men, were rather hard to handle. One was twice knocked down, and another had his arm nearly severed and the bone broken, by a blow from a tomahawk; a third had his shoulder dislocated; a fourth received a wound in the shoulder from a tomahawk; and the whole party more or less injured. However, after a desperate contest, the whites succeeded in carrying off one prisoner, in an almost hopeless condition, with two pistols and two tomahawks, which were wrested from the hands of the negroes. Another negro, badly wounded, after following his companions a mile or two upon their retreat, gave himself up. Two more of the gang were subsequently arrested.

SALE OF SLAVES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEOLOGY.—We find the following notice of a public sale, in the *Savannah Republican* of March 3rd, 1845. After describing the plantation which was to be sold, the notice adds—"Also, at the same time and place, the following negro slaves, to wit, Charles, Peggy, Antonett, Davy, September, Maria, Jenny, and Isaac—levied on as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage *f. fa.* issued out of M'Intosh Supreme Court, in favour of the Board of the Rectors of the Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia *v.* said Henry T. Hall.—Conditions, Cash.

"C. O'NEAL, Deputy Sheriff, M. C."

SALLY MULLER.—The Supreme Court of Louisiana have decided that Sally Muller, claimed as a slave by Louis Belmonti and John F. Miller, is and always has been legally free. Miller alleged that she was born a slave, and his property—as such he brought her up, and as such he sold her to Louis Belmonti. Immediately on obtaining this decision she commenced a suit for damages. She has been enslaved near a quarter of a century.—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

AN UNJUST JUDGE.—We see it stated that John M'Kinley, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, has advertised one hundred negroes for sale. What a spectacle for the world to look upon! A man sitting to judge others, and to render justice between man and man, while he himself outrages all law and justice.—*True Wesleyan*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
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Darlington—Backhouse, Hannah C.	20 0 0	
Backhouse, John.....	5 0 0	1 0 0
Backhouse, J. C.....	10 0 0	1 0 0
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Pease, Joseph, jun.....	5 0 0	
Pease, John B.	5 0 0	1 .1 0
Pease, John	1 1 0	
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Camborne—Smith, George.....	0 10 0	
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CLI. VOL. VI.—No. 19.] LONDON: WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1845.

[PRICE 4d.

THE DUTY OF PROMOTING THE IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The absolute right of every human being to personal liberty has been too clearly ascertained, and is too generally acknowledged, to require either argument or illustration in its support. God has created all men equal, and endowed them with life that they might enjoy it, in subordination to his will; and liberty, that they might use it, for promoting the great ends of their existence as rational and accountable creatures. Human laws may declare these natural rights to be inviolable, but they need not this aid to be more effectually vested in every man than they are. "On the contrary," as remarks the great jurist, Blackstone, "no human legislature has the power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some criminal act that amounts to a forfeiture." To maintain the opposite doctrine would be to confound competency with force, and to allow that might were right. In contemplating the end for which civil government was instituted, Edmund Burke eloquently observes, "If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and the law itself is only beneficence acting by rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in politic function or in ordinary occupation; they have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making their industry fruitful; they have a right to the acquisitions of their parents, to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring, to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can do without trespassing on others, he has a right to do for himself, and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour. In this partnership all men have equal rights, though not to equal things." Such are the principles and such the language of enlightened men, and they find an echo in the common sense and conscience of mankind. But slavery negatives a fundamental right; it deprives men of their liberty; it reduces them to the condition of chattels; it robs them of all property in themselves, in the labours of their hands, and the resources of their intellect, by constituting them the property of other men; it makes them merchantable commodities, things to be used or abused at the discretion or caprice of their masters; it is an atrocious exemplification of the law of force and fraud in opposition to that of equity and justice.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the incidents of slavery—its oppressive cruelties—the awful degradation it inflicts on the slave, and the revolting character it impresses on his master—but it should ever be remembered that its victims are innocent human beings who have never forfeited their freedom by crime; and that their slavery is not only perpetual, but is perpetuated in their equally innocent offspring. The original injustice is continued from generation to generation, and its guilt consequently heightened by its continuance. It should also be remembered that in those countries where slavery does not require the importation of new victims to repair the wastes of mortality, it sanctions a slave-trade in some of its features more revolting than that which has so long desolated Africa, which all men indignantly condemn, and the nations of Europe and America have agreed to punish.

As slavery violates a fundamental law of man's nature, so it expressly contravenes the revealed will of God. That will requires that every man should love his neighbour as himself. Now "love worketh no ill to his neighbour," neither to his person, his property, or his life. It respects them all. It does more: it endeavours, as opportunity presents, to advance the interests and enlarge the happiness of all mankind, without distinction of race, or clime, or colour. Its office and its delight is to instruct the ignorant—to relieve the oppressed—to bind up the broken-hearted—to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound. It is in every respect the opposite of slavery.

But it may be said that the Divine law sanctions the principle of slavery, and only wars with its abuses. We simply deny the statement, and observe, that whatever form of servitude it admitted under the Jewish dispensation, whether as the punishment of crime, or as the result of voluntary contract, it allowed no property in man, and uttered forth its most awful denunciations against the traders in the persons of men. That law, moreover, surrounded the bondsman with every possible safeguard against the tyranny and cruelty of the master, by limiting the period of his engagements, and securing instant release whenever injury was inflicted. In the lowest relation which that law permitted man to sustain towards his fellow-man, it always distinguished him from "the brutes that perish," and required that in all things he should be treated as a free, a rational, and an accountable creature. We observe further, that the servitude referred to had not its origin in a slave-trade, such as that which has now existed for nearly four

centuries, between Africa and the continent and islands of America. The slavery which now exists had its root in a crime which incurred the Divine displeasure and drew upon it the severest penalty of his law; and the atrocious system is still fed and sustained by the same crime in one or another of its worst forms. The slave-vessels of Brazil and the Spanish colonies infest the shores of Africa for their prey, and the traffickers in men of the United States ply their unhallowed trade to procure a supply of slaves for the far south. If the horrors of the middle passage do not characterise this traffic, other horrors mark the transit of the victims from one state to another. In every slave-coffle, how many husbands have been torn from their reputed wives, and wives from their husbands!—for, alas! the sanctity of the marriage tie is legally unknown, and practically disregarded by the masters of slaves. How many parents from their children, and children from their parents! The fetters which bind their limbs are light compared with the sorrows that break their hearts. All of these slaves, men, women, and children, are innocent of crime. Contrary to justice, humanity, and religion, they have been subjected to a merciless despotism, despoiled of their rights, and deprived of hope. Some of these, it may be, have had their hearts melted by the grace of the gospel, and have become the disciples of Him who came to redeem men "from all iniquity," and these too have been put up for sale in the common market-place, and their price enhanced by their being Christians. What man with the feelings of a man, what Christian with the principles becoming a Christian, but must shudder at the daring impiety which can expose for sale to the highest bidder, beings created "in the image of God," and redeemed by the precious blood of the Saviour; and what man, what Christian will fail to use his most earnest and untiring exertions to terminate a system which outrages all that is sacred in man's nature, and all that is righteous in God's law?

Under this criminal system multitudes of the African race have been murdered and enslaved, and millions of that race and its descendants are yet retained within its iron grasp, and the important question arises, "How is it to be dealt with?" Our reply is brief and plain, If you have the power, "abolish it immediately and completely;" if you have not the power, "seek its immediate and entire abolition." Accept no excuse for delay. Allow of no apology for its continuance. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought therefore to be instantly abandoned and abolished. To maintain any other doctrine were treason against the Most High, and an outrage on every principle of sound morals; for no modification of slavery can alter or destroy its original and essential iniquity, and no amelioration of its character can justify its existence.

But it may be said that slavery is the creature of law, and what the law makes property is property. This is the plea of the slaveholder; but we utterly repudiate and deny the impious assumption. The laws of nature and of God are paramount and universal, and we assert, that no legislative body, however constituted, possess the moral competency to condemn by law the innocent to punishment, to convert robbery into justice, or to make men property. On this plea also the slaveholder rests his right to compensation in the event of emancipation, and unhappily not a few think him entitled to it. In the mouth of the poor slave who has become the victim of this unrighteous law, the plea were just; for who shall compensate him for the years he has toiled under the coercion of the whip, for his children sold away to strangers, and for the debasement and cruelty to which he has been subjected? But however the question of compensation may be disposed of, it is clear that the freedom of the slave ought not to depend on its payment. His claim to be considered in this great matter is "prior in time, paramount in title, and superior in equity" to that of the slaveholder. Liberty, immediate, absolute, unconditional liberty, is his right, and to deny him this is sovereign injustice.

It may be further alleged, that the slaves for whose rights we so earnestly contend are unfit for freedom, and that therefore means must be taken to prepare them for it. But how can the preparation here contended for take place under the system of slavery? It is slavery which has debased them, and yet it is in slavery they are to be prepared for the enjoyment of liberty! No; the best, the only preparation for freedom is freedom. But in point of fact the slaves are fit for freedom; and the best proof is this, that, whether as agriculturists or artizans, they have not only sustained themselves, but have enriched their masters. They want neither the skill nor the ability to care for themselves. All they want is the unfettered use of their limbs; the free use of their minds; unrestrained access to the fountains of knowledge, in common with their fellowmen; and the protection of equal and just laws, to become an honourable and useful part of the body politic. And to this they are entitled, without stint and without delay.

We touch not the question, what would be the effect of emancipation on the production of this or that particular article of commerce,

for we dare not place in the balance the liberty of the slave and the products of his coerced labour, which were, to use the forcible language of Burke, "to weigh in scales hung up in a shop of horrors, so much actual crime against so much contingent profit, and after putting in and out weights, declaring that the balance was on the side of the profits." No! whatever becomes of the profits, the balance must ever be on the side of justice.

The slave, whether lashed to his toil on the sugar estates of Cuba and Brazil, or in the cotton fields of the United States; whether forcibly wrenched from his native soil by the hand of violence, or bred to the sad inheritance of slavery in the land of his birth, is entitled to the sympathy and aid of every freeman; and whether we consider the horrible effects of slavery on its victims or on their oppressors, or the obstacles it opposes to the progress of civilization and religion in the world, we have the most powerful motives presented to us for promoting in every legitimate way its immediate and entire abolition.

GOVERNOR HAMMOND ON SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

MR. CLARKSON's pamphlets on American slavery have brought forth an antagonist of some mark and prominence, in the person of Mr. James Hammond, lately governor of the state of South Carolina. He has written no less than five letters in reply, which have from time to time appeared in the papers of the United States, and which are now before us in the form of a pamphlet. This gentleman confesses himself to be somewhat of "a novelty" in this department of literature, and we shall therefore endeavour to present to our readers a slight but veritable sketch of him. Mr. Hammond does not do his business by halves. He goes the whole hog, and defends the slavery of the Southern States, "not only as an inexorable necessity," but as "a moral and humane institution, productive of the greatest political and social advantages." The African slave-trade, indeed, he does not vindicate; but all other forms of the hateful traffic, and especially the internal slave-trade of the American States, he takes under his wing. He appeals to the Bible; and firmly believes "that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God through Moses, and approved by Christ and his apostles." He repudiates "as ridiculously absurd" the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson, that "all men are born equal;" and endorses "without reserve" that of Governor M'Duffie, "that slavery is the corner-stone," not only of the American republic, but "of every well-designed and durable republican edifice." He makes this out by showing that, even in a republic, the ignorant and poor are unfit to govern; that in every part of the world more than half the people are ignorant and poor; and that, consequently, the only way to reconcile universal suffrage with good government is to hold the ignorant and poor in a state of slavery. He thinks it "a great mistake" to suppose that, in case of war, slavery would be a source of weakness. He is satisfied that, even if liberty were proclaimed in the midst of them by an invading army, the slaves would continue picking cotton, and that the planters would be more at liberty to fight than the citizens of a free state. He maintains the social effects of slavery to be most felicitous. It is true there are "affrays, duels, and murders occurring" in the South; but "slavery has nothing to do with these things." "Stability and peace are the true tendency of the system." "The only thing that can create a mob there is the appearance of an abolitionist;" but this in reality is no mob; it is merely "a rally of the shepherds to keep the wolf out of the pastures." The idea that people are not so well educated or so religious there as elsewhere Mr. Hammond scouts as a mere fiction. The slaveholders (he says nothing of the slaves) are the best educated people in the Union. And as for religion, there is plenty of it, only it is "unobtrusive," and withal so eminently enlightened, that few sects make any progress among them. "Even Puseyism," says Mr. Hammond, "has not yet moved us." But to bring against slavery a charge of fostering licentiousness—O fie! Nothing could have been said upon such a subject as this, if it had not been one on which "ladies of eminent virtue delight to dwell," and on which "learned old maids, like Miss Martineau, linger with an insatiable relish." Mr. Hammond himself is more modest, and "wishes this topic could be avoided." There is, however, no truth in the charge. On the contrary, there is more chastity and domestic happiness among the Southerners "than among any other five millions of people on the civilized earth;" and his "decided opinion is that their system of slavery contributes largely to the development and culture of these high and noble qualities." In an economical view, Mr. Hammond admits "some difficulties." There are "heavy charges on slave-labour," and it is on the whole much dearer than free labour would be, if they could get it; but they cannot get it. As to saying, "Emancipate your slaves, and you will get free labour," that is nonsense, until the continent, "from the Atlantic to the Pacific," is as densely peopled as Old England. The charges of tyranny and cruelty, so freely brought against the slaveholders, are totally without foundation. He has "no hesitation in saying, that the slaveholders are as kind masters as men usually are kind husbands, parents, and friends—as a general rule, kinder." Of late, indeed, to their great distress, they have been driven to harsher measures by the abolitionists. Now they "have to rely more on the power of fear." They must now, "in all their intercourse with the slaves, assert and maintain strict mastery, and impress it on them that they are slaves;" and, being "determined to continue masters," they have "to draw the rein tighter day by

day." The researches of the abolitionists have, in truth, brought to light some shocking instances of barbarity—Mr. Hammond had, no doubt, in his eye, although he does not mention it, a certain book entitled "American Slavery as it is, on the Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses"—but this is nothing; "the only wonder is that, considering the extent of the country, the variety of the population, its fluctuating character, and the publicity of all their transactions, the number is so small." He affirms that the punishment of "flogging is not degrading, and that, unless excessive, it occasions little pain:"—whether his knowledge of this last particular is derived from experience, he does not inform us. As to chains and irons, they are indispensable if slaves are to be had at all, they are so bent on running away. And as to the infliction of punishment, allowance should be made for difference of usages. We use legal proceedings; they do without them. They "try, decide, and execute the sentences, in thousands of cases which, in other countries, would go into the courts," and in this way they do many cruel things; but this mode is patriarchal, and it is a moot point whether it is not more humane than the assizes. The physical condition of the slaves is eminently happy. Mr. Hammond believes that they "are the happiest three millions of beings on whom the sun shines;" and he holds their condition to be so nearly paradisaic, that he can compare the advent of an abolitionist to nothing but the intrusion of Satan into Eden. As to the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, such things do sometimes happen, but seldom when it can be prevented. Besides, the negroes know they are liable to it, and "are comparatively indifferent about it;" "they rarely complain more than we all do at the inevitable strokes of fate." As to their religious condition, it is highly privileged. "There are none," Mr. Hammond *imagines*, "who may not, if they like, hear the gospel preached once a month, most of them twice a month, and very many once a week." Such being the present happiness of the slaves, emancipation could, in Mr. Hammond's view, be nothing to them but an act of cruelty and injury. "My humanity," he exclaims, "revolts at the idea. I am attached," he proceeds, "to my slaves, and would not have art or part in reducing them to such a condition." "It is the most fatal of all fallacies," he affirms, "to suppose that the two races can exist together on any terms approaching to equality;" from whence he infers that abolition is "the work of Satan," and that "the arch-fiend has found his way into the souls" of abolitionists, who are, without intending it, "rushing headlong to the accomplishment of his diabolical designs."

Such is the sum of Governor Hammond's Letters on Southern Slavery. We have given his sentiments almost entirely in his own words, and have not, in any instance, we hope and believe, misrepresented him. From the tenor of our citations, it is evident that he is a slaveholder of the most rabid class, and that he takes positions which give the advocate of human freedom every inch of ground to fight over again. It is evident also that he relies greatly on the force of mere assertion, to the boldness and positivity of which he looks to supply the lack of proof. His pamphlet affords the most striking illustration of what has been termed the power of face which we think we ever met with. That it may have been very agreeable to Southern slaveholders to have fallen in with such an advocate, is very likely, and those who are for tenaciously clinging to slavery will, no doubt, make the most of his audacity; but wholesale and unsupported assertions of this sort can make no way against the accumulated and uncontradicted evidence on which the true character of American slavery has been delineated in darker colours, and upon which abolitionists have marshalled themselves to their work of justice and of mercy.

CASSIUS M. CLAY'S PAPER SUPPRESSED.

THE American papers last received bring an account of a lawless movement at Lexington, Kentucky, directed to the suppression of the *True American*, as a dangerous publication. The following particulars are from an "extra" edition of that paper:—

On the 15th inst. just before 3 o'clock p.m., Mr. Clay was informed that a meeting was to be held at the Court House in Lexington to make measures for the suppression of the *True American*. Although in ill-health, he determined to attend the meeting, and vindicate his rights in person. About twenty persons were present, including two or three of his personal friends. With the exception of those last named, he knew them all as political, and three-fourths of them as personal enemies. Among the rest was Thomas F. Marshall. Only one Whig was present. Two speakers proposed to dissolve the meeting, and Captain Henry Johnson, a cotton planter, declared that although he was ever ready to act boldly upon this subject, he would not then, nor hereafter, take any action in regard to the *True American*, unless the Whig party also came up and incurred the same responsibility. Mr. Marshall stated that the excitement in the community had been caused by some articles in the *American* which were thought to be insurrectionary in their tendency. Several speakers contended that the meeting was a private one, whereupon Mr. Clay, after protesting against the wrong construction put upon the articles in question, left the house.

The result of the meeting was afterwards communicated to him in the following letter:—

Lexington, 14th August, 1845.

Cassius M. Clay, Esq. Sir,—We, the undersigned, have been appointed as a committee upon the part of a number of the respect-

table citizens of the city of Lexington, to correspond with you under the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to wait upon Cassius M. Clay, Editor of the *True American*, and request him to discontinue the publication of the paper called the *True American*, as its further continuance, in our judgment, is dangerous to the peace of our community, and to the safety of our homes and families.

In pursuance of the above, we hereby request you to discontinue your paper, and would seek to impress upon you the importance of your acquiescence. Your paper is agitating and exciting our community to an extent of which you can scarcely be aware. We do not approach you in the form of a threat. But we owe it to you to state, that in our judgment, your own safety, as well as the repose and peace of the community, are involved in your answer. We await your reply, in the hope that your own good sense and regard for the reasonable wishes of a community in which you have many connexions and friends, will induce you promptly to comply with our request. We are instructed to report your answer to a meeting to-morrow evening, at three o'clock, and will expect it by two o'clock P.M. of to-morrow.

Respectfully, &c.

B. W. DUDLEY,
THO. H. WATERS,
JOHN W. HUNT.

To this letter Mr. Clay sent the following reply:—

Sirs,—I received through the hands of Mr. Thomas H. Waters, one of your committee, since candle light, your extraordinary letters. Inasmuch as two of your committee and myself are not upon speaking terms, and when I add to this the fact that you have taken occasion to address me a note of this character, when I am on a bed of sickness of more than a month's standing, from which I have only ventured at intervals to ride out and to write a few paragraphs, which caused a relapse, I think that the American people will agree with me, that your office is a base and dishonorable one, more particularly when they reflect that you have had more than two months whilst I was in health, to accomplish the same purpose. I say, in reply to your assertion, that you are a committee appointed by a respectable portion of the community, that it cannot be true. Traitors to the laws and constitution cannot be deemed respectable by any but assassins, pirates, and highway robbers. Your meeting is one unknown to the laws and constitution of my country; it was secret in its proceedings; its purposes, its spirit, and its action, like its mode of existence, are wholly unknown to, or in direct violation of every known principle of honour, religion, or government, held sacred by the civilized world. I treat them with the burning contempt of a brave heart and loyal citizen. I deny their power and defy their action. It may be true that those men are excited as you say, whose interest it is to prey upon the excitement and distresses of the country. What tyrant ever failed to be excited when his unjust power was about to be taken from his hands! But I deny, utterly deny, and call for proof, that there is any just ground for this agitation. In every case of violence by the blacks, since the publication of my paper, it has been proven, and will be again proven by my representatives, if my life should fail to be spared, that there have been special causes for action, independent of, and having no relation whatever to the *True American* or its doctrines. Your advice with regard to my personal safety is worthy of the source whence it emanated, and meets the same contempt from me which the purposes of your mission excite. Go tell your secret conclave of cowardly assassins, that C. M. Clay knows his rights, and how to defend them.

C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, August 15th, 1845.

Having thus met the enemies of freedom of speech, and of the press, he made the following appeal to the friends of constitutional liberty to stand by him in this hour of trial.

Kentuckians,—You see this attempt of these tyrants, worse than the thirty despots who lorded it over the free Athens, now to enslave you. Men who regard law—men who regard all their liberties as not to be sacrificed to a single pecuniary interest, to say the least of doubtful value—lovers of justice, haters of blood—labourers of all classes—you for whom I have sacrificed much, where will you be found when this battle between liberty and slavery is to be fought? I cannot, I will not, I dare not question on which side you will be found. If you stand by me like men, our country will yet be free, but if you falter now, I perish with less regret when I remember that the people of my native State, of whom I have been so proud, and whom I have loved so much, are already slaves.

C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, August 12th, 1845.

So far the *True American*: we next copy from the *Liberator*. Dudley, Waters, and Hunt, subsequently reported to "the meeting," on its re-assembling after a temporary adjournment, a copy of the correspondence, when an address and resolutions were adopted, on motion of Mr. Waters, embodying the following recommendation:—"We assume not to decide for a society who have with us a common interest; but, as a portion of that community, recommend a general meeting of the people of the city of Lexington and county of Fayette, to be held on Monday next, August the 18th, to concert measures for the suppression of the farther publication of the 'abolition paper' called the *True American*."

The public meeting called by the mobocrats was to be held on Monday, the 18th. On the Saturday previous, Mr. Clay issued an address to the citizens, in the hope of calming the prevalent excitement, by propounding his plan of abolition; but it produced no effect on the minds of men who had sought to prejudice the community against his course, and were determined that the *True American* should be put down. The meeting was held, and J. M. Bullock presided. Thomas F. Marshall, a bitter personal enemy of Mr. Clay, was called upon to address the meeting, which he did in a truly inflammatory style. He read various garbled extracts from the *True American*, and commented on them. He read also the correspondence between the committee and Mr. Clay, and concluded a violent and exciting speech by offering a series of resolutions, of which the last was as follows:—"The press we will stop—peaceably if we can—forcibly if we must"—thus openly and avowedly advocating mob law.

The following resolutions were by this meeting unanimously adopted:—

1st. That no abolition press ought to be tolerated in Kentucky, and none shall be in this city or its vicinity.

2nd. That if the office of the *True American* be surrendered peaceably, no injury shall be done to the building or other property. The presses and printing apparatus shall be carefully packed up and sent out of the state, subject then to Mr. C. M. Clay's order.

3rd. That if resistance be offered, we will force the office at all hazards, and destroy the nuisance.

4th. That if an attempt be made to revive the paper, we will again assemble.

5th. That we hope C. M. Clay will be advised. For by our regard to our wives, our children, our homes, our property, our country, our honour, wear what name he may, be connected with whom he may, whatever arm or party here or elsewhere may sustain him, he shall not publish an abolition paper here; and this we affirm at the risk, be it of his blood or our own, or both; or of all he may bring, of bond or free, to aid his murderous hand.

6th. That the Chairman be, and he is hereby authorized to appoint a committee of sixty of our body, who shall be authorized to repair to the office of the *True American*, take possession of press and printing apparatus, pack up the same, and place it at the railroad office for transportation to Cincinnati, and report forthwith to this body.

A committee of sixty was thereupon appointed to proceed to the office, take down the press, and send it with the other printing materials to Cincinnati.

The President read the names of the committee, who were taken indiscriminately from the two political parties, and forthwith the crowd adjourned to C. M. Clay's office, filling up the whole street for a considerable distance. The doors and window blinds of the office were all closed. In a few minutes the committee of sixty arrived, and, on their approaching the door, a pledge was proffered to them in the name and behalf of C. M. Clay, that, if they would not molest his property, *his paper should immediately be discontinued*. A member of the committee replied that the proposition came too late, and that they must do the work for which they were appointed. The keys, according to the orders of C. M. Clay, were then given up to them, and the members of the committee, as their names were successively called by their chairman, entered the office, all other persons being excluded. The committee, after taking possession of the office, sent for some of the master printers of the city, and had everything boxed up in the most workmanlike manner, and the boxes were taken to Frankfort yesterday morning to be placed on the first Cincinnati boat.

An address to the crowd in the name of a committee previously appointed for the purpose, was read by the Hon. T. F. Marshall, its author, the conclusion being as follows:—

"Mr. Clay has complained in his recent hand-bills of his indisposition, and charged the people as deficient in courage and magnanimity in moving upon him when he is incapable of defence. If all that is said of him is true, his purpose and his means, his indisposition is fortunate. He may rest assured that we will not be deterred by one nor 10,000 such men as he. He cannot bully his countrymen. A Kentuckian himself, he should have known Kentuckians better. His weakness is his security. We are armed and resolved—if resistance be attempted, the consequence be on his own head. For our vindication, under the circumstances, we appeal to Kentucky and to the world."

The committee subsequently reported to the meeting that the press would be on the cars in a few hours. Governor Metcalf then addressed the audience for two hours, at the end of which time it was announced that the press was gone, and the meeting, dispersed after passing some further resolutions.

On Sunday evening, Mr. Clay, who it was understood was too ill to sit up in his bed, and, in fact, so ill that even his ultimate recovery was considered doubtful, had a large number of loaded muskets and other deadly weapons, with which he had intended to defend his office, removed from that building. On Sunday night, the alarm throughout Lexington was very considerable on account of the fact that the knowledge of what was transpiring was said to have reached a portion of the population that should have been kept in ignorance of it. Many fancied that they saw symptoms of insubordination; and patrols were kept up throughout the city during the night.

AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADERS IN BRAZIL.

[We extract the following from an interesting series of letters from Brazil, inserted in the *New York Evangelist*.]

A recent call upon the American Minister to Brazil, Hon. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, furnishes material in facts and fuel for reflection, which I feel disposed to lay before the readers of the *Evangelist*, or anybody else that has a mind thereto. I found him in the fine house he has taken in the northwest part of the city, a long ways out of town, in the suburb called Eugeniovalho. It is favourably located for the quiet and health of an interesting family of six children, one of them a little babe, born Brazilian. They are busy enough in studies and pastimes within the ample and shaded limits of their enclosure, yet not so but that the elder ones often sigh for the society and scenes of home, and wish themselves again there.

Although without a letter of introduction, I met with a courteous and affable reception from Mr. Wise, and an immediate reply to all my inquiries concerning the slave-trade in American bottoms, which was the object of my call. He has been vigorously prosecuting an investigation into this infamous business ever since he has been here, and it is his statement, that not less than 64,000 slaves have been imported from Africa during the last year, and 5,000 since August last, in American bottoms. He grew eloquent in expatiating upon the prostitution of the American flag to the slave-trade, and said his chief business while here had been to examine depositions and papers, and make inquiry into the recent cases in which American merchantmen had been engaged in this nefarious traffic, and transmit the proofs to Washington; and that he had never worked harder in his life before. He has a large folio volume, a good part of it closely written with copies of the despatches on this subject to the Department of State, from which he read extracts to show his views upon it, and to make me acquainted with the names and ownership of a number of vessels from the United States, that have been and still are prosecuting this infernal traffic.

"Documents herewith transmitted will show the nature, connections, and extent of the African slave-trade as it is, and has for some time been, unblushingly carried on by our citizens under our flag. It has grown so bold and so bad as no longer to wear a mask, even to those who reside here, and who are at all acquainted with the trade between Brazil and Africa. Upon information showing me more than probable grounds, I hesitated not to advise our consul, Mr. Gordon, to cause the arrest of the master, mates, and crew of the brig *Montevideo*, and to hold them in custody on board of the *Boston* sloop-of-war until he could examine into the case. The examination has proceeded to a great length, and I have given to it my personal attention and attendance; and I must say it has developed a combination of persons and of means to carry on this infamous traffic, to the utter disgrace of human nature, and to the dishonour of our flag and of all three nations—England, Brazil, and the United States."—*American Minister to the Secretary of State*.

He expresses the opinion, that if the people of the United States knew the extent to which this worst of piracies is conducted under their flag, and by vessels launched and owned in their free Northern waters, a law would be passed at the very next session of Congress, forbidding all trade with the coast of Africa. He says, moreover, that every conscientious American ship-owner may be given to understand, that if he send his vessel to this port, with instructions or permission to the captain to get her chartered for the coast of Africa, she will be sure to be engaged directly or indirectly in the slave-trade; either as a tender to other slavers, or herself to carry the dreadful cargo of miserable Africans. American merchants here, to whom the American captains consign, knowingly aid and abet the slave-trade, by chartering the vessels so consigned to them for the coast of Africa, at a much higher rate per month than can be got if sent elsewhere: not, indeed, for anything that appears on the face of the charter party, to be engaged in the slave-trade, but not the less sure for that, on purpose to prosecute the trade of blood.

American houses (I repeat it) are the agents or medium through which American brigs and barques are chartered for the coast of Africa, to Manuel Pinto de Fonseca, the notorious great slave-merchant of Rio de Janeiro. After making a few profitable trips with slaves on charter, they are generally sold to Fonseca or the slave-factors on the coast of Africa, at Cabinda and elsewhere, for three times the money they would bring for lawful voyages. The American house gets $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission on the charter-money; then $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more if they guarantee it; then $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more if employed to transmit the value to the owners in the United States. The English brokers' house, Hobkirk, Wretman, and Co., through which they accomplish these negotiations, gets also $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The vessels clear at the custom-house for the coast of Africa, with slave-decks, shackles, water-tanks, and other appurtenances, and with a cargo of ardent spirits, powder, muskets, cotton goods, &c., and sometimes having both an American and a Brazilian or Portuguese captain and crew.

"The only medium of exchange among the Africans is in the form of goods, wares, and merchandise, by barter; and that between the agents there and the large dealers in slaves, or in goods for that market in this country, is in the form of bills on Brazil. The very ivory and other products of Africa, for export, are brought from the interior to the coast on the heads of the negroes, who are themselves to be shipped as slaves."

"It is said that there is not a merchant or dealer of any sort on this whole coast, from Para to Rio Grande, engaged in the trade between Brasil and Africa, who does not, directly or indirectly,

participate in the profit or loss of the foreign slave-trade. And there is very little loss in that trade. Nothing is lost if two out of five trips succeed. And that trade has of late rather increased than diminished. It has decreased, perhaps, to Rio de Janeiro, but increased to every other province of Brazil.

"Slave decks are no longer indispensable. The water casks, stowed level, in one or more tiers, according to the size of the vessel, fore and aft, and rush mats spread over them, is the last improvement of fitting a slaver. And they can now ship—indeed, it is proved under oath in this examination, that it took the *Montevideo*, with a swept hold, from but two to seven hours to ship a cargo of 800 slaves. They have their water-pipes filled and buried in the sand of the beach; and the slaves, the farinha, the jerked beef, the provisions and stores, and the water, are moved, at a moment's warning, in canoes and launches, to the vessel waiting at the distance of a five minutes' row from the shore."—*Hon. Mr. Wise to the Secretary of State*.

Having discharged their goods, the medium of barter, and taken on board their closely-packed living cargoes, the American captain and crew, if they had them, are shipped on board a brig that has gone before to act as their tender, and a Brazilian or Portuguese captain and crew are supplied, if they had them not. In the one case, the tender brig returns to Rio Janeiro, either navigated by the Americans or with them as passengers, and not unfrequently with some branded slaves for Fonseca, in the same capacity as passengers. For aught that appears, she will have performed a lawful voyage, that is, having only waited upon the slavers with some goods for purchase money of the slaves, and got them ready, and having then helped the slavers to a Brazilian or Portuguese crew, who, if taken by English cruisers, cannot be hung like Americans or subjects of Great Britain. The bloody slaver then speeds her way through the horrors of the "middle passage," silly lands her human cargo, more dead than alive, at Cape Frio, Mangaratiba, or other places along the coast of Brazil, and then boldly runs into this port in ballast, and fits again for the atrocious voyage.

Mr. Wise has now in custody, on board the frigate *Raritan*, two African lads with Fonseca's brand upon them, that were brought into port thus as pretended passengers in an American brig, along with Fonseca's agent, who had been in the brig up and down the African coast, to contract for slaves, said American brig acting as tender to three or four others immediately employed in exporting slaves. She was seized by the U.S. brig *Bainbridge*, on the charge of being engaged in the slave-trade, but afterwards delivered up to the Brazilian authorities for judgment, who have, if I am rightly informed, released the master and officers, whom Mr. Wise was desirous of sending for trial to the United States. The African lads and certain others have been retained, and are to be forwarded as witnesses to the United States.

There is a tale of blood and horror connected with this brig, to be in due time unfolded. It was given on oath, a few weeks ago, by a seaman of another American brig, the *Kentucky*, that the first night after leaving the east coast of Africa, with a cargo of 650 blacks, a part of them got loose from their manacles, and rose on the crew. But being armed with muskets and cutlasses, the crew soon drove them below again, and killed a number by firing into them after they had cried for quarter. A few days after, others of the survivors were condemned to be executed, then hoisted up to the fore-yard-arm chained two together, and shot dead. When two were taken out of the hold chained together, of whom only one was to die, to save the shackle, and save time, they chopped off their victim's foot at the ankle, let the leg loose, then run him up to the yard-arm, and finished by shooting him. In this manner were murdered forty-six men and one woman.

Thus the infernal business is carried on eagerly and fatally as ever, and American merchants, knowingly or not, pander for it, and make what gain they can by such detestable pimping. Mr. Wise has written his legal opinion to Maxwell, Wright and Co., on their part in the business which the laws of his country have declared piracy, warning them and other American merchants against it, and declaring his fixed purpose to see to it that the laws of his country are enforced, and the star-spangled banner cleansed from the blood of this atrocious traffic, which in fact it is made to shield, British cruisers seldom daring to overhaul a vessel under the American flag; American citizens, and they too generally from the North, not scrupling to employ their vessels where they can get the most pay.* May God bless these, I believe, honest and earnest efforts to suppress the slave-trade, by a man who is himself a slaveholder, and who has stood in such an attitude to abolition, as makes the anomaly of his present position and warfare the more remarkable. But of this more hereafter.

C.

* The following are the names and places of ownership of some of the American vessels thus employed at the present time, as furnished me by the American Consul at Rio Janeiro, Mr. Gordon:

Sold to Manuel Pinto da Fonseca.

Brig *Montevideo*, J. L. Pendleton, master; Alexander Riddell, owner, New York.

Brig *Agnes*, Hiram Gray, master; John H. Price, owner, Wilmington, Del.

Brig *Kentucky*, Geo. H. Douglass, master; Willis and Hart, owners, New York.

Brig *Porpoise*, Agnes Libby, master; George H. Richardson, owner, Brunswick, Me.—tender to the *Kentucky*, *Hope*, *Garcia*, and others.

Brig *Sea Eagle*, Gilbert Smith, master; E. C. Clark and Co., owners, Boston—tender to the *Montevideo* and *Agnes*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STOKE NEWINGTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.—This Association intends sending a Box of Useful and Fancy Articles to the Annual Bazaar, to be held at Boston, United States, in the 12th month, (December next,) in aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Contributions will be thankfully received from any of our friends interested in and desirous of assisting the great cause of Abolition in America, by Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London, and by J. Jefferson, and S. A. Alexander, Stoke Newington; Mary Foster, and S. A. Alexander, Secretaries. N.B.—Articles should be sent by the end of the 10th month (October.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 17, 1845.

THE papers by the West India mail have brought intelligence of the arrival of about 300 more immigrant Coolies at Demerara, by the ship *Success*, after a very protracted voyage. The small amount of this supply of labour, as compared with the magnificent promises made, is dwelt upon with much vexation; but the planters should rather be thankful that they are not further in the mire. The Coolies they already have are very uneasy, and in one case their movements are reported to have been restrained by an exercise of official "coercion" very like slavery itself. One of our contemporaries, after assuming, which is matter of course, that this is for the advantage of the people themselves, adds this very sensible inquiry:—"But is it politic, on the part of the Governor and his associates, to put an argument in the mouth of the President of the United States, prone to exclaim against slavery covered with the cloak of apprenticeship?"

The August holidays have been everywhere very quietly enjoyed, although the occurrence of a holiday at all seems to be a matter of desperate grumbling to the plantocracy. No less than 1,100 Africans were said to be waiting at Sierra Leone for West India emigration ships. At Demerara and Trinidad great hopes were entertained of a good crop, which was generally the case throughout the West Indies.

OUR American files inform us of another of those infamous outrages so characteristic of the freest republic in the world, and the best governed of human communities. Cassius M. Clay has now been the victim of the august mobocracy of the United States. The good people of Kentucky, not choosing to have the rights of humanity and the cause of the oppressed advocated within their borders, have thought proper to enact without law the suppression of the *True American*. We have given the details of this very free and constitutional proceeding elsewhere, and need not further direct the attention of our readers to them. They will awaken universal sympathy and indignation. It is a peculiar feature of this outrage that it was perpetrated at a time when Mr. Clay was extremely ill, having been suffering for thirty-five days under a typhoid fever. He had, however, prepared his office for an armed defence, and, had he been in health, there would too probably have been a scene of blood. As it is, we are sorry to learn that many fears were entertained for his life. A Lexington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Herald* says, "Cassius Clay will die." And the editor of that paper adds—

"It was, we presume, in consequence of this conviction of the approach of death, that he abandoned all thought of resort to physical force, as intimated in the closing paragraph of his last appeal to his fellow-citizens, which he dictated, not being able to write. 'My office and dwelling,' he said, 'are undefended except by the laws of my country—to the sacred inviolability of which I confide myself and property, and of these laws you are the sole guardians.'"

We trust this melancholy anticipation will not be realized; and earnestly hope that the life of this noble minded man will be spared, both for his own sake, and for the sake of the great cause of human freedom, to which he had so ardently devoted himself.

WE have received the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* for August. It is almost wholly occupied, although a double number, with an examination of the acts and influence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which are stated to have been, from the commencement of the anti-slavery contest, pro-slavery. A private letter speaks of this *exposé* as adapted to do great good. We shall give some further account of it in our next. We are also favoured with an extract of a letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan to Mr. Sturge, in which he says, that the suppression of Cassius Clay's newspaper, of which we have given an account elsewhere, "is producing a prodigious stir in Kentucky, and throughout the country." He further says, "The late convention at Cincinnati was so numerously attended, and produced so

good an impression, that the friends of the cause in New England have determined on holding a similar meeting of abolitionists at Boston, on the 1st of October."

In our last we referred to the enthusiasm with which Captain Walker has been welcomed by Northern abolitionists. The Southerners are not likely to hear the last for a good while of the branded hand. There has been going the round of the American papers a cut of this now celebrated hand, which, with some striking, but somewhat uncouth verses of Mr. Whittier, we have transferred to our columns.

We copy the following article from the *Western Times*, of the 13th instant.

"We announced a few weeks since, the arrival at Shute, the seat of Sir W. T. Pole, Bart., of G. W. H. Schenley, Esq., the British arbitrator at Surinam. We have been rather surprised to learn that that gentleman has been in some measure driven from the colony by the efforts of the slaveholding party. Surinam was an English colony, surrendered to the Dutch at the peace of Vienna—(having been taken from them during the last war.) The Dutch, by treaty, fell into our views respecting the slave-trade, but have not been very anxious to carry them out. Mr. Schenley being zealously disposed to discharge his important duties in an equitable spirit towards the injured Africans, incurred the constant hostility of the slaveholding-party; and having, through his despatches, stated a little too much truth, the offended parties have sued him in the local courts for damages, and he has been cast in a heavy sum. Being now absent on leave, the honourable gentleman is not directly affected by this decision of the Dutch tribunals, but it appears a somewhat strange proceeding if a British functionary is to be liable to a foreign government for the communications which he may choose, in the discharge of his duty, to make to his own Government."

Our surprise at this announcement is quite as great as that of our contemporary. Not, indeed, that it is at all out of keeping with the usual conduct of the good people of Surinam, for they have, during the whole of the three years that Mr. Schenley has resided among them, pursued towards him a course of flagrant insult and intimidation; but it is not a little startling that the British Government should permit its representative to be thus interfered with by foreign tribunals for the discharge of his official duty. This matter is evidently of great importance, not only to those who may be employed at Surinam in particular, but to British functionaries in general, who have already quite difficulties enough thrown in the way of the faithful execution of their trust. We hope that Lord Aberdeen will see the importance and necessity of affording a firm and unwavering support to men who expose themselves to this and similar perils, in upholding the interests, and furthering the views, of the British Government in various parts of the world, especially in relation to the great questions of slavery and the slave-trade.

We direct attention to a valuable and important paper on the duty of promoting the immediate and complete abolition of slavery. It places the subject, we think, in a convincing light, and will repay perusal.

THE BRANDED HAND.

(From the American papers.)

BELOW we give an exact representation of the *brand*, which was burnt with a hot iron, by an officer of the United States, into the living flesh of a citizen of Massachusetts. It was copied from a Daguerreotype picture belonging to Dr. Bowditch, who kindly loaned the picture for this purpose. Ponder it, fellow-citizens, and as you burn, and blush, and weep, at the disgrace of our country, the indignity done to a worthy neighbour, and the misery of the poor slaves, let the fire burn until your soul is enkindled to the high resolve, that the letters on Jonathan Walker's hand shall be made to read—

SALVATION TO THE SLAVE!



THE BRANDED HAND.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Welcome home again, brave seaman! with thy thoughtful brow and gray,
And the old heroic spirit of our earlier, better day;
With that front of calm endurance, on whose steady nerve, in vain,
Press'd the iron of the prison, smote the fiery shafts of pain!

Is the tyrant's brand upon thee? Did the brutal cravens aim
To make God's truth thy falsehood, His holiest work thy shame?
When, all blood-quench'd, from the torture the iron was withdrawn,
How laugh'd their evil angel the baffled fools to scorn!

*They change to wrong, the duty which God hath written out
On the great heart of humanity too legible for doubt!
They, the loathsome moral lepers, blotch'd from foot-sole up to crown,
Give to shame what God hath given unto honour and renown!*

Why, that brand is highest honour!—than its traces never yet
Upon old armorial hatchments was a prouder blazon set;
And thy unborn generations, as they crowd our rocky strand,
Shall tell with pride the story of their father's BRANDED HAND!

As the Templar home was welcomed, bearing back from Syrian wars
The scar of Arab lances, and of Paynim scimitars,
The pallor of the prison, and the shackle's crimson span,
So we meet thee, so we greet thee, truest friend of God and man:

He suffer'd for the ransom of the dear Redeemer's grave,
Thou for His living presence in the bound and bleeding slave;
He for a soil no longer by the feet of angels trod,
Thou for the true Shechinah, the present home of God!

For, while the jurist, sitting with the slave-whip o'er him swung,
From the tortured truths of freedom the lie of slavery wrung,
And the solemn priest to Moloch, on each God-deserted shrine,
Broke the bondman's heart for bread, pour'd the bondman's blood for wine.

While the multitude in blindness to a far-off Saviour knelt,
And spurn'd, the while, the temple where a present Saviour dwelt;
Thou beheld'st Him in the task-field, in the prison shadows dim,
And thy mercy to the bondman, it was mercy unto Him!

In thy lone and long night watches, sky above and wave below,
Thou didst learn a higher wisdom than the babbling schoolmen know;
God's stars and silence taught thee as his angels only can,
That the one, sole, sacred thing beneath the cope of heaven is man:

That, he who treads profanely on the scrolls of law and creed,
In the depth of God's great goodness may find mercy in his need;
But woe to him who crushes the soul with chain and rod,
And herds with lower natures the awful form of God!

Then lift that manly right hand, bold ploughman of the wave!
Its branded palm shall prophecy "SALVATION TO THE SLAVE!"
Hold up its fire-wrought language, that whose reads may feel
His heart swell strong within him, his sinews change to steel.

Hold it up before our sunshine, up against our northern air:
Ho! men of Massachusetts, for the love of God look there!
Take it henceforth for your standard—like the Bruce's heart of yore,
In the dark strife closing round ye, let that hand be seen before!

And the tyrants of the slave land shall tremble at that sign,
When it points its finger southward along the Puritan line:
Woe to the state's gorged leeches, and the church's locust band,
When they look from slavery's ramparts on the coming of that hand!

RESULTS OF THE CENSUS IN THE WEST INDIES.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

We cannot by any means coincide in the very gloomy view which our contemporary, the *Times*, takes of the circumstances and prospects of our West Indian colonies, as stated, or suggested, by the population returns recently presented to Parliament on the motion of Mr. Barkly. These returns, and the social and moral facts which they may be regarded as representing, seem to us of a mixed character—presenting much to cheer the hopes, as well as to rectify and guide the judgment of the philanthropist, and much to call for the earnest attention of the statesman. The new condition of society to which the deliberate act of the British people and Legislature has given existence in our West Indian possessions, will no doubt long continue to present anxious and difficult problems for the solution of statesmanship. "Revolutions," the most just and salutary, "are not made with rose-water." If such a revolution as that implied in the transition from slavery to freedom, had been effected without considerable incidental risks and evils, it would be the first time in the history of nations that the passage from wrong to right had been accomplished on such cheap and easy terms. It is always a hazardous task to re-constitute society in its fundamental relations; and a considerable time will probably elapse before the elements of West Indian society shall have combined into a settled and perfectly satisfactory form. We must contend, however, that the returns lately presented to Parliament afford no clear indications of anything that can fairly be called failure, in the act of negro emancipation. Still less do they tend to discredit the inherent fitness of the negro race for personal and social freedom. This we are now entitled to set down as definitely established, beyond all doubt or cavil. The question of time and mode may still, in some respects, remain a question, though it is one which it would serve no useful purpose to re-argue now. But we are not aware of any evils having resulted from the mode in which, wisely or unwisely, the British Parliament, some years ago, answered this question, that need be regarded as beyond the reach of legislative skill.

The highly satisfactory reports from Barbadoes, and the Windward Islands generally, are, of themselves, proof sufficient that if emancipation has anywhere, or in any respect, failed, or seemed to fail, the fault does not lie in the physical or moral constitution of the negro race, or in any other essential condition of the experiment. In these islands, the new relations of social life, into which British legislation has introduced the African race, work excellently well. Population is steadily and rapidly on the increase; affording a prospect of the gradual subjugation to the

uses of civilized man, of that half million of acres of available land, of which, at present, little more than a fourth part is actually in cultivation. "Throughout these islands," numbering a population of 213,000, "society is in a peaceable and orderly state, property is secure, the means of subsistence and of comfortable existence are amply provided by nature for more than double the numbers of the present inhabitants," and "deliberate calculation" has led the Governor to the conclusion—

"That if anything should attract to the Windward Islands a gradually and steadily increasing supply of capital, the peaceful lapse of another quarter of a century might swell the numbers of the population to nearly half a million, and augment the cultivated land to four hundred thousand acres, and the export of sugar to one hundred thousand tons, which is about half the present consumption of the United Kingdom."

If the Governor had said, in so many words, "We have lost nothing by emancipation, and we do not want 'protection' to compensate an evil that has no existence, but we do want a prompt and final settlement of those fiscal questions whose present state precludes an adequate application of capital, skill, and labour to the soil," he would scarcely have stated more intelligibly the true conditions of West Indian progress and prosperity.

From Antigua, with its population of 36,000, (estimated to have increased some eight or nine per cent. within the last four years,) and from the smaller island of Montserrat, we receive equally satisfactory proofs, that whatever faults or errors may have been committed in the work of emancipation, any apparent failure or disappointment must be attributed, not to these, but mainly to local and incidental causes. The Governor of Montserrat reports that—

"The results of the census furnish us with facts of a highly satisfactory nature, well calculated to show the rapidity with which the emancipated population is increasing, and the certainty that in the course of a very few years the natural increase of the peasantry will not only supersede the necessity of immigration into these colonies, but render it positively pernicious, from its manifest tendency to retard the progress of civilization among the African race in this quarter of the globe, by the continued introduction of masses of human beings in the lowest state of moral degradation as well as by prematurely bringing on the labouring population all the inconveniences of a superabundance of numbers in a country purely agricultural."

And he adverts to the case of "other colonies, such as Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad, in which the call for continued immigration is so loudly raised," with a significant intimation of his opinion, that "if the increase should prove to be on a scale very greatly inferior to that of this island," viz. six per cent. per annum, "it must be owing to counteracting influences of some peculiar nature, altogether beyond the range of his experience or observation."

The extreme brevity of the report which accompanies the return made by the Governor of Jamaica leaves us to our own conjectures as to the peculiar nature of the counteracting influences that obstruct the improvement and prosperity of that important island. That emancipation is wholly, or mainly, answerable for the unsatisfactory condition of Jamaica, no one will easily believe who recollects the complaints of depression and distress with which the Jamaica portion of the much-complaining West India interest was wont to approach the Government, for many a long year prior to emancipation. The unwillingness of Jamaica negroes to work, under the stimulus of liberal wages and fair treatment, seems to a considerable extent disputable, after what we have heard of the quantity and quality of negro labour on the railway now making on that island. How much of the difficulty experienced in this respect by the Jamaica planters may be attributable to their non-use, or mis-use, of the time afforded by the apprenticeship system for placing themselves in better relations with the labouring population, it would now be unavailing to inquire. To ourselves, the notoriously unskillful, unscientific, and slovenly character of Jamaica agriculture—in which the use even of the plough is still an exception to the general rule—and the fiscal waste and oppression practised by the colonial Legislature, in taxing the labourers' food to raise an immigration fund, very sufficiently account for the unfavourable reports which we are accustomed to receive from that island. We wish well to any reasonable scheme of immigration; but we more than doubt the policy—the morality is past doubting—of raising a fund for this purpose, by a process which diminishes the exchangeable value of wages, weakens the inducement to work for wages, and gives the negro a direct interest in growing cheaply the provisions which he must otherwise buy at an artificially dear price. We should put infinitely more faith in improved modes of cultivation, in the use of labour-saving machinery, in horses, ploughs, steam-engines, agricultural chemistry, and railways. Jamaica wants a free application of capital, skill, and science to her soil; which she has, we fear, very little likelihood of getting, so long as her energies are burdened with "protection, the bane of agriculture."

The state of things detailed in the remarkably able and interesting report of Mr. Hadfield on the population of British Guiana, has indubitably somewhat of a "chaotic" character. Yet the chaos seems singularly rich in the elements of organisation and new life, and is at least as suggestive of hope for the future as of regret for the past. We cannot regard the spectacle which Mr. Hadfield exhibits, of the new social world that is struggling into existence in British Guiana, as a "mortifying" one. The news that there are in that colony "at least nineteen thousand of the emancipated peasantry inhabiting their own dwellings," does not strike us as being, in itself, bad news. That a recently liberated negro population should have the energy, activity, intelligence, and power of combination to purchase large estates, and cultivate them in community—to found village settlements of their own, each with its church or chapel for Christian worship and instruction—is a piece of intelligence at which we confess we feel neither grieved nor humbled. No doubt there are evils and dangers in this startling sudden and rapid development of negro wealth and power, and it is the duty of Government to watch this novel social phenomenon. We quite agree with Mr. Hadfield, that "such communities as these, numbering from 800 to 1,000 individuals, should not be left entirely to their own impulses;" and it appears, from this gentleman's statements, that some new law or practice in regard to the transfer of property is urgently wanted to meet so new a case. We know not, however, on what authority the *Times* informs its readers that "the

Government appears to be paralysed at the spectacle, as something too fearful to be dealt with." We see nothing like paralysis in the very business-like way in which the Commissary of Population details this novel state of things, specifies the evils incident to it, and suggests remedies for these evils. So far from being paralysed, this intelligent public officer mentions different modes, more or less efficient, in which the confusion likely to arise out of these immense proprietary partnerships may be obviated; and, instead of regarding the matter as in any way desperate, he "feels convinced that legislative interposition would be productive of lasting benefits to the proprietary bodies of this class."

It is at least pleasant to know, on the highest authority, that if British Guiana gains a "bold peasantry, their country's pride," it will be a clear gain, as compared with the previously existing order of things. The new state of society may be very far from perfect, but it is not shown that any class was interested in maintaining the old one. It does not appear that Guiana has lost anything. In the opinion of Governor Light—

"The proprietary body ought to be satisfied that, but for emancipation, there was an annual decrease of their population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than their fears have predicted would occur since that happy period."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Our general prospects, we rejoice to say, continue brightening. The weather is pleasant and favourable. Sugar has sold since the arrival of the packet for 3s. per cwt. more than it would have fetched if it had been offered the day previously to her arrival. The crop for the present year will exhibit a considerable increase,—and this, joined to the late drought in Cuba, and the falling off and consequent high prices of Louisiana sugars, will contribute to enhance the favourable position in which we find ourselves. The present seasons will doubtless induce the putting in of such an extent of fall plants as to materially increase the crop for 1847; and we trust, by that time, the planter will be under no fear of being enabled to take off every cane he has cultivated, and at a remunerating rate. Immigration has not done much for him yet,—but he has, to as great an extent as his opportunities have allowed, supplied its place, and so will continue to do,—and we have no hesitation in admitting that, with his agricultural improvements and a reasonable extent of immigration, he will, ere many more seasons shall have passed over his head, be able to contemplate even any change in the duties without a justifiable fear for the result.—*Jamaica Times*.

TWENTI-FOUR EMANCIPADOS arrived at Jamaica in the *Trent*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—FURTHER ARRIVAL OF COOLIES.—The *Success* arrived at Demerara on the 21st of July, with 249 Coolies. Besides transporting the immigrants, she has brought with her a considerable quantity of rice, not less than 414 tons. She left Calcutta on the 26th February, and put in, on her voyage out, at Trincomalee, where she remained a fortnight, and also at St. Helena, which she left as late as the 28th June. These visits will account for the greater length of her voyage, compared with that of the *Lord Hungerford*. On reaching this on the 21st instant, she was fortunate enough to bring all on board well into Guiana. On departing from Calcutta, she had on board 11 passengers, 193 men, thirty-two women, eleven girls, three boys, and ten infants—total 249. During the early part of the passage, nine men and one woman died of cholera. Besides these cases of mortality, two women were accidentally drowned, and two children died from natural causes—total mortality, fourteen deaths. It is curious that almost all the cases of death on board the *Lord Hungerford* should have occurred at the same stage of the voyage, when the ship was not far from the Asiatic shore, and from the same cause, cholera.—*Royal Gazette*.

THE DISCONTENT AMONG THE FIRST BATCH OF COOLIES.—The proprietors or representatives of all the estates which had received Coolies from the *Lord Hungerford*, agreed to stop allowances. On this, a move took place, under the guidance of an old Cooly of the importation of 1838, towards plantation Aurora, which had received none.

The Coolies which had been assigned to the Land of Plenty, the property of bishop Austin, of the Church of England, offering to return thither under indenture for five years, the bishop's attorney communicated the circumstances to the Governor, from whom he received a favourable reply, authorizing the stipendiary magistrate to see the contracts executed for one year. The attorney, accompanied by the stipendiary magistrate of that district, (Carbery,) immediately went to Aurora, and pledged himself to have the contracts executed as soon as the Coolies returned. The magistrate, at the same time, explained to these people, through an interpreter, his own approval of the proposed indentures, as well as the Governor's sanction thereof.

The Coolies returned, and again the stipendiary magistrate reiterated the expression of his sentiments, and the attorney declared his readiness to guarantee, in writing, a certain amount of money-wages and certain allowances, for proportionate work. This occurred in the presence of several witnesses.

The stipendiary magistrate meanwhile paid a visit to town. Suddenly, a communication was despatched to the bishop's attorney, intimating that as other parties who had Coolies in their employ declined to execute contracts of indenture, government withdrew its sanction of the agreement already made with regard to the Coolies of Land of Plenty.

When these people heard of this change of determination, they evinced much chagrin, complained that deception had been practised on them, gathered up their chattels, and, leaving Land of Plenty, started for Aurora once more.—*Gwiana Times*.

THE COOLIES.—We learn from the *Guiana Times* that the advantages of Coolie immigration are already beginning to be manifested. "The Coolies," this journal says, "have been behaving so unsteadily, that the local authorities have been obliged to exercise their influence, stopping short of physical coercion, but closely approaching to it, in order to remove them from the estates to which they had migrated, to those on which they had

been located in the first instance." And this is perfect Coolie freedom! —they have not been handcuffed and driven home to their proper masters by flourish of whip, and their "free-agency" is therefore not to be questioned! The *Times* adds, "This is, undoubtedly, for the advantage of the people themselves, for rolling stones gather no moss." How we do love these fine old proverbs!—they do so stand one in the place of argument! "Rolling stones gather no moss"—a fool might read the necessary deduction:—to prosper in Guiana the Coolies must not budge from the estates "on which they have been located in the first instance;" therefore, it is to their advantage to use means "closely approaching to physical coercion" to bring them back when they do budge. The negroes have a proverb opposed to this of the "rolling stones"—"If crab na walk, crab na get fat;" as much as to say, "Se down home an suck tum to bellyfull;" but then, they are negroes, and know no better.—*Barbados Liberal*.

THE RESULT OF SEVEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE.—How, amidst the jubiles of the servants of the crown, the galloping hither and thither of aides-de-camp in the streets of Georgetown, the booming of guns, the hoisting of flags, and the junketing of those who had become their own masters on the 1st of August, 1838, did the landed proprietor, the mercantile mortgagee or importer, and the numerous sections of the community immediately dependent on them, feel on that eventful day? To a man, almost, they looked on themselves as the sacrifices offered on the altars of public happiness, and on the colony as ruined. They considered the days of Guiana as an exporting country were numbered; and that year after year the impracticability of conducting the ordinary and necessary operations of estates would become more and more glaring. They anticipated that the people would dispose of themselves by abandoning the cultivation of the staples, and settling up the numerous rivers with which the colony is diversified in every direction; and that afar from civilization they would be contented, subsisting almost in a state of nature, to minister to the few wants of which man really has need in this climate, by hunting, fishing, and reaping the produce of small gardens, matured almost without the toil of human hands. On the 1st of August, 1838, a general despondency and misgiving overspread the upper classes of the colonists. What has become of this feeling on the 1st of August, 1845? Events have not justified it: brighter views are taken of our prospects: the people have been found to be fonder of society, and less inclined to the solitude of nature than was anticipated: we have managed to export the sugar, rum, and coffee of seven crops; immigrants from all sides have flocked in; the public revenue has increased; the limits of the town have been enlarged; fine buildings have sprung up to beautify it; villages spread themselves over the face of the country; an immigration loan is about to be raised, to aid the onward march; and it is acknowledged on all hands, that with an adequate supply of labour, the fabric of society can be kept together, and Guiana recover, in a few years, her old position as an exporting dependency of the Crown. The lapse of seven years has brought hope to the minds of the influential classes of our community.—*Royal Gazette*.

SIERRA LEONE.—The *Sierra Leone Watchman* states that the Spanish and Brazilian agents on that coast had found their situation lately so difficult, that they had thoughts of abandoning it. H. M. S. *Penelope* had been punishing the chiefs of the Rogers' family on the Galilas river, by the burning of several towns for the sake of Tom Peter, knowing him to be a British subject.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The laws of the United States forbid American citizens to build or fit out vessels to carry on the slave-trade to or between foreign countries, or to aid in such work. They prohibit citizens or residents from holding any right of property in vessels employed in the slave-trade, or from serving on board such vessels. But they are continually evaded. The exposition lately given by Mr. Wise proves this; but if any doubt on this point exist, it would be all removed by the result of the recent trial in Baltimore, before the United States Circuit Court, of Jason L. Pendleton, charged with piracy in being engaged in the slave-trade on the coast of Africa.

The evidence went to show, that the brig *Montevideo*, under the command of Captain Riddell, in 1843, shipped a crew in New York for the port of Rio de Janeiro and other ports in the Brazil, and subsequently to go to any port the captain might choose, the crew being shipped for twelve months. A part of the cargo was discharged at Rio; Captain R. announced then that the vessel had been engaged for eight months to trade on the African coast, and put the accused in charge of her. Captain P. sailed to that coast, traded there for a little while, and then returned to Brazil. During the voyage he told one of the crew that the vessel was owned by Captain R., a citizen of New York; and that he himself, a citizen of Connecticut, was navigating it for him. The vessel was put under repairs in Brazil, and meantime Captain P. went ashore to live. Just before a Portuguese captain and crew had come aboard; and after the repairs were completed, took in 170 or 180 water-casks, while the American crew attended to the rigging. During this time, a deck was made by the Portuguese carpenters, fitted on the beams below the other deck, then removed, taken apart, the parts being marked so that they could be refitted, and the whole was stowed away in the wings of the vessel. Everything showed that the design was to prepare her for the slave-trade. The vessel then sailed for the coast of Africa, the cargo being managed by the Portuguese, the navigation by the Americans. At Cabinda, on the coast, she discharged some lumber, jerked beef, &c., and subsequently took in a lighter of jerked beef. After lying there three or four weeks, the crew were informed that the brig was sold, and they must get ready to go ashore. A Portuguese captain, from the coast, came on board and took possession, and Captain Pendleton and his crew left. Eight hundred and eighty-four slaves were then taken on board, and carried to Cafrio, a few miles above Rio, and there landed. Captain Pen-

leton with his crew obtained passage on different vessels to Rio, on their way home; but after reaching that place, he and some others were arrested, and sent within the jurisdiction of the United States. The whole transaction was deliberately planned, and the brig intended for the slave-trade. It proceeded to the coast of Africa, under the protection of the American flag, one half of the risk of the voyage being thus obviated. No doubt as to the guilt of Riddell or Pendleton can be entertained by any one. But the law was evaded, and the criminals escaped.

Upon the close of the arguments, the court, without giving any opinion on the question of the validity of the indictment, instructed the jury that, in order to convict the accused upon the charge alleged against him, there must be evidence to show that he was on board the vessel at the time of the confinement of the negroes, aiding and abetting such confinement, and that no such evidence had been offered.

The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty* without leaving the box.—*Cincinnati Herald.*

PROSECUTION FOR LIBEL.—A being named Mr. De Neufbourg, of New Orleans, who, some five weeks ago, caused a mulatto boy, Sylvester, to be daily whipped at the New Orleans police jail, until he was well nigh murdered, has prosecuted the editors of the *New Orleans Picayune*, Tropic and Jeffersonian, for libel, in justly exposing such an atrocity. He lays his damages at three hundred dollars. The *New Orleans Picayune* of the 16th instant says:—"It would appear that he (De Neufbourg) claims the privilege of having his slave whipped at the police jail until he was one mass of raw flesh, and then parading him through the streets, to the horror of spectators and the disgrace of our laws, without reproach or remark from any source. The boy was absolutely stopped in the streets and taken to the recorder's office, lest he should fall down and die by the way. He was examined by a public officer, in the presence of a number of persons, with the assistance of a distinguished physician, who sent him to the charity hospital on a shutter, with his face down, where he has been for more than four weeks. After this lapse of time the boy has yet, as we learn, large raw places upon his body. While the slave-holder is thus resolved to gag the press, so that it shall not dare to denounce his enormities, it seems that there is no law by which his diabolical cruelty can be punished."—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

CUBA.—The Captain-General of Cuba has suddenly determined to check the slave-trade by decisive and effectual measures. It had been hitherto tolerated without the slightest attempt at its suppression. At present a vessel engaged in the slave-trade cannot enter the ports of Cuba; but the island is very large, and its bays and harbours innumerable. You may readily divine the consequences. The kidnapped blacks are taken to some plantations along the coast, their nakedness is covered, they are kept a few days to restore their good looks, and then sent with impunity to every part of the island.—*Cor. New Orleans Bee.*

FRANCE.—The trial of Captain Bellet, of the ship *Luiz d'Albuquerque*, for carrying on the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, commenced on the 13th inst., before the Court of Assizes for the department of the Ile et Vilaine, held at Rennes, and was not finished until the 15th. The evidence was various and contradictory, much of it coming from his own men, who were of very questionable character, and prejudiced against their captain, from the punishments he had been obliged to inflict upon them for their misconduct—insomuch that the jury could not give credit to their testimony, and returned a verdict of acquittal.—*Galigani's Messenger.*

ALGERIA.—FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.—“Medea, August 8th.—A caravan of black slaves, all female save one, and to the number of sixty-eight, have been just brought here by the Beni Mzabs. They encamped at two musket-shot's distance of the town, and opened their market. There were plenty of purchasers, nor did the young damsels who were to be sold appear to be sad or sorry. After making a purchase, the buyer examined the slave previous to payment, felt the limbs to see if they were sound, agitated something before the eyes to see was the sight perfect, and looked into the mouth for the age. It was exactly as if a cow or a horse was purchased. The price, which was but 120 or 130 francs up the country, here reached 500 or 600 francs.” Such is a specimen, taken from the *Courrier d'Afrique*, of the French civilization of Africa. The female slaves fetched so high a price at Medea, no doubt, because it is a French garrison town.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Miscellaneous.

CONVEYANCE OF COOLIES TO THE WEST INDIES.—We learn that the West India body have made a proposition to Lord Stanley to charter a certain number of ships in England, for the purpose of conveying Coolies from India to British Guiana, Trinidad, and to Jamaica. The West India body state that they have been induced to make this proposition in consequence of the attempt made by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to charter ships for the conveyance of Coolie emigrants to the West Indies having failed, the chief causes of which failure appearing, upon inquiry, to be—1st, The uncertainty of procuring any immigrants, as intimated in the form of charter-party issued by the Commissioners; 2nd, The condition whereby, even if they should be procurable, the emigration agent may require a ship to proceed with seventy-five per cent. of her complement without paying “dead freight” for all the deficiency; and 3rd, The absence of any provision for paying a certain amount of “dead freight” by way of penalty or compensation, in the event of total disappointment. The opinion is expressed that there exists, in fact, very little doubt that the requisite number of emigrants will, in due time, be forthcoming. The West India body therefore solicited permission to charter sufficient tonnage to convey the following numbers of Coolies:—2,000 to British Guiana, 1,500 to Trinidad, and 1,000 to Jamaica. It is affirmed that it is evident, from the experience of the past season, and the increasing demand for ships for every branch of trade, that unless a certain number be secured immediately, the emigration agent may be disappointed, after making arrangements for the collection

of emigrants, in obtaining suitable ships, especially as they must be all despatched within a limited period.

This proposition had been made without any communication with the agent for this island, to whom it was referred by Lord Stanley. It was intended to bring the matter under the consideration of the Jamaica proprietors in London, and will not be acquiesced in by the island agent, unless it is adopted by a large proportion of those gentlemen.

We have also seen a copy of a contract entered into at Madras, by Mr. Wilson, the emigrant agent there, with a native, for procuring Coolie emigrants. It is also stated, that it is evident that the number of Coolies imported into the colonies this season will be insufficient to afford anything like an indemnity for the agency, and other expenses incurred.—*Jamaica Morning Journal.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—A return of the expenses of liberated Africans, and of the liberated African department in each year, from December, 1838, to December, 1844, including buildings and all contingent expenses, so far as the same can be made out from the records of the Audit-office, comprising maintenance, clothing, medical treatment, fuel, light, salaries, and incidental expenses generally, has been appended to some returns and documents relative to the slave-trade, and the treaties between Great Britain and Spain on that subject, lately obtained by Mr. Hutt, M.P. In 1839, the gross total amount of the above expenses was 21,967.; in 1840, 16,257.; in 1841, 46,025.; in 1842, 33,800.; in 1843, 18,802.; and in 1844, 13,499.; making a grand total of 150,354. for those six years. The total annual cost to the country of all the vessels employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, including the wear and tear, amounted in 1839 to 80,393.; in 1840, to 101,175.; in 1841, to 73,954.; in 1842, to 94,026.; in 1843, to 88,239.; and in 1844, to 217,527.; of which, 86,091. was consumed in wages, 47,263. in victuals, and 84,173. in wear and tear. The number of men and officers who died in 1844, engaged in the slave service on the coast of Africa, amounted to sixty-six; and the number invalided to eighty-three. It further appears, from this return, that between December, 1838, and December, 1844, there were 346 vessels seized and proceeded against, either in the English or foreign Mixed Commission courts, or in the British Vice-Admiralty courts, on the ground of being concerned in the illicit traffic, and that sixty-six of them were seized with slaves on board, and 280 under the equipment article, or, without slaves. That the net proceeds of the vessels, &c., proceeded against in the Mixed courts, amount to the sum of 67,412., of which one moiety (33,706.) has been paid over to the foreign Government, and the other moiety (33,629.) to the British captors. That the net proceeds of the vessels proceeded against in British Vice-Admiralty Courts, amount to the sum of 33,807., the whole of which proceeds were, by the act 5 and 6 Victoria, cap. 91, granted to the captors. That the net proceeds of the vessels, &c., condemned for a breach of the act 5 George IV., cap. 113, amount to the sum of 6,518., which was distributed thus:—1,911. to captors for seizures at sea; 898. to captors where the vessels were not seized at sea; 898. to the Governor of the colony where the seizure was made; and 2810. to the Crown, being the proportion thereto appertaining. That the sums paid for bounties to the captors, on the slaves seized, amounted to 88,135.; the tonnage bounties to the captors, for the same period, to 114,668.; and the compensation paid by her Majesty's Government for illegal captures during the same period to 1,405. The expenses of the mixed commission courts amounted, in the year 1839, to the sum of 15,088.; in the year 1840, to 15,581.; in 1841, to 14,803.; in 1842, to 13,880.; in 1843, to 21,787.; and in 1844, to 21,757. Various treaties in the French, Portuguese, and Spanish languages, with translations annexed, are given in the return.

SUGAR, &c.—An account of the imports into the United Kingdom from the West Indies, British Guiana, of sugar, molasses, rum, cocoa, and coffee, distinguishing each colony, was printed a few days ago. It was moved for by Mr. Barkly, M.P., previous to the adjournment of the House of Commons for the vacation. The total importations from the West India Islands during that period amounted to 2,453,050 cwt. of sugar; 579,598 cwt. of molasses, 2,506,625 gallons of rum, (including over-proof); 9,290,278 lbs. of coffee; and 3,120,480 lbs. of cocoa. Of the sugar 225,150 cwt. came from Antigua; 328,708 cwt. from Barbadoes; 52,803 cwt. from Dominica; 78,590 cwt. from Grenada; 529,935 cwt. from Jamaica; 12,547 cwt. from Montserrat; 29,590 cwt. from Nevis; 119,710 from St. Christopher's; 69,383 cwt. from St. Lucia; 135,637 cwt. from St. Vincent; and 49,317 cwt. from Tobago; 2,454 cwt. from Tootola; 274,588 cwt. from Trinidad; 988 cwt. from the Bahamas; 447,817 cwt. from Demerara; 95,810 cwt. from Berbice; and 13 cwt. from Honduras, (the British territories.) Of the coffee, 7,632,483 lbs. came from Jamaica; 33,814 from St. Lucia; 234,127 lbs. from Trinidad; 177,578 lbs. from the Bahamas; 733,029 lbs. from Demerara; and 372,330 lbs. from Berbice.

A VALUABLE DISCOVERY IN AFRICA.—It is stated in a letter recently published in the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, that a new race of people has been discovered near the mission established by the American Board at the Saboon, who are described as being far superior to any on the coast, and whose language is represented as one of the most perfect and harmonious in all the world; who have among them a tradition that some two centuries ago, a stranger came to their country and instructed them in civilization and their duties; who are acquainted with the facts and truths of the Holy Scriptures, and who are remarkably prepared for the reception of further knowledge. They are at present removing from the interior towards the coast, and the missionaries cherish the hope that through their agency civilization and Christianity may be widely diffused.

DRYBURGH ABBEY, where the body of Sir Walter Scott lies buried, is the property of the Earl of Buchan. Over the large gate, at the entrance to the Abbey grounds, is a sign on which is painted, in large letters, placed there in all seriousness by order of the Countess of Buchan:—“SLAVEHOLDERS FROM AMERICA NOT ADMITTED.”

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DRAWING SUPPLIES OF COTTON AND SUGAR FROM BRITISH INDIA FOR THE USE OF THE HOME MARKET.

THE development of the resources of British India, whether viewed in its political or its commercial bearing, is an object of primary importance. Nor, it may be added, is it less so when regarded in its results on the welfare of the natives of that part of the British empire, and the interest of humanity at large.

Commercially speaking, England is at this moment dependent for a large measure of her prosperity upon foreign countries, one of the chief materials of her manufactures, cotton wool, as well as many other articles of great importance to her national prosperity, being almost entirely supplied by them, while it is perfectly evident that our own possessions alone are capable of producing almost all. This places her in circumstances of disadvantage, politically speaking, if not of danger, which it is expedient should be removed as soon as possible.

To show the nature of this dependence, the following statistics are given with reference to cotton wool, although similar statistics might be given in connection with articles of equal importance, such as sugar, linseed, hemp, &c. In 1825, the imports of American cotton amounted to 356,618 bales; in 1830, to 512,664 bales; in 1835, to 676,568 bales; in 1840, to 956,025 bales; in 1841, to 983,536 bales; in 1842, to 964,441 bales; in 1843, to 1,286,233 bales; and in 1844, to 1,158,323 bales. This prodigious increase in the supply of cotton wool for the manufactures of this country, however advantageous it may have proved hitherto, is no guarantee for the future and permanent prosperity of that great branch of national industry. A rupture with the United States would paralyse, if not destroy it; an insurrection of the slave population, by whom the cotton is exclusively raised, would be attended with the same results; a contest between the United States and Mexico would not improbably be scarcely less disastrous. How important then to the welfare of this country that she should be no longer dependent for this chief article of her manufacturing consumption upon the United States. Nor need she be so; British India can supply her with the material she requires in abundance. "You," said Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, in 1833, "consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton, which proceed from slave labour, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labour, and that too while you have all the means in India, at very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labour." Policy requires that this source of supply should be diligently looked after, and that efforts should be made to render it available for the benefit of both India and Great Britain at the earliest possible period. It is easy to conceive how deeply the manufacturers are interested in this subject. The vast capital embarked by them should be rendered as secure as possible, for upon that security will mainly rest hereafter the ability to employ the vast body of operatives of all classes dependent upon them. M'Culloch estimates the capital embarked in cotton manufactures in this country at 34,000,000/.; the number of operatives employed, at the most moderate computation, to be from 1,200,000 to 1,400,000 souls, and the wages circulated amongst them to amount to 21,000,000/. sterling. Baines agrees with M'Culloch as to the amount of capital embarked in cotton manufactures, but says the number of operatives amounts to 1,500,000; and is of opinion that the annual produce of the cotton manufacture of the United Kingdom must be between 30,000,000/. and 34,000,000/. The latter sum is M'Culloch's estimate. Nor is the merchant scarcely less interested. As the medium of communication between the seller and the buyer he has large interests at stake. He seeks a market for his goods, and the United States at the present time is one of his best markets; but he is subject to many grievous disadvantages and drawbacks. Two may be enumerated—the American tariff which seriously limits his sales, and places the balance of trade against him, and the non-employment to a vast extent of British shipping in the carrying trade between the United States and Great Britain. On the first point we find that in the year 1840, the imports from Great Britain into the United States amounted to 60,277,000 dollars. Imports from the British North American and West Indian colonies to 3,225,000 dollars; exports to these colonies, 9,368,000 dollars. Balance of trade against Great Britain and her colonies, 32,578,000 dollars. On the second point, shipping, it appears that the quantity of foreign shipping which entered and cleared in the ports of the United States in 1839-40 amounted to 1,148,849 tons, whilst the amount of American shipping which entered out from those ports

during the same period was 3,223,955 tons. The effect of all this may be seen in the following statement. In 1832-3 the quantity of cotton wool consumed in the United States amounted to 194,412 bales, in 1842-3 to 325,129 bales and in 1844 to 346,744 bales. But the mischief does not end here, for not only is the market in the United States becoming restricted to the British merchant in consequence of America herself becoming a manufacturing country and thereby consuming her own cotton wool, but our manufacturers, who are almost entirely dependent upon America for this article of manufacture, must ultimately find that the manufacturers of that country will be able to meet them in the markets of the world, and subject them to a severe competition. It is perfectly clear that this competition could be met, and these disadvantages overcome, were we to rely solely on our own resources for the supply of this important article of consumption.

The value of the cotton wool received from the United States is estimated at from 6,000,000/. to 7,000,000/. per annum; the export of cotton goods to that country at from 1,250,000/. to 1,500,000/. per annum; but if British India could be made the source of supply to this country of cotton wool, British shipping, instead of American, would be employed in the transport of merchandise both to and from British India. The amount of tonnage employed by the United States with this country is reckoned at nine-tenths of the whole. There can be little doubt, that when these facts are fully known, merchants and manufacturers will be equally anxious to draw their supplies of this article from British India, to the greatest possible extent, as a mere question of profit. Another view of the subject may be taken, chiefly, however, interesting to the philanthropist. The cotton imported from the United States is raised by the labour of slaves. Three millions of the African race, or their descendants, are there reduced to that horrible and degraded condition. Bringing the cotton wool of British India into competition with that of the United States, would go far to uproot the system of American slavery, and probably to destroy it. Under a just government, says a writer in 1840, we might make ourselves independent of the United States, and low as the price of Upland cotton now is (6d.), it might be brought still lower. On account of its superior cheapness the cotton wool of British India has superseded to a considerable extent the produce of Brazil. In 1831 the imports of the Brazilian cotton amounted to 174,508 bales, in 1835 to 157,316 bales, in 1839 to 124,887 bales, in 1840 to 103,414 bales, and in 1844 to 111,706 bales, and it may be added that the Indian article is able also to compete in price with many qualities of the American cotton. The following extracts from cotton brokers' circulars bearing on these points are extremely interesting and valuable. Worthington and Cunningham in their circular of January, 1841, observe, "It is probable for these reasons, that is, the difficulties of the times and the improvements in machinery, quite as much as to the fact of their relative high and low prices, that Brazil and Surat, as compared with American cotton, have the one been in very limited and the other in very great demand during the year." The Associated Cotton Brokers' Annual Circular of the 1st Jan., 1841, contains the following statements:—"The deliveries of Surat to the trade have been uncommonly heavy, say on the average of the last five months 3,000 bales per week—a fact which, after making a liberal allowance for what is held by the spinners, still indicates an enormous consumption, and satisfactorily explains the disproportionate reduction in the low qualities of American. Long-stapled cottons of all descriptions, from the state of the demand for the finer numbers of yarn, have been dull, and declining almost from the beginning of the year to the end." They add further, "that Egyptians have fallen 3d. per lb., having been constantly on the decline, and all sorts of Brazil are also 1½ per lb. lower than at the same time last year, the demand for neither one description nor the other having amounted to briskness at any one period of the year. The war with China still continues, and whether peace be restored soon or not, a large supply of Surat is on the way, and the growth, moreover, is said to be much increased." The circular of Messrs. T. and H. Littledale, dated December 31, 1841, states—"That the very low rates which have been submitted to have induced many spinners to use Surat, and in many quarters machinery has been adapted to their exclusive use, with great success and profit, notwithstanding the unprecedented low prices of yarn and goods. Surats are also now used extensively for mixing with common American." Hayward and M'Vicar, in their circular for 1841, observe:—"The main facts now before us, and upon which we have to bear any opinion for the coming season, are the probable supplies from India and America, the import from Egypt, Brazil, &c., not being likely to vary much from 1841. The receipts from India are liable to several contingencies. Production is, undoubtedly, making rapid strides in that country, and efforts superior to any that have ever been previously attempted are now in progress still further to extend the growth and improve the quality. Nor as a matter of interest

should it pass unobserved, that whilst the consumption of American descriptions has diminished, that of India has greatly augmented, and this more especially within the last three months, when the low prices at which the latter were obtainable, together with the discouraging state of trade, had called them into general use."

Three things appear to be necessary to accomplish the great objects which the merchant, the manufacturer, and the philanthropist have in view—quantity, quality, price. First, quantity.—With respect to the capabilities of British India for supplying the British manufacturer with an adequate quantity of cotton wool, there cannot be two opinions among those who have paid any attention to the subject. Cotton is indigenous to the soil of India. Its inhabitants have been famed in times past for the extent, texture, and beauty of their cotton fabrics. It is the opinion of scientific and practical men that India can produce cotton in the proportion of millions to hundreds. Dr. Rayle says, "The three presidencies contain land capable of growing cotton to an illimitable extent." Malte Brun observes that "the cotton-tree grows on all the Indian mountains, but its produce is coarse in quality. The herbaceous cotton prospers chiefly in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast; and there the best cotton goods are manufactured. Next to these two provinces, Maduré Marawar, Pescaria, and the coast of Malabar produce the finest cotton." He elsewhere says, "Cotton is cultivated in every part of India. The finest grows in the light rocky soil of Guzerat, Bengal, Oude, and Agra." Mr. Crawford, the author of "The History of the Indian Archipelago," says—"There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture; it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far as I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about 40 miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland." Central India is at the present moment the great source of supply; but we must not omit to mention that in the districts of Surat, Guzerat, and Broach, cotton is also grown in large quantities, and that these are nearer the port of shipment, and consequently more easy of access. These districts offer, therefore, a balance to the difficulties of transit which materially presents itself to the mind when Central India only is mentioned. Though British India still manufactures cotton goods, it does not export them except to a very limited extent. Capital and machinery, combined with the high rate of duties levied on Indian cotton goods imported into this country, have destroyed its power to export. Those duties were, until the new tariff came into operation, 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, whilst those on British fabrics imported were only 2½ per cent. British India now imports largely both cotton yarn and cotton goods, and will import more largely still if this country takes what she can supply in exchange for her raw material. Cotton goods imported into India in 1815 amounted to 263,000 rupees; in 1835 to 4,000,000 rupees; cotton twist imported in 1815 to 8lbs.; in 1836 to 6,600,000 lbs.

It is extremely gratifying to observe, that there has been a large increase in the imports of cotton wool into this country since the year 1825. According to tables compiled with great care it appears that in the year 1825 the quantity of cotton imported amounted to 39,567 bales; in 1834, to 80,801 bales; and in 1844, to 239,718 bales. The export of cotton to China is considerable, and will no doubt become larger now that our friendly relations are established with that country. A comparative statement of the quantity of cotton exported from the whole of British India to Great Britain and China during the five years ending 1841-42 gives the following results:—Great Britain, 330,629,830 lbs.; China, 452,795,315 lbs. (English). The average export per annum has been during this period—to Great Britain, 66,125,966 lbs.; to China, 90,559,063 lbs.

Second, Quality.—The cotton of commerce is of two kinds. First, the long-stapled, such as the American Sea Island, the West India, South American, and Bourbon cottons; and, secondly, the short-stapled, such as Upland Georgia and New Orleans. The former, however, are in comparatively restricted demand; the latter form the main source of supply to our manufactures; and of this kind is the cotton of India. In quality the Indian wool compares most nearly with the finest American, and, could its staple be a little improved, would rival it in the British market. "It is likewise distinguished," observes Dr. Rayle, "from the American short-stapled cottons for some good qualities. The first of these is colour, by which yarn and cloth in which it is employed are much improved in appearance. The second is the swelling of its thread, which, when the cloth is bleached, enables the intermediate vacancies to be filled up, giving the whole a more substantial appearance. The third good quality is that in dyeing it takes the colour more uniformly than other cottons. The best quality of the Bombay cottons are those from Broach and Surat, which, in good seasons, are found to be equal to middling-bowed Georgia. With respect to long-stapled cottons, the presumption is that they can be grown in India of an equally fine texture with those of America."

In reference to Indian cotton wool the following statement is extracted from a digest of the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee in 1830:—"Indian cotton is usually at two-thirds the price of American of the same staple; it is shorter stapled than the short-stapled American. It is inferior from the use of the native seed, and from its dirty state. Some of the best Surat cotton is nearly as good in quality as Georgia, but it is 40 per cent. worse in price from the American being better grown and cleaner. Very clean Indian cotton would approach nearly to the price of American. It is very possible to improve the growth of cotton in India by improved cul-

tivation and selection of seed. Bombay cotton might be grown as good as Sea Islands." A digest of the evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830-1 yields the following statements:—"Cotton is not sown in drills, as in America, but broad cast; there is no care taken of it afterwards, except to keep the cattle out of it. The cotton plant, at Bombay, is almost entirely an annual, a green seed and short-stapled. The ordinary cottons cultivated are, for the most part, the coarsest, because they are the most easy to rear; the finer varieties are very rare, because the people have not skill to keep them up; they are, in fact, delicate plants in comparison. The Indian cotton is short in the fibre, and strong in the staple, coarse, and always very dirty." The evidence received by the Commons' Committee, in 1832, informs us, that the cotton of India is bad, but, from experiments lately made, there is no doubt if good seed were procured, beautiful cotton might be produced abundantly. (Mackenzie, Braken, Wallich.) The failure of the natives in producing superior cotton is not so much to be attributed to their want of skill as to that extraordinary feature in their character, that they will not do that at a greater advance of capital, or with greater exertion which would give them a better return, if they can get it for less trouble by the use of less capital: they are the most improvident of the whole human race in this respect. India produces of itself every variety of cotton. The justly celebrated Sea Island cotton is actually in cultivation in several places in India, but owing to the manner of husbandry among the natives, it very soon loses all its principal character for goodness, and returns to the quality of the original wild species. Proximity to the sea appears to be a necessary condition for continuing the excellence of cotton, but the miserable husbandry is quite sufficient to deteriorate any cotton. That brought home is extremely foul. From the manner in which the cotton is cleaned, parts of the oily substance of the seed are allowed to remain in; and that not only discolours the cotton, but gives it a peculiar liability to become mouldy. It is conveyed to Calcutta in badly constructed boats without any sufficient protection from the weather, after lying on board four or five months, it arrives, as might be expected, in a dirty and filthy state. It is then put into cotton serews, which are not worked in a proper manner, and is subjected to an unequal pressure. With a quantity of seed screwed in it, and in the state of dampness and mouldiness in which it is imported into Calcutta, it is sent on board ship for England. It is impossible that the finest cotton could under such treatment arrive here in better state than the Bengal cottons do.

Dr. Wallich, the superintendent of the botanical garden at Calcutta, gives the following encouraging statement in a letter to the Hon. George H. Tucker, dated October 12, 1828:—"That there is a sort of cotton, the produce of the West Indies, rather of Barbadoes, which has been cultivated with complete success in the Company's territories, I can assert with confidence, because I am in possession of an extract of a general commercial letter from the court, transmitted to me officially from the Board of Trade at Calcutta, in which it is pronounced equal if not superior to any kind procurable in the London market. I cultivated it at the garden of Titygheer, near Bowackpore, during several years in which that establishment continued attached to the botanic garden at Calcutta." Dr. W. adds, "That in asserting the high capabilities of the Company's territories for the growth of the finest cotton, experience, and not theory, is the ground on which he has proceeded." The following extract from the circular of Messrs T. and H. Littledale, dated December 31, 1841, will show some of the causes of the deterioration of the cotton wool of British India which can easily be removed. They say, "The quality of the late imports differs little from that of former years, the greater portion being more or less leafy, and not free from seed, the last being the most objectionable, and well worth the attention of the growers, with a view to free it from this serious deterioration." The experiments which have been tried under the direction of the East India Company to improve the quality of the cotton, have, upon the whole, been very satisfactory, especially at Dharwar. In that district the natives have been induced to adopt a better mode of cultivation than their own, with pleasing results. The American seed, which has been tried on some of the experimental farms of the Company, has done well. It is, however, doubtful whether the native seed, properly cultivated, does not succeed quite as well as the American which has been tried. From the facts collected it is believed that the quality of Indian cotton may be so improved as to rival, in every respect, the produce of the United States. Of this there can be little doubt—that larger quantities of Broach and Surat cotton would find a market in this country, if the supply could be relied on.

Thirdly, Price.—This varies in different districts, and the expenses of transit vary also. One fact, however, is clear—that cotton wool, even in the imperfect state in which it is now brought into this country, is purchased from the native grower, taken to Bombay, and shipped to Great Britain in yearly increasing quantities; a proof that it yields a profit both to the grower and the purchaser. The cultivation of cotton under European management would in certain districts be imprudent, and there the purchase of the kumas, cotton in the seed, for cleansing and shipment, would consequently be a safe investment of capital. The cultivators could also be assisted, with great advantage to themselves and the object sought to be accomplished, by the advance of money to the ryots on favourable terms. At present those who borrow pay enormous interest for the money lent them by the native shriffs. The crops would be the guarantee for the re-payment of principal and interest; and were the ryots dealt with upon equitable terms, there can be no fear that the result would be advantageous to both parties. As to the price

of India cotton in Great Britain, it depends rather upon the degree of its cleanliness, than upon its quality. All that is required to improve its quality and appearance appears to be, judicious cultivation, careful picking, proper cleansing and packing, none of which at present are much attended to. In an official report by Dr. Lush, superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Dapoorie, on this subject, it is observed:—"The presence of the leaf, which grows under the pod, is the main cause of the inferiority of our Indian cotton in the English market. This, with other impurities, gets into the mass of cotton in the act of picking in the field, and, under ordinary circumstances, cannot be afterwards got rid of. The radical remedy for this is to pick the cotton in the field with greater care, as is done in America, by carefully pulling the cotton out of the pod, and not snatching at the pod itself; and separating the cotton picked into two portions—one of the first quality free from leaf and dirt, and the other such as may be entangled with the leaf and other impurities." Mr. Hunt, an English dealer says:—"It appears to me that the cause of the depreciation (of the Surat cotton) is principally owing to the very slovenly way in which the crop is gathered from the plant; and without a thorough reform in that particular, it will be of little use introducing seed, or increasing the expense of cultivation in other respects."

With respect to improved cultivation, that is likely to be accomplished by the example afforded by experienced men now in the service of the East India Company. As a proof of this it may be mentioned that at Dharwar the natives are cultivating about 3000 acres after the American mode, with every prospect of success. As to clean picking, that can only be secured by constant superintendence and vigilance. Probably premiums given to the cultivators for the best picked cotton would be attended with beneficial results. As to cleaning, the churka used by the natives of India appears best adapted to the cotton grown in India; the sawgin injuring the fibre, which is said not to be quite so strong as the American. The churka, however, does not clean above 40 lbs. a day, whilst by the sawgin 1400 or 1500 may be cleaned. An instrument, however, supposed to possess the excellencies of the churka and the sawgin, has been constructed in this country, and sent to the three Presidencies for trial.

The price of American bowed cotton in December, 1842, was 4d. and 6d. Surat 3½d. and 4½d.; in 1844, bowed 3½d. and 5d., Surat 2½d. and 4d. It thus appears that American bowed Georgia enjoys at present an advantage in the market, varying from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. over Surat. At the present time the price of cotton wool is extremely low, the stock on hand being large, and the forthcoming American crop promising to be large also. The stock of cotton on hand on the 31st December, 1842, was 564,530 bales; in 1844 it was 903,107 bales. The freight, insurance, brokerage, &c., on Indian cotton wool can be easily ascertained. Probably at no period could calculations be made with more certainty of a safe result than at present. The price of cotton was never so low, and it is expected cannot go much lower. Besides which, the increasing demand for cotton goods for the home as well as the foreign market holds out the expectation that capital employed in this direction will be found both a profitable and safe investment. In this country everything is favourable to such an experiment as the formation of a British India commercial company, with a sufficient capital. In India everything is equally favourable. The transit duties, which recently bore so oppressively on the people, are abolished. There are no fiscal imposts on the export of cotton from India to Great Britain. Railroads are contemplated and likely to be executed, and carried into the very heart of the cotton districts. The government functionaries, both in India and in England, express themselves highly favourable to such a movement honourably originated and faithfully executed.

There are, however, some drawbacks against the complete success of such a measure, but which it is in the power of the Government and the East India Company to remove. The land-tax, which in many districts has been redeemed, still prevails in others; but if this were placed upon a healthy footing, so as to relieve industry on the one hand, and admit of the investment of capital in the purchase of land on the other, the greatest advantages would arise. The tax levied upon tools should be entirely removed. But Government should proceed further than this. The means of cheap transit are required, good and safe roads, canals, bridges, and other improvements of a similar character, would invite British capital, skill, and enterprise; and these, combined with native industry, a fertile soil, a genial climate, and improved cultivation, would secure to India and to England markets of the richest and most important kind, whilst in return England would confer upon her the most solid advantages. If it should be said that in destroying the market of this country for the sale of American cotton we should lose 17,000,000 of customers; it may be replied, that in giving India that market we should gain 100,000,000 of customers.

At all events this is certain, if India can supply cotton of equal quality and similar price with that from America, she will confer a vast boon on this country; and should she be able to supply it at a less cost, which it is believed with proper attention she may, she will be a mighty instrument in the hand of Divine Providence of breaking down one of the most execrable tyrannies that exists on the face of the earth. These considerations should secure for this object the warm sympathy and hearty co-operation of every British patriot and of every Christian philanthropist.

ON USING ARTICLES PRODUCED BY SLAVE LABOUR.

(Extracted from the Minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends.)

The subject of freely using and trading in articles produced by the labour of slaves, has claimed the very serious consideration of this meeting, and under the impressions attending, we are induced to invite our beloved friends to unite with us in a careful examination of it.

That the system of slavery involves in itself a great departure from those principles of moral rectitude which the Christian religion not only inculcates, but enjoins, is a truth readily admitted. And this being conceded, the deeply interesting inquiry is suggested, whether by freely purchasing the produce of slave labour, we are not strengthening the hands of the oppressor, and lending our aid in riveting the fetters upon the galled limbs of the slave?

In the early settlement of America, when there was little known of the manner in which slaves were procured in Africa, and the purchase of them here was deemed favourable to both master and slave, Friends not only purchased and held slaves, but even engaged, to a limited extent, in the foreign slave-trade. At an early period in the history of this trade, a few Friends were enlightened to see the sinfulness of it, and after long and arduous labour with their brethren, the conviction of its sinfulness so prevailed, that this traffic was relinquished. The next step in the progress of reform, was to refrain from the purchase and sale of those slaves already in the country. Our worthy forefathers, however, continued to hold their fellow men in bondage, because they had not sufficiently examined the subject in the light of truth; for when in the lapse of time, through an increase of light, they became convinced that this practice also was wrong, they united in abolishing it.

But before this was entirely effected, there were enlightened and faithful members of our religious society, who, in consideration of the great injustice inseparably connected with the system of slavery, and also the intimate relation subsisting between slaveholders and the purchasers and consumers of the products of slave labour, were induced to believe that, as faithful and consistent advocates in the cause of universal righteousness, it was required of them to abstain from the use of articles produced by the labour of slaves. Among these, it is well known, that that deeply instructed and devoted servant of Christ, John Woolman, occupied a prominent place. And from his day, down to the present, the same testimony has been upheld by many of our most worthy and enlightened members. But is it not an inquiry demanding our most serious thoughtfulness, whether the advancement of this testimony, within the limits of our Society, has fully kept pace with the increase of light and knowledge; and whether our sympathy with the slave, in the long continuance of that weight of affliction, under which he is bowed down, has been so lively, and our eye so singly directed to the pointings of duty in this matter, as to prepare us to perceive and faithfully to follow the manifestations of the Divine will?

"The trading in," says John Woolman, "or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to me to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ the Prince of Peace. After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires, that if it please the Lord further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such manifestation.

"The determined manner in which the slaveholder still continues to grasp his victim, and the horrors inseparably connected with the foreign and the domestic slave-trade, are circumstances which press this subject upon our attention, and in the most forcible manner urge us to discuss the matter with candour and freedom.

"Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of the soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations; but as the judgments of God, by which the state of the soul must be tried, are without partiality, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasure of the soul by the infallible standard, truth. Christ, our holy leader, graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by his Holy Spirit into exercises in some respect different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and from a clear conviction, they may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding upon them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in."

Thus it was with members of our religious society, in regard to a participation in the foreign slave-trade; and again, in relation to the domestic traffic in slaves. It was thus with them, also, in regard to the holding of slaves, and why it should not be so, as relates to the disuse of the products of slave labour? If we examine the connection existing between the slaveholder and the consumer of the produce of slave labour, must we not admit that it is of a very intimate nature, and that its tendency is to support the system of slavery?

To hire a slave, and pay the wages of his labour to his master, would be deemed nearly equivalent to slaveholding.

If this slave toils for his master, and we purchase freely the produce of his labour, do we not contribute as effectually to the gain of the slaveholder, as in the preceding case? If another person purchases this produce for the purpose of traffic, and we buy of him for

the purpose of consuming it, is not another link added to the chain; and is not the connection with the slaveholder, as complete as in the first instance? It is true, that we are further removed from the scene of oppression—and it may be that this increased distance has tended to pacify the conscience, in a course that is not consistent with sound reasoning; and thus may we not have contributed too long, to encourage, by our conduct, a system of oppression, the existence of which we have so sincerely lamented?

When we reflect that the precepts of the Christian religion require us to cherish a feeling of sympathy with our fellow men, in the varied difficulties and sufferings which attend them—"to weep with those who weep"—"to remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them; and those who suffer afflictions, as being ourselves also in the body"—and think of the long series of years, during which the slave has been chained and tasked, and his sweat exacted—and how entirely those rights, which are the gifts of a benevolent Creator, bestowed alike upon all men, as blessings to sweeten life, are torn from him—is there not a pressing and solemn obligation resting upon us, carefully to examine, whether we do in any way contribute to the continuance of this system of oppression?

"It may be urged in favour of using the proceeds of slave labour, that if we do not use it others will, and that our abstinence will not arrest or mitigate the evil, and therefore we may innocently derive from it a good to ourselves." But might not an argument like this have been urged with equal fitness, by our Friends formerly, in favour of their participation in slaves and the slave-trade?

It may be said that in refusing to use the produce of slave labour, we adopt a compulsory measure, and undertake to coerce the slaveholder to liberate his slaves—that the principle of abstinence, if carried out, would compel many persons to leave their accustomed employments—that trade itself would be subjected to a convulsion, the extent of which cannot be foreseen—that the slaveholder, deprived of his income by our abstinence, would be unable to provide for the maintenance of his slaves, and that increased sufferings and perhaps starvation would be the consequence.

When arguments like these are balanced against the positive and monstrous evils of slavery, to which they tend to serve as props, and we for a moment suppose ourselves in the condition of the enslaved, and then bring those arguments to that moral test of right in our own bosoms, which is always in perfect agreement with the precept enjoined by our holy Redeemer, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," does not the conviction fasten upon us, that such arguments are too light to sustain a system by which millions of our fellow men are deprived of those inalienable rights, which are the gifts of God bestowed alike upon all?

Let us trace out the probable consequences of declining the use of the products of slave labour. A considerable number of persons refusing the use of such produce, would at once create a demand for similar articles produced by free labour. In the commencement, the supply of such produce would not be fully equal to the demand, and some advance in the price might be expected. This would stimulate to increased production, and the quantity of such goods would increase. While the supply was thus enlarging, may we not hope that the example of those who conscientiously declined to participate in the fruits of slave labour, would work conviction in the minds of others, and that the number would increase? The slaveholders seeing the progress of a more elevated public sentiment, might be induced to meet the change—not by starving their miserable slaves, but by changing their condition from "chattels to men." This change would be commenced, doubtless, by a few of the most enlightened slaveholders, who, perceiving that there was really an honest testimony abroad against slavery, which refused all participation in its fruits, might enter themselves into the spirit of the reform, and meet the sentiment in its fulness.

Thus the impression at first would be made on the outskirts of slavery. And while the demand for the produce of free labour was gradually increasing, and preparation for supplying the demand was constantly enlarging, a decided impression would be made on the market for slave goods. Under a decaying demand for such goods, no prudent slaveholder would add to the number of his slaves. The slave merchant would be less disposed to prosecute his illegal and hazardous enterprise. The inducement to rear slaves to supply the internal traffic would be diminished, and the whole system of slavery would be weakened.

In this view, nothing presents itself having the appearance of an attempt to coerce, nothing to compel persons to leave their accustomed employments, nothing to produce embarrassments, much less convulsions in trade, and nothing that threatens the slave with the suffering of famine in addition to his bonds, in consequence of the inability of his master to provide for his wants. He pursues his own course, until either the convictions of duty, or the prospect of advancing his interest, induce him to change. The movement, indeed, speaks to the slaveholder in intelligible and forcible language. It tells him he is inflicting upon his fellow man an injury which every free man, in his own case, would deem insupportable, and calling loudly for retributive justice. It tells him that the "hire of the labourers which have reaped down his fields, which is by him kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth," and that there is an elevated tone of moral feeling abroad in the land, that cannot participate in the fruits of labour so unjustly exacted—that dare not contribute to that gain, which is the inducement to such grievous oppression, lest it should also partake in its sins. Can it be doubted that a moral influence would attend such a movement, that would be extensively felt by the slaveholders themselves?

Nor should the difficulties which are anticipated deter us! There is a force in united efforts, especially when enlisted in the cause of virtue, which, if they are discreetly and perseveringly conducted, can achieve wonders. It is true, that at the present time, the produce of slavery are so intertwined with our varied occupations and wants, that we scarce can see how to disengage ourselves from them; yet if our attention be singly fixed upon the pointings of truth, in reference to this subject, we may reasonably trust, that it will guide us rightly, and prepare our way before us. In ancient days, when the progress of a people, who were journeying by divine direction, was obstructed by a river which spread its breadth in their way, they were required to advance until the soles of their feet pressed the margin of the stream—and thus standing, the retreating waters gave way before them, and they passed over dryshod. If following this example, we proceed as far as we can, and there stand, willing to advance if a way can be discovered, all past experience unites in bearing its testimony in favour of the belief, that little by little, the difficulties will yield, until the whole are surmounted.

Some sacrifice of interest would be required, and some personal indulgence, for a time, must be dispensed with. But it is by no means a new thing, that sacrifice should be required for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth. Indeed, if we look back upon the past, will it not appear that sacrifice has been the price at which reformation in the world has been carried forward? It has been the lot of our religious society to participate largely in trials of this kind, nor is it easy to conceive on what ground we can expect to be excused from them, until righteousness be established in the earth, unless, indeed, it should be for the mournful reason, that we have departed from our proper position in the militant Church.

In the consideration of this matter, our minds have been seriously affected. We wish not to promote a feverish excitement in relation to this great subject, but we desire that all may unite in calmly and carefully considering it. If we admit the correctness of the position that "it is the market for slave produce, which makes slavery," we must feel that it is a serious matter to be customers in this market. The circumstance of long usage may be presented as a plea in favour of the continuance of the use. But the subject of inquiry is, whether a system of injustice and oppression has not been strengthened by this long usage? May we consider the matter with that seriousness and candour which the case justly calls for! "If our hearts are softened and expanded by the love of God, we shall be prepared to view these oppressed people as children of the same Almighty Father, equally with ourselves the objects of His divine regard, and of that salvation which comes by Jesus Christ; and thus be enabled to enter into a lively feeling of the miseries and hardships they endure; to put our souls in their souls' stead, and in singleness of heart to follow every opening of duty in their behalf, whatever sacrifice it may cost us, either of worldly treasure or personal comfort.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STOKE NEWINGTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.—This Association intends sending a Box of Useful and Fancy Articles to the Annual Bazaar, to be held at Boston, United States, in the 12th month, (December next,) in aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Contributions will be thankfully received from any of our friends interested in and desirous of assisting the great cause of Abolition in America, by Ann Darton, 33, Bishops-gate-street, London, and by J. Jefferson, and S. A. Alexander, Stoke Newington; Mary Foster, and S. A. Alexander, Secretaries. N.B.—Articles should be sent by the end of the 10th month (October.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 1, 1845.

We have devoted a large part of our paper to-day to the very interesting and important question of substituting the produce of free labour for that of slave labour. On our first page appears a document relating to the culture of cotton in British India, which was a short time since addressed as a memorial to Sir Robert Peel, as the head of her Majesty's Government, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It is, we believe, the most complete summary of facts in relation to this subject at this moment in existence, and the statements it contains will be read with interest. It is gratifying to be able to say that Mr. Arbuthnot replied on behalf of the Premier in terms of great courtesy, and conveying an assurance that the paper should engage the attention of the members of the Government at large. Another document highly worthy of attention in our columns to-day expounds the duty of using articles produced by free labour in preference to articles produced by slave labour. This is extracted from the Minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends for the present year, and

may justly be commended to an attentive perusal. Much in this respect was done by British abolitionists in an earlier stage of the controversy, by the preference given to East India sugar; and we have no doubt but the same effort would be repeated if articles manufactured with East India cotton could, in a trustworthy manner, be brought into the market. It is known to us that attention is directed to this subject, and it will afford us the sincerest gratification if a plan for effecting the very important object in view can be matured.

OUR contemporary the *Times* had a few days since in its leading article a stirring comment on the fact of a large number of shackles having been found in the *Missouri*, an American war steamer, lately wrecked near Gibraltar. A correspondent of the same paper, who signs himself "An American," thus notices the statements made in the *Times*.

"I am quite certain your correspondent has magnified the number of 'shackles' brought up by the divers; but if he has not, you may rely upon it that the American Government, and the American Minister, who was on board, were utterly ignorant of their existence. For there was not, and is not, a member of the American Government, or an American plenipotentiary, who did not, and does not, hold in as great abhorrence the detestable crime of conveying slaves from the coast of Africa as your own fair Queen, or any of her philanthropic ministers.

"That slavery exists in some of our states is lamentably true; but its existence must be for ever attributable to the original traffic under the sanction of the British Crown. The archives of the British Government will show that the ancestors of the slaves now in the United States were sent thither into captivity under the countenance and protection of a British monarch, and that a solemn stipulation secured a large share of the profits of the traffic to the Crown."

For ourselves we are not greatly concerned to inquire into the strange facts brought to light by the wreck of the *Missouri*. They doubtless deserve attention; but compared with the denial to three millions of our fellow men of the right of personal freedom, and the consequences of that vast wrong, the object for which twenty thousand shackles could be intended, however guilty, shrinks into insignificance. We must, however, protest against the weak and wicked endeavour to make the Government of England prior to the American revolution "for ever" guilty of maintaining slavery in the United States of America. We do this with the greater confidence, because Great Britain has set an example to America which that country ought not to be slow to follow.

We are glad to be able once more to congratulate our American friends, and the friends of the slave everywhere, on the evident progress of the abolition cause in the free portion of the United States of America, and in some of the northerly slave states. We hope that great good will result from the Convention of the friends of liberty in the eastern and middle states, to be held at Boston on the day on which our paper is published. We would further commend to our friends on the continent of Europe the noble example of unweared and energetic effort set by their transatlantic fellow-labourers in the cause of the slave.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

We mentioned in our last that the current number of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* is devoted almost entirely to an examination of the acts and influence of the body named at the head of this article. The step is a vigorous, and even a bold one, but it has been long called for, and will, there is no doubt, produce a very beneficial effect. Unable as we are to transfer the entire matter to our columns—it occupies eleven closely printed pages—we shall yet give a summary of it in as short a compass as we may. The following extract contains a statement of the case.

When the present anti-slavery movement began in this country the points of objection that laboured most in the general mind, and with which we had mostly to contend, respected the danger of immediate emancipation to the master's person and life; its ruin to his property and pecuniary interests; the better condition of the slave than the free negro; the slave's inability to provide for himself, if free; the mass of pauperism and crime that would be let loose on the public; the division of the Union that would ensue; the rush of the blacks to the North to underwork the Northern labourer, to fill our almshouses and jails, and worse than all, to marry our sons and daughters, and be our representatives and governors! These, and such like constituted then the chief debatable ground. They are now to all practical purposes carried.

There is, however, one point, concerning which great progress has been made, but whose general practical admission remains to be carried, and in respect to which, as involving the immorality of slavery, the influence of the American Board has been, and is, most directly felt. It was, and is admitted, that slavery in the general, in the abstract, as a system, is wrong; but it was maintained, and still is, that as an individual practice, in consideration of the difficulties of emancipation, the kind treatment of the slaves, the good intentions of the master, &c., it is not wrong; or, if wrong in the abstract, is not so wrong, in the concrete, as to involve the individual in sin and make him blameworthy in regard to it; and, least of all, so blameworthy as injuriously to affect his Christian character and standing, and make him the proper subject, in appropriate times and ways, of Christian discipline. All this, it will be seen, is practically one point. It is whether individual slaveholding is, on any grounds, sinful, and so sinful as to impair one's character and standing as a Christian, and, if not forsaken on due admonition, make him a proper subject of Christian discipline.

This is now, emphatically, the vital point in the anti-slavery movement. This carried, either on grounds of essential principle or Christian expediency, the whole battle is virtually won. On this we now meet, and have long met the stoutest resistance from the apologists and defenders of slavery. They have quoted us extreme cases—not as exceptions, going, if real, to prove the rule, but as proofs against the rule. They have sought to shift the rule to the ground of the sinfulness of the thing, when done "for the sake of gain"—not seeming to reflect, that to pray for the sake of gain, or do the most righteous thing in the universe, would be as truly sinful; nay, that on such ethics, slaveholding is as rightful a thing as praying; and that the slaveholder may, on the same ground, torture, violate, and murder his slave, or anybody else, and yet be innocent! They have laid metaphysics, philosophy, theology, hermeneutics, the Bible, under contribution; and summoned great names and little, churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary and benevolent associations against us on this point.

Still, even here, we have made steady, great, and wide-spread advances. The number of churches and ecclesiastical bodies of every name, that have declared slavery to be utterly opposed to the spirit and principles of the gospel, and its practice therefore sinful, is very great. But, to say nothing of these, the general ecclesiastical bodies of seventeen hundred Free Will Baptist and five hundred Reformed Presbyterian churches, have set down slaveholding, after due admonition, as a forfeiture of regular standing in the Christian church. Some thousands of individual Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and other churches, have done the same. Many individual churches, and one flourishing religious denomination, have been organized on this ground. The General Associations of New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, and some other States or large sections of country; the Baptist Conventions of Vermont, Michigan, and some other States and large sections, several Presbyterian synods, and some hundreds of local associations, conferences, presbyteries, and the like, have taken the same position. On the ground of Christian expediency, if not of inherent and essential sinfulness, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States has suspended slaveholders from the exercise of ministerial and episcopal functions. The American Baptist Home and Foreign Mission Boards have declared it to the world as their settled policy, to employ no man who holds slaves as missionary. Not less than three missionary boards have been forced into existence, chiefly to open an outlet to missionary charities that were wont to flow through the American Board. Abroad, the representatives of anti-slavery Christendom, with Thomas Clarkson at their head, and on motion, support and concurrence of John Angell James, and such like, have twice proclaimed to the world their conviction, that slaveholding does affect Christian character and standing, and, on due admonition, ought to be made a disciplinable offence in Christ's house.

And where, amid all this, stands the American Board on this great issue? We answer—In resistance to the general progress, and on the side of slavery. To the present hour, at no point of contact and in no instance of action, has the Board ever declared, or admitted, or acted on the admission of the sinfulness of slaveholding; and in no one form or occasion has it declared, admitted, or acted on the admission that, on the grounds of principle or expediency, slaveholding is to be regarded and treated as injuriously affecting one's Christian character and standing. So far from it, though occasions have been frequent, demanding it, the Board has steadily and studiously refused to make any such declaration or admission, or take any such action in respect to either particular. Though often urged to it, providentially and by the friends of the slave, it has as often refused to say or do aught that should express, assume, or imply the immorality of slavery as such, or that should, in any way, question the consistency of slaveholding with a blameless, and approved Christian character and standing. This is a sad statement, we are aware; but proceed now to show its sober truth.

The proof of it is this—that the Board has never expressed an opinion to the effect that slavery is a moral evil or opposed to the gospel, and has never, in word or deed, made slaveholding a ground of discrimination in the election or continuance of corporate members, the solicitation or reception of funds, the employment or support of agents, missionaries, or mission churches. No man has been any the less eligible to election and continuance as a corporate member because of his practice or justification of slavery. In no form has the Board declared or admitted that slavery is an unjust and dishonest means of gain, and that it therefore solicits and receives its gains only as in other cases of injustice and wrong. At no time has it refused appointment and support as missionaries to slaveholders; nor withdrawn countenance and support from missionaries and mission churches who welcome slaveholders to a good and regular standing in their bosom; nor, in any form, avowed it as its settled policy to do so in time to come. On the contrary, when urged by the friends of the slave and the providence of God, to do these things, it has steadily and resolutely refused, or done the opposite.

The document from which we are quoting then enters into a detailed examination of facts relating to the following points:—1, The allowance granted by the Board to its missionaries to purchase slaves with its funds, and to hold them as such until they had worked themselves free; 2, the solicitation and reception of funds from slaveholders; 3, the employment of slaveholders as missionaries; and 4, the welcome of slaveholders to mission churches. Having made good the charge against the Board on all these points, the writer shows that on various other great questions of morals, such as the peace question, and the temperance question, the Board has acted freely and vigorously; while upon the anti-slavery question it has not merely studiously and tenaciously evaded any action hostile in principle to slavery, but has positively discouraged the anti-slavery proceedings which took place among their missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. The concluding appeal is in these terms:—

Fathers and Brethren of the Board!—In the name of the slave in this land, of an enslaved and benighted world, and of Him whose gospel of deliverance you are set to propagate, we entreat you, hear us. We are not your enemies, nor the enemies of your cause, though we thus speak. We are its friends, and yours. Your cause is our cause. We seek its welfare, not its hurt; its highest efficacy, not its embarrassment. But we must tell you, that our hearts, and the hearts of thousands of your best

friends, have long been sad at this strange avoidance and resistance of the claims of the oppressed. We have waited anxiously and long for some change, we have sought it in every direct and appropriate way. We have waited and sought in vain, until the conviction has been forced upon us, that we owe it to you, to the slave, and to God, to appeal to the public. As your own Evarts thought of your duty in respect to the action of Georgia and the Federal Government, in the removal of the Indians, so we think, respecting your course in regard to the slave, "that we are not bound to conceal our opinion; but, on the contrary, we are bound to declare it plainly, at least once." As he said in that case, we say in this, "we do not think we can stand acquitted before God or posterity, unless we bear a testimony against this course of proceeding." We have borne it. If occasion compel, we shall bear it again. We mean, with Evarts, "to clear our skirts."

We beseech you, pause! We prescribe no terms; we dictate no specific action. We are among those who believe that a new Home and Foreign Missionary Society is demanded to take charge of fields immediately related to the people of colour, bond and free, which neither you, nor any existing board, will ever be likely or able, advantageously and adequately to occupy. Consultations have been had with reference to its formation. We desire that, when formed, you shall occupy such a position on the subject of slavery as to enable it to act in perfect harmony and good fellowship with you. Decisive steps for its formation have been deferred for some time, and are still deferred, mainly, that you may have the fullest opportunity to say and do, on the whole subject, all that you deem right and proper; and that you may act in the case with entire freedom.

And now, we entreat you, act. Do not wound the Christian conscience and religious sensibilities of thousands of your devoted friends—do not weary their forbearance longer. Heed the cry and the claim of the slave. Thrust him not beyond the limits of your charter and the scope of your object. Say not that the question of his wrongs and deliverance does not come across your path and obstruct your work. It meets you everywhere, and, of second causes, is everywhere your great obstruction. It has lost you, by your course respecting it, the hearts and charities of many; and, if no change ensue, must lose you those of more than you are yet aware. It has lost you the confidence and personal services of some of the choicest spirits in the land, who would otherwise have gladly gone to the heathen under your direction. It has lost you numbers of your best missionaries. And as to your work among the heathen, slavery meets you at every point. It broke up your missions among the Indians. Twenty-four years ago, (*Her. vol. xviii., p. 77.*) it would not let a child of God, a slave, unite with one of your Choctaw churches. Among the Cherokees, spite of one-fourth of a century's influence of your gospel among them, it has recently passed a law, "that the slaves shall not be taught to read." It stood equally in your way at the Sandwich islands. The hideous remnants of it that remain and are, some of them in the bosom of your churches, stand in your way still. More than one witness concurs in the belief that your work there has gone about as far as it can go—till farther inroads are made upon the prevailing oppression. In fact, you cannot find a heathen nation, that is not a nation of oppressors and oppressed—of slave-despots and slaves. The Master whose gospel you are set to bear says, these things "shall not be so among you." You have yet to learn heathenism, if you do not know, that it is everywhere nothing but the religion of oppression—that it is always in alliance with oppression—that its great work is to sanctify and serve oppression; and that, in turn, it is ever enthroned by, and has its strength and life from oppression. No; the conflict that is to shake down heathenism is not with its poetries, and geographies, and chronologies, and astronomies, and cosmogonies, and philosophies, and mythologies, but with its oppressions. And the gospel that is to wage this conflict, amid the persecutions, it may be, of primitive days, is not the gospel of a new geography, and a new chronology, and a new astronomy, and a new cosmogony, and a new philosophy, and a new mythology merely, but the gospel of a new outward as well as inward life—the gospel that points the heathen ritualist to the one propitiation, as the essence and end of all; and then sends him, as the only proof of his acceptance of it, and as he values his salvation, to "learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice"—the gospel that looks the heathen oppressor equally in the face, and in the name of the living God, cries out, "go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

Friends and fellow-labourers!—Be it yours and ours to propagate such a gospel. Let us not dare to propagate any other. If we forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if we say, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider? and He that keepeth our soul, doth not He know? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?

We shall wait with anxious interest the action of your next annual meeting. We hope that it may be all that God and humanity demand at your hand. We "cling to the idea to the last" that it will be. If it be, none shall give it a readier proclamation, or you a heartier God-speed than we, who have thus spoken. And may the God of the oppressed give us and you a right heart, a sound mind, an honest life on this great question; and send a speedy and good deliverance to the enslaved and benighted in this and all lands.

CANADA.—ACTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD ON SLAVERY.

At a recent session of the Synod of the Presbyterian churches in Canada, Dr. Burns proposed the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously; which, with the accompanying letter, were directed to be trans-

mited to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches in the United States.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. That there are at the present time upwards of three millions of human beings in the United States of America, who are held in bondage by their fellow creatures; are bought and sold as any article of property; and are in all essential respects as much the goods and chattels of their owners, as are their houses and lands.

II. That the proprietors of these slaves do claim the right of selling by public auction or otherwise, husbands apart from their wives, wives apart from their husbands, and children apart from their parents, and that such separations do in fact often take place, and "the rearing of slaves" for the market is well known to be a regular and lucrative trade.

III. That the existence of slavery in America as in former times in the West Indies, is and always has been attended with injustice and cruelty on the part of the proprietors—evils which no special cases of kind treatment on the part of individuals can neutralize or excuse.

IV. That in some of the southern or slave-holding states, there are laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read the word of God, or to attend on religious instruction except in particular cases; and those laws are fenced round by severe penalties; such laws and penalties being in direct opposition to God's word and the rights of conscience.

V. That in point of fact, gross licentiousness and great immoralities are the melancholy results of slavery, and that while these affect deeply the character of proprietors and their families, the slaves have not the means of protection from lawless lust.

VI. That the church of Christ ought never to be found in a position to prevent her from protesting against slavery and its evils, and adopting such measures as principle and duty demand for their removal.

VII. That many of the churches of America, and particularly the Presbyterian, have manifested a sinful apathy in regard to these evils; and that at Cincinnati, on the 21st of May last, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Old School) came, by a majority of 164 to 12, to the resolution that it was not their duty to take action in the matter at all; and that under the two-fold plea "that the churches of America were originally formed on the assumption that slave-holding is no bar to Christian communion;" and that the tendency of the discussion of such petitions is "to separate the Northern from the Southern portion of the church, a result," say they, "which every good citizen must deplore."

VIII. That the Synod shall transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Moderator of said Assembly, with a respectful but firm and affectionate remonstrance.

LETTER

TO THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

Coburg, C. W., June 9, 1845.

REV. SIR,—As Moderator, and Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, we are instructed to transmit to you, in your official character, the accompanying resolutions which have been unanimously adopted by the Synod, on Friday last.

The design of these resolutions is to intimate our decided disapproval of the particular position which your General Assembly has for so many years maintained in relation to slavery, and with all becoming affection and respect, to remonstrate with the Assembly regarding it. We are indeed a small body compared with yours, but we represent a large proportion of the settlers in this Province, and we have been called very lately, in common with our Mother Church in Scotland, to bear testimony for great principles connected with the supremacy of the Redeemer in his own house.

We were grieved that last year the Assembly at Louisville, by a large majority, declined to entertain the question of slavery at all, and still more are we grieved to observe that on the 21st day of May last, you, by a majority of 164 to 12, set aside those numerous petitions and overtures which brought the whole question before you in almost every possible shape; and we feel still more on this matter, because the grounds and reasons of your decision appear to us to be unsatisfactory.

As a court of Christ, we conceive that you had nothing to do but to look on the existing evil and its consequences in the light of scriptural principle and of Christian morality. Slavery, particularly as it exists in the United States, is at utter variance with the rights and privileges of man as a responsible agent; directly opposed to the laws of God regarding our duties to one another; and necessarily productive of oppression and licentiousness.

The laws of many States prohibit slaves from learning to read the word of God, and slavery in every one of the slaveholding States sets at defiance the law of God regarding marriage, and the tenderest relations and responsibilities of life.

But the ministers and elders of your church must be perfectly aware of the real character and results of the system, and our grief is that they should have resolved to shut their eyes to both. We affectionately represent to you the sinfulness of such conduct, and plead with you for its impartial and prayerful review.

You cannot now plead ignorance of the real state of the case, as the churches of Britain once did in regard to the slave-trade and slavery. On these subjects all the churches of Great Britain are now as one: and it is to us cause of great anxiety and alarm that there should be, in the churches of America, such diversity of sentiment regarding them. We rejoice to see that in some of these churches there have been of late some movements in the direction of sound principle, and although such movements may incidentally be productive of some inconvenience in the way of existing church fellowship, we should not for one moment set this in the balance against the firm and successful maintenance of principle.

To hold official and brotherly correspondence with the body whom you represent, would be to us very desirable, but the question of slavery involves in it obstacles to this of a very serious nature. You not only adhere to the evil, and decline to notice it, but you have extended to it your patronage, and by your late proceedings, more especially, have given its abettors the most ample encouragement.

You, indeed, profess to withhold your approval of the principle, that man is an article of absolute property, and to be dealt with as such; but

this slight reservation cannot be of any avail to you, seeing it is known to all men, that American slaveholders and slave-dealers do claim such property, and do carry out the principle involved in it to all its possible consequences.

In the resolutions which we transmit, it is not our sense to enter at large into the question. That may be done at a future period; but, in the meantime, we could not shut our eyes to appearances so ominous, and proceedings on the part of the body whom you represent so distressing to our minds.

Requesting of you an acknowledgment of these communications, and that you will give them all due publicity,

We are, Rev. Sir, respectfully and affectionately, your servants in the Lord,

ROBERT BURNS, D.D., Moderator.

W.M. RINTOUL, Synod Clerk.

GREAT CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, IN THE EASTERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

The following circular has been issued, inviting attendance at the great Convention of the friends of liberty, in the eastern and middle States, to be held at Boston, United States of America:—

"It having been deemed advisable, after a free consultation among the friends of freedom, to hold a Convention for the promotion of the cause, to be composed of delegates from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the undersigned do, therefore, cordially invite the friends of liberty, in these States, who are determined to employ their elective franchise for the abolition of American slavery, to assemble, one and all, in the city of Boston, on Wednesday, the 1st day of October, 1845, at ten o'clock A.M., to devise means for the advancement of the cause of human freedom in the United States. It would be gratifying to us to welcome to our deliberations, on the occasion, delegations from other States not specially designated in this invitation. The Convention will continue its sessions two or three days."

A list of signatures follows, of twenty-eight friends of the slave in Massachusetts, of eighteen in Maine, ten in New Hampshire, eleven in Vermont, five in Rhode Island, fifteen in Connecticut, twenty-one in New York, five in New Jersey, and fourteen in Pennsylvania.

WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES?

An admirable article under this title appears in the *True American* of August 12, the last number but one, we believe, of Cassius Clay's suppressed paper. It is stated to have been written "by one of the first intellects of the nation," and withal by a large slaveholder. The following extracts from it will be read with pleasure.

Time, we all know, is destined to loosen the bonds of the slaves in all countries, and freedom awaits them. Independently of the will of the master, and but little accelerated by the abolitionists, slavery tends to exhaust itself. The master's interest will fade away under the force of circumstances, under the progress of public opinion, under the influence of light and information. The master's responsibility will become greater than his interest, under the over production that is forcing every department of agriculture and the arts. He will rid himself of the obious and unprofitable burthen, and stand clear of the awful weight that impends and threatens his peace of mind, and that calls forth his exertions in a way unavailable. The master will leave his slave, not the slave his master, to much extent. The question then recurs, what is to become of the slave?

The slave will remain, and in the nature of things must remain on the soil where he is placed, in the swamps with which he is identified: upon the wide plains where his labour ushered forth staple productions for the great world. The colonization scheme has failed, and will fail all the time for the want of means to effectuate it, as well as the want of the will and the concert necessary to the effort. We have been near forty years colonizing Liberia, and, at an expense of five millions, have only about four thousand there, all told. No money of individuals, no resources of the nation could begin to transplant three millions and a half of human beings, poor and helpless, to a foreign strand, and support them not only in transitu, but for three years, and even for life, in order to preserve them. No tonnage could hold them, and transport them in any comfort, even if there were funds. There would then be wanting, not only the will and concert of the master and slaves, but the pecuniary means and the tonnage necessary to the operation. The natural increase of our slaves by the census rolls, is seventy-five thousand annually; and rising in a geometrical ratio, whereas we colonise five hundred a year, and run off to Canada about three hundred a year, a mere bagatelle in comparison with the increase.

All the efforts of the abolitionists, with their friends and free lines across Ohio and Pennsylvania, do not get off one thousand a year, the one-seventieth part of the increase! There are in all Canada less than ten thousand coloured persons; and most of those who throng the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and other places, are natives there, and descendants of their own old stock. No inducement, therefore, can carry from their native soil, enough to be appreciable in the general estimate; not even the strongest inducement that can be offered to the human mind, that of freedom. So dear to the being is the place of his nativity, his wonted haunts, that he adheres to it, however imbibed by the remembrances of the lash, and all the indignity that slavery heaps upon his devoted head. No plan of colonisation then, whether in a foreign land or nearer to us, can accomplish aught in diminution of slavery, or affect in any way its dreary reign. The district that gave it birth will claim its continuance; if not as slaves, at least as their descendants, and they will form in such the staining of the population.

History gives us no case where three millions and a half of human beings were removed from the land of their nativity, under any circumstances of despotism or tyranny. The whole Assyrian power carried only 70,000 Jews into Chaldea. The Roman Emperors always failed when they ordered off the people of any nation that they conquered, and actually got off none but the captives, and got rid of none but what the sword exterminated. The hordes that overran Rome, were free men, and moved under the impulses of interest and military ambition. Colonisation under the strongest impulses and motives is a slow process. It took three hundred years to make up the colonies of this continent, English and Spanish, under the enthusiasm of religion and freedom, aided by the love of gold and adventure. England has been fifty years placing 100,000 in New Holland, counting them with their increase.

All people that have passed from slavery to freedom have remained on the soil where they were born and been placed. The vassals of Europe are now the citizens of that continent. The lowest castes of Hindostan are now the free Gentoos. The slaves who built the pyramids of Egypt are now the degraded but free Moslem of that land. The Mexicans that Cortez found in that country, working for the Emperors and the priesthood, are now the population of Mexico, and even if degraded, they are free. The Roman slaves never passed out of fair Italia, nor the helots out of Grecia. The serfs of Russia will remain and constitute the bulk of the people of that empire. The slaves of England and Hayti, are now the Haytians and the British West Indians. So will it be here, when time and circumstances shall have acted—when light and information shall have exhibited too clearly the deformity of the monster; when humanity and reason shall have ameliorated the relation of master and slave; and the master's own conscience and better feelings shall have prompted to loosen those bonds willingly, which time alone will some day loosen without his consent; then the slave disenthralled and his descendants will remain and constitute the population of the swamps of Virginia, and the borders and the Delta of the Mississippi. And why should he not continue to occupy the soil with which, not only his birth and feelings are identified, but his bitterest trials? In which he is acclimated, whose air he is fitted to breathe, whose suns his hardened constitution can resist, and whose malaria but little affect him? Intimate is the connection between man and his native country, his attachments are all there. It is there he erects the altars of his religion, and the shrines of his liberty, defiled and degraded however they may be. Let him breathe the miasmas of the swamps; let the siroccos of the desert blow upon him their full blasts; let the suns of the tropics melt his heated brain, or the eternal snows of the north chill his heart's blood; no matter, the anchor of his hope is there cast, and all his loves, all his aspirations, and all his combinations of interest are there.

The feature in our slavery most to be deprecated, as all writers and thinkers agree is the colour, the foul fast colour, as eternal as the hills, and as everlasting as the animal economy. The Roman slaves, the Grecian helots, the German and feudal vassals, the Russian serfs, when freed, mixed in the great mass of freemen, and were no more degraded, no more pointed at with scorn, and marked for an infamous race. But, alas! here the mark remains, and like the stigma upon a convicted felon, runs with his latest posterity. His own merits or the philanthropy of his master may free him, but he walks forth more to be pitied, more sunk in the scale of humanity than when in slavery. From his previous state, he is ignorant, poor, and low-spirited by habit; in his new state, he still stands marked by nature's God, with an everlasting and distinctive brand, and remains degraded, both he and his offspring, by the conventions of man. He brings with him no wealth from the low and degraded level where he has wrought as a slave; the lights of science have never shone upon his benighted and excluded existence—not has any aspiration of ambition ever stirred his heart and lifted him up to dignity and usefulness. He goes forth into freedom a marked and degraded being. No political privileges appertain to his caste. He holds no offices—he votes not with freemen—worships not at the shrines of liberty; and is thrust forth from all the rights of citizenship. He marries no white man's daughter, sits at no white man's board, enters no white man's parlour, but cap in hand as a menial. He gives his testimony to no fact however important to the good order of society, the cause of justice or the rights of property. He fights for no country, for he has none. He enters no factory to render his labour available to himself and his country, because white operatives forbid it. He labours on no canals, or roads, or public works, because white hirelings will not associate with him even on the lowest level. He is forbid to travel or trade—to remain in the State where all his attachments are—where his meritorious conduct procured his emancipation. He goes to the next slave state: there too he is ordered off, and put in prison or sold again into slavery if he does not obey. He then goes to some free state, supposing that there he would find a home and an abiding place; but no! thence too he is driven by laws unjust and unrelenting, and is forbid a residence. With no abiding place, no home, no information, no rights political or social, no wealth, he is a wanderer on the face of the earth, and, like Cain, marked of God, but not for murder or vice. Is it to be wondered at that he should be poor, and mean, and ignorant, and even vicious and immoral, without any character cherished in him, to lift him above meanness, idleness, and vice? No wonder that he remains in slavery, and often returns to it after having freed himself from its thralls, as the least of his evils. No wonder that he continues to affiliate with slaves even when free, and manifests no aspirations for wealth and the higher comforts. When free he must carry himself humbler, and be more bowed down than when a slave, for he has to conciliate all the lords of the creation, from the nabob to the drunken bestial, to avoid mobs, stripes, and summary chastisement, for which no court opens to give him redress.

In reply to the question, What is the remedy for this state of things? he names three points. "First, Our legislatures should exert themselves to pass laws for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in their jurisdictions, and provide in some way for their education preparatory to that event. Secondly, Our legislatures, State and General, should raise the platform on which the free coloured people stand. Thirdly, As individuals, all owners of slaves should meet, and give aid to every effort going on for the emancipation of the slaves." The article concludes in the following manner:—

It is in vain for the master to try to fence his dear slaves in from all intercourse with the great world, to create his little petty and tyrannical kingdom on his own plantation, and keep it for his exclusive reign. He cannot shut out the light of information any more than the light of heaven. It will penetrate all disguises, and shine upon the dark night of slavery. He must recollect that he is surrounded. The north, the east, the west, and the south border on him,—the free West Indian, the free Mexican, the free Yankee, the more than free abolitionists of his own country. Everything trenches upon his infected district, and the wolf looks calmly in upon his fold. The very atmosphere he breathes comes fraught with liberty, amelioration, and humanity. The owner, the stern master, is giving way, and is adapting his discipline to meet the wishes of the great world. He begins to look upon his own conduct as unjust, his own discipline as cruel, and has to satisfy his own conscience by moving up to a better mark, to more humanity in his treatment, and more affiliation with his slaves. Obeying these impulses gradually will accomplish much—will cover the whole ground—go far to remove the evil—and is that happy blending into a sameness of feeling, an identity of interests, that time is so certainly bringing on. This is the process under the influence of which slavery will disappear from the face of the earth.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE LEXINGTON OUTRAGE.—The violent proceedings of the respectable mob, by which Mr. Clay's press was seized and sent off, produced their natural fruit very speedily, in the similar doings of a vulgar mob the same evening. The result was, great injury to several peaceable coloured citizens, and a state of lawless anarchy, exposing the peace of the entire city, through the evening and night. The gentlemen of the first mob, ashamed of the connection in which this placed them, met the next day, and solemnly disavowed these vulgar proceedings, drawing a broad line of distinction between mobs by gentlemen, done in an orderly manner, and mobs by outlaws, accompanied with breaking of heads and other outrages. As the distinction is somewhat a tenuous one, they will pardon the world at large for not being able to see it, and for classifying the gentlemen and the loafers of Lexington together. The disgraceful event awoke a prodigious feeling at Cincinnati. One of the largest and most respectable public meetings ever held in the city, was held on the subject, and stirring addresses made. The following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That we respectfully tender to Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, the assurance of our deep and heartfelt sympathy with him in his noble efforts in behalf of human liberty, and in the severe trials to which these efforts have exposed him.

2. That Americans who excite, or direct, or countenance mob-violence directed against free printing and free speech, employed in the discussion of great questions of public interest, are traitors to their country and their race.

3. That the actors and abettors of the recent mob proceedings at Lexington, against the printing establishment of the *True American*, must not expect to divert from themselves the just condemnation of impartial men, by perverse misconstructions of the language of its editor or correspondents; the invasion of private rights by the brute force of a mob, for the purpose—doubly criminal and doubly base—of suppressing free discussion, and gratifying personal hate, especially of a brave man, prostrated by disease, cannot be justified, excused, or palliated.

The *Cincinnati Herald* says:—"We are advised, on good authority, that a conspiracy was formed to vote down the resolutions which would be introduced at the public meeting in the evening, concerning the proceedings at Lexington; and, if this could not be done, to break up the meeting."

The *Lexington Observer* denies the report, that Mr. Clay made overtures to the mob of gentlemen, that he would stop his press if they would let him alone. If he is only true to himself, and acts with Christian prudence and a regard to God's word, he will find himself clothed with a power against slavery tenfold greater than ever.—*New York Evangelist*.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.—In answer to the repeated and anxious inquiries respecting Cassius M. Clay, we are happy to announce, that, although still an invalid, suffering with a kind of lingering fever, or irritation, he is slowly mending. As to his future course, it can hardly be expected that he has yet formed any definite plan. We think, however, we may venture to state, that Mr. Clay will never abandon, but with life, the work to which he has so often publicly and solemnly dedicated himself.—*Cincinnati Herald*, Sept. 4.

SLAVE REPRESENTATION.—There is a spirited controversy now going on between western and eastern Virginia, on the subject of equal representation. In that State the old property-qualification is still retained, a portion of their representation arising from their slave population. This gives the eastern part of the State, where the slaves are principally owned, an advantage over the western, which they are unwilling longer to submit to. From the tone of western Virginia, says a contemporary, we feel satisfied that they will have equal representation, even if it must be accomplished by division or revolution. Eastern Virginia insists on their negro property being a basis of representation. Western Virginia takes the republican ground, that white population alone shall be the basis of representation.—*Newark Eagle*.

GROSS OUTRAGE.—Our county has lately been the theatre of a most daring infraction of law and justice, by some of the citizens of a neighbouring State, assisted by others residing in the county of Franklin. Mrs. Maddocks, about two years since, removed to this county from Maryland, having in her possession a negro woman and her children, who had been bequeathed to her by a deceased husband. Shortly after her removal here, she executed a deed of manumission, giving liberty to the whole family. At her death, the individual to whom the property of her deceased husband reverted, it appears, laid a claim to the slaves whom she had manumitted; and, taking advantage of their present supposed defenceless condition, he, aided by a party of bad and reckless citizens from an adjoining county in Maryland, and also, we are told, from Franklin county, two or three weeks since, in the dead of night, approached

the house where dwelt the unsuspecting victims, seized the mother and two children, gagged them, placed them in a covered wagon, and made their escape into Maryland, before any measures could be used to arrest their progress. The poor helpless victims, no doubt, ere this, have been hopelessly merged in the mass of human slavery scattered over the south. This gross outrage has occasioned a general expression of indignant feeling from our community.—*Gettysburg Sentinel*.

A RUNAWAY PREACHER.—A late Kentucky paper contains an advertisement offering a reward of 400 dollars for the recovery of "a negro man named Richard," who is forty years old, reads and writes very well, is a preacher, and has a license to exhort, endorsed by the elder of Stone River Circuit, or Murfreesborough Station. The advertisement states that he preaches and sings well, and it is supposed he will try to make his living in that way. The crime for which he is advertised is two-fold—he is black, and was born contrary to the Declaration of Independence. Perhaps he has some wild notions of his responsibility as a preacher, and is inclined to give a too liberal construction to the passage, "Go ye into all the world," &c. Is not this a great country, where preachers of the everlasting gospel are advertised like stray cattle?—*New York Evangelist*.

FUGITIVES.—A gentleman from Perry County, Missouri, informs us that a few days ago he lost a very valuable slave, who crossed at Chester, and escaped into Illinois. He informs us that a very considerable number of slaves have lately escaped from that part of the State, and eluded pursuit. A few miles from the river, in Randolph county, Illinois, is a small town called Eden, in and near to which are settled a horde of abolitionists, who are organized for the business of slave-stealing. If a slave escapes and comes among them, they secrete, feed, and aid him in his escape. They are sent by a regular line to Canada; and if a slave once gets into this settlement he is never recovered. The gentleman states that the great facilities for escape have materially diminished the value of slaves in that part of the State, and that slave-property has ceased to be considered safe in the river counties in that part of Missouri.—*St. Louis New Era*.

SLAVE CASE IN PITTSBURGH.—Last Wednesday, a man named Sowers attempted to seize a coloured woman, the wife of Ezekiel Strickland, as his slave. The husband gave the alarm, the neighbours gathered quickly, and Sowers with his comrades was glad to get off. He was subsequently arrested, and required by the mayor to give bail in the sum of 200 dollars, to appear at the next term of the Court, to answer for a breach of the peace.—Having attempted, some time last winter, to obtain possession of the same woman, by seizing her without warrant, and having also had Strickland arrested at the same time, for stealing his own wife, another warrant was served upon him by Deputy Sheriff Kerr, charging him with being guilty of false imprisonment, and bail to the amount of 1,500 dollars was required of him. Finding himself in rather an awkward predicament, he was glad to accept a proposition made by Wm. E. Austin, Esq., the substance of which was, that he should manumit the woman, and have all the suits against him discontinued. The days of slave-catching in Pittsburgh seem to be over.—*Cincinnati Herald*.

I have had an interesting interview with Judge Lee, of Virginia, the executor of John Randolph's will—a will which bequeathed freedom to nearly 400 slaves. But a prize, so eagerly coveted by the heirs, as 200,000 dollars worth of human flesh, could not be relinquished without a severe struggle. Randolph, aware of this, had guarded his will which manumitted them with all possible care against infraction. Thanks to a kind Providence, his fortification proved impregnable. After running the gauntlet of a pertinacious litigation for nearly ten long years, "the poor creatures have at length escaped the clutches of cupidity, and had their right to freedom established by the highest judicial power of the State." These negroes are, of course, of all ages and sexes. A legacy of 25,000 dollars left to them, after defraying the expenses of litigation, will furnish them a farm of forty acres to each family, with a cabin, and the necessary fixtures and utensils for cultivating it.—*Correspondent of the Watchman of the Valley*.

A WHITE FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY.—A Mr. P. Lee, of Maysville, Kentucky, advertises seven runaway slaves, and offers a reward of seven hundred dollars for their apprehension and arrest. Among the fugitives was an infant four months old, and a white woman described thus by Mr. Lee:—"Fanny, the mother of four children, is about twenty-five years of age, white as most white women—straight light hair!"

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE LEVANT.—It is said, is carried on to an enormous extent, and with perfect impunity. There have been several extensive shipments of Nubian slaves made in Alexandria on board of Greek and Turkish vessels bound for Smyrna and Constantinople, and from the latter port there are frequent arrivals of Circassian slaves. No objection whatever to this traffic is made by the European consuls.—*New York Evangelist*.

VILLANOUS KIDNAPPING.—When the Lucy Walker exploded, Captain Vann, her commander, had eleven negroes on board, of whom three were killed, and five were badly wounded, and three escaped unhurt to the Indiana shore. These three were seized in Indiana by two white men, who crossed the river with them, from New Albany to Portland, about ten o'clock that night; neither the white men nor the negroes have been since heard of.—*Louisiana Journal*.

GENEROUS ACT.—We are informed that Gerrit Smith recently paid 500 dollars to secure the liberty of a slave in Tennessee. On appearing at Mr. Smith's to thank his benefactor, he exposed his body to him and several others—it was terribly scarred in many parts, showing that a great amount of suffering had been endured by the poor fellow. Rich blessings, for ever, on Mr. Smith.—*Syracuse Star*.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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MISCHIEF BREWING IN BRITISH GUIANA.

MR. ARRINDELL has not been promoted to the Attorney-Generalship of British Guiana for nothing. A batch of measures is coming forward under his auspices, fully worthy of himself, and of the school to which he belongs. Let our readers listen to the terms in which we are forewarned of them by a correspondent of the *Guiana Times* :—

"In a recent conversation of honourable members in our Court of Policy, as reported in the *Royal Gazette* of last night, I see it stated that the honourable Mr. Porter urges the propriety of extending the provisions of the George-town police act to the rural districts; that is, to give to the stipendiary justices of the peace the irresponsible and unconstitutional powers at present possessed by our city police magistrate, *from whose decision there is no appeal*; and Mr. Arrindell, our present attorney-general, and the honourable P. Rose, speak of a vagrant act, and a trespass act. This is, in Yankee phraseology, 'going the whole hog' with a vengeance. At present, I can do little more than draw your attention to these attempts to re-enslave our rural population; for I do assert most unequivocally, that to pass such laws, in the absence of all or any of the various checks to arbitrary power which protect the poor man in Europe—to intrust such power to our present stipendiary magistrates, *who are not what they were*—to enact vagrant laws and trespass acts, without protecting the people with a direct representation in the legislature, would lead to their being coerced and brought back to as great a state of slavery (with the exception of the lash only) as they laboured under during the apprenticeship. And then, sir, who is the individual to frame those new laws? Her majesty's attorney-general, the proprietor of a sugar estate, as much in want of labour as his neighbours, an old slave-owner, and the counsel for the banks! This must be opposed, *and that effectually*."

The alarm is not given by the correspondents only of this journal. The editor himself writes in the following strain :—

"The English philanthropists, while they are not warranted in asserting, at least with regard to British Guiana, that what is called free labour is only slavery in disguise, will do well to watch narrowly a suspicious movement which is now on foot. The administration of the government of this crown colony has virtually been transferred from the colonial office to the old slave-owning interest, no precaution having been taken, meanwhile, to counteract the influence of the latter, by means of the introduction of popular representation. Of the ten members of the Court of Policy, six are planters, all interested in the enactment of stringently coercive measures. The attorney-general is a planter, having a large estate to work as he best may. The sympathies of the collector of customs lie with the planters. The government secretary offers no opposition to the planters, they giving him his own way in matters which he has at heart. The chief justice generally keeps aloof. The governor is a vacuity, a nonentity, the poor passive registrar of the will of others. Under such circumstances it is, that a series of acts has been announced to be in preparation, pregnant with peril to the liberties of the populace."

"A Vagrant Act. A sufficiently stringent one was passed by the queen in council, in 1838. The planting, estate-owning attorney-general is to substitute for it a new one of his own. Of what nature remains to be seen. The worst may be apprehended."

"A Trespass Act. Undeniably necessary; but care must be taken to prevent the owners of property from being judges in their own causes, or of those of their friends."

"The same remarks apply to a Landlord and Tenant Act. Indeed, the English philanthropists cannot be too vigilant in guarding against infringements of personal liberty cloaked under the pretext of assimilation to British institutions. It is very plausible to assert that what is good for England or Jamaica cannot be bad for British Guiana. True enough, if we get a low franchise, a numerous constituency, and direct election of our representatives. And even then the comparative smallness of our community might induce jeopardy to freedom. But to enact among us grinding and coercive statutes, without providing a counterpoise, in the form of political enfranchisement, would be equivalent to subjecting a hundred and twenty thousand persons, nominally made free at the cost of millions of pounds sterling, to the selfish rapacious tyranny of some sixteen or twenty persons, who may be unprincipled enough to seek to bully the crown judges as often as they refuse to gratify the longings of the slave-mongering school with corrupt verdicts, inimical to human freedom."

Another number of the same journal throws some further light on this important subject in the following passages :—

"The gentlemen of the planting body have perused, with natura

exultation, the news of the probable arrival, at no distant era, of many hundreds, if not thousands, of Coolies. They had better not prepare for the reception of these people by enacting statutes for the revival of slavery. Who were they who afflicted the colony with the ills consequent on the mad experiment of 1838? The leading persons who now clamour for a stringent vagrant law!

"We recommend the gentlemen of the planting body to be cautious as to the steps which they adopt. The British Government, when it sanctioned Coolie immigration, contemplated no re-enactment, under specious names, of slavery. While, therefore, property is protected, be personal liberty more sacred still! We fear the Coolies will not be worth even the cost of their introduction, to say nothing of their re-transportation. At all events, do not let us receive them with iron manacles and wooden stocks, for vagrancy and so forth, after having promised them full freedom of choice and perfect liberty of locomotion.

"We wonder that in their rage for stringent measures, those embarrassed or agitated planters, Messrs. Stuart, Rose, and the Attorney-General, Arrindell, do not seek to make it a misdemeanour or a felony to catch game; to render the capture of a guano liable to transportation for ten years, and the entanglement of a snook or gilbacker, liable to transportation for life.

"The mischief is, Messrs. Arrindell, Rose, and Stuart, being old slave-drivers, find it difficult to conceive right notions of the way in which free communities ought to be treated. We beg to warn them that it is many years now since any of them could either extort gain by means of the cat-o'-nine-tails, or stifle liberal opinions by means of political tyranny; and also to admonish them that if their estates are, according to their own not very ancient declarations, unproductive, they cannot be allowed to make them yield large profits, by re-enacting, as legislators, tyranny.

"It is possible that your blind and stubborn impetuosity with respect to coercive measures, may not only compel her Majesty's Government to disallow all immigration, as having for its object slavery, but may also induce such sanguinary scenes as an old slave-monger, having crept into authority, produced in Dominica, the other day."

Similar apprehensions are expressed by the editor of the *Congregational Record*, who strongly enforces the appeal to the friends of freedom in Great Britain. We cheerfully answer to the appeal, and return our thanks for the warning which has been given us. It will be necessary, however, that our friends should keep us fully and promptly informed of what is going on, and support such measures as may be taken in this country by vigorous and effective proceedings in the colony.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

In our paper of the 16th ult., we inserted the account, which had then just arrived, of the forcible removal, by one of the *respectable* mobs now so well-known in the United States, of Mr. Clay's printing press from Lexington to Cincinnati. We are truly happy to find that the fears at that date entertained for the life of this distinguished man have not been realized. His health is in process of restoration. The course which he will pursue is not definitively stated; but there are general intimations that he will resume the publication of the *True American* in Kentucky. We shall complete our narration of the transaction from the materials afforded by the American papers. We take the following from the *Emancipator* :—

"The latest intelligence from Mr. Clay is, that he is thought to be on the recovery. The *Lexington Observer* denies the truth of the statement that he offered, through his friends, to discontinue the *True American*, on condition that his press should not be removed. The *Cincinnati Herald* announces the arrival of the press and types at that city, in the presence of a crowd of persons, and adds, 'According to the representation made to us, everything was in a sad plight; the press taken to pieces, and tumbled out on the wharf, in complete disorder, in the dirt, and the boxes of type broken up and exposed. The *respectable* mobocrats did not execute their task in a very workmanlike manner.'

"A letter-writer in a New Haven paper states, that the worst passions of the multitude were so wrought upon in relation to the *True American* and C. M. Clay, that, at the time of the Convention, it needed but the word of any one of the orators on that occasion to have produced the most direful results, even to the shedding of blood. As denunciation and anathemas fell from the lips of the speakers, the yells which the multitude sent forth were such as language would fail to describe, or the mind of man hardly to conceive of."

"A portion of the citizens of Lexington have formed themselves

into a band, termed 'the Regulators,' painted and disguised as Indians, and threaten to drive every free black from the city and county. Their first depredation was committed on the night of the 19th inst., when they took a black preacher, stripped and whipped him, and afterwards gave him a coat of tar and feathers. Every man feels it necessary to go armed in self-defence, and an obnoxious word or sentiment exposes one to the fury of the populace."

Upon the manifestation of this state of things, the primary rioters of the day most gracefully assembled to denounce the kindred rioters of the night, and somewhat humorously, we suspect, adopted the following resolution:—

"Be it further resolved, That the citizens here assembled do solemnly protest against the outrages of last night being in any manner connected with the open, daylight, and orderly proceedings of the citizens on Monday last, or as in any manner giving pretext for them."

The *Cincinnati Herald* having mentioned this second outrage, proceeds as follows:—"Nor will the matter end here. The *Christian Intelligencer*, published at Georgetown, is accused of being 'suspect,' and ordered to depart. The *Louisville Journal* speaks boldly and decidedly in condemnation of the rioters, both of high and low degree. Its turn may come next. Meantime, the spirit of violence is awakened on all sides, and the latent anti-slavery feeling of the State will show itself. It is the beginning of a struggle in Kentucky, which will end in the abolition of slavery. Cassius M. Clay is not dead yet—nor likely to die. I trust he will have no thought of giving up yet. He has committed a great mistake in thinking of opposing violence with violence in such a cause. It was madness to think of it. Nor has he maintained his ground as I think he would have done had he been well; but few will blame the acts of a man prostrated by illness which threatened death. Experience will teach him wisdom. Hundreds will flock to his aid now, if he will stand his ground, who would not, but for this, have thought of it. God give him strength to do it!"

At as early a period as possible, a public meeting was held in Cincinnati, the account of which we extract entire from the *Morning Herald, U.S.*:—

"On Thursday evening, August 25th, 1845, the Cincinnati Tabernacle was crowded to its utmost capacity, not less than 2,500 being present, by a meeting convened pursuant to the following notice, numerously and respectably signed, which had appeared in the city papers of that day:—

"A combination of the enemies of free discussion at Lexington, Kentucky, having by mob violence seized upon the printing office of Cassius M. Clay, and arrested the publication of his paper, the *True American*, while he was prostrated by disease, have caused the press to be sent to Cincinnati. The undersigned, unwilling that such a circumstance should pass unnoticed, and without a proper expression of public feeling with regard to it, call upon their fellow-citizens to assemble in mass on this Monday evening, at early candlelight, at the Tabernacle, corner of Seventh and John streets, to take such measures and adopt such resolutions as may be deemed appropriate to the occasion."

The objects of the meeting were briefly stated by S. P. Chase, Esq., who moved the appointment by the chair of a committee of six persons to report resolutions expressive of the sense of this community upon the late outrage at Lexington, Kentucky.

This motion was opposed by W. Van Hamm, Esq., who expressed his disapprobation of the objects of the meeting, and called upon the majority of those present, to vote down the motion for the appointment of the committee. The gentleman being called to order, the president decided that the present was a mass meeting of the people of Cincinnati, and that it was perfectly in order to oppose the adoption of the motion, either by speech or acclamation.

The question recurring on the motion for the committee, it was adopted by a decided majority.

Messrs. S. P. Chase, Jacob Ernst, U. Tracy Howe, Benjamin Urner, James Pullan, and James G. Forman were appointed said committee.

In the absence of the committee, Mr. Van Hamm addressed the meeting at length in opposition to any action by the citizens of Cincinnati.

Mr. Chase, on behalf of the committee, reported the following preamble and resolutions:—

"Whereas, an assemblage of persons, styling themselves 'a meeting of the citizens of Lexington, Fayette, and the adjacent counties,' have thought fit 'to make and publish a declaration in vindication of their resolution and conduct' in seizing and removing the printing establishment of the *True American*, belonging to Cassius M. Clay, in which declaration they 'appeal to Kentucky and the world,' for judgment of their acts; and whereas the persons aforesaid in prosecution of their unlawful purposes, having forcibly seized upon said printing establishment, have caused the press and printing materials to be conveyed to our city; now, therefore, in answer to the declaration and appeal aforesaid, and in view of the destination given to the press, and printing materials aforesaid,

Be it resolved, By the people of Cincinnati, in mass meeting assembled,

"1. That we respectfully tender to Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, the assurance of our deep and heartfelt sympathy with him in his noble efforts in behalf of human liberty, and in the severe trials to which those efforts have exposed him.

"2. That Americans who excite, or direct, or countenance mob violence directed against free printing and free speech, employed in the discussion of great questions of public interest, are traitors to their country and their race.

"3. That the actors and abettors of the recent mob proceeding at Lexington, against the printing establishment of the *True American*, must not expect to divert from themselves the just condemnation of impartial men by perverse misconstructions of the language of its editor or correspondents; the invasion of private rights by the brute force of a mob, for the purpose—doubly criminal and doubly base—of suppressing free discussion and gratifying personal hate, especially of a brave man, prostrated by disease, cannot be justified or palliated.

"4. That since it has pleased the directors of the outrage at Lexington to select our city as the depository of the press of the *True American*, we will accept its custody as a sacred and precious trust; and we hereby direct that a committee of seven be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to correspond with Mr. Clay concerning the custody and disposition of the press, and take such measures in relation thereto, as with his concurrence, they may deem advisable.

"5. That we recommend that public prayer be offered to Almighty God, in all places of worship, that he will be pleased to restore health to the true-hearted man and devoted patriot, who, for the sake of truth and freedom, has not scrupled to peril property and life: and enable him to go forward with fidelity, discretion, and unfaltering resolution, until the great object of his labours shall be triumphantly accomplished.

"6. That the proceedings of this meeting, signed by its officers, be published in the papers of the city, and that a copy of the same be forwarded to C. M. Clay."

Mr. Chase, at the close of the reading, advocated the passage of the resolutions with great earnestness, fully recognising the right of the majority to vote them down; and that he and other friends of a free press and Cassius M. Clay, would submit to such a decision.

At the close of these remarks, an opportunity was had for further opposition, but no one taking the stand, the report of the committee was accepted, and the resolutions adopted by the meeting."

THE AMERICAN UNION PLEDGED TO THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY BY THE CONSTITUTION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Mamore Cottage, Roseneath, Sept. 12, 1845.

SIR,—If your sense of duty will allow you to insert the following statement of facts and comments respecting the constitution of the United States, I would thank you for the favour.

That constitution was formed in 1787, by a convention assembled from twelve States, eight of which were, at that time, slaveholding States. The president and a majority of the members were slaveholders. The preamble is as follows:—

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following constitution for the United States of America."

All very plausible; but see what that convention understood by this, and whether the slaves were included.

Article I. Sect. ii. clause 3, of the constitution runs thus:—"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Rufus King, a member of the convention, says,—"these persons are the slaves." The debates of that convention, and of conventions held in six of the States to consider the adoption of the constitution, are before me. Not a speaker denies or doubts that the phrase refers to slaves.

The meaning of this clause of the constitution is given in the practical operations of the government, from its foundation to the present moment, and it is this—one free man, owner of five slaves in Virginia, counts as much, in the basis of representation, as four free men in Massachusetts—three for his five slaves, and one for himself; one man in Georgia, owner of ten slaves, counts as many as seven men in New York who hold no slaves; one man in Alabama, owner of twenty slaves, as many as thirteen men in Pennsylvania who hold no slaves, and so on. "Three-fifths of the slaves are added to the owners to increase their numbers and influence, in the proportion of three to five, six to ten, twelve to twenty, thirty to fifty, sixty to one hundred, &c. One man owning 1,000 slaves in Tennessee is equal to 601 free men in Ohio who own no slaves; 10,000 men in the slave states, owners of 50,000 slaves, are counted equal to 40,000 free men holding no slaves in the non-slave States. In round numbers, there are 300,000 slaveholders, and 3,000,000 of slaves in the United States. In computing the number of inhabitants to get the basis of representation, these 300,000 slaveholders are reckoned equal to 2,100,000 free men that hold no slaves; or, to come to the exercise of the elective franchise in the election of a president and congress of the United States, these

300,000 slaveholders, in effect, cast as many votes as 2,100,000 freemen who are non-slaveholders. So in the exercise of the legislative, judicial, and executive functions of the government, the 300,000 slave-breeders wield an influence equal to that of 2,100,000 men who abhor slavery. Thus, this clause of the constitution offers a reward to slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slave-holding, by proportioning a man's political influence to the number of his slaves. It considers men qualified to aid in accomplishing the ends proposed in the preamble, *i.e.*, "to establish justice," and "to secure the blessings of liberty," in proportion to his skill and success in stealing and enslaving men! Thus the constitution "establishes justice," &c., to the slaves.

What greater encouragement could the constitution have given to slavery, except by saying five-fifths instead of three? As the article now stands (and it cannot be changed, except by the overthrow of the government, while any State sees fit to hold slaves,) it considers a man as having multiplied himself in proportion as he blots others from the mass of human existence. Four men in New York, who by honest industry accumulate fortunes in houses and lands, however just and upright they may be, can equal, in political importance, only one man in a slave State, who, by fraud and violence, reduces five men to slavery. One man in New Orleans, who, by unsurpassed villainy, has succeeded in turning 1,000 immortal beings, made in the image of God, into beasts, is invested by this achievement with as much political power as 301 men in Boston, who, by honest dealing, have become fifty times as rich in gold and silver. I reduce 10,000 horses to the condition of "personal chattels," and the constitution gives me no reward, I still count but one man in the government; but if I can turn the bodies and souls of 10,000 men into goods and chattels, it rewards me with the power of 6,001 honest freemen in the legislative, judicial, and executive councils of the nation.

It is amazing that any man can read and understand this clause in its practical details, and then assert that the constitution was not designed to countenance slavery. How came this clause there? By design, or by mistake? It occasioned more difficulty and a longer discussion in the convention than any other article; and judging from these debates, every man understood it as giving power and influence to slaveholders in proportion to the numbers of their slaves. While the increase of property in houses and lands, and in herds and flocks, in the free States, conferred no political power, the increase of property in "slaves, and the souls of men," in the slave States, enhanced their political influence.

Had the clause read "three-fifths" of horses, who can doubt that every man would have sought to increase his stock of horses? The owner of 500 horses would have been equal to 301 free men who owned no horses. It cannot be doubted that such a premium would have acted as a motive to breeding, and perhaps, to stealing horses; but the premium is offered to slave-breeding and to man-stealing, and it has acted as a mighty stimulant to the perpetuation of this sum of all villainy. It offers the highest possible reward, not to justice and liberty, but to injustice and slavery. By this clause—this fatal, terrible clause—the rule is established as the basis of the government, that, the more human beings a man can steal and enslave, the better is he qualified to wield political power—that men are qualified to vote, to legislate, to judge, and execute, in proportion to the number of immortal beings whom they have converted into "chattels;" and by the power conferred on slaveholders by this clause, they have, in half a century, increased the number of slaves from 30,000 to 3,000,000, and enlarged the bounds of slavery from 210,000 square miles, to a fraction less than 1,000,000.

Of this article John Quincy Adams says, "By this process it is that all political power in the States is engrossed by the owners of slaves, and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their domination. The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities are all in their hands; every law of the legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave; every executive act a rivet to his hapless fate; every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of wrong. The reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people in the American congress, and thereby to make the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the national government." Is it in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the art of committing the lamb to the tender custody of the wolf? The oppressor representing the oppressed! The standard qualification for access to power is wealth in the possession of slaves! The South refused their subscription to the parchment (the constitution) till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the constitution of freedom.

This is the opinion of a man who for sixty years, as president, legislator, ambassador, or secretary, has been engaged in the administration of that government. How can any man who has read the debates in the convention that inserted this clause in the constitution, say, "It is designed, perhaps, as a censure upon slavery?" According to the construction of the convention, and of every department of the government, it was designed to transfer to their oppressors the elective franchise of three-fifths of the slaves, and to deny it to the two-fifths altogether. As J. Q. Adams says, "Their elective franchise was transferred to their masters, and the oppressors were to represent the oppressed."

Art. IV. sec. ii. clause 3, reads thus:—"No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, crossing into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

James Madison, who reported the debates in the convention, says, "This clause was expressly inserted to enable the owners of slaves to reclaim them. This is a better security than any that now exists." Said General C. C. Pinkney of this clause, also a member of the convention, "We have obtained a right to recover our slaves, in whatever part of America they may take refuge, which is a right we had not before." Said General Randolph, in the Virginia convention, "Were it right here to mention what passed in the convention, (he was a member of it,) I might tell you that the southern States conceived their property (slaves) to be secured by these words." Luther Martin, another member of the convention, said, "We had appealed to the Supreme Being for his assistance, as the God of freedom; and now, when we had scarcely arisen from our knees, from supplicating his protection in forming our government over a free people—in that government to have a provision not only of putting it out of its power to prevent the slave-trade, but even encouraging that most infamous traffic, by giving the States the power and influence in the Union in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sported with the rights of their fellow-men, ought to be considered as a solemn mockery of, and insult to, that God whose protection we had thus implored, and could not fail to hold us up in detestation, and render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world." Daniel Webster says, "We have slavery amongst us. The constitution recognized it, and gave it solemn guarantees." John Quincy Adams says, "The slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave-trade, (see Art. I. sec. ix. clause 1;) the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the enactment, fatal to the principle of popular representation, of a representation of slaves, for articles of merchandize, under the name of *persons*." "The freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or of forfeiting the union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond." Chief Justice Storey says of the clause touching runaway slaves, "We know, historically, that it was designed to secure the rights of ownership to slaves, as property, in those States where slavery did not exist, or might be abolished." "It contemplates the unqualified right of ownership in slaves, which no State laws can be permitted to regulate, qualify, control, or restrain." "The clause recognises the positive right of the owner, with no qualifications, to property in his fugitive slaves."

In 1793 Congress passed an Act entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their master." Sect. III. runs thus, "That when a person held to labour in any of the States or territories under the laws thereof shall escape into any other of the States or territories, the person to whom such labour or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labour, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State wherein such arrest shall be made; and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge, either by oral testimony, or affidavit taken before, and certified by, a magistrate of any such State, that the person arrested doth, under the laws of the State from which he or she fled, owe service to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labour to the State from which he or she fled."

Sect. IV. provides "that any person who shall harbour or conceal such fugitive from labour (runaway slave) shall forfeit and pay the sum of 500 dollars."

This Act was approved by Washington, as President, February 12, 1793. Thus we see that, according to the decisions of Congress, of the Supreme Court, of the President, and of the Convention that formed it, the constitution is designed to pledge the American Union to the support of slavery, till such time as the slaveholders shall see fit to abolish it. Is it consistent, is it right, for a man who believes slavery to be a great and heinous sin, to call God to witness that he "will faithfully and truly, to the extent of his ability, execute that constitution," and thus directly and most efficiently aid "slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slave-holding, the whole foundation of that national government?" There is a large party of abolitionists in America, who, from conscientious motives as abolitionists, refuse to take any such oath or affirmation; and because they do so they are greatly blamed. Are they right or wrong? Are they true to anti-slavery principles? May we take an oath or affirmation to support a constitution "whose vital and animating spirit is the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery," in order to abolish slavery?

HENRY C. WRIGHT, of Philadelphia.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 15, 1845.

It is highly interesting and satisfactory to learn that the imports of sugar into Great Britain, up to this time, exceed those of 1844 by 24,000 tons, of which 10,700 are from the West Indies, 7,000 from the Mauritius, 4,500 from the East Indies, and 2,000 foreign, produced by free labour. The increase in consumption for the same period of eight months, has been 24,100 tons.

FROM the last two West India mails we have made to-day a variety of not uninteresting extracts. The most important matter conveyed by them, however, relates to the colony of British Guiana, where it appears the old spirit of planter tyranny is about to manifest itself in a new form. We have more fully noticed this matter in a separate article, to which we direct the attention of our readers. We may here add, however, an extract or two from the same papers illustrative of the genius of the government in British Guiana at the present time. "I remember," says a correspondent of the *Guiana Times*, who signs himself "Reformer," "the time when the local government authorities were positively hostile to the planters and their interests; decidedly anxious to encourage complaints against them by the labourers, and praised the stipendiary as most worthy of reward and imitation, who on all occasions appeared as the defender or partisan of the labourers. But now their gall seems turned into honey. Some time ago, the official and non-official members of the Court of Policy agreed to adjust all differences under certain important concessions to each other, at the expense of the public, formed a coalition, and the Government appears now to have gone in the case of the labourers to the opposite extreme. To gratify every whim of the planters, appears to be the order of the day at head-quarters, and that stipendiary magistrate must possess a strong mind, and a greater love of practical justice than of his individual interests, who does not shape his course accordingly." A pregnant instance of the mode of legislation now pursued by the Court of Policy is given in the following case. A bill, it seems, was introduced to remove the public monies from the hands of the Receiver-General and other public officers, to the banks. The bill was supported by the honourable Peter Rose, manager of the Colonial Bank; the honourable John Croal, chairman of the British Guiana Bank; the honourable H. E. F. Young, director of the British Guiana Bank; the honourable J. T. White, share-holder in the British Guiana Bank; and the honourable Wm. Arrindell, counsel for the British Guiana Bank and legal adviser of both! the honourable W. Furlong, her Majesty's then Attorney-General, being the only person who opposed the transfer. After this no one need be a conjurer to penetrate the mystery of the immigration loan ordinances.

The good people of Guiana are in the highest spirits on the subject of immigration. On this point we shall allow them to be heard for themselves. The following extract is from the *Guiana Gazette*.

"Our anticipations with respect to Coolie immigration do not seem likely to be disappointed. We have frequently asserted, that what the colony wanted was nothing less than a fleet of vessels from India with labourers on board. The fleet, we are happy to say, will probably cover over the waters of the 'dark blue sea.' By a schedule received by the present packet, and published in another column, we perceive that not less than twenty-three ships, measuring 13,000 tons, have been already taken up, in several of the ports of England, as transports for emigrants bound to the West Indies. This noble fleet is destined, we need scarcely say, for Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad, and is calculated to be capable of accommodating upwards of 5,700 persons. Who can foretell the magic influence so grand an event will have on the development of the resuscitated energies of this splendid and productive province! The above catalogue is not, however, complete, and cannot contain anything like the full number of vessels that will be taken up in the East Indies for this part of the world during the present season; for not only will it be seen that they are insufficient, many as they are, to contain the appointed complement of 5,000 Coolies, some time since arranged to be conceded to this colony; but owing to a new and double concession on the part of Lord Stanley, we may say, that for Guiana alone, during the ensuing season, about forty or fifty vessels, and more than 20,000 tons of shipping, will be required to convey her allotment of immigrants from east to west. We are sure that most of our readers will participate in the sentiments of joy with which we announce, on excellent authority, that the noble minister for the Colonies has been graciously pleased to authorize, for the service of British Guiana, a transhipment of 10,000, instead of 5,000 Coolies, from the East Indies to this country, during the season of 1845 and 1846."

Upon reading this ecstatic passage we could not help exclaiming, Happy at last! And yet, alas! it is but the happiness of a pleasing

dream. While facts will soon awaken these dreamers to the realities of the case, the current of public opinion in this country is rapidly running in a direction contrary to their wishes. "All parties at home," says the *Globe*, in a recent article, commenting on the restless eagerness of the colonies for British help, "are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the best thing that can be done for the colonies is to leave them to themselves." And of immigration in particular, our contemporary affirms that it "already stands condemned wherever it has been fully and fairly tried."

"If Lord Stanley," he goes on to say, "has been induced to promise to the planters 'a speedy and efficient supply' of immigrant labourers, we do not doubt that he has promised more than he can perform. No use of the means he has at command, or is likely to apply to such a purpose, will accomplish the 'speed'—and for the 'efficiency,' if that means that the planters shall find themselves, by such means, permanently relieved of any portion of their present difficulties, the fulfilment of the promise is hopeless indeed. A full supply of labour, by whatever means procured, is not what the planters really require. And if they had it, we do not hesitate to say that, in our opinion, it would do them far more harm than good. They have long been accustomed to depend too much upon manual labour. This was an error even during slavery. It is a far grosser and more palpable one now. The scarcity of labourers is, in truth, felt more from the rude state of the agriculture and the manufacturing processes of the colonies, than from a real need of more labour to perform both in the best manner. It is not more labour, but more skill in the application of both capital and labour, that is really required.

"An abundant supply of labour would not be easy to create in the West Indies. The races alone fitted for field labour there, find so easy a mode of subsistence in the cultivation of small plots of ground for themselves, that the population must be very dense before they are driven to lower wages by bidding against each other.

"Immigration will clearly not effect this. And were the supply of labour ever so abundant, we do not doubt that its strongest effect would be found in keeping up the old methods of cultivation, and preserving in the social and economical condition of the islands many of the worst results of slavery. The present difficulties are leading to the gradual obliteration of these. Capital is flowing into the colonies for the construction of railways; and in many places the management of the plantations is assuming a scientific and economical aspect which is totally at variance with the old state of things, and not less so with the spirit which still, it seems, in some quarters prompts hopeful dependence on the smiles of the Colonial Secretary.

"When the West Indians begin to depend upon anything that has ever been found worthy of dependence by those similarly situated, they will begin to see the end of their difficulties. Some of them are doing this already, and are looking so steadily at home that they have lost sight of Lord Stanley and the Colonial office. The rest must ultimately follow the example; and the sooner they do it the better."

The spirit of oppression is still rife also in Jamaica. As if to punish the peasantry for the spirit of independence they manifested in the erection of free cottages and villages, the vestries of several parishes in that island have laid a tax on every house built since emancipation, exempting entirely the old houses, which are all situated on the estates.

"To show that we are not complaining without reason," says the *Baptist Herald*, "we call the attention of all, but especially that of our English readers, to the following facts; we could append hundreds of similar cases did we think it necessary. A poor man built a house, and died shortly after it was finished, leaving behind him a sickly widow, who finds it difficult to obtain a livelihood—the tax put upon her house is twenty-eight shillings. A poor man who has long been oppressed and cheated upon a neighbouring estate, scraped together a few pounds and bought a small lot of land—about the sixth part of an acre. He has just erected a thatched hut, and with his wife and children taken possession of one small room—for this he is taxed eight shillings. Another poor old man, at least 70 years of age, and scarcely able to walk, managed during the apprenticeship to save enough dollars to enable him to purchase a piece of land for a provision ground, and that he might be sheltered from the rain when he went there, he put up a shed, and for this, though he never lives there, he has to pay a tax of eight shillings."

The oppressiveness of such a tax is obvious, and its *animus* can scarcely be mistaken; nor can it be deemed surprising that it should have produced general discontent and indignation among the peasantry. A yet bolder stroke, however, would appear to be in contemplation. It has been long known that the number of new freeholders among the peasantry was large enough to produce a material effect on the elections; and now that a new election must shortly take place, a scheme is devised for depriving them of their franchise! The suggestion is thus thrown out by the editor of the *Falmouth Post*.

"As the period at which the Legislature is usually convened is now approaching, we venture to express a hope that some honourable member will be prepared with a measure for remodelling the franchise. Any one who seriously considers the present state of the parochial registers, and especially those who have watched them as many as us have done for a series of years, will see at once the necessity which exists for a speedy alteration, not only in the amount of the franchise, but in the entire machinery of the election law. Unless it be the intention of the Legislature to throw the entire representation of the country into the hands of an irresponsible rabble, moved and directed by a handful of Dissenters, leagued together against the Church and the constitution, some early steps must be taken to increase the annual value of freehold votes and to establish an effective system of annual revision."

This is intelligible enough, and must no doubt be highly conciliatory to the "rabble" upon whose willing industry the fortunes of Jamaica planters depend. How can the angry wounds of society be

healed while such exasperating unguents are applied to them? Or how can it be wondered at if the down-trodden multitudes should reply, as they literally do, to the cry of ruin with which the welkin rings, "The sooner such oppressors are ruined the better?"

From the American papers we have made some further extracts respecting the expulsion of Cassius M. Clay's press from Lexington, Kentucky, by the respectable mobocracy of that city, and its probable results. It must in the end do good, and we hope the noble-minded victim of this outrage will be permitted to see it. We have the pleasure of inserting below an extract of a letter from our friend Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated the 18th ult., giving a pleasing account of the impression produced by the appeal made in the last *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* to the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mr. Tappan writes as follows:—

"We printed a large edition of that number. Now see the effect produced. At the anniversary, which took place at Brooklyn this week, when about 1,000 members attended from various parts of the United States (some from the south) seven-eighths of the whole time (three days) was taken up in discussing the Slavery question. A report was *unanimously* adopted, declaring the sinfulness of slavery. Four years ago this Board would hardly express an opinion on the subject. The Board is very influential. It is true they rejected this year some resolutions offered by Mr. Phelps, who advocated them in an admirable speech, but they did it, they said, on prudential grounds. A majority concurred in the sentiments embodied in the rejected resolutions. This is a great advance, we think. If, by judicious publications for the year to come, we can further enlighten the minds of the community, we believe that the Board will take still higher ground. As the matter now stands they will not refuse fellowshipping slaveholders, who they think give credible evidence of piety. We wish to bring them up to the mark that slaveholding is *prima facie* evidence that a man is not a Christian, and that he should be dealt with accordingly. There was almost an unanimous denunciation of slavery on all sides in the Board. Reports of the speeches, &c., are published in nearly all the city papers. Such a discussion will do great good. We think, that when the American Board gets right, we shall have but little difficulty in persuading the people that slavery is altogether disgraceful to church and state."

Mr. Tappan adds to this gratifying account two items in both of which our readers will feel a lively interest.

"C. M. Clay, I understand, will start his paper again in Kentucky. He is not a man to give up the contest.

"On the 1st of October we expect there will be such a gathering of abolitionists at Boston as has never been seen in the New England states."

We perceive by the papers that great preparations were in progress for the meeting at Boston. It has by this time been held, and we trust it has been found to answer the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. We look for intelligence of its proceedings with much interest.

THE intelligence which reaches us respecting the island of Cuba is not without importance. The sugar crop for the present year has suffered a remarkable diminution—from 200,000 tons, the crop of last year, to 80,000 tons, and the probability is that the young canes have suffered much injury. We have accounts also of the failure of a large house in that island, and of the pecuniary embarrassment even of the government itself. What more particularly affects us, however, is the statement that from two to three thousand slaves are employed in the mines by English companies. So this notable country builds up with one hand what it is trying to pull down with the other. Shall the time never come when Englishmen shall universally wash their hands of this wickedness, and refuse to acquire wealth by unrighteousness?

We learn from an esteemed correspondent in Holland, that out of a number of about two hundred immigrants who left that country for Surinam in April last, fifty-six have already fallen victims to a tropical climate. Want of care and foresight are supposed to have aggravated this calamity. The situation of the sick relatives of the deceased is justly spoken of as pitiable. It is added, what countryman of ours will again try such an experiment? Our correspondent, however, hopes, that past calamities may not preclude eventual success, as he appears to entertain the opinion that active and uncorrupted Europeans would greatly benefit the colony and its slave population. For ourselves, we confess that we are utterly hopeless that any good, commensurate with the amount of evil produced, is likely to arise from the introduction of Dutch labourers to Surinam. Experience, not only in British Guiana, but in some of our West India islands, which are perhaps less unfavourable in their climate to the constitution than the coast of South America, prove how ill adapted are Europeans to endure labour in a tropical climate. We believe the issue to be almost certain death to a large portion of those who make the fearful experiment. The few who escape fatal disease are, we think, much more likely to fall into idle and vicious habits from the moral contamination inseparable from a community of slaveholders and their bondsmen, than to exercise a beneficial influence upon the mass by which they are surrounded. A dispassionate consideration of the whole subject, with all the light that can be thrown upon it by experience, will, we believe, fully support the unfavourable conclusion at which we have firmly arrived. When it is recollect that many lives have been already sacrificed as a con-

sequence of the immigration that has taken place, we sincerely hope that every Dutch philanthropist and patriot will hesitate before he gives his sanction to a renewal of experiments which may prove no less disastrous. We would advise such persons rather to use their most strenuous efforts to terminate a system which does not merely destroy a few labourers, physically unfit for the climate to which they were rashly exposed, but which has swept away in successive years, nearly, or quite, twenty thousand acclimated labourers by an excessive toil, and by those other evils which are incident to slavery.

OUR files of Mauritius papers have come to hand. The report of the Committee of Inquiry, and the Governor's minute in reply to it, of which we have already given some account, had given rise to long debates in the Council of Government, which adopted by large majorities all its recommendations, the principal of these being "a largely increased introduction of labour, and an extension of the term of engagements." On the transmission of the proceedings to the Governor he laid before the Council a second Minute, expressing his continued dissent, and entering at some length into the argument of the case. We are particularly gratified to find his Excellency saying in the conclusion of his minute, "I consider it most desirable that the whole of the evidence collected by the Committee, and now in manuscript before the Council, should be forwarded with the smallest possible delay, for the further and more ample satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government." We have already expressed our opinion to the same effect; and, inasmuch as the British public have a deep interest in this question, we cannot doubt but the Government will see it their duty to lay the whole of this evidence before Parliament.

WE direct attention to the following important article of intelligence from a correspondent in France. The step taken is of the highest promise, and lays the cause of abolition in the French colonies under deep obligation to M. Bissette.

"I have been delighted to learn since I came here that some recent and very important decisions of the Court of Cassation will liberate a considerable number of slaves. It appears that by certain articles of the Code Noir no slave mother could be separated by sale or otherwise from her children who had not arrived at the age of puberty. By this law the indivisibility of the mother and her young children was declared. It appears that a slave named Virginie had been emancipated by the will of her mistress in Guadeloupe, but that her two children had been detained in slavery by her heirs. An appeal was made against this in the name of the mother in the courts of the colony, which decided against her. From the colony the case was carried to the Royal Court at Bordeaux, and the decision of the Colonial Court affirmed. Not content with this decision, the friends of Virginie appealed to the Court of Cassation, and after a most solemn discussion the liberty of the children has been affirmed, and they with their mother have been declared free. A similar case from Martinique, that of Eliza Plata and her six young children, has been decided in favour of freedom. Another case, that of Maria Minette of Cayenne, has been similarly decided; her young child has been declared to be free. And a fourth case, that of Paterna of Senegal, has issued in the deliverance from slavery of her young child. Other cases, brought before the Court of Cassation, have been similarly decided, and the effect has been most important. I have before me extracts of letters from the French colonies which prove this. One from Guadeloupe speaks as follows. 'The affair of Virginie has created here an immense sensation. Already it has led to the emancipation of a number of persons hitherto held in slavery. It is now held sufficient that any slave, at the time of his mother's enfranchisement, had not reached the age of puberty, to secure his freedom.' Another extract adds, 'Every day new cases are brought before the courts, and the decisions are all favourable to liberty.' Similar letters from Martinique indicate the same results. One of them says the decision of the Court of Cassation is equal to a law of emancipation. It is by our intelligent, active, and persevering friend, M. Bissette, formerly editor of the *Revue des Colonies*, that this decision of the Court of Cassation has been obtained. M. Isambert informs me that the decision manumits every slave under the age of puberty in the French colonies whose mother obtained her freedom, either by the will of the owner, by purchase, or by any other means, and is important in every view that can be taken of it. M. O. Gatine, to whom the cause of the oppressed slaves in the French colonies owes a large debt of gratitude for his exertions on their behalf, was the advocate who successfully pleaded the cause of Virginie, and obtained the celebrated *arrêt* referred to."

WE have much pleasure in stating that Mr. Richardson, already known to our readers as having undertaken an anti-slavery mission to Morocco, has, on a similar errand, penetrated the Great Desert as far as Ghadames, the grand commercial depot of Northern and Central Africa. His principal object is to collect statistics in relation to the slave-trade. In the face of many dangers he has arrived safely at Ghadames. We are sure that all friends of humanity will watch with lively interest his further proceedings.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—A letter from Pernambuco states, that the steamer *Cacique*, was being fitted with paddles, instead of her screw, in order to proceed to the coast of Africa for slaves. It was expected that this novel experiment of slaving by steam would soon be imitated by other parties.—*Liverpool Times*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—BRAZIL.—Intelligence had been received at Pernambuco that the British war-steamer, *Vulture*, had captured two slave vessels off Cape Frio, with about 470 slaves on board.—*Morning Chron.*

THE WEST INDIA MEETING IN LONDON.

(From the *Jamaica Guardian*.)

How long will our island legislature stultify itself and rob the people, by putting money in the pockets of Mr. W. Burge? That gentleman is, we believe, a respectable lawyer and a clever man: but his cleverness has ever resulted in mischief—mischief not impartially intended, but impartially effective, on the interests of all classes in this country.

Nothing could have been more mischievous—nothing more detrimental to the interests of this island, than the late meeting in London, as conducted by Mr. Burge—excepting always the courageous and gentlemanly demeanour of certain leaders in the proceedings.

Who in Jamaica called on Mr. Burge for his Mar-all interference? Assuredly not the planters generally, more assuredly not the merchants generally, and most assuredly not the people generally. His mischievous interposition was impertinent, and it has proved disastrous.

What have the planters of Jamaica gained by Mr. Burge's meeting and resolutions? Suspicion and discredit in the minds of the sober people of England. What have the merchants of Jamaica gained? Further uncertainty and embarrassment in all their transactions. And what has the great mass of the people of Jamaica gained? Means wherewith to chew the mingled cud of ridicule and indignation.

In good sooth Mr. Burge would legislate for Jamaica in his murky Temple chambers. We know not any class in the island who will be consenting parties to such mode of legislation. The learned, able, and so forth "Island Agent" arranged in London a guarantee—ay, good people of Jamaica of every class—an actual guarantee, that the Island Parliament would, should, or must—for the difference in terms matters little—provide for the immediate importation of 5,000 Coolies. But the Island Parliament—strange rebellion against its own 1,000/- per annum!—demurred, and actually had the hardihood to say that 2,000 of the Coolies would be, in its humble opinion, quite enough, at least for an experiment. Now, this was really too bad! What, the House of Assembly presume to call in question the wisdom and well-paid authority of Mr. Burge—backed by these West Indian "gentlemen of England who sit at home at ease!" Monstrous! Such rebellion must be put down—so, call a meeting at Willis's Rooms, and ensure an Honourable Custos just fresh from the pastures of the isle of spring to give utterance to characteristic sayings, and shall not we, Burge and Co., affright the isle into propriety? To be sure—to be sure. You have done it, gentlemen. You have damned yourselves—the guilty. You have grievously dammified us in Jamaica, who were innocent. We want union, calm consideration, judicious action. You prevent these; you throw the evil influences of passion, of prejudice, of ill-advised zeal and ruffian violence into the scale, and England will know how to appreciate their weight.

It is a sad thing to contemplate—yet not unfrequently presented to us as food for contemplation—that very many well-meaning men individually, may be combined into a very evily-disposed body collectively. Thus does it appear to be with respect to many excellent lords and honourable gentlemen who lent their presence and influence to Mr. Burge's meeting, on his exhibition of Mr. Edward Thomson, at the aforesaid Willis's Rooms. This person, a Custos Rotulorum, and by courtesy an honourable, the owner, we are told in the reports, of three estates in Jamaica, with peculiar politeness announced to Mr. Scoble, whose character all men know—"If you approach me I'll beat your brains out!" What an invaluable logician hath Mr. Burge brought to his cause! Ablest of arguers is this Mr. Neddy Thomson. First, he proved from a tedious experience of some seven days, during which he was preparing for his voyage across the Atlantic, that Coolie labour was most beneficial, and Coolie immigration most indubitably desirable and eminently successful in Jamaica—and next, he proved that if his assertion was not proof, his clumsy fist would be found so.

At present we complain that Mr. Burge convened his meeting with narrow views, and conducted it unwisely. An impatient shrinking from a contest of argument—a flying before three assailants or hardy disputants—using personal violence and brutal threats—and in a closed room coming to resolves—these are things un-English, and vastly injurious. These proceedings forfeit the good will, as well as good opinion, of that portion of the British public which was previously disposed to view the position of West Indian affairs calmly, and with an eye to amelioration.

WEST INDIA IMMIGRATION.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

THE great and popular cry in those colonies for many years past has been "immigration:" an increase of the number of labourers has been looked upon as the only cure for the numerous inconveniences to which the transition from slave to free labour exposed the colonies. But there is too much reason to fear that, in the ardour with which this *desideratum* has been pursued, the West Indians have very much overlooked many means which lay immediately within their reach, by which the labour they possessed could be rendered not only more productive but more profitable. Our objections to immigration have been, that it is a method of employing capital with doubtful, remote, and problematical advantages, which might be employed with immediate and certain, and, we believe, more profitable results. It is true the Mauritius is often pointed to as an evidence of the success of immigration; but perhaps a more intimate knowledge of the exact facts, even in that island, would not exhibit so flattering a picture. It must be borne in mind, however, that its proximity to India, and its greater similarity of climate, offered advantages, as far as the expense was concerned, and safety against change of climate and diet, which the West Indies do not afford. With these greater advantages, it is estimated that nearly one hundred thousand Coolies have been imported into the Mauritius since 1834. And what has been the result? In 1835 the quantity of sugar imported from that island was 27,935 tons; and in 1844, 27,025 tons; while in 1843 it was even less. It is true that in the present year it is expected to reach 35,000 tons. But if we could see an account, placing on its debit side the enormous cost at which this immigration has been accomplished, the demoralisation

and infection with new diseases which have been communicated to the old labouring population, the increase of police establishments to suppress vagrancy, the rates for maintaining paupers and the sick; and placing on the same side a sum large enough to cover the contingent responsibility of sending the survivors back, at the end of five years, who may wish to return;—if we were to place these items on the one side of the account, the advantage of increased produce placed on the other side would require an enormous amount to be added to make a balance. There are many contingencies in the introduction of a new population which at first it is impossible to foresee. For example, by recent accounts from the Mauritius we find that the Government was advertising for ships to convey one hundred Chinese immigrants back to their own country; not that their five years' servitude had expired, but that they had become so incorrigible that the authorities could no longer manage them.

A serious doubt, however, as to the real advantages of immigration is rapidly gaining ground among the West Indians. In the Jamaica Assembly there was a strong party against the policy of loading the island with a further debt, and necessarily new taxes for such a purpose, and but a small portion of Lord Stanley's offer was accepted. And now we see by the *Guiana Times*, just received, where the system has been advocated more eagerly than elsewhere; that they begin to "fear the Coolies will not be worth their cost of introduction, to say nothing of their re-transportation." Immigration has now assumed a real and substantial form. It is no longer a mere speculation. It assumes the shape of a new debt to single colony of half a million sterling, and new taxes in proportion. Men begin seriously to weigh the advantages and disadvantages. They put the chances of success against the certainty of the expense, and the hazard of a further similar cost to send the immigrants back. They begin to think how much that same amount of capital would do, if applied to improvements, within their present means, the result of which would be certain.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Cape of Good Hope, June 29.

HER Majesty's sloop *Helena*, 16, Captain Sir Cornwallis Ricketts, Bart., and the *Mutine*, 12, Captain R. B. Crawford, anchored in Simon's-bay on the 14th of June. The *Helena* left Mozambique on the 14th, and the *Mutine* on the 17th of May.

Both ships have made captures and brought in slaves, to the great benefit of the colony. It would appear that the *Helena* captured an Arab vessel of about 40 tons, with 83 slaves, off Cape Daigado, early in April. This vessel was, however, destroyed, being altogether unadapted to encounter the Cape gales during the winter months.

Her Majesty's sloop *Sappho*, Captain the Hon. George Hope, had likewise captured and destroyed a small slaver about the same period.

The *Mutine's* cruise, although short, has been so eventful, that we think the leading facts worthy of notice; and we have to express our regret, that whilst vigorously prosecuting her duties, she had the misfortune to ground near the Quillemane river on the 26th of April last. This accident occurred in full pursuit of a large slaver, nor was the *Mutine* got off for the lapse of two hours, with the united exertions of every individual on board, all vying with each other for the preservation of their beautiful vessel; this strict discipline, combined with a hearty good will, was at length happily effected, not, however, without the loss of her guns, which were thrown overboard, with the exception of one chase 18-pounder.

On the slaver perceiving the accident which had befallen her adversary, her medley crew, composed of Brazilians of all shades, Portuguese, blacks, and Yankees, cheered most lustily, and renewed efforts were made for escape, and every possible stitch of sail packed on. Nothing daunted, the *Mulines* worked away; the water was started, and guns, shot, and many heavy articles speedily followed; having struck on a falling tide, no time was left for looking round; and, when at last the little brig was once more fairly launched into deep water, the main brace was spliced, (which ever insures Jack's warmest approbation,) and all sail was again ordered to be made in chase, instead of waiting to ascertain damages. Three hearty cheers burst forth spontaneously from the crew, and off she went a second time (at half-past 10 o'clock, A.M.) after her friend—now reduced to a mere speck on the horizon, having had a clear start of full 12 miles.

The wind varying from two knots to an eight knot breeze—out boats and in again was the order of the day. This, not to throw a chance away, was often repeated; and, here it may be observed, the want of quarter-boats was fully made manifest, the in-and-out system not only occasioning delay, but much inconvenience and considerable risk.

With every disadvantage, thanks to the recent improvements in English naval architecture, the slaver was fairly done up, and captured just before sunset, after a seven hours' chase. The health of Mr. Fincham, the constructor of the *Mutine*, was drunk with three times three, in compliment to his talent for having built so fast a craft. The slaver was found to be the Brazilian bark *Princessa Imperial*, of about 400 tons, equipped, provisioned, and watered for 1,000 slaves; she had, by an admission of her crew, already realized ample fortunes for her owners, having escaped from the *Mozambique* in the years 1842, 1843, and 1844, with upwards of 2,500 slaves, worth fully 200,000*l.*

It has been ascertained that the *Princessa* had heretofore sailed under the American flag, with whale boats on the quarters, and so fitted in all respects as to pass for a vessel engaged in a whaling expedition.

On taking possession of the slaver, the masts were found swinging to and fro, the wedges driven out, the laniards of the rigging let go, two stanchions chopped away, a beam sawn across during the chase; in fact, every measure resorted to to make her sail. She has since been sent for adjudication to Sierra Leone in charge of Lieutenant the Hon. T. A. Pakenham.

The *Mutine* had the good fortune to make a second prize on the 5th of May, whilst becalmed at the head of Boyanna Bay, where she was watering. A suspicious sail was descried from the masthead, having a light breeze in the offing. The boats were sent in pursuit, under Lieutenant Mends, Lieutenant the Hon. F. Curzon, and Mr. Furneaux. mate. A spirited and well-directed chase of some hours' duration took

place, which ended in the capture of a large Arab vessel, having upwards of 220 slaves on board. The Arab crew, twenty-five in number, were as savage-looking a set of gentry as one could desire to fall in with. They were well armed with Tower muskets, loaded to the muzzle, together with formidable spears and creeses of every denomination. They, however, seeing our jolly tars nothing loth for a scrimmage, deemed it most prudent to jump overboard and try their luck at swimming for the shore, at the moment we boarded; in this experiment several, including the captain, were drowned in the act of plunging, diving, and stabbing at the boats; nine Portuguese slave-dealers were found in the Arab, but neither colours nor papers of any description could be discovered. This prize, being found old and leaky, and unfit for taking the slaves to the Cape of Good Hope, was destroyed by Captain Crawford's orders.

It further appears, that from information received of a slaver (with 350 slaves) having put in for water in the neighbourhood of Boyanna Bay, the boats of the *Mutine* were again despatched on the 6th of May, in charge of Lieutenant Mends and Mr. Furneaux, Admiralty mate. These officers soon fell in with the object of their search, nor did the slaver perceive the proximity of the boats until within a cable's length distance and actually fired into; she, however, promptly hauled to the wind and made off, sailing away and sweeping in good style. This vessel was steered and most ably conducted by a Senor Quemlae, a man of reputed name and resources, said to have been an officer in the Spanish navy, and to have had repeated hairbreadth escapes from the cruisers on the western coast, as also off Cuba. Upon this occasion the Spaniard led the boats fully thirty-five miles off the land, and succeeded in getting clear about midnight, when the breeze increasing, left the boats without a chance. During this most exciting chase, it is painful to relate that slaves were actually thrown into the sea by these fiends. This horrible alternative was, no doubt, resorted to for the purpose of impeding the boats. One poor creature passed under the oars of the pinnace, and many others are supposed to have perished. Mr. Renaud, the master of the *Mutine*, fortunately coming up at the time in one of her boats, picked up seven negroes in the last stage of exhaustion. However, a little spirits, judiciously administered by that officer, speedily relieved them.—*Times*.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA—THE FIRST OF AUGUST.—At the public meetings held on this occasion many resolutions were adopted, expressing the sentiments of the emancipated on topics of public interest. We select the following, on the important subject of immigration:—

AT FULLERS' FIELD.

"That in celebrating the seventh anniversary of freedom, this meeting rejoices in being able to record, that on all, or nearly all, the estates in this parish a much larger quantity of sugar than usual has been made this year, and that there is the prospect of a much larger crop next year; and feels confident that, as there was more than a sufficient number of hands to take off the crops, there will be quite enough to take off that of the coming year; thus proving the fallacy of the objections brought against freedom. And this meeting would take the present opportunity to declare its full persuasion that the great evil in Jamaica is not a want of *men*, but of *money*: that it is not the unwillingness of the people to work, but the inability of employers to pay; for, with but few exceptions, the labourers have to wait weeks, and in some instances months, and even years, for the wages after they have become due; while in some cases they never get paid at all. This meeting, however, rejoices in the blessings we enjoy as freemen and Christians."

AT GURNEY'S MOUNT.

"That this meeting declares its firm confidence that there is a sufficient number of labourers in this parish for all the requirements of the planters—that during the last year many have often been without employment, and unable to obtain it—that it has reason to believe that a combination was formed last August among the planters to reduce the rate of wages by limiting the number of workmen, and by other means; and lastly, that this meeting, hearing that a rise has taken place in the price of sugar—desirous that an increase may take place in the quantity of the next crop, and wishful to obtain constant and continual employment, express its hope that their employers will give them fair wages for the fair day's work they engage to give.

"That the thanks of this meeting are due to their kind friends in England, especially to those who have petitioned Parliament to prevent the fulfilment of the shameful Hill Coolie Immigration scheme, and to the excellent Anti-Slavery Society, to whose devoted and noble efforts this island has been so often indebted."

MR. SMITH AND THE GENTLEMEN ATTORNEYS.—It appears that Mr. Smith, one of the projectors of the Kingston and Spanish Town Railway, has addressed a circular to the proprietors of estates, offering them his services, on his arrival in this island, in ascertaining, with the assistance of an experienced agriculturist, the "actual condition and present mode of cultivating the estates," and to "endeavour to apply to the necessities of tropical agriculture the results of practical experience in the mother country." Mr. Smith declares that he is "deeply impressed with the conviction that the falling off in the aggregate production of the island staples may be traced to many concurring causes besides that of the abolition of slavery." He adds that "the want of the necessary capital on the part of the resident proprietors—the want of confidence on the part of absentees, owing to deficient crops—the numerous cases in which estates are subject to legal proceedings—and, above all, the inexperience of the bulk of the community as to the most economical mode of applying free labour, added to the comparatively small progress which has been hitherto made in agricultural science, have one and all so overlaid and entangled the question of comparative cost between the two systems, that the solution of this most important and interesting problem by a deliberate, and careful, and practical analysis of every branch of the subject has yet to be attempted."—*Baptist Herald*.

DOCTORS AGAIN!—A young man residing in the eastern part of the parish of St. James, accidentally cut across the back of his hand; he went to a doctor, but could not obtain the least assistance; because, it appears, he was not his regular medical attendant, although his was a case of emergency.—*Baptist Herald*.

CROPS.—They are large in all the parishes, if not even larger than they have been since freedom. In St. Thomas in the East it is supposed 6000 hhd. will be produced.—*Ibid.*

EMANCIPADOES continue to arrive from Cuba, though in small numbers. It is said that most of them are agricultural labourers.—*Ibid.*

MISMANAGEMENT OF ESTATES.—An estate named — was quite neglected, because the labourers on and near it determined not to work for its overseer, from whom they alleged they could get neither money nor proper treatment—they preferred walking a distance of six miles every day to obtain work. Another overseer has lately taken charge, and immediately one hundred hands were seen working in the cane-pieces—all of which, in a few weeks, were entirely cleaned.—*Ibid.*

EXPORTATION OF REFINED SUGAR.—Although by the alteration of the sugar duties refined sugars can now be introduced at a small increase of duty, and although this is a great privilege, and one that has again and again been demanded by the West India proprietors, no one has as yet thought proper to avail himself of its advantages. It is stated that no arrangements have been made on a single estate to export sugar to Great Britain in a refined state.—*Ibid.*

ANTIGUA.—ENGLISH EMIGRANTS.—We regret to learn, from a passenger by the last steamer from Antigua, that the experiment of importing labourers from England is not likely to succeed, nine of the first lot (which consisted of about eighteen or twenty persons) having died of fever within a fortnight after their arrival, and three of the second lot, which consisted of about thirty persons, having also fallen a sacrifice to the climate—the survivors are all ailing more or less, under the acclimating process.—*Grenada Gazette*.

TRINIDAD.—AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—The Senator has arrived here with 184 immigrants from Sierra Leone, and six delegates. She was thirty days out. We regret to learn that twenty-two deaths occurred from dysentery during the voyage. The total number put on board at Sierra Leone was 222.—*Trinidad Standard*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—THE AUXILIARY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in this colony held its annual meeting on the 1st of August. The following were among the resolutions passed on this occasion:—

"That this meeting cannot too strongly deprecate the policy under which the colonial minister has been induced to give his consent to the immigration half-million loan, after having himself pronounced the principle (on which the loan has been finally allowed) unjust: the operation of which, if uninterrupted in the providence of God, must effect the injury, and accelerate the ruin of this important province.

"That this meeting, while regretting the principles on which the Hill Coolies are sought to be introduced into this country, deprecates the measure of reported official violence, by which those have been made to feel themselves in error, who, in leaving the plantations on which they were first located in the Essequibo, acted as freemen. And this meeting would sympathise with those already introduced, in their extraction from their own country in manifest ignorance of the circumstances to which they were to be introduced.

"That this meeting would beseech those noble-minded men, whose sterling principle will not suffer them to turn aside to crooked policy, nor to abandon those righteous principles by which they effected our liberties, still to persevere—yielding nothing to the frowns of those in power—nothing daunted by the faithlessness of their former coadjutors—undismayed by the apparent success and vicious triumphs of those who countenance the oppression of their species."—*Congregational Record*.

THE COOLIES.—The location of the first batch of newly-arrived Hill Coolies, which came by the *Lord Hungerford*, at such a distance from town as the Essequibo coast, has placed them almost beyond the reach of general notice. This might have originated in policy or in humanity, on the part of the authorities who directed their first distribution. Rumours of an unsatisfactory kind have more than once reached our ears concerning them, of which we have taken no notice for want of means of establishing their truth or falsehood. It is evident enough, however, that generally they are woefully disappointed in those expectations by which they were induced to forsake their kindred and country to better their circumstances in this distant land.—*Ibid.*

Foreign Intelligence.

TEXAS.—SLAVERY.—The following resolutions, introduced by Governor Runnels, were adopted by the Convention on the 29th ult.:—

"Resolved, That the committee on the general provisions of the constitution be instructed to inquire into the expediency and propriety of incorporating in the constitution the following provisions:—

"Slaves.—1. The Legislature shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, full equivalent for the slaves so emancipated. They have no power to prevent immigrants to this state from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age and description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this state; provided that such person or slave be the *bond fide* property of such immigrants; and provided also, that laws may be passed to prohibit the introduction into this state of slaves who have committed high crimes in other states or territories. They shall have full power to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary food and clothing, to abstain from all cruelties to them, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the requisition of such

laws, to provide, by law, for the sale of such slave or slaves, for the benefit of the owner or owners.

"2. In the prosecution of slaves for crimes of a higher grade than *petit larceny*, the Legislature shall have no higher power to deprive them of an impartial trial by *petit jury*.

"3. Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave."—*Houghton Telegraph*.

CUBA.—COPPER MINES.—The failure of a considerable mercantile house, for £150,000, at St. Jago de Cuba, has left the English mining speculators of that place ~~minus~~ £25,000. The assets of the house, it is believed, will not realize more than 25 per cent., and the property be further diminished by passing through a Spanish court of law. Between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of British shipping were loading and waiting for copper ore. The mines at this place are chiefly worked by English capital, and directed by Englishmen. About 5,000 slaves are employed night and day in the deleterious atmosphere of these mines; their masters are paid twelve dollars per month for their hire, beside which, they are fed by the employer, their original cost being from 300 to 400 dollars. It is to be regretted, that at the very moment the British Government is sacrificing enormous interests to discourage and suppress slavery, a perverse selfishness should induce Englishmen to counteract its humane intentions.—*Times*.

EMBARRASSMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—We have received letters which inform us that the Intendant of the Island of Cuba has been obliged to suspend the payment of the bills of the Government which fall due this month, in consequence of the considerable diminution which has taken place in the receipts of the Custom-house, and which were the chief income of the treasury of that island. If such be the case, it is a serious annoyance, as well for the Government as for the Bank of San Fernando, to which is mortgaged the surplus income of that island for the payment of the interest of the debt.—*El Globo in the Times*.

MARTINIQUE.—ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—On the 30th of August, five decent and intelligent looking men presented themselves at the Office of the Chief Inspector of Police to report themselves as fugitive slaves, escaped from Martinique. It appears from their account of themselves, they left the land of Martinique on Monday night, in a very small canoe, and after a most perilous voyage succeeded in reaching Gros-islet at about 3 o'clock P.M. on Tuesday. We hear these men came from the windward part of the island of Martinique. They state themselves to have been subject to most barbarous treatment, and appear to be quite ignorant of the existence of any law in the colony from which they come, that could have afforded them any protection against the unmitigated tyranny, exercised over them by the manager, from whose control they were at last driven to escape, by risking their lives to seek an asylum under the British flag.—*St. Lucia Independent Press*.

ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—During the week we have had further arrivals of labourers to augment our population. One of these consists of a party of eight, five men, two women, and a child, slaves of Martinique, who successfully traversed the channel in a canoe. These people arrived on Monday morning, having left Martinique the previous evening. On Tuesday, one of the French *Guarda Costas* appeared off the mouth of our harbour, but did not come in; after communicating with some fishing boats, she made sail, and apparently returned to Martinique. We presume she was in pursuit of the fugitives, who had safely landed on the preceding day.—*St. Lucia Palladium*.

ATROCIOS CRUELTY TO A SLAVE.—THE MACKAU LAW.—The following letter is given in the *St. Lucia Palladium*:—

"Martinique, August 17, 1845.

"The Mackau Law, as it is called, forms at present the absorbing topic of conversation. It is dreaded by some, and wished for by others. For my part, I do not think it will prove satisfactory to either party, it being more fraught with illusion than calculated to effect any really good object. Men are not likely to be improved in morals and religion by the assistance of the lash. I foresee the troubles which the application of 'this ameliorative' law must revive, and the conflict which will be produced by the declaratory ordinances to be passed by our colonial councils by direction of the ministry. It was with reason that M. Couvellat de Cussac, in the course of his observations on the project of law relative to slavery in the French colonies said, 'the Mackau Law could have only the effect of making worse the situation of the slaves, by the irritation it would cause on the feelings of the masters.' Nor has the consequent ill treatment of the negroes taken long to show itself, as the following particulars prove.

"A planter named Iahan, of Camp Flories, about two leagues from St. Pierre, has just committed a crime worthy of none above the savage Anthropophagi, on the person of a slave lad, scarcely 12 years old, named Leandre, *alias* Jean Baptist. This unfortunate boy was the son of an African woman, whose language is more the peculiar patois of the plantation negroes than our intelligible French, and who is in a state of pregnancy. For some time the young Leandre had been receiving, by way of aliment, frequent castigations, more or less rigorous, until the term to his sufferings, which was reserved to his heartless master, was produced, and his last sigh of anguish was given on the 7th of July, 1845, he being literally scourged to death! Previous to this melancholy termination of his existence, and while subjected to a series of the most cruel tortures, his inhuman master cut off the poor boy's left ear, and, what is still more horrid, had it minced up with the excrements of pigs and dogs and offered in the shape of food to the tortured Leandre, who was forced to eat it; at the same time receiving on the head a severe contusion, to which his death has been ascribed by those medical men who examined the corpse. After having thus performed the office of executioner upon his young slave, Iahan, on the 8th, attended the corpse to the burial-place, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. But the mother had been witness to the tortures inflicted on her child—had seen him murdered—and had been several times tied down to the piquets and flogged for daring to weep over the sufferings of her son. This woman, in a state of desperation, made her way to the town of St. Pierre, crying about the streets, 'My master has killed my child!' This occasioned her to be called up before

the Procureur du Roi, and interrogated. Without delay the officers of justice repaired to the estate, where they found the various instruments of torture which Iahan was in the habit of employing upon his slaves.

"The body of Leandre was afterwards disinterred, in presence of the authorities, and three medical men of the public hospital, who at once saw that the left ear had been cut off, the right one remaining perfect.

"Legal proceedings have been commenced in the matter, and numerous witnesses heard; but Iahan has taken to flight."

To this letter the *St. Lucia Palladium* adds—"Since the appearance of the above article in the columns of our contemporary last week, a report has been prevalent here, to which we attach credit, that the miscreant referred to, has sought refuge in this island. We shall now see how far the French government of Martinique are disposed to act with even-handed justice; it is not very long since a man of colour, accused of murdering a slave woman, was claimed by the government of Martinique, and the necessary formalities having been complied with, the accused was delivered up to stand his trial. We shall now see whether they are equally zealous in their pursuit of a white planter, charged with a similar crime."

We find also, that a French steamer, the *Tonnere*, had subsequently touched at Castries, with despatches for the governor, the whole *ostensible* object of her visit being to claim the boat in which the eight refugees had effected their escape.

SURINAM.—ESCAPES OF SLAVES TO BERBICE.—Early in April last, four labourers (slaves) escaped from plantation Paradise, Nekerie, in an open boat, at midnight, and arrived at Eliza and Mary, Courtenay, the following morning at day-break. The same day the proprietor of Paradise, W. Cruickshanks, Esq., landed at Eliza and Mary, in pursuit of the fugitives, and failing to capture them ere their arrival on British ground, took away the boat from the beach on which it had been drawn up. On the 15th June, four more from the same estate in Nekerie, arrived at Mary's Hope in a small corial.—*Berbice Gazette*.

BRAZIL.—Intelligence from Rio de Janeiro, dated July 11th, has reached Liverpool, which states that the treaty between England and that country was still under discussion, and that all difficulties towards an amicable arrangement were reduced to a mere trifle. The same news informs us, that on the 10th July a Brazilian war steamer brought into that port a slaver, with 300 blacks—a prize to her.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Miscellanea.

UNITED STATES FRIGATE, THE "MISSOURI."—The wreck and cargo of the *Missouri* are in the hands of the divers. Day after day they are bringing up doubtless much that a British sailor will easily divine by the analogy of civilized navigation and warfare. But what does he imagine the divers are bringing up in great quantities day by day, and carrying off in cartloads to their store? Slave shackles of every strength and size, for men and women, old and young. A correspondent of undoubted authority has sent us three specimens, a family group, for father, mother, and child. They are such as are used in the slave trade, and are own brothers, as we can swear, to those found on board vessels engaged in the traffic. Were the wreck to be judged by these alone the divers might conclude the *Missouri* to be a gigantic slaver, designed to meet with the arguments of Lynch law the intricacies of the right of search. But, of course, the *Missouri* was not a slaver. So what mean these countless suits of iron?—*Times*.

SLAVES CAPTURED.—A fast sailing slaver, having no name nor national colours, but supposed to be a Genoese built brig, was captured off Lagos on the 26th May last, by three boats belonging to her Majesty's sloop *Pantaloan*, under the command of Lieut. Provost. This slaver was descried on the 25th ultimo, about 100 miles south west off Lagos—chase was given immediately; but her capture could not be effected on that day. On the following morning, both vessels were within a few miles of each other. There being a calm, the pinnace and two whalers were immediately manned and sent after her: it was soon perceived, however, that every preparation was being made by the enemy for an engagement. On the boats' being within gun shot, a heavy fire was opened on them: but this only had the effect of rousing our men, and by the wisdom and decision of Lieut. Provost, she was effectually captured, after a hard contested action which lasted about an hour. It is our painful duty, however, to notice that, in this affair, we had two men killed and five wounded; whilst the loss on the part of the enemy is six killed and fourteen wounded. Her crew was composed of 46 Spaniards and Portuguese, and she had an unusual quantity of ammunition and slave utensils on board. This prize was brought in port on June 29th last, and will be condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court.—*Sierra Leone Gazette*.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The Brazilian schooner, *Marequinha*, arrived here on Wednesday, July 16th, captured off Lagos, 29th June, by commander Dunlop, of H.M.S. *Star*, for being equipped for the slave trade. We understand this vessel was formerly a Philadelphia oyster boat and called the *Runner*; she was built on the Chesapeake.—*Sierra Leone Watchman*.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER—On Wednesday, 16th July, the notorious slave polacca *Barbolita* (or Butterfly) was condemned by his honour, John Carr, Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court, to be cut up and sold in two halves. It will be in the recollection of our readers, this is the vessel captured by the boats of H.M. sloop *Pantaloan*, on the 23rd May, off Lagos, after an obstinate resistance, when two of the *Pantaloan*'s men were killed, and seven wounded; and seven of the slaver's men were killed, and eight wounded.—*Ibid.*

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FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY. DISCUSSION IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

May 29, 1845.

M. JOLLIVET, delegate from Martinique, opened the discussion by speaking against the *projet de loi*. In a long and tiresome speech, delivered in the midst of many interruptions and marks of disapprobation, he employed the usual commonplaces, and nothing more.

The MINISTER OF MARINE replied. M. Jollivet had represented the *projet de loi* as imposed by a foreign government. But this allegation could not be seriously maintained, since the idea of the projected ameliorations had been entertained by the Government for a considerable number of years. The Chamber would perceive that, in the plan under consideration, the only essential element was the necessity of terminating in the colonies a mischievous and precarious state of things, compromising the interests of all parties. What was intended for the welfare of the slaves was not less necessary to the interest of the planters, whose cause it was not requisite there to defend. He therefore most earnestly repelled the imputation that the Government had not acted in a free and independent manner.

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—He would not speak of the general motives for the abolition of slavery, which had often been stated in the Chamber, and always with its approbation. Nor would he follow M. Jollivet in what he had said of the Colonial Councils, whose resistance would be renewed with every effort to ameliorate the condition of the slave. He thought it necessary that the Minister of Marine should say how he understood their rights. This would put an end to a very mischievous report, namely, that the resistance of the Colonial Councils was favoured by the Government; that it had been said to them, Here we are obliged to make concessions; but oppose them, and we shall not insist on them. What tended to show that this was not without foundation was, that notwithstanding the urgency of the magistrates, the Minister of Marine had never consented to attach a penal sanction to the ordinance for the inspection and protection of slaves. He thought the time for emancipation was come. The English islands were but a few leagues from theirs: would it not be easy to transport arms in the night? But there was no war now. In the time of peace, however, we should prepare for war. The present state of things was extremely precarious. Many persons feared that, in case of emancipation, labour would cease; but now there was no security against an insurrection of the slaves. Who would lay out money in such a state of things? All endeavours to direct capital towards the West Indies had completely failed. The colonists were overwhelmed with debt; and others who had money thought it more prudent to keep it at home. It was so very necessary to do something for the colonies, that he should support the *projet de loi* although he thought it a bad one. Many objections had been raised against emancipation. First, the resistance of the colonists. But this was because most of them were so deeply in debt, and now they could laugh at their creditors. Nothing could be worse for them than a settlement of any kind. They were only seeking to gain time. It was said that the negroes were not prepared for freedom, that they must be instructed. Very good in theory; but who was to do it? The clergy did not. The master would not. The funds allowed by the State were misapplied. Instead of building chapels, they had only repaired the cathedral at Point à Pitre; and in the schools which had been opened it had been forbidden to receive slaves. From the beginning, the ministry of marine, instead of seeing in emancipation a great work to be done, had regarded it only as an embarrassing question to be got rid of. And after various expedients, they brought forward this *projet de loi*, which was worth nothing. There were many objections to it. Its execution presented great difficulties. All codes regulated the relations of persons one to another, and the rights of persons to things: but this law would create a new kind of being, one who had not yet become a person, although he had ceased to be a thing. Again, by this law the slave could make a will. He could not write; and who could be his witnesses, if his fellow-slaves might not? Suppose a slave put money into the hand of his master. He took security on the property on which he was a slave, that is on himself, so that he might be obliged to sell himself in order to pay himself. (Laughter.) Or upon a note of hand, could a slave arrest his master? With the single exception of the right of purchasing his freedom, the *projet de loi* conferred nothing on the slave which he did not possess by former ordinances, which have not been executed. As to the right of redemption, he had calculated how long, under the most favourable circumstances, it would take a slave to purchase himself. It would require fifty years. (Hear.) The speaker then gave his calculation in detail. He was reminded that the negroes had money already. Some of them had so, and this was one of the reasons why he should vote for the *projet de loi*. But for the future the saving of money would be impossible.

M. DE CASTELLANE.—Why? There is no alteration.

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—At present the kindness of rich proprietors allowed a multitude of little advantages to the slaves, especially when it cost them nothing. Besides which, it was the interest of the proprietors that the slaves should acquire property, that they might be better satisfied with their situation. But, by this *projet*, the state of things would be changed, and it would become the interest of the master that the slave should have no property, because he would employ it to buy his freedom. Exasperation, however, must be avoided, and perhaps the masters might not dare to withhold from the slaves *all* means of acquiring property: they might fear negro insurrections, and, above all, poison. The last was a subject of frightful apprehension in the West Indies; so much so that it might be said that the colonial regime was, the whip, restrained by poison. But if a master would not dare to hinder a slave from acquiring property, he would encourage him to spend it. Now he did what he could to prevent a slave from getting drunk; but hereafter he would establish rum-shops in the neighbourhood, where all the earnings of the week would be spent on the Sunday. Suppose, however, that the negro defies all these difficulties, and acquires property, he is not much the better, since conditions are imposed upon him which he cannot fulfil. He must prove that he has come honestly by it. This might be done with movable property, but how was it to be done with money? A commission would be appointed to regulate the value of slaves. How was the negro to get at the commission? Would they go from parish to parish once or twice a year, or was the negro to go to them? Nothing could be easier than for the master to hinder him. Besides, they might set such a price on a negro that he could not pay it. He had heard of from 30,000 to 40,000 francs being demanded for a negro who earned 50 francs a year. The minister, indeed, undertook to fix a maximum; but the maximum would thenceforth become the minimum. Another difficulty was, that slaves unacquainted with legal proceedings would not know how to obtain their liberation in a valid manner. At last the slave would have overcome all these difficulties. He would suppose him to have begun at twenty-five years of age. It had taken him fifty years to acquire his property. To get through minor difficulties would have taken him five years. He had come to buy himself. This venerable octogenarian would be obliged to contract a new engagement for five years, for fear his youthful follies should disturb the colony. (Laughter.) Carpenters and other tradesmen might find engagements; but what was the mere labourer to do? His late master would not have him. The other proprietors would not have him. The Government had so clearly seen this, that, in the second *projet de loi*, they had set apart funds for forming establishments to employ the redeemed slaves. This might be done, if, as he expected, they should be few; but if they should be many!—He had said enough to show that the law was ill-conceived: why then did he vote for it? Because he thought the worst scheme of emancipation with the concurrence of the colonists better than the best without it. Hitherto the colonists had been deceived by the indecision of the Government, and by reports from Paris: he hoped they would now see that something would be done. His second reason was, because there were 1,200 negroes belonging to the Government who would be made free, and perhaps a thousand who had money enough to purchase themselves. He would not retard their liberation. (Hear.)

May 31.

M. LEVAVASSEUR spoke against the *projet de loi*. If the point under discussion was the defence of slavery, he would at all risks go over to the camp of liberty. But they were discussing a mixed state, which he thought mischievous while a system of free labour was not organised. Hitherto all had been patriarchal kindness; now there would be nothing but constables and assize courts.

M. DE TOCQUEVILLE.—The *projet* had hitherto been very unfortunate. It had been attacked by some as too powerful, by others as having no power at all. He thought both were mistaken. The law was not a scheme of emancipation. The rights given by it were illusory; in this view he entirely agreed with M. Ternaux Compans. Nevertheless he thought that, in respect of emancipation, it was eminently useful, or rather necessary. It did not emancipate, but it did that without which emancipation could not take place; it took the great question of the abolition of slavery into the hands of the Government. This was the chief effect of the law, and he hoped it would pass without amendment, that it might be sure of being added to their codes this year. A previous speaker had cited what he had formerly written, and what he still maintained; that, while the two races were face to face without any one to separate them, there was but one issue, of which the terms were servitude or extinction. (Hear.) It was for this reason that he thought it a necessary preliminary of emancipation to place the Government in a position of supremacy. With the preceding speaker, he wished that this change should take place with the concurrence of

the colonists; but experience led him to despair of it. Everything had been done to obtain their concurrence, but all had been met with stubborn opposition. It would still be so; and the Chamber ought to know that the colonists denied to the entire French Government the right of taking this great work into its hands. When yesterday an honourable delegate from the colonies said that they appealed to the legislative power of France, he said what was contrary to fact, and even to the very words recently adopted by the Colonial Council of Martinique, no longer ago than October last:—"It is to the Colonial Councils, composed of men having that local knowledge which alone qualifies men to conduct affairs, that the work of modification ought entirely to be referred. It would be a political wrong and a denial of justice to see a change effected by the mere will of the Government, or by the moral incompetence of the Chambers. We recognise in this matter no competence but that of the Colonial Councils." Did he mean to bring an accusation against the Colonial Councils? No. They acted very naturally. They followed all the examples in history. The most deplorable effect of inequality of conditions, when it had lasted a long while, was to persuade the master himself that he might continue a tyrant and yet remain an honest man. Was this peculiar to their colonies? No. He had seen the same result in the United States. But the supremacy of the law must be established, and this was the precise effect of the *projet* now before them. One word on the question of humanity. It had been often said that slavery was very much mitigated. He asked how slavery could be mitigated, since the slave was but a kind of domestic animal. If it was true, as was constantly repeated, that the whites in the colonies were every day getting poorer and poorer, how could the slaves be more happy? Besides, it was a truth as ancient as the world, that every government became more severe the more it was contested: how then could slavery become more mild? If slavery had become more mild in some points, it had become more rigorous in others. But, if slavery be more severe, enfranchisements are more numerous. The number of enfranchisements, however, diminishes. In 1840, there were 1,900; in 1844, 1,400. The increase or decrease of numbers showed more distinctly than all other things the state of a people. Now, there were found among the blacks, 7,000 births annually, and 8,000 deaths. Among the slaves in the United States, population increased rapidly; and in Saint Domingo it had nearly doubled in thirty years. He would advert to political considerations. The dangers of emancipation had been spoken of: he wished some one would describe the dangers, or rather the impossibilities, of the *statu quo*. What did their colonies say of themselves? That production diminished, industry was extinct, credit disappeared, and the bonds of society were relaxed. A speaker, yesterday, had said that the colonial system was tyranny restrained by poison. This was true. At this moment the colonies are in a state of social dissolution. Why? Many reasons have been assigned, but this comprehends them all; the colonies have before them no fixed prospect. Both the master and the slave perceive on the horizon, and that a near one, an approaching revolution. Imagine what a similar expectation would produce in France. Just such was the state of the colonies, and while it continued such nothing else could be expected. Such a state was not only bad in itself, it could last but a few years. It would terminate with the first war. It had been said that the effect of war would be to deliver up the colonies to England; but he did not think so. To defend their colonies against the English, they would be obliged to effect the immediate and abrupt abolition of slavery. Could such a *statu quo* be accepted? He thought not. He was profoundly convinced that, for the sake of the whites themselves, emancipation must be proceeded with. But could it be usefully done? He thought it could, although he should not then attempt to prove it. He knew that what had happened in the English colonies was made an objection. If he wished to cite an example of great events being distorted by private interests, he would take the emancipation of the English colonies. He had heard it said yesterday that the English colonies were ruined and expiring—assertions which might be made, but which could not be sustained. It was clear, from the speeches of the first men in Parliament, that if British emancipation has not fully realized the hopes of abolitionists, it has exceeded the reasonable expectations of statesmen. The result was this. That had been effected in the English colonies which had never before been seen in the world. A million of men had been suddenly elevated from slavery to freedom without shedding one drop of blood. (Hear.) Not only had there been no riot, no civil war; there had not been a single murder. This was not all. These men who had been represented five or six years ago as a species intermediate between the man and the monkey, did they fly into the woods, as had been predicted? By no means. Among these unfortunates there had been made a movement towards civilization greater than any which had been effected among any enlightened people in the world. (Hear.) The mother country had as yet lost nothing, for England exported to these ruined colonies just the same quantity of merchandize as in 1831.

M. DE CASTELLANE.—The articles are different.

M. DE TOCQUEVILLE.—It was true there had been a decrease in certain kinds of colonial produce, but not to the extent stated. Some large proprietors had suffered in their fortunes severely, and property had become much more equally diffused than formerly; but nobody had been ruined. The production of sugar had diminished one-third; but this effect, instead of increasing, had been lessened every year. But which were the colonies that had most seriously felt this diminution of a single product? The large and populous ones, which bore no analogy to those of France. There were colo-

nies which had suffered nothing, and had even gained, in this respect. These were the smaller English colonies, strictly analogous to those which they wished to release from slavery. Some of them were till lately French, and still contain a French population. Nothing need hinder them from imitating English emancipation, without imitating its faults. It should even urge them onward; for the state of the English colonies was better than that of the French. On the moral question one word. In his eyes the question of abolition was for France, not merely one of interest, but one of honour. Emancipation was the product of a French idea. (Hear.) It was they who, by destroying throughout the world the principle of castes and classes, and diffusing universally the notion of the equality of men before the law, were the true authors of the abolition of slavery. It was they who had created the sentiment which the religious philanthropy of England had so nobly and so happily realized. (Hear.)

Rear-Admiral LE RAY praised the speech of M. Jollivet, and protested against the continuance of slavery. The question of emancipation had no adversaries: it remained only to fix the best moment and the best mode for enfranchising the slaves. He agreed with the Duke de Broglie, that slavery ought to be abolished as soon as it could be found compatible with the essential conditions of social order. The *projet de loi*, however, appeared to him to compromise these conditions. The colonies were not in want of laws and ordinances. What they wanted above all things was a charter, consented to by themselves, which should place them for a long while in security from the fluctuations which disturbed everything in the mother country. To say that a system more than two hundred years old should fall before laws annually voted, and ordinances made according to different theories successively in vogue, would be to devote their possessions beyond the sea to all the changeableness of the political systems which struggle in France. The colonies might be overthrown by the operation of these systems. Indeed, when they looked at the example of England, how could the King's Government, so wise hitherto, enter upon so perilous a career? They had already advanced far beyond the first *projet de loi* presented last year by the Minister of Marine to the Chamber of Peers. This new *projet* proved to those who, like himself, had been in the colonies, how much of the information was wanting in France which was necessary to frame so important a law. At this moment the Commission of the Chamber would have amended the *projet*, but they dare not, for fear of an adjournment. Already they have obtained a pledge of the emancipation of the Government slaves, and the Minister of Marine has not been afraid to promise it in five years. This is an important circumstance. It announces to the colonists that the Government have made up their minds to effect the great measure of emancipation in five years. Was not this like the orders in Council of November, 1831, which precipitated the English colonies into the abyss in which they have been swallowed up?

M. AGENOR DE GASPARIN said the debate must not be suffered to sink. Much had been said about commerce, navigation, and colonial produce; but there were other things in the law now submitted to them. (Hear.) He had understood M. Levasseur and Admiral le Ray to say that all were agreed, and that the whole Chamber was for the abolition of slavery. He had never heard a speech against emancipation which did not begin with a profession of faith in its favour. (Hear.) This was an illusion; they were not all agreed. He had seldom known persons who were really agreed on a principle differ much about details. It was evident that they differed, from the modes in which the question was put. They had just heard it stated, for example, that colonial produce and the export of sugar would be lessened, and this was to settle the question. He attached much importance to this view; but, if it were so, this would not, in his judgment, determine the question of principle. (Hear.) This was not the great aspect of the discussion. To restore freedom to those from whom it ought never to have been taken away, this was the essential matter. The question then presented itself under different aspects, according to which it would resolve itself differently; and yet they were all agreed! He could not concur in this untruth. Admiral le Ray had insisted that the condition of the slaves was as happy as that of French peasants.

A MEMBER.—It is more happy.

M. DE GASPARIN protested against this representation. He waited for the time when a free workman would request to be made a slave. Every free workman knew very well the difference between his own misfortune and a slave's happiness. It was with personal as with political freedom. When tyranny established itself at Rome there was resistance for a considerable time; but at length resistance died away, because degradation was complete. (Hear.) Such was the happiness of slavery. It was the most detestable of its fruits, the last degree of moral debasement to which a human being could be reduced. (Hear.) But it could be proved that even this melancholy happiness did not exist. Many facts demonstrated it. These happy creatures were sold in the market—they were making their escape on all sides. The island garrisons were doubled, and it was enacted by law that they should not possess boats, lest they should run away from the happiness so loudly vaunted. (Hear.) Their opponents said, "Take care of the whites; you have plenty of wretches around you without going to the West Indies." But who were they that took care of the whites? The same persons that took care of the blacks. Christian benevolence did not limit itself to a single region. The more it was exercised the more ardent it became. He should pity their own peasants, if there should be no longer any sympathy for the miseries which existed on the other

side of the Atlantic. (Hear.) There was a difference of opinion as to the honour of France. According to some, the honour of France consisted in repelling the Machiavellian intrigues of England—that was, in magnanimously prolonging a great crime, in having for accomplices the United States, Cuba, and Brazil! He thought otherwise. The honour of his country was to be just, to be generous, and to set a good example. If England had done a just action from interested motives, France should not renounce it on that account.

M. ODILLON BARROT.—You are right.

M. DE GASPARIN.—The lamentations of the Colonial Councils had been dwelt upon. How often had they predicted the ruin of the colonies! It was to have resulted from the abolition of the slave-trade—from the law of 1833—from the ordinance on protection; but none of these prophecies had come to pass. What did the Colonial Councils complain of? That they could not set themselves to destroy slavery without saying hard things of it! But did they think that, because they resisted all energetic measures, no voice would be raised to say that the crime existed, and that its reparation was expected? The interest of the colonies had been spoken of. Even on this he differed widely from the opponents of the *projet de loi*. It had been said that the colonies were interested in maintaining the *status quo*: but he denied it. The interest of the colonies was to know what the Government and the Chambers were determined to do. They should know at the same time that all their interests would be provided for. He applauded the second *projet de loi*. There was a great change to be effected in the colonies. They must not pursue the abolition of slavery alone, but must also introduce agricultural improvements, which might double, triple, or quadruple the produce, and so compensate the loss which might arise from emancipation. In this way the interests of the colonies might be promoted; but to say, "Do nothing," was to leave them in extreme difficulty. They had been told of the transquillity of colonial society: yet the English islands near theirs were being peopled with fugitives. The defenders of the colonies imprudently hazarded a dangerous excitement, and exposed the masters to an abrupt emancipation, which the first war would bring about. The emancipation effected by England had not been successful in every respect. The production of sugar had diminished one-third; but she was in a way to recover herself in a few years. He quoted the declaration of Lord Stanley as to the moral and social result. They had been told that experience had given the lie to the abolitionists; he thought it had completely given the lie to the colonists. They had announced assassinations and the return of the blacks to savage life. Well, there had not been one drop of blood shed in Jamaica since emancipation, while, within thirty years preceding it, there had been five bloody revolts.

A MEMBER.—There has been one in Dominica.

M. DE GASPARIN.—He knew it; but it should be treated leniently, as it arose out of the census. (Laughter.) Besides there had been no serious disturbance; only a slight disturbance, in which one or two negroes perished.

M. DE LA ROCHEFOCAULD LIANCOURT.—Only one perished.

M. DE GASPARIN then proceeded to quote at some length the English official documents on the results of emancipation, noticing particularly the effect of it in creating a body of small proprietors. He went on to say that the opponents of emancipation accused the Government of weakness in yielding to the impatience of the abolitionists. They had waited twelve years! But he would bring against the Government an opposite accusation: it had not been sufficiently decided. Admiral Roussin had written in 1839 that the time for emancipation was come: it was now 1845! The governor of Guadeloupe said in 1840 that in his opinion an early emancipation was necessary; and in 1844 the governor of Martinique announced that measures for emancipation would be undertaken. But what was going on now? The governor of Martinique had caused some parcels of pamphlets to be seized, because they contained the opinions of the abolitionists! He must then exclude all the journals, and even the *Moniteur* itself. (Hear.) He would state a fact still more grave. Measures were taken by the Privy Council, without any judicial act, to transport blacks from the French to the Spanish colonies, where he believed they were sold, and oxen and mules taken in exchange. (Hear.)

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—This is slave-trading; the boats might be seized.

M. DE GASPARIN.—It was slave-trading, trading in French slaves. They might be sold in French colonies; but to sell them to Spaniards, to separate them from their families, and to do this without the intervention of the tribunals, by the sole will of the governor, appeared to him monstrous. Yet he had the proof.

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—Admiral Mackau has denied the fact.

M. DE GASPARIN.—This was not the only case; and he mentioned them there, because he knew that to produce them in that tribune was to put a stop to them. (Hear, hear.) If there was one principle sanctioned by their ancient laws, it was the full right to freedom of slaves touching the French soil. He feared they were receding from this. This had occurred last year. Several slaves had appeared as witnesses before a French tribunal at Draguignan. They had been treated as slaves, permitted to go out of court as slaves, to traverse the soil of France as slaves; and they were slaves to this hour. (Hear, hear.) If they did nothing great for the future, let them at least maintain the rights of the past. England jealously maintained this right, and some slaves had lately been set free on touching at Zante. Greece had affirmed the same prin-

ciple. Was France alone going to renounce it? (Hear, hear.) He would return to the *projet de loi*. The Commission had intimated that it was not such as they could have wished. Several speakers had found fault with it. They had heard M. Ternaux's apology for it. (Laughter.) M. de Tocqueville had said he could support it only as introducing the principle of state interference between master and slave. Well, this *projet*, which every one disavowed, which no one would applaud, they were going to adopt without modification. He must explain himself on this point. The report had stated that what was desired was chiefly a moral effect. Now he asked whether, after the *projet* had been reported on and discussed as it had been, and amended as he hoped it would be, the moral effect would not be greater by its being referred to another place? (Hear.) Besides, the report had contained important promises. He accepted the promises, and was convinced that the accomplishment of them did not depend on the adoption of the *projet*. Whatever the law might be, freedom could not long be refused to the slaves. But they were not going to vote that report. What then would happen, if, according to the recommendation of the report, they voted the law without amendment? They would have merely the law itself; with the report of the Chamber of Peers on one side, saying that it leads to nothing, and the report of the Chamber of Deputies on the other side, saying exactly the contrary. (Hear.) It was said that his wish would be partly met by the important addition which allotted funds for the redemption of families. But even admitting (which he did not) that this amendment was all that could be desired, he asked why it was thrown into another *projet*? Probably because its adoption was doubtful in another place. They might vote the law, therefore, in prospect of an addition which would never pass. It was said, Take this law, because it is the best that can be obtained. He did not think so. The question of slavery pressed on the conscience of France, which must not be too easily relieved of its weight. If the law was adopted, it might be said, "We have done something, do not come soon for more." The country would think it had done its duty. He charged all to speak freely; since he had never seen a calculating silence, or the acceptance of unsatisfactory measures, successful in anything. (Hear.) He would give his idea of the law, if it was not modified, in two words. It recognized the right of property and of redemption. He did not deny that this was progress. But what would result from it? The slaves would lose all advantages now enjoyed by them, either through the liberality or the habits of their masters. As to redemption, no one could expect on the plan proposed to realize property enough in less than twenty-five or thirty years. Then the slave would have to prove that his property had been lawfully acquired;—and this of money which he had been collecting for thirty years! And when he presented himself before a commission consisting of planters and magistrates, they might say to him, You have valued yourself at so much: you are worth two, three, or four times as much! Even after this he would not be free: for five years he must work for a master as before. Would he then be free? No. He would then fall under a peculiar set of laws, and would be liable, without any fault, to be sent to work on a plantation for an unlimited period. Such was the *projet de loi*! (Hear, hear.) The measure made him afraid of two things. The first was, that the friends of emancipation would sign a lease of ten or twelve years in favour of slavery. (Hear.) The second was, that this law, although it would do no good, might do much evil. (Hear.) It would not confer freedom, but it would breed discontent. It would irritate everybody: the blacks, because it promised them freedom, and did not confer it; the colonists because it diminished their authority. Both parties would suffer; and in a year or two it might be said, to put an end to the disorder, Emancipate at once.

M. DE CASTELLANE.—And without paying for it.

M. DE GASPARIN.—He wished emancipation, but not in that manner. He would not say, Do evil, that good may come. (Hear.) Neither would he conceal emancipation under measures of excessive prudence. His fears were not imaginary. Experience had spoken, and had been appealed to by M. Jollivet, with whom he agreed only in this point. "Your law," said he, "was the English order in Council of 1831." This was quite true. Now that order in Council had produced disorder, and led to a proposal of immediate emancipation in 1832. (Hear.) It was because he approved of the principle of the law that he wished it greatly amended. Enfranchisement by purchase was an excellent principle, but it must be applied with energy. Doubtless it was hard to say to the slaves, "You must buy yourselves;" but in this way liberty came into the world, and is still acquired. "The principle is good: and if you amend the law—if you give to the slaves the decided support of the Government; if you secure the redemption of entire families; if you encourage marriage and the formation of domestic ties; if you establish savings-banks in the colonies; if you suppress degrading punishments, especially of women; if you fix beforehand the price of the blacks; if you maintain the rightful possession of property, and give an entire freedom to the enfranchised, you will do much for emancipation. And if, at the same time, you assist agriculture, as I just now indicated, you will effect emancipation in a different way from England, and better than England. You will meet the demands at once of the slaves and of the colonists." (Hear, hear.)

M. DE MACKAU replied to M. Gasparin's assertion of the necessity of amendments in the *projet de loi*, by referring to the extreme prudence with which it was necessary to frame measures so deeply affecting the state of things in the colonies. The *projet* appeared to him to contain all that was essential at present, and he

thought that an attempt to gain more might risk the loss of what they had now in prospect.

Some conversation then took place respecting the transportation of slaves from the French islands to Cuba and Porto Rico, in which M. Ledru Rollin, M. de Mackau, and M. Ternaux Compans took part.

M. DE CARNE spoke in favour of the *projet*, and entreated M. de Gasparin to withdraw his amendments.

M. DE CASTILLANE viewed the question independently; he had no interest, and he had not read the colonists' pamphlets. Yet he was not an abolitionist. He thought the law contained the elements of emancipation without indemnity. Emancipation must be in the law, since everybody was obliged to say so, even those who, perhaps, did not think so. Besides, all the abolitionists voted for it, although they did not approve it. The *projet* would occasion much disquiet, and almost certain disorder, in the colonies. It was but a half measure. It created a middle state. It was agreed that emancipation should be effected; and then nothing was attended to but the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. Lord Bathurst's order in council of 1831 had occasioned an insurrection in Jamaica, suppressed only by torrents of blood. (*Sensation.*) And what was worse, at this period the moral progress which had been effected by the care of the missionaries, had been checked, and the negroes had retrograded towards barbarism. The inquiry before the House of Commons in 1832 proved this. The excitement was such that even the ministers themselves did not dare to give elementary instruction for fear of stimulating revolt. (*Agitation.*) England, in 1831, at the demand of a single member of parliament, had suddenly emancipated the blacks held by the Government. This act produced the last revolt in Jamaica, in which 500 blacks died on the scaffold. In France the Government had not made such a proposition; but the Commission had suggested it, and the Government had, with one small condition, complied. The analogy was complete, and the result would be the same. The result would be in part attributable to the detestable spirit of the colonists, which was to be deplored, and in that place to be censured. They would be perverse, absurd, and cruel, as the blacks would be ignorant, brutal, and savage. Had the colonists, had the slaves, created this antagonism? No: but slavery. It was the legacy of ages, aided by the mother country. When these difficulties were practically encountered, the Government would not know what to do, and would say, We can no longer preserve order in the colonies, some decisive step must be taken. This decisive step would be what the House of Commons found necessary in 1832, as the result of similar legislation. They must emancipate. But how? As the abolitionists meant, by giving 150, or even 80 millions? To whom? To ill-behaved colonists? Certainly not. Emancipate, if you must, but pay nothing to those who deserve nothing. Thus the law would lead to emancipation without indemnity. But emancipation without indemnity was revolution.

A VOICE, on the left: Not at all, with time.

M. DE CASTILLANE. It was impossible to maintain slavery. They must come to a law of emancipation. The responsibility of such a measure would be complete, and the Chamber would know what it was doing, whether rejecting it, or venturing on the difficult but glorious experiment. This could not be said of the measure, at once easy and rash, which was now before them. From the experience of England, the success of emancipation appeared certain as to the preservation of order, the improvement of the black race, the transition from slavery to liberty, and the change of the slave into a small proprietor; but all this on condition of simultaneous emancipation and indemnity. He would rather see the Government make a glorious attempt at emancipation, than bring forward this petty and dangerous measure.

M. GALOS, *commissaire du Roy*, replied to M. de Castillane, and advocated the *statu quo*.

M. LE MERCIER, formerly an officer of marine, spoke against the *statu quo*. Having thoroughly considered the matter, his choice had been made, without enthusiasm, and without hesitation. He promised to the Government his feeble support whenever they should bring forward a measure of emancipation.

M. ISAMBERT, in replying to M. de Castillane, did not mean to combat his abolitionist sentiments. He also desired that the Government would bring forward a law for abolition; but since they had not thought circumstances sufficiently favourable, what ought genuine abolitionists to do? He could not agree with M. de Castillane, since that course would indefinitely postpone the question, and he thought the time was come when something ought to be done. It was France that ought to have occupied herself, in the first instance, with the emancipation of the blacks. It had been said that it was an English idea. But was it English writers, or Montesquieu, who had so keenly rebuked the abominations of slavery? Was it not at the opening of the States General, May 5, 1789, that M. Necker came, for the first time, to appeal to the compassion of France on behalf of the miserable blacks? And were not the labours of the Constituent Assembly advances towards the abolition of slavery? Subsequent events, and especially the war which broke out, had not permitted the realization of this design. As to St. Domingo, it was not the National Convention which caused the bloodshed in that colony, but the planters, who summoned the blacks to arms in order to resist the mother country. It was Napoleon, whose policy was too often lauded, who, instead of maintaining the abolition of slavery, strove to re-establish slavery itself. It had

cost seas of blood to re-establish slavery in Guadeloupe. They had had the merit of originating this grand idea, and he would not ask the Minister of Marine, now that he had brought forward a *projet de loi*, to postpone it, although he did not deem it sufficient. Yet he was persuaded that, if the ministry would be firm, and would select proper officers, not under the influence of the Colonel Councils, the law, however imperfect, would be successful. It had been said that the law breathed mistrust of the colonists. But the colonists themselves had proposed the right of redemption and property in 1836. They had a right to be mistrustful of the Colonial Councils, for their opposition was obstinate and invincible. He did not believe that the Colonial Councils truly represented colonial opinion. They were an aristocracy, like that which, before 1798, possessed feudal rights. They were actuated less by a sentiment of interest, than by one of prejudice and pride. But there was another class in the colonies who might render great service to the Government in this affair. He referred not only to the persons of colour, but also to other inhabitants who would voluntarily associate themselves with the Government, and support the Governors in such measures as must be adopted. It had just been said that they would bring about emancipation without indemnity. But would not redemption at the cost of the slave be more profitable to the colonists than emancipation with indemnity? He hoped the minister would, in respect of redemption, take all necessary precautions; for it was to be feared that coalitions would be formed among the proprietors, as in the English colonies, and that, unless a minimum was fixed, and a disinterested commission appointed, together with a majority of magistrates from the mother country, they would not arrive at satisfactory results. Coalitions among the colonists had been spoken of. No doubt they would resort to all sorts of chicanery; but he thought there was safety against this danger. If slaves enough were not emancipated under this law, escapes of slaves would become more numerous than ever. It would not require war to effect emancipation. If the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew should become free (and this would soon be the case), this would encourage escapes. If an English company should send a sloop along the shore in the night, notwithstanding the surveillance kept up at a great expense nothing could hinder the escape of slaves by thousands. The colonists were therefore surrounded by dangers, and must know that, if they made an ill-advised opposition to freedom, they might lose their property entirely. As to insurrections, he did not anticipate them. He believed that the declarations made in that tribune would prevent them. It was because the question of emancipation was agitated, that tranquillity reigned in the colonies. This measure consequently would tend to reunite the people. It would be the beginning of a general emancipation; and, if an unfortunate black could not get money to redeem himself, he would learn that the mother country would come to his aid, and that successive grants from the budget would enable all good subjects to become free. The law had been reproached with being a measure of emancipation. It was as such they accepted it. Had it been only a measure for laying the matter to sleep, they should have voted against it. But neither the Chambers nor the Government meant this. The Chamber of Peers had adopted the law as one for emancipation, and in the Chamber of Deputies the indications were still more positive. On the one hand the Minister of Marine had engaged to emancipate the blacks belonging to the Government. Five years had been spoken of; but he hoped it would be done in much less time. After this the colonists would see that emancipation was coming. On the whole, he thought it was best to accept the law as it was.

M. JULES DE LASTEYRIE, on the part of the commission, summed up the discussion.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT BANBURY.

(From the *Banbury Guardian*.)

A NUMBER of persons assembled, by special invitation, in the Friends' Meeting House, on Monday evening last, to hear a statement from Mr. Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, on this subject. There are few persons, we believe we might say none, who have evinced a more determined and consistent opposition to negro slavery in all its phases than has Joseph Sturge. His visit to the western hemisphere must be fresh in the recollection of all our readers who have taken an interest in the condition of the coloured population. By that visit he has added much to our previous knowledge of that condition, particularly in the United States, and enlarged his own ability to speak practically on a subject which has long occupied the attention of the religious community with which he is more immediately connected, as well as that of the Christian philanthropist of every creed. Joseph Ashby Gillett, Esq., presided; and we were agreeably surprised to find that George William Alexander was also present. Both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Alexander addressed the meeting at some length, and invited observations and questions. Several gentlemen availed themselves of the invitation, and obtained what we judged to be satisfactory replies. Much that was narrated was familiar; we were glad to hear that there is a probability of the professedly Christian churches in America, hitherto holding slaves as common or church property, abandoning the abominable practice. Mr. Sturge announced an attempt that is being made in Manchester to establish a manufactory of cotton goods from the free grown cotton of the East Indies. He anticipates that the object will be carried out; and impressed upon the meeting the important effect which the success of the attempt must have upon the slavery question in North America. It was likely the article might not at first be so good at the price, as that produced from the slave-grown cotton, but he hoped the satisfaction that must be felt by those purchasing it, that they were not participating in the wrongs done to the slave, would be

considered more than an equivalent for any little extra cost. The addressees of both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Alexander were listened to with much attention, and seemed to excite considerable interest: the feeling of the meeting was evidently with the speakers.

A meeting of a similar character to the foregoing was held a few days previously, at which Messrs. J. Sturge and W. Alexander were present, with similar results.—ED.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 29, 1845.

OUR well known fellow labourers, Messrs. Josiah and William Forster and George Stacy, being now on a religious visit to the Friends in the state of Indiana, U.S., we find the following notice of them copied into the *Liberator* :

“**SUSPECTED ABOLITIONISTS.**—Four individuals, clad in the Quaker garb, who recorded their names as Josiah Foster, William Foster, George Stacy, and John Allen, arrived here and put up at Mr. Cowton's hotel on Saturday evening last, and busied themselves during the greater part of the following day in calling at the dwellings of our free-coloured population. Their excessive familiarity with the negroes excited no little attention. Their conduct was of such a character as to induce the belief that they were the agents of some abolition society. A gentle hint was given them, that it would be advisable for them to make their stay in town as short as possible. They left, taking the western route, the following morning. It is supposed by some, that they are the Committee appointed by the General Convention of the Abolitionists of England, which assembled several weeks since in the city of London, to visit this country and gather all the information in their power concerning the negro population of the States—doubtless with a view to the establishment of a system, on an extensive scale, whereby slaves may be abducted from their masters.”—*Cumberland Allegenian*.

FROM the *Abolitioniste Francais* for July, August, and September, which we have just received, we are enabled to lay before our readers an abstract of the debate which took place in the French Chamber of Deputies on the *projet de loi* for the regulation of the colonies; or, in other words, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. An account of the principal features of this measure was given in our number of June 25, and an abstract of the debate in the Chamber of Peers in that of July 9. In the Chamber of Deputies the discussion was commenced on the 29th of May by M. Jollivet, who, of course, spoke against the measure, which, as the delegate from Martinique, he was well paid for doing. He added nothing to the commonplaces usually employed by the advocates of slavery, and the Chamber heard him with impatience. The debate was continued by M. Ternaux Compans, who, after finding many and very just faults in the *projet*, gave it nevertheless his warm support. On the 31st, the discussion was resumed by M. Levavasseur, who condemned the measure, because, by giving rights to the slave, it would supersede the patriarchal kindness which had hitherto characterized the proceedings of the master. M. de Tocqueville followed, and was heard by the Chamber with distinguished attention. After touching on various topics, the speaker adverted to the results of British emancipation, which he exhibited with great force and truth, and concluded by expressing a sentiment on which M. Isambert subsequently expatiated, and in which we entirely concur, namely, that emancipation was the product of a French idea, nobly and happily realized by the religious philanthropy of England. Rear-Admiral le Ray had the singular good taste to applaud the speech of M. Jollivet. M. Agenor de Gasparin followed in a lengthened and powerful address. He also, like M. de Tocqueville, took a view of the results of British emancipation, during which some member spoke of the outbreak in Dominica, of which it may be enough to say that, to whatever cause it may be referrible, it cannot with any reason be referred to the abolition of slavery. After an episode relating to the transport of slaves from the French to foreign colonies, the main argument was resumed by M. de Castellane, who, whimsically enough, began by declaring himself not an abolitionist, and then framed his whole speech to show how much rather he would see the Government adventuring the great but glorious experiment of immediate abolition, than bringing forward such a half measure as that before the Chamber. After a few words from Messrs. Galos and Le Mercier, the discussion was vigorously concluded by M. Isambert.

Such is a rapid outline of the debate on the general question raised by this *projet de loi*. In the discussion of the several clauses several matters of importance occurred, of which we shall endeavour to give some idea in our next. On the whole we cannot but be gratified with the amount of genuine eloquence and talent thus

devoted to the great cause of human freedom, and with the exalted and noble character of many of the sentiments expressed. In particular, we are pleased with the frank and admirable spirit in which M. de Tocqueville and M. de Gasparin did justice to the results of the English abolition act, and the masterly and energetic manner in which, together with M. Isambert, they contended against that pitiful jealousy of England, of which so influential a use seems to be made by the patrons of slavery. What can it signify, in such a matter, what England has done or wishes France to do? The true honour of France lies, as M. de Gasparin truly affirmed, in being generous and just. We cannot help expressing our regret, however, that the speakers on this occasion have confined their objections to the details of the measure brought forward by the Government, and have either been silent as to its principle, or have given their adhesion to it. We cannot hear without pain M. de Gasparin applaud the hard and essentially unjust principle of self-redemption by the slaves. That emancipation may be effected better than it was effected by England—without apprenticeship, for example—we readily admit; but we cannot allow that it would be any improvement on the English method to make the slaves buy themselves. Immediate and unconditional emancipation is in this matter the path of true wisdom.

We are happy to learn that the proceedings in the French Chambers, being maintained with spirit from day to day, have produced a very deep sensation throughout the kingdom, and done much towards creating a general interest in the subject of the abolition of slavery. We are particularly gratified, also, by the announcement that the slaves belonging to the French Government, amounting to not less than twelve hundred, will, according to a pledge given by the Minister of Marine, be restored to liberty.

By the West India mail we are informed of a few particulars not without interest. The *Falmouth Post*, after discreetly saying, “We dislike Coolie immigration,” proceeds to call loudly for the moderate number of thirty thousand of them for Jamaica alone. To pay for this pretty little experiment it proposes to fleece the judges and other functionaries of part of their salaries, and especially to take advantage of the readiness expressed by the English West Indians, at their meeting at Willis's rooms on the 18th of July, to pay a tax upon sugar. We learn by these papers also that a society has been formed in Liverpool, “for improving the agriculture of Jamaica by means of English capital,” and that a bill will be brought into the Legislature for conferring some advantages on it. In Barbadoes some shameful proceedings have taken place in the way of kidnapping children under the disguise of free emigration. The crimps in these cases deserve the severest punishment. In Trinidad we have the startling phenomenon of some medical men coming forward for the good of the colony. The peasantry it seems are less apt at taking physic than they ought to be. They have not kept up the subscription of one bit (5d.) per week which many of them paid for several years after emancipation, in order to have medical advice when they were sick. Hence the medical gentlemen tell us there has arisen “a vast increase in the mortality among the labourers,” and some estates near Port of Spain, they gravely assure us, “have been decimated,” although the *Standard* thinks it strange that nobody had heard of this but the doctors. Out of compassion, however, for the dying peasantry, no less than seven medical gentlemen come forward, and actually present a memorial to the Legislative Council, signed with their respective names, proposing—what do our readers think?—that all “employers should be legally authorised and obliged to retain in their bands 5 per cent. of all wages paid for hired labour” to provide fees for these doctors themselves! As if an act compelling the peasantry to pay the doctors could at the same time compel them to take the physic. The truth is, that here is a set of hungry, if not starving surgeons, who, seeing that they are not useful enough to obtain practice by their merit, want to squeeze an undeserved income out of the hard earnings of the poor by law. The scheme smacks of the olden time. But it will not do. Even the editor of the *Trinidad Standard* thus cautiously gives it the *coup-de-grace*:

“We have our fears, however applicable to the attainment of the object this proposition may be considered, that it would not be very acceptable to the parties themselves whose benefit is contemplated by it, and that it would fail to realise the effects anticipated ‘in restoring confidence and contributing to establish a Christian feeling of mutual dependence between master and servant.’ The enactment of a measure of the kind recommended might be considered as coming within the range of what is characterised by some parties as an arbitrary interference with the liberty of the people. To choose one's own doctor, is considered by them as one of the privileges of freedom. They would therefore be inclined to look upon its deprivation as only a step backwards to the condition from which they have been emancipated. They would lose sight of the great advantages that might accrue to them from such a provident provision, in the overwhelming consideration of being deprived of this constituent of freedom, or in the present impression which the enjoyment of robust health would tend to make on their minds, they would be disposed to view it as a hardship, partaking even of a character of an oppressive act of injustice to compel them to pay for the benefit of those who had no natural claim on their support. And need we say that certain parties at a distance, viewing colonial affairs through the distorting medium of old prejudices and present misrepresentation, would see in it the very essence—the very consummation of plantocracy-oppression?”

We give our contemporary credit for his discernment and good sense, and we hope his hints will be enough for those grasping sons of Esculapius in Trinidad. We add only one word of advice. If

they would be called in universally in cases of sickness, let them be to the peasantry more what medical men ought to be, and treat them more nearly as medical men ought to treat their patients. The labourers, no doubt, have only refused to pay for what was not worth the having. It would besides, we think, be an advantage that only those who have medical attendance should be expected to pay for it.

In British Guiana an epidemic has been distressingly prevalent, and, in consequence of the general sickness among the peasantry, an important season has been nearly lost to the planter. The *Guiana Times* makes further references to the intended new batch of ordinances, and affirms that the provisions of the existing vagrant law "are as rigorous as is compatible with human freedom." With regard to a trespass act our contemporary makes the following excellent suggestion :—

"With regard to trespasses, the proprietor of a plantation, or his representative, should not seek to molest any person visiting the occupant of one of his cottages. But he should rail off his side lines, middle-walks, plantain-walks, and so forth, or, at least, erect painted boards cautioning against invasion of these, just as is commonly done in the mother country. The plantation once divided into thoroughfare and privacy, the very fact of being found encroaching on the privacy should constitute an offence. The cultivated produce, natural fruits, and birds and beasts, of a plantation, or lot of land, belong to its proprietor. The enactment of such a trespass-statute would assure his property in these, without a recourse to odious forest-laws or game-laws."

In relation to extending jurisdiction from the stipendiary to the local magistrates, our contemporary uses the following language :—

"We are not used to adulate the stipendiary magistrates. Ignorant, indolent, or corruptible, Heaven knows, they generally are. But there is one mercy; being few in number and dependent on public salary, they do lie under some responsibility of reputation and fortune. But the local gentlemen! Their name is legion. Several of them are unable to spell the English language with accuracy: many are over head and ears in debt, shabby, ragged, seedy-looking parasites of anybody who will give them a dollar or two for doing his dirty work for him. Just fancy such unlettered calves sitting in judgment on misconceptions of the law entertained by their not more stupid fellow-inhabitants; such an insolvent, unincarcerated rogues deciding on evidence of robbery! Should our local gentlemen be entrusted with so much power over the liberties, characters, and monies, of the population, then shall we proclaim to all the world that British Guiana is an excellent settlement—to emigrate from. Lots of land will rise in value in Siberia and Turkey."

In gratifying contrast with this passage we insert another from the same journal highly laudatory of another class of functionaries in the colony, the judges. It is as follows :—

"The fearless impartiality at present evinced by their honours our Judges, in the discharge of their public duties, is calculated to induce the highest degree of confidence in the public mind. All men are equal in the judgment hall. To be an aristocrat, insures no favour—a menial, no frown. In the matter of boedels and minors, their determination is above all praise. The greatest good must result to society. The disgraceful adage, 'Make me your executor, I don't care who's your heir,' must henceforth cease, in application to the hitherto nefarious and iniquitous practices of this province.' This attestation of judicial merit" says the *Times* "we copy from the *Congregational Record*, cordially concurring in every word of it."

The American mail which was delivered yesterday has brought us an interesting letter from the Rev. A. A. Phelps, of New York, which will be found inserted below. It has brought us also the *Emancipator* of the 8th and 15th instant, containing an account of the great meeting of abolitionists held at Boston on the 1st of the month. The resolutions adopted and the documents issued by this Convention, are of too great length to be inserted to-day, but we insert in another column the brief sketch of the meeting by our contemporary's own pen. We are happy to learn that it was not only a large, but in all respects an important meeting, and likely to be an influential one. We must take further notice of it hereafter. The letter of Mr. Phelps is addressed to Mr. Scoble, and is dated.—

New York, Oct. 14, 1845.

"You will be glad, I doubt not, to hear something by letter concerning our anti-slavery movements and prospects. Of the assault upon freedom of speech and of the press in the person and press of C. M. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, you are already apprised. His press was sent to Cincinnati, subject to his order. He refused to have anything to do with it, and the city authorities of Lexington sent for it and brought it back. Legal proceedings will probably be commenced against the gentlemen of the mob. Meanwhile Mr. Clay's health is essentially improved, and the first number of the *True American* (revived) has made its appearance. For the present, it is to be printed at Cincinnati, but published and mailed at Lexington. Mr. Clay has lost none of his courage or zeal. He speaks in tones that will stir the hearts of all true men, and cover his persecutors with deserved infamy.

"From the *Reporter* you have also learned the former course of the American Board in respect to the great question. This is the great missionary body of this country. It is sustained by the Congregational, the New School Presbyterian, and the Dutch Reformed Denominations. Up to the present year, though often memorialised on the subject, it has steadily refused to do anything which should assert or imply the sinfulness or moral evil of slavery. On the contrary, it has elected slaveholders as corporate members, employed slaveholders as agents and missionaries, solicited and welcomed the gains of slaveholding, knowing them to be such, to its treasury; and at the same time, not only neglected, but deliberately and repeatedly refused to make any expression of opinion, or adopt any course of action asserting or implying the moral evil of slavery. The last year a

new fact came to light, which was that slaveholders had been and still were welcomed to some of the mission churches,—their slaveholding constituting not only no bar to final admission, but not even a ground of previous exception, admonition, and remonstrance. This was a state of affairs that multitudes of the supporters of the Board, abolitionists and others, would not endure. The subject, of course, went to a Committee. The Committee reported at the late meeting at Brooklyn. The Report summarily amounts to this.—Slavery, as a system, is a very bad thing, but slaveholding, as an individual relation or practice, is a very harmless affair, by no means inconsistent with the most devoted piety, and an irreproachable character and standing in the Christian church. It leaves the whole matter of the actual practice of slavery just where it was before. It does not enjoin upon the missionaries any steps whatever to bring slaveholding in the mission churches to an end. It does indeed say, that if slaveholders abuse their slaves they should be dealt with. But it does not direct the missionary to take any exception, to give any instruction, to put forth any remonstrance, to call into exercise any processes of discipline, or, in one, to do anything whatever with a view to the speedy or even final termination of slaveholding itself in the mission churches. On the contrary, when, at two successive times, an amendment to the report was offered, the purport of which was, that the missionaries should treat slaveholding, in the matter of instruction, admonition, and discipline, as, and only as, they do drunkenness, falsehood, gaming, theft, adultery, and the like, that amendment was, in one instance, killed in committee, and in the other, directly voted down. Thus stands the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the middle of the 19th century. The matter will not rest here. It was only the corporate members that were allowed to vote. These are but few. The hundreds of honorary members, who are really the working constituency of the body could not vote. The feeling of dissatisfaction among the churches and ministers in the country at large, out of the cities, is broad and deep; and will yet make itself heard and respected.

"The Great Eastern Convention," as we term it, composed mostly of Liberty Party men, was held at Boston on the 1st inst. It was made up of representatives from the New England states, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It was a noble gathering of true and earnest men. Between one and two thousand were present as members of the convention. I have never attended a larger convention; or met a more substantial and sober-looking body of men. Nor have I ever seen a convention characterized by greater enthusiasm and unanimity. In a word, I never saw the friends of the slave in better mood or better heart. You will see the proceedings in the papers. One of the most important practical measures adopted, was the appointment of a Committee in all of the free states, to circulate and send to Congress, at the opening of its next session, a remonstrance against the admission of Texas as a slave state. As a territory, Texas is practically a part of the Union. But she is not yet admitted as a state. The constitution she has adopted establishes slavery as fully as possible. Admitting her claim to be admitted as a state, she has no claim whatever to admission as a slave state. We mean then to stir the land on this point—to open anew and in earnest the old Missouri question. We hope not to act in vain. At all events, we believe we shall wake up a discussion of the question of slavery or no slavery in Congress, that the slaveholders will be glad to be quit of—the influence of which shall not cease to be felt till the whole system is prostrate.

The Liberty Party is everywhere in good spirits, and increasing in numbers and strength. Late elections in Vermont and Maine show a decided and cheering advance."

We have received a copy of the new number of the *True American*, referred to by Mr. Phelps. It contains a long and able appeal to the public, written by Mr. Clay; but we must reluctantly postpone the further notice of it to our next.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that, under the recent ordinance for legalizing the importation of Africans into Mauritius, Mr. Sullivan had been despatched on a voyage of discovery along the coast. Under the proper head will be found some particulars of his proceedings and death. At Zanzibar, it appears, the authorities were not favourable to his mission; but on the coast of Mozambique he found, as is alleged, persons free and disposed to emigrate. On Mr. Sullivan's papers, which the Governor has submitted to the Council, and which we should be glad to see submitted to Parliament, the Governor has written a minute, from which also we have given some extracts. Assuming the truth of Mr. Sullivan's statement, (which, we confess, we very much doubt,) he forewarns the Council, with great justice and foresight, that a time will come when these persons will find that money can be made by the kidnapping and sale of men, and that the effect of a system of emigration which may in the first instance be free, may be to create an internal slave-trade where none at present exists. The subject thus opened is of the utmost importance, and we shall wait for further accounts with anxiety.

We have given in another place as copious an abstract as our space will allow of the important proceedings relative to slavery taken at the late annual meeting of the American Board for Foreign Missions.

AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Our readers are already aware that, at the annual meeting of this Board, recently held at Brooklyn, New York, the subject of slavery was prominently brought forward and largely discussed. The *New York Evangelist* of September the 18th contains an extended account of the proceedings, of which we make as copious an abstract as our space will allow.

The subject was brought up by the presentation of several memorials in relation to it; one from Worcester Central Association, one from Worcester Northern Association, one from the Chautauque County Auxiliary, and one from the Franklin and Sormerset County Association. Subsequently a report was brought up from the Committee appointed last year on the same subject. In this report, which is too long for us to give entire, are the following passages, sufficiently expressive of its general tenor.

"The Committee do not deem it necessary to discuss the general subject of slavery, as it exists in the United States, or to enlarge on the wickedness of the system, or on the disastrous moral and social influences which slavery exerts upon the less enlightened and less civilized communities, where the missionaries of the Board are labouring. On these points there is probably, among the members of the Board and its friends, little difference of opinion.

"The unrighteousness of the principles on which the whole system is based, and the violation of the natural rights of man, the debasement, wickedness, and misery it involves, and which are, in fact, witnessed to a greater or less extent, wherever it exists, must call forth the hearty condemnation of all possessed of Christian feeling and sense of right, and makes its entire and speedy removal an object of earnest and prayerful desire to every true friend of God and man.

"Strongly as your Committee are convinced of the wrongfulness and evil tendencies of slaveholding, and ardently as they desire its speedy and universal termination, they still cannot think that in all cases individual guilt exists in such a manner that every person implicated in it can on Scriptural grounds be excluded from Christian fellowship. In the language of Dr. Chalmers, when treating on this point in a recent letter—the Committee would say, 'Distinction ought to be made between the character of a system and the character of the persons whose circumstances have implicated them with it. Nor would it always be just if all the recoil and horror wherewith the former is contemplated, were visited in the form of condemnation and moral indignancy upon the latter.'

"Dr. Chalmers proceeds to apply this distinction to the subject now under consideration in the following manner, to which sentiments substantially Drs. Candlish and Cunningham, with the whole General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, unanimously concurred: 'Slavery,' says he, 'we hold to be a system chargeable with atrocities and evils, often the most hideous and appalling, which have either afflicted or deformed our species. Yet we must not therefore say of every man born within its territory, who has grown up familiar with its sickening spectacles, and not only by his habits been enured to its transactions and sights, but who by inheritance is himself the owner of slaves, that unless he make the resolute sacrifice and renounce his property in slaves, he is therefore not a Christian—and should be treated as an outcast from all the distinctions and privileges of Christian society.'

"Such substantially are the views of your Committee, and the more they study God's method of proceeding in regard to war, slavery, polygamy, and other kindred social wrongs, as it is unfolded in the Bible, the more they are convinced that in dealing with individuals implicated in these wrongs of long standing, and intimately interwoven with the relations and movements of the social system, the utmost kindness and forbearance are to be exercised, which are compatible with steady adherence to right principles."

On the reading of this report a prolonged discussion ensued, which was from sitting to sitting adjourned, so as to be allowed to occupy—such was the general sense of its importance—by far the larger part of the three days allotted to the meeting of the Board. The Rev. A. A. Phelps, of New York, concluded his speech by moving an amendment, for the insertion of which we have not room. At a later period of the proceedings the Rev. Dr. Bacon moved also the following resolutions, as a further amendment on the report:

"In conclusion, it seems proper for the Board, on this occasion, to put upon record a distinct assertion of the principles contained in the following resolutions.

"1.—Resolved, That inasmuch as the system of domestic slavery, under every modification, is at war with the principles of Christianity, with natural justice, with industry and thrift, with habits of subjection to law, and with whatever tends to the advancement of civilisation and the ascendancy of the gospel, and inasmuch as it brings upon every community which establishes and upholds it, the righteous displeasure of God, and the reprobation of the civilised and Christian world, the existence of slavery in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations is deeply to be lamented by their friends, and particularly by this Board, as having been, for more than a quarter of a century, engaged in labours tending to their moral, intellectual, and social advancement.

"2.—Resolved, That while the strongest language of reprobation is not too strong to be applied to the system of slavery, truth and justice require this Board to say that the relation of a master to one whom the constitution of society has made a slave, is not to be regarded as in all cases such a sin as to require the exclusion of the master, without further inquiry, from Christian ordinances.

"3.—Resolved, That the missionaries of this Board, everywhere, are expected to admit to Christian ordinances those, and only those, who give satisfactory evidence of having become new creatures in Christ.

"4.—Resolved, That the master who buys and sells human beings, as merchandise, for gain—who does not recognise in respect to his servants the divine sanctity of their relations, as husbands and wives, and as parents and children—who permits them to live and die in ignorance of God, and of God's word, who does not render to his servants that which is just and equal, or who refuses to recognise, heartily and practically, their dignity and worth, as reasonable and animated beings, for whom Christ has died, does not give satisfactory evidence of being born of God, or having the spirit of Christ."

After full discussion both the report and the amendments were referred to a special committee appointed by the chair; and this body ultimately recommended that the report should be adopted in

its original form. To this recommendation an amendment was moved by the Rev. A. A. Phelps, to the following effect:—

"And finally, in accordance with, and in reply to, the memorials submitted to it from Worcester county and elsewhere at its present meeting, the Board deem it right and proper to say, that its funds cannot and will not be expended in maintaining slaveholding missionaries, or building up slaveholding churches; that in carrying out the general principles laid down in the first part of the foregoing report, in their practical application to the question of receiving slaveholders to, and retaining them in, the missionary churches, the Board will expect its missionaries and churches to treat slaveholding, in the matter of instruction, admonition and discipline, in the same manner as they should and would treat drunkenness, gaming, falsehood, bigamy, idolatry, and the like; and that whenever and wherever it shall appear that the missionaries and the churches, in the exercise of their appropriate liberty, do not do so, it will be the duty of this Board, in the exercise of its liberty to dissolve farther connection with them."

This amendment was negatived; after which the recommendation of the Committee was adopted. It appears that only the corporate members of the Board are entitled to vote; and of these seventy-five voted in favour of the motion, and none against it. How many corporate members were present at the meeting is not stated; nor indeed does it appear how many there are in the Board. The following speeches which were delivered after the recommendation of the Special Committee was brought up, will show how the question was finally left.

"Rev. Dr. Tappan, of Augusta, Me., said that every individual of the Committee approved of the principles of Dr. Bacon's resolutions; but it was feared that to append them to the report would look too much like legislation, and might seem to ecclesiastical bodies that the Board was trenched upon their proper province. There are, also, other substantial reasons; and though the report was believed to contain every principle in the resolutions, it was unadvisable to state them in this formal manner.

"Rev. J. C. Webster, from the Committee, was obliged, with great reluctance, to differ from his colleagues. It was from no want of attachment to the Board; on the contrary, it was because he loved the Board, and because he desired this perplexing question to be settled in such a way as to promote harmony of feeling, that he could not assent to the report as it is. He should have been satisfied with Dr. Bacon's resolutions; and if all the principles of the resolutions were contained in the report, he saw no good reason why they should not be frankly summed up at the close. This would have satisfied all parties. As it is, he feared that a large number of the Board's best friends would not be satisfied. The general impression will be, that although slavery is condemned, there is a loop-hole left for all who love to hold slaves.

"Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, remarked that he should have borne any remarks on the subject, except that his well-known position as an abolitionist—a name he hoped he might bear so long as he lived—would seem to require a statement of his views. As regards the main principles of the report, I have, said he, no difficulty at all. They have my cordial approbation. The report is right, in admitting that the subject of slavery, coming as it does directly across our path, is a fit and proper subject for the consideration of this Board.

"The report is right also in disclaiming all jurisdiction over the internal regimen of the mission churches: at the same time claiming authority to appropriate its funds for the support of only such missions and churches as it sees fit.

"It is right in that it comes out with full, bold, and righteous condemnation of slavery. I am glad it does not blink that question. It calls it by its right name—it is an atrocious system of wrong, and an abomination in the sight of God. It admits of no apology. Yet it is such a sin, and the circumstances in which it exists are such, that a man may practise it, and be comparatively innocent. We are not to decide at once that every participant of the evil is necessarily guilty of oppression. It raises a presumption of a man's guilt, but does not necessarily decide it.

"The report is right in asserting that the only proper condition of church-membership is evidence of true piety, and that the missionaries are the proper judges as to what that evidence is. It is a principle which I shall hold to so long as I acknowledge the authority of the New Testament, that we are never to exclude from the Lord's table any who give evidence of being the friends of Christ. It is a principle which I adopted twenty-five years ago: and but for the force with which it has held me, I should never have warped into the harbour where I find myself now. I can never subscribe to a principle which will shut out from the church of Christ any man who gives good evidence of a change of heart.

"The report might have been more complete in some particulars. When speaking of the principles on which missions should be conducted, I should be glad if there were a clause, stating that it is not to be understood that this institution is to be permanent; but the gospel is to be so preached as to eradicate it in the briefest possible time. The great unhappiness with the churches at the South is, that the gospel is so preached there that it has no tendency to destroy the system, but rather to screen and perpetuate it. The gospel is at utter war with the system; and if preached in honesty, or at all in accordance with its true spirit and intent, it must necessarily put an end to it. This ought to be everywhere understood; and the report ought to have adopted it as one of its fundamental positions. We are not always to have slavery among us; nor shall we have, if the gospel only has fair play.

"I could have wished, too, that the important distinction between social and personal sins had been enlarged upon. It is one of great value.

"But the report was made upon the principle of concession. There are conflicting views, honestly entertained, relative to many of the minor points of this question. If we can agree on the main principles, I do not fear the result with our sober, thinking, Christian community. I am ready to take the report as it is, and am satisfied that it will be well received, and on the whole, harmonise the different shades of opinion as much as any document possibly could do."

UNITED STATES—ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

PURSUANT to a call for the purpose, a convention of the friends of freedom in the Eastern and Middle States, assembled in the Tremont Temple, in the City of Boston, on Wednesday the 1st day of October, 1845.

The following spirited sketch of the meeting is given in the *Emancipator*—

THE GREAT CONVENTION.

It was a noble meeting. Large numbers of the most worthy citizens assembled. Rarely is a mass meeting to be found embracing so much sterling weight of character. We missed Alvan Stewart, Beriah Green, W. L. Chaplin, and some others were hoped to attend, and above all, the noble Birney. But there were enough to satisfy all reasonable desires. The people came to deliberate more than to listen to enthusiastic appeals. The speeches were of that character, not so rhetorical as argumentative, befitting the occasion and the weighty questions before us.

General Fessenden presided, to everybody's satisfaction. No man could have preserved better order, or held a more complete control of the elements, amid all sorts of excitements. His opening speech on taking the chair, was very happy, and his conclusion in reply to the enthusiastic vote of thanks, pre-eminently gratifying. He said he deemed it a higher honour to have presided over such a convention to its satisfaction, than to have been elected president of the United States—by either of the pro-slavery parties. No man doubted that he felt what he said. The interest of the meeting increased to the end, and the meeting on Friday evening was admitted to be the best of all.

Delia Webster was there, and her case was explained, by the Rev. Mr. Day, in a manner which told much to the disadvantage of the "chivalry" of Kentucky, and the whiggery of Vermont. Walker was there, a part of the time; and the resolutions of sympathy for Torrey and the other sufferers, were cordial and earnest.

The "Unconstitutionality of Slavery" was the chief subject of discussion, though the "organic sins" question was fairly examined and set in striking light. The proceedings of the American Board, and the novel and alarming doctrines there brought forward, are producing a powerful sensation; while Spooner's book on the constitution is opening the eyes of many to see how long they have been humbugged by the slaveholders to believe that the law of the land, in a free country, sustains slavery.

SURINAM.

(From the *Western Times*.)

We drew attention a short time since to the conduct of the authorities of the Dutch colony at Surinam, towards the British Commissioner, E. W. H. Schenley, Esq. We have this week received a copy of the *Guiana Times*, which affords further illustration of the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of these wretched slave owners. It appears from the statement of the able editor of that paper, that a Mr. J. B. Smith, an Englishman, being in Surinam with some musicians engaged in giving musical performances, happened to arouse the suspicions and incur the brutality of these people in rather a curious way. He had received a letter from a correspondent in Demerara, who detailing the chit-chat of the place, said that a general rising of all the emancipated peasants of the West Indies was anticipated by some of the croakers of the day. Mr. Smith being at dinner, referred to this as a topic of conversation, but so incidentally, that the subject was very soon changed, and the matter wholly forgotten by him. The terrors of the Dutch slave-owners were however excited, and information was given to the Procureur of the Island, of the incendiary letter which Mr. Smith had upon his person. The Procureur, a sort of low Dutch Attorney-General, demanded an inspection of the letter. Mr. Smith standing on his rights as a man, refused to surrender his private correspondence; and the colonial authorities immediately had him arrested and plunged into gaol. The jail is a filthy place, provided by Dutch slave-owners, for the terror and restraint of their unhappy victims. Having Mr. Smith now in their power, his papers were seized and ransacked; the unfortunate letter was seized and detained, and the unhappy owner was then thrust out of jail. These facts the Editor of the *Guiana Times* states that he received, not from Mr. Smith himself, but from an English gentleman, who was in Surinam at the time; but he questions whether Lord Aberdeen will have courage to grapple with them, as he ought, both out of respect to the feelings of humanity, and the dignity of the national character.

The pusillanimity of the councils in the Foreign Office is tolerably well understood by the West Indians, and the Dutch evidently presume upon it. Speaking of the state of affairs in Surinam, the *Guiana Times* apprehends increased ill-usage to the negro population there; and he pays the following well-merited compliment to the gallant and generous protector of the negroes, Mr. Commissioner Schenley, the consequence of whose absence from the colony he justly deems to be most important.

"We anticipate the immediate receipt of a deplorable account of matters there. Mr. Elias, the governor, who showed some inclination to protect the negro, has been recalled. Mr. Schenley, the British Commissioner, who was a check upon the slave-mongers, has gone to Europe, and, should he ever return to Surinam, two sentences for large amounts of damages for defamation, said defamation having been contained in his despatches to the foreign secretary of state of his own government, await him. His despatches were forwarded to the address, and designed for the eye of Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen. Her majesty's government thought proper to lay them, or a portion of them before parliament. This, according to the right construction of the law of libel, amounts to no publication upon Mr. Schenley's part. But what sort of justice is to be expected from a corrupt tribunal in a society of debased slavemongers. It is not the vindication of character that is aimed at, but the expulsion of a troublesome and formidable spy, a person of more than ordinary discernment, very rare courage, and recklessness of personal consequences. This is apparent from the circumstance that although the Commissioner's approaching departure was well known throughout the colony, no attempt was made to compel him to give security for the result. The planters were only too well pleased to get him out of the way, and the sentences for defamation will only be

useful implements of intimidation and menace, should he ever evince an inclination to return. Should he not return, just let the friends of humanity compute the chances of a fearless and impartial discharge of duty by any person who may be appointed to succeed him, even if a man of the same strong nerve and indomitable temper. Nothing can reflect higher discredit on Lord Aberdeen's administration of foreign affairs, than the satisfaction with which the Dutch slavemongers regard the discouragement and disfavour which his lordship has shown towards the English Commissioner. Some of them have the insolence to allege that his lordship will and can do nothing in behalf of the unjustly detained slaves, because, forsooth, the emperor of Russia, the brother-in-law of the king of Holland, has, (we must admit, in a manner characteristic of the oppression of the Poles,) thrown his huge weight into the scale adverse to the liberties of man."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—FRACAS BETWEEN THE NATIVE LABOURERS AND THE COOLIES.—A Coolie standing in the mill-yard of Dank's estate, was hurt in the foot by a native, who was passing, wilfully, as is said, causing his horse to tread upon it. As may be expected, the Coolie got irritated, and resented the assault; but the native was assisted by three or four of his countrymen, and three or four Coolies, on seeing this, went, in like manner, to the assistance of their brother. A "skirmish" of no ill result whatever, took place between these parties, who used the canes lying about as their weapons. After this was over, the offended Coolie went to the headman to complain of the treatment he had received from him who caused his horse to tread upon his foot, and the headman proceeded in quest of the delinquent, for the purpose, as is alleged, of taking him before the overseer, as usual in all such cases. He fled, however, and took refuge in a house, into which he refused to allow the headman to come. This house was then gradually surrounded both by Coolies and by natives, the one party calling for justice for the wanton injury done to the Coolie, the other protecting the delinquent from the headman's interference. The excitement increased with the extent of the mob, and ultimately a regular row ensued, in which one Coolie was slightly wounded on the head with a cutlass, two or three others sustained some bruises, and their party was beaten off. An investigation into the matter was immediately held, and continued with the greatest patience during four days, when the magistrates, under the above circumstances, sent the case on for trial at the ensuing assizes.—*Jamaica Times*.

MAURITIUS.—IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.—The *Watchman* gives the following account of the voyage of discovery made by Mr. Sullivan on behalf of the Mauritian Government.—"After leaving this port the brig went direct to Zanzibar, where the authorities were not disposed to promote the object of the mission. Mr. Sullivan therefore took two interpreters who spoke the languages of the natives on the Mozambique coast, and sailed thither. He touched at several ports, and not only did he find no obstacles in the way of procuring labourers, but hundreds were ready, on the representations of the interpreters, to embark with him; indeed, many were quite importunate to be taken on board, and there were no constituted authorities there who had either will or power to prevent them. But Mr. Sullivan could not, of course, accede to their request, for his mission was not to bring men, but only to ascertain if they could be procured; and, besides, as he could not have obtained a clearance from villages in which there were no constituted authorities, he would have been liable to have been taken as a slaver." The notes of Mr. Sullivan have subsequently been laid before the Council, with a minute from the Governor, from which we extract the following passages:—

"June 13th, 1845.

"I lay before the Council a summary of information reduced from the papers of a gentleman, as respectable as he was regretted, who some months ago was deputed by the local government, in concert with the Council, on a mission to the eastern coast of Africa, with the object of determining whether it was possible to import free labour from any point of that extensive line of coast, and of indicating the means of rendering it available.

"The Council will be convinced by the perusal of these papers, that the enquiries of Mr. Sullivan led him to the conclusion, that free labourers were procurable at one of the ports at which he touched, while he at the same time very specifically states that it will be necessary to act with as much caution as ability in conducting the negotiations which we shall have to establish with these African communities."

"The Council will have to consider if, in the actual state of the colony, and under the operation of the present regulations with regard to immigration, it will be of advantage to give effect to this plan; and it will also have maturely to reflect on the conditions which will allow the local government to recommend it for the Royal sanction.

"The establishment of an accredited agent in such ports as may be opened to African emigration will be indispensable, since the character, however honourable, of the individuals who will be engaged in the importation of these emigrants from their country to the Mauritius, cannot of itself be considered as a sufficient guarantee against fraud.

"It will further be necessary to provide for the time when the lust of gold will be awakened among tribes who, at the best, only half-civilised, will find themselves thus all at once, in a position to gain wealth, and we must also be prepared for the case, when the relations established, after having been at first contracted in perfect good faith, and entire liberty on the side of the Africans, will degenerate into a system of constraint, if not of traffic, in despite of the vigilance and efforts of our responsible agent to repress it."

The task of reporting upon the evidence of Mr. Sullivan has devolved on the Committee of Immigration.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY—DISCUSSION IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

The general discussion in the Chamber of Deputies having been concluded, the discussion of the several clauses was entered on.

Sitting of June 2nd.

After a suggestion from M. de Larocheoucauld, that the term labourer should be used instead of slave, and another from M. Gasparin, that wages should be given to domestic slaves, neither of which was adopted—

M. BERRYER, the organ of the legitimist party in the Chamber, spoke against the power conferred by the first clause on royal ordinances, which might either paralyse the law on the one hand, or carry it too far on the other. After advertizing to a variety of topics, he concluded by moving that the clauses should be subjected to a fresh examination.

M. LEDRU ROLLIN said, it was inconsistent that M. Berryer should wish every particular to be settled by law, and nothing left to royal ordinances, because this would indefinitely postpone the law altogether. He also would prefer it in itself; but he yielded to necessity, since at so late a period of the session the Chamber of Peers would not again occupy itself with the subject of slavery. To lay down a principle in a law, and to leave the details to the executive, was no violation of the constitution of France. A similar thing had been done in England by orders in council. M. Berryer had said that the slave was so brutalized that he was not fit for liberty, and had recalled the sanguinary memory of Saint Domingo. He did not believe, that, whatever the cruelties of the whites might have been, the blacks had become too degraded for immediate emancipation. All they wanted was the air of liberty. Only break their chains, and proofs of their intelligence would soon abound. M. Schelcher had given many examples of their rapid progress. In the recent disaster at Guadeloupe they had shown great self-denial and humanity; and in the sudden emancipation effected by England, a million of men had passed out of slavery without a single thought of vengeance. (Hear, hear.) As to Saint Domingo, it should be recollected that persons of mixed blood, although free, were excluded from municipal offices by the whites. They were even forbidden to wear the national cockade. Displeased at what they thought the Government intended, the Creoles threatened to give themselves to England. Thinking to stop the effusion of blood, the Assembly revoked the decree passed in favour of persons of colour. There was then a terrible war on both sides. The Legislative Assembly sent commissioners and troops to Saint Domingo to restore tranquillity. The commissioners carried with them no other idea than the equality of all free persons. It was then altogether erroneous to ascribe the troubles of Saint Domingo to the decree for the abolition of slavery, which was subsequent to these events. The dreadful deeds which deluged that island with blood, and in particular the burning of Port au Prince, had taken place during the conflict between the Creoles and the free people of colour. To make the tragical history of Saint Domingo an argument against the abolition of slavery was to be guilty of an anachronism. (Hear.) M. Berryer had said, that to emancipate the slaves without previously organizing a system of free labour, would be to ruin the colonies. But free labour was incompatible with slavery, and could not be organized till slavery had ceased. He had also raised the English question. There were causes enough of complaint against England; but to infer hatred to France, and a desire to destroy French commerce in the West Indies, from her measure of emancipation, was thoughtless. It took England five-and-twenty years of parliamentary conflict to arrive at this point: and no system of artifice, however well acted out, could have deceived an observant world for so long a time. The English Government had been long opposed to the measure, and had been borne along by the current of public opinion. The French democracy pronounced by acclamation the abolition of slavery in 1794; thirty-nine years afterwards the people of England decreed it in their turn. In these immortal questions democracies put out all their force, and hence a common tendency to the relief of the oppressed. (Hear.) The feeling of England, then, had not been one of sordid rivalry. He would admit that, since emancipation, some persons in England were endeavouring to introduce blacks into the colonies under the name of free labourers, and that this might become a disguised slave-trade. But would the Government counteract the wish of the nation? Should it be so, the maritime nations of the world might put England to shame for the violation of her engagements. It had been said that England acknowledged herself disappointed by emancipation, but Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel had asserted the contrary. He would then discard the question of national rivalry, and look at the only question which was really before them—ought they to adopt or reject

the law under discussion? (Hear.) He had experienced a conflict between his heart and his understanding. His understanding told him to reject or to amend the law, which dishonoured the dignity of human nature by acknowledging slavery, and consecrated injustice by obliging the poor slave to pay for a crime which was committed by the community, and for which the community ought to compensate him. His understanding told him also, that, from the moment of the passing of that law making a slave no longer a *thing*, it ought to be deemed cruel and immoral to flog women and children, and that magistrates and clergy, the natural protectors of the oppressed, ought not to be allowed to hold slaves. But his heart replied, that the postponement of this law for a year would be a source of dreadful punishments, and that every cry of grief borne across the Atlantic would harrow up his soul; and then his understanding yielded to his heart, and he promised to vote for the law without amendment. (Hear.) Under the influence of these sentiments, he entreated M. de Gasparin to withdraw his amendments. (Hear.) There were two principles which commended the law to their adoption. The first was, the right of redemption. This should be rendered effectual by liberal and universal charity. The clergy should open the churches in favour of the slave, and every one should carry his contribution towards the ransom of their African brethren. (Hear.) A second principle, of less value, was placing the master under legal responsibility. Hitherto the master had been accountable for nothing, now he would be accountable for everything. He was convinced that when the colonists knew that the time was come for it, they would put off the old man, they would recover their better nature, and be intelligent enough to put themselves, like the English planters, at the head of the movement, and call for emancipation. (Hear.)

M. ROGER (*du Loiret*) spoke at some length, in favour of amending the *projet de loi*.

M. ODILLON BARROT vindicated the plan adopted in the *projet* of referring the details of the measure to the executive Government, and then entreated M. Gasparin not to press his amendments. He concluded in the following terms:—"The Government are sensible, I hope, of the greatness of their work. All that is now done will be illusory, without the active, energetic, and persevering intervention of the Government. I hope also that they are sensible of the difficulties which await them. We may discern them in the pamphlets with which we are inundated, and may see by what multiplied and dissimilar methods attempts will be made to obstruct the execution of the law, and to bring it into discredit. In gentle terms the tocsin of resistance to the law is already sounded. Let the Government know, however, that, if they are firm, the law will be fruitful. They may reckon in advance upon our full and entire support in the execution of it. Whenever they may demand our aid to enforce (prudently, no doubt, but firmly) this law of liberty, we shall be ready. But, if that which we give them as a means of improvement and liberation should, by their weakness, become only a means of disturbance, their responsibility will be great; it will have no other measure than that of the confidence which we repose in them." (Hear.)

The MINISTER OF MARINE.—The Government understood the appeal which had just been made to its loyalty and sincerity. The provisions of the *projet* had been studied on the spot where they were to be applied, and consequently brought forward with confidence. "Yes, certainly," said the minister, "not only the Minister of Marine, but the entire Government take at this moment before the Chamber, by my mouth, the engagement which the honourable deputy calls for. My honourable predecessors for ten years have prepared the work which I am happy to be called on to advance." He then adverted to the proposed amendments of M. Gasparin, observing generally that they were not of sufficient importance to hazard the safety of the measure. All he wished might be accomplished by the measures of detail which would accompany the law. Thus, he wished that domestic slaves should be empowered to exchange one day's work against an amount of wages to be previously fixed. To all who knew the colonies it was evident that the domestic slaves were in the best condition. They did not require the concession of one day in the week, and it was much more their interest to preserve the wholesome and abundant food they had in the houses of their masters. As to acquisition of property, the domestic slaves had a thousand ways of acquiring and increasing property. As to savings banks in the colonies, the Government were decidedly in favour of them; but they would be best regulated by an ordinance. Also, as to the flogging of women; both the Government and the Commission agreed with M. Gasparin, and attention would be particularly directed to it. The hon. deputy and the Commission might trust them to introduce every possible mitigation into the discipline of the estates.

M. DE GASPARIN would not press his first amendment; but he

would not as yet abandon the others, which might form texts for useful discussions.

M. ROGER (*du Loiret*).—What would be the condition of fishermen and sailors, who could not have conceded to them one day in the week?

The MINISTER of MARINE.—“The ordinance will be conceived in the most favourable terms for the slaves. I am delighted to have this opportunity of declaring that in every arrangement the Government will always be inclined to favour the slaves.”

M. DE GASPARIN proceeded with his second amendment. It went to the entire suppression of the corporal punishment of women. Several years since the Government itself had proposed this measure. In 1838 a draft ordinance to this effect was transmitted to the Colonial Councils. In 1840 a circular issued from the Ministry of Marine, making a still larger proposition, which was resisted by special councils in the colonies. He would ask the Minister of Marine, therefore, whether it was his intention to prepare for emancipation by doing what England and Denmark had done, namely, by abolishing the corporal punishment of women?

The MINISTER of MARINE.—“I certainly find it difficult to answer the honourable deputy. What he desires I desire equally with himself: no one detests more than I do the flogging of women. The Chamber, however, will acknowledge that I have some right to its confidence. I am far from saying that the wishes of the honourable deputy will not be realized; but I request at the same time that I may not be obliged to make any promise.”

M. DE GASPARIN.—“I take these words of the minister very seriously. I am persuaded that, although he declines a formal promise, this declaration evinces his real intention. I am persuaded that women will be flogged no longer: and I consequently withdraw my amendment.”

M. L'HERBETTE was sorry that the Minister of Marine would not give a positive promise.

M. DELESSER said, on behalf of the Commission, that they had given much attention to this subject, and that they were satisfied of the concurrence of the minister in their views.

On the paragraph relating to religious instruction,

M. DUBOIS (of the Lower Loire) rose to complain that the 3,250,000 francs voted for the religious instruction of the slaves since 1840 had been of very little use.

M. L'HERBETTE said this was owing chiefly to the weakness of the Government, in not enforcing the ordinances. He cited three instances in which the ordinances had been expressly violated, and asked the Minister of Marine what measures had been adopted towards these functionaries?

The MINISTER of MARINE was silent.

M. L'HERBETTE said that silence in relation to such distinct accusations was very intelligible.

On a subsequent clause,

M. ROGER (*du Loiret*) submitted to the Minister of Marine the importance of providing some equivalent for those slaves to whom it would not be possible to make grants of land; such as the slaves residing in towns, sailors, fishermen, and others.

On another clause,

M. GASPARIN observed, that it seemed to imply that sick persons might be compelled to labour; he wished the clause to be restricted to persons in health.

M. JOLLIVET said it was an insult to the Colonial Councils to suppose they would compel sick persons to work.

M. JURELIN (*Commissaire du Roi*) said the decree which would be presented by the Government to the Colonial Councils would contain regulations for securing the object in view.

On the clause, that “the obligation of extraordinary labour should not apply to domestic slaves, to children, or to the sick,”

M. GASPARIN proposed to add, “nor to women.” This had been in the original *projet*, and had been expunged by the Chamber of Peers. He should deeply regret such a state of things.

The MINISTER of MARINE promised that great respect should be paid to this recommendation.

On the clause relating to the wages of voluntary labour,

M. GASPARIN observed, that task-work had been already introduced into the colonies, and he hoped the clause would not be so understood as to prevent it.

The MINISTER of MARINE replied, that the Government had resolved to introduce into all the colonies the system of task-work, which had worked so well in Guiana, and that all their endeavours would be used to make the principal part of the work task-work, and the task not too heavy.

On the clause relating to property,

M. DE GASPARIN proposed an amendment to the effect, that “persons not free should be deemed owners of what they possessed at the period of the promulgation of the law, as well as of what they might acquire afterwards.” He referred in strong terms to the very important clause which required proof on the part of the slave of lawful possession,—a kind of proof often impossible. Did the Government and the Commission mean that gifts, from whatever quarter they might come, should be a lawful source of property?

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—Certainly.

M. DE GASPARIN.—M. Jollivet had thrown a doubt upon it; and he called for a categorical answer on the part of the Government and the Commission.

M. ISAMBERT agreed entirely with M. Gasparin; but he thought it unnecessary to introduce an amendment. In the case of disputed property, the master would not be the judge of his own claim. It must be brought before a magistrate, who would, of course, follow the rules of common law and common-sense.

M. GALOS (*Commissaire du Roi*).—The Commission had felt the same uneasiness as MM. Gasparin and Isambert: but they had been satisfied with this explanation—that every question of disputed property would be carried before the judge royal, who would proceed according to the principles of common law.

M. JOLLIVET said, that the property which the slaves now held they held only by sufferance of their masters, who, up to the time of promulgating the law, could take it all away.

SEVERAL MEMBERS.—They cannot.

M. JOLLIVET.—He admitted that they would not. The amendment of M. Gasparin would make the slaves possessors of the gardens, of which they had now only a precarious tenure.

The REPORTER of the COMMISSION.—Two questions had been asked. First, Whether the property of the slaves might be increased by donations or otherwise? Clearly, yes. Secondly, Whether there would be any difference between property acquired before the promulgation of the law and property acquired after it? His reply was,—that from the day of the promulgation of the law, the slave would be in possession of all he had before; and that usage would to him become a right.

Sitting of June 3rd.

M. WURTEMBERG, deputy from Bourdeaux, asked the Minister what had induced him to bring this measure forward?

M. DE MACKAU.—A motive of humanity, but without injury to the colonists. Whenever the day of emancipation should arrive, it would be impossible to proceed without an ample indemnity. (Senation.) The Minister repeated this declaration.

M. DUPRAT.—“It is the first time you have said this.”

The MINISTER.—“Others have said it. We look in the first instance to an organization of free labour.”

M. JOLLIVET.—“I hope that when the perilous measure of emancipation shall be brought forward, the Chambers will vote the ample indemnity which the Minister has promised.”

SEVERAL VOICES (ironically).—“Wait a little! We are not there yet!”

M. GASPARIN proposed the following amendment, “Two thousand premiums of 250 francs each shall be annually awarded to the largest slave-depositors in the savings-banks; the premiums to be distributed among the colonies in proportion to their slave population.” He asked, whether the Government was disposed to enter fully into such a plan for aiding the redemption of the slaves?

M. JULES LASTEYRIE (Reporter of the Commission).—This question was answered in the affirmative by an article in the second law, which would have to be considered.

On the clause limiting the right of slaves to redeem their relations,

M. GASPARIN asked, whether the right of slaves to give money to other slaves for the purpose of their redemption was restricted by this clause?

The REPORTER and the MINISTER both answered that it was not. On the self-redemption clause,

M. GASPARIN proposed the following amendment: “That the price of redemption should be fixed beforehand by royal ordinance according to age, sex, and profession.” He indicated several reasons for apprehending that the prices fixed on the slaves would be much too high.

The MINISTER of MARINE thought that the Commission composed of the President of the Royal Court, a Councillor of the same court, and a member of the Colonial Council, afforded a sufficient guarantee in this matter; but that, if it should be otherwise, the Government had sufficient means and sufficient energy to provide a remedy.

M. ISAMBERT said, that the members of the Commission were to be appointed, not by the King, but by the Royal Court; and that the Royal Courts of the Colonies were actually composed, to the extent of at least one-half, of Creole proprietors possessing slaves. The four Attorney-Generals were also slaveholders. The Commission would necessarily be partial. The point was very important, and he was disposed to support the amendment of M. Gasparin.

M. GUSTAV DE BEAUMONT asked, whether these things were really so?

The MINISTER of MARINE admitted that they were so; but added that while, on the one hand, a heavy responsibility rested with the Government as to the choice of persons whom they should propose to the King, on the other hand the Government had full authority to remove any magistrates who should not conduct themselves conformably to its wishes.

The REPORTER said, that in the actual state of the Colonial magistracy, the Commission had preferred throwing a heavy responsibility on the Government to attempting an impracticable change.

After a lengthened debate,

The MINISTER of MARINE said, that with respect to so important and sacred a trust confided to the magistrates, one of the first duties of the Government, when the law should have been passed, would be to address to the Government of the Colonies precise and detailed instructions. The attention of the Government once

directed to the point, some security against the apprehended inconvenience would exist.

M. GASPARIN was not satisfied with the explanations given, and would persist in his amendment; which was then put to the vote, and lost.

M. ROGER (*du Loiret*), on the clause, that "every enfranchised slave, whether by purchase or otherwise, should be bound to labour for five years," asked, whether this was meant to apply to slaves spontaneously enfranchised by their masters, and moved the omission of this phrase.

M. DUBOIS (of the Lower Loire), pressed the same point.

The MINISTER OF MARINE answered the question in the affirmative.

M. GASPARIN would not give the Chamber the opportunity of rejecting another amendment, but he felt with MM. Roger and Dubois. He asked, also, whether the clause was to have a retrospective action on free persons of colour?

MANY VOICES.—Oh no!

M. GASPARIN was delighted with this answer.

Sitting of June 4th.

M. ROGER (*du Loiret*) proposed an amendment, to the effect, that "all slaves belonging to the Government or the public establishments, should forthwith be declared free."

The MINISTER OF MARINE said, that the Cabinet had viewed this subject carefully on all sides, that they had received the commands of the King upon it, and had subsequently made the declaration he had recently pronounced in the Chamber.

On the clause relating to vagrancy,

M. GASPARIN required information on four points. He asked—
1. Whether the phrase, "Every individual under sixty years of age," was to be applied to all persons indiscriminately? 2. Whether enfranchised persons would have liberty to quit one colony for another, or the colonies of France for a foreign country? 3. What was intended by "sufficient means of existence?" 4. Whether, when an enfranchised person had been sent to a colonial plantation, there would be any limit to his detention there?

The MINISTER replied to the first point, that the clause applied indiscriminately to all classes of the population, white and coloured. To the second point, that all free persons in the Colonies, of whatever condition, might go wherever they pleased. To the third point, that nowhere was it so easy to obtain the means of existence as in the colonies. To the fourth, that persons sent to a colonial plantation might depart the next day, if they could show that they did not belong to the class indicated by the article.

M. GASPARIN congratulated himself on having drawn forth this explanation.

On the clause, that "the present law should apply only to the Colonies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guiana, Bourbon, and their dependencies,"

M. GASPARIN proposed as an amendment, "that it should be accompanied by separate laws for the abolition of slavery in the other colonies of France." It was necessary to ask what the intentions of the Government were respecting these other colonies. They had three other possessions where slavery existed; French India, Senegal, and Algeria. In the first of these the abolition of slavery would encounter no difficulties. In Senegal there ought to be fewer difficulties than anywhere; no plantations, very few slaves, (about 10,000,) and no serious complication. If this law was not applied to Senegal, it could only be because the Government intended to effect emancipation there more speedily. As to Algeria, it was painful to reflect that slave-merchants retreated from an English colony, and made themselves comfortable in a French one. The slave trade was always going on in Senegal and Algeria, but not at Sierra Leone.

M. GENTY DE BUSSY.—That was a mistake. The slave-trade was not carried on in Algeria.

M. TERNAUX COMPANS.—The Arabs went to Mozambique to carry slaves for sale in India.

M. GASPARIN.—Slavery and the slave-trade did exist in Algeria. The number of slaves had indeed somewhat increased. According to a recent computation in the *Moniteur Algérien*, there were not more than 1200 slaves in all Algeria. It could be no great difficulty to liberate them. Already the Bey of Tunis (a barbarian as he was called) had abolished slavery, and forbidden the introduction of slaves into any of his states. Had any serious inconvenience arisen to the regency of Tunis? No. The result was, that the caravans which used to bring slaves now brought free negroes, even whole villages, who left Soudan to fix themselves in Tunis. He blushed when comparing their conduct with that of the Bey of Tunis. He blushed to say that in Algeria slaves were, not publicly, but notoriously sold; and as badly treated as in the colonies. There were indisputable proofs of it. They had gone further. They had sent back to their irritated masters slaves who had come to seek refuge under the French flag. (*Sensation.*) The existence of the slave-trade in Algeria could not be denied. M. Desjober, a member of that Chamber, had, in his last work, nobly protested against it; and the Governor-general of Algeria had himself recognised it as a branch of commerce. It had been said, that this was not the time to deprive interior Africa of such an export. He would not refute such a doctrine. He believed France could do what the Bey of Tunis could do. And it was very inconsistent that, while they were resigning a treaty for the abolition of the traffic by sea, they were

determined to maintain it on land,—and on the land of France. One might be insensible to the sufferings of the blacks on the other side of the Atlantic, at that distance their wailings were hushed, and crimes grew dim. But in Algeria, at forty-eight hours' sail from France, under the eyes of Europe, on the shores of the Mediterranean—indeed, it was too near. "You cannot maintain at Algeria either the slave-trade, or slavery." (Lively approbation on the left. The minister was silent.)

M. ISAMBERT.—Some explanation ought to be given to the Chamber. There were slaves in the French establishments in India, although few. Why did the Government hesitate to declare by an ordinance that no proceedings relating to slavery should be had before the French tribunals? As to Senegal, the question was more grave, since the slaves amounted to 10,000. M. Bouet had just abolished the system of military recruiting, which was a good measure, and he thanked the Government for it. The Government should deal with that question also. In Algeria the number of slaves was not large. He knew that violence must not be done to the manners of a country; but it would be perfectly in harmony with the treaty of 1830 with the Dey of Algiers to prohibit all legal proceedings relating to slavery before the civil courts. No such action he believed had yet arisen; but one might arise at any moment. And, unless formally prohibited, the tribunals of Algeria would have no legal means of preventing them. He recommended these things to the minister, a few words from whom would compromise nothing. (The minister continued silent.)

THE CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

As we were enabled to make in our last only a slight mention of this great gathering of the abolitionists of the Liberty party in the Eastern States, we proceed now to give such further account of it as our limits will allow.

The Convention was held at the Tremont Temple, in the city of Boston, on the 1st of October, under the presidency of the Hon. Samuel Fessenden, of Maine. One part of the proceedings consisted in the adoption of an extended series of resolutions, declaratory of the sentiments of the meeting on various points of importance. Some of these related to political topics, a class from which we take the two following:—

"Resolved, That the history of the emancipated slaves of the British colonies, their readiness to labour for fair wages, their subordination to law, their diligence in providing for their families, their advancement in civilization and religious knowledge, take away every shadow of apology for delay in conceding to the enslaved of this land the full rights of liberty under law."

"Resolved, That we rejoice to see so many signs that the cruel and mean prejudice of colour is giving way before the light of reason, and especially the noble examples of magnanimity and talent displayed by men of colour who have traversed the free States as advocates of liberty, and that we hail this as a sure harbinger of victory over that system of human chattelism, of which this prejudice is the ignoble offspring."

Some of the resolutions affirm the anti-slavery character of the constitution of the United States; one maintains the unconstitutional character of the act of 1793, authorizing the arrest of fugitive slaves without a warrant, and others relate to the biblical question. From these we extract one, intended to bear on a distinction set up during the late discussion at the annual meeting of the Board for Foreign Missions. It is as follows:—

"Resolved, That the distinction between individual and organic sin, so called, by which it has been sought, and especially of late, to mitigate the guilt of individual slaveholding, and even to maintain, in some cases, its entire innocence as well as its entire consistency with an approved Christian character and standing, however sincerely and honestly held, has no foundation in the nature and relations of things, no warrant in the Bible, and no confirmation in the actual retrIBUTIONS of Providence; and is in fact a practical license to individual transgression, a practical support of the very system it condemns, and involves the absurdity of maintaining, that just where organised and legalised iniquity is most compact and strong, and social vice most universal and inveterate, and society as such at its height of guilt, and the judgments of Almighty God, in the retrIBUTIONS of his providence, actually breaking forth, because even Divine forbearance is exhausted, there individual guilt is least, and the individual practice of prevailing abominations most entitled to the excuse, commiseration, and commendation, both of God and man!"

From the remaining resolutions we select three; one relating to the persecuted abolitionists, another to Cassius M. Clay, and the third to the expulsion of Mr. Moss by the State of South Carolina.

"Resolved, That we cordially sympathise with the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, Captain Jonathan Walker, and the numerous other persons who have suffered cruel inflictions at the hands of slaveholders, for acting or being suspected of acting on the impulses of their humanity, affirming that whatever fault may be found with their conduct, they cannot be justly accused of having violated any just right of the slaveholders or people of the slaveholding States.

"Resolved, That we tender to Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, our warmest sympathy in his trials, our heartiest approbation of his intrepid and independent spirit, and our best wishes for his restoration to health; that we rejoice to learn that he is preparing to resume his noble efforts in the cause of the oppressed; and that, although on some points, and in some particulars, he has not adopted true anti-slavery doctrines or advocated the cause of human rights in the way we deem most proper and effectual for the advancement of the cause, yet we shall rejoice in a renewal of his labours and in the accomplishment of his ardent wishes for

the deliverance of his State and the nation from the curse and disgrace of American slavery.

"Resolved, That we feel a virtuous indignation at the treatment of a venerable citizen of this State by the legislature of South Carolina and the inhabitants of Charleston, when in that State and city as a public agent and defender of citizens of Massachusetts unconstitutionally imprisoned, and at the same time deep mortification that so much apathy is felt by the people of this city and this State at the perpetration of such an indignity against a respected citizen, and such an invasion of the rights of the people of this Commonwealth."

A committee on Texas was appointed by the Convention, and a report was brought up by them, to the effect that, as further action must be taken by Congress before annexation could be completed, the question must be considered as still before the country, and that strenuous efforts should be made to induce the people to send remonstrances to Congress by the 1st of December. On the recommendation of this committee, committees of three from each state represented in the Convention were appointed to agitate this matter in the respective states, and a form of remonstrance was agreed on. The following passage will give an idea of the tone of this report:—

"The means are obvious. Let every one feel it his own personal duty to do something in this cause. Let every town and village be roused by lectures—let remonstrances to Congress against the admission of Texas as a slave State be everywhere circulated—let the clergy be urged to preach resistance to annexation and slavery as a religious duty. Let conventions of the people be called in every State, to give expression to popular opinion. Let every man who reads this address be sure that he does something himself to defeat the nefarious plot to sustain slavery. Many can address popular assemblies; many can write for the public; all can converse with their friends—all can sign petitions—all can vote. If every man who thinks right on this subject, will only do his duty, annexation may yet be defeated; and the North be for the first time triumphant in the great warfare between liberty and slavery."

Another part of the proceedings of the Convention consisted in the adoption of an address to the people of the United States, in order to multiply the adherents of the Liberty party. It is clearly and powerfully written, and will, we hope, have extensive influence. We can make room for only the following extracts:—

"We asked for your help to overthrow the system of American oppression. Give it to us, we entreat you. Give it to us in all practicable ways; and let your connexion with the Liberty party be one of those ways. Is it not high time for you to cease from parties, which are unpledged, unprepared, and unwilling to attack slavery?—and is it not high time for you to join a party, which, called into being for the express purpose of destroying slavery, has never set aside for the sake of other interests, and never compromised, the declared object of its existence? Why should you not join it? It is not, as you are everywhere told it is, a fanatical party. Its object, as worthy as ever appealed in the heart of philanthropy, and its means to compass it, the peaceful means of the peaceful ballot-box, are both approved of by reason and religion. Nor is it, as you are everywhere told it is, a party in opposition to the Constitution. The Constitution being an anti-slavery instrument, and giving to Congress, as has been well said, no more power, nor semblance of power, to make a slave than to make a king—what motive could the Liberty party have to set itself in opposition to it? The Constitution being the friend of the Liberty party, shall not find in that party a foe. The Liberty party in power would prove its trueness to the Constitution, by promptly withdrawing from slavery the protection of the National flag; by promptly abolishing the curse in the district of Columbia; and, wherever also, beyond the original limits of the nation, Congress has been so treasonable to the Constitution, as to set up slavery, or suffer it to be set up. And if the Liberty party, on taking the reins of Government, shall not sweep slavery from the original thirteen States, as well as from the other part of the nation, the omission will be owing, not to its want of fidelity to the Constitution; but, alone, to its want of the conviction, that it has the rightful power to do so.—The present indications, however, are, that even this conviction may not be wanting; for the present indications are, that the arguments of a Goodell and a Spooner to prove that slavery has no Constitutional nor legal existence in any part of the Nation, remain unanswered, because they are unanswerable.

"And, now, men of the free North!—Citizens of the Eastern and Middle States!—by every consideration of religion, humanity and patriotism, you are urged to the exertion of *all* your powers for the overthrow of slavery. Your homes and your altars, your honour and good name, are at stake. The slave in his prison stretches his manacled hands towards you, imploring your aid. A cloud of witnesses surrounds you. The oppressed millions of Europe beseech you to remove from their pathway to freedom the reproach and stumbling block of democratic slavery. From the damp depths of dungeons—from the stake and the scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have sealed their testimony with their blood—solemn and awful voices call upon you to make the dead letter of your republicanism a living truth. Join with us, then, fellow-citizens. Slavery is mighty: but it can be overthrown. In the name of God and humanity, let us bring the mightier ballot-box of a kingless people to bear upon it. The model man of our Republic, who might have been a king, but would not, calls from his grave upon each of us to do that, which he solemnly declared himself ready to do—to give his vote to free the slave and to abolish the wicked phantasy of property in man. He shall not call in vain. We acknowledge the duty of consecrating our votes to the deliverance of the oppressed, and joyfully do we perform it."

WEST INDIA ESTATE ATTORNEYS.—Pshaw! there are a few liberal and conscientious attorneys. But as for the generality of them, they are defrauders and rogues, who, hoodwinking the absentees, make what charges they like, and resist reform movements, not on public principle, but because their success must, more or less, render chicane and knavery unprofitable—*Grenada Times*.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

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All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 12, 1845.

THAT portion of the debate in the French Chamber of Deputies on the law for the regulation of colonial slavery to which we have devoted a large part of our columns to-day is, we think, decidedly more interesting than that which we inserted last week. In the progress of the general debate made, M. de Gasparin had expressed his strong desire that the *projet* should be materially amended; and, although he yielded so far to the wishes of the Minister and of the Chamber as not to press his amendments generally to a division, and so to risk the safety of the measure, he nevertheless persevered in bringing them forward as leading to useful discussions, and as giving occasion to important declarations on behalf of the Government. We are satisfied that the honourable deputy acted herein a wise and salutary part, and that he is entitled to the thanks of all the friends of freedom and humanity. It will be seen that the amendments he proposed were all of the right stamp, and that the explanations elicited by them were, if such things are of any worth at all, of considerable value. Taking occasion by one of these amendments, M. Odillon Barrot very powerfully pressed the responsibility of the Government arising out of the confidence reposed in them by the Chambers, and the reply of M. de Mackau evinced that he understood and felt the appeal. One of M. de Gasparin's amendments appeared to him so important that he refused to withdraw it, and M. Isambert concurred in supporting it; it was however negatived by the Chamber, and no other amendment was pressed to a division. Towards the close of the debate M. de Gasparin introduced the subject of slavery in India, Senegal, and Algeria, and asked why this unrighteous system should not be abolished there; a common sense question to which the Minister returned no answer. In reference to Algeria, a second effort was made to get the Minister on his legs by M. Isambert, but without success. Under the reiteration of statements so deeply affecting the honour of France M. de Mackau maintained a dogged silence. We are glad, however, that the ice has been broken, and that the facts respecting slavery and slave-trading on the "French soil" of Algeria have been at length stated in the face of France and of the world. Had it been possible to deny or to extenuate them, no doubt the French Minister would have spoken. His silence admits, not only that the allegations are true, but that there exists for these now undisputed facts not a shadow of either justification or excuse. We shall in our next number have to take some notice of the discussion of the *projet de loi* for providing a fund auxiliary to slave-redemption in the colonies.

If, in the preceding article, we have insinuated a doubt whether ministerial explanations in the French Chambers are of any value, the progress of ministerial action in relation to the law for the regulation of colonial slavery but too promptly supplies the proof by which our doubt must be converted into certainty. The French nation and the civilized world have been in expectation for some time past of the royal ordinances by which a practical and executive character was to be given to the law we have named, and upon the comprehensiveness and wisdom of which its efficiency, as was universally admitted, was altogether dependent. Upon this point we had declarations and promises in abundance. The minister's mouth was full of the most courteous expressions, and the strong assurances. Was anything wanting? a royal ordinance should supply it? Was anything wrong? a royal ordinance should rectify it. Was anything doubtful? a royal ordinance should explain it in a sense the most favourable for the slave. At length, after four months' delay, the expected ordinances are produced in the *Monitor*, and we do not hesitate to say that a more contemptible juggle was never played off upon a people or upon a legislature, even by the most eminent professors of the art of thimble-rig. That our readers may have the opportunity of satisfying themselves upon this point (and certainly for no other reason) we have inserted the two ordinances entire in our columns from the *National* of the 1st of November, together with some just and excellent remarks which we find appended to them in that paper. A perusal of the ordinances makes it evident at once, that by far the greater part of the objects which were to be effected by ordinance are not attempted at all, and that what is attempted is attempted in a manner miserably mean and unsatisfactory. The tendency of the ordinances is rather to obstruct the redemption of the slaves than to promote it, rather to consolidate the system of slavery than to break it up. They might have been drawn up by M. Jollivet himself; and, if they have not really been so, they indicate the prevalence in the Cabinet of the very spirit by which he is animated. As for the Minister of Marine, he

has clearly forgotten his most explicit promises, and thrown overboard his most solemn pledges. His conduct is nothing short of a deliberate insult to the French Chambers and the French nation. Henceforth he is not an honest man, but a man of trick and chicanery. His word is not to be taken, otherwise than as a studied effort to deceive. And in this instance the whole of the French Government is implicated in his hypocrisy and deceitfulness. It cannot be doubted that great and just offence will be taken in France at this conduct. The abolitionists will of necessity be indignant. And scarcely less so we should conceive the legislative chambers. Unless M. de Mackau have at least as much of impudence as he has of fraud, he cannot appear in either of them without confusion. But, with whatever power of face he may be gifted, there are men in both of them who will redeem their words, and who cannot redeem their words without calling him to a rigorous account. However severe his castigation may be, we shall not pity him. He will not endure a tithe of the sufferings which, through his treachery, will continue to be inflicted on every one of two hundred and forty thousand of his unhappy fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects in the colonies. They are the victims of this state trickery. How painful it will be to all the friends of humanity and freedom, and how humbling it ought to be to such a nation as France, that these great interests should year after year be so deplorably trifled with! It is now but too plain that the *rulers* of France do not mean to abolish colonial slavery. Are Frenchmen willing to have it perpetuated?

CASSIUS CLAY has had confidence enough in the judicial institutions of his country to indict the parties who forcibly removed his printing press, and with a result which certainly no one *out* of the United States, and we could almost have said no one *in* them, could have ventured to predict. The judge has laid it down as a rule, that what the people think a nuisance, if the jury happen to think it so too, may be abated by the people without any appeal to the law. The parties were accordingly acquitted. By this rule, a mob may commit with impunity any atrocity, under the name of abating a nuisance, only taking their chance—a very good one for the most part—that a jury would admit it to be a nuisance. This is carrying mob law and liberty to an extreme which we have never before observed it to reach. The decision of this *learned* judge will scarcely be confirmed by the superior courts, to which, of course, the question will be carried.

TUE mail from the West Indies was delivered yesterday, but it brings no news of importance. We take the following summary of its contents from the *Times* :—

"Our news from the West Indies is favourable, though scanty. The weather was fine, and an abundant supply of rain in most places. The sugar crops were looking well. The best description of coffee would yield badly, having suffered more by the drought than the ordinary and inferior qualities, which are less damaged.

"We find a growing feeling in favour of free labour in the West Indies, and it is the opinion of many that if they had a better supply of labourers they would not fear being able to compete with Cuba-grown sugar. They have not, as formerly, to lay out a large sum of money in the support of slaves, having been compelled to maintain them whether able to work or not. They find it now more advantageous to pay the negro 1s. 4d. or 1s. 6d. for his day's work, and only hire him when he is wanted on the estate."

OUR files of Mauritius papers have come to hand. The attempts to improve the mode of distributing the immigrant Coolies do not proceed very smoothly. The Protector, Mr. Anderson, having thought proper (as it is stated in the *Watchman*) "to order all the planters who were standing close to the depot to range themselves on a line against the walls of the Bagne, and not to go in but only two at a time," one of them, a Mr. Lyonnet, refused obedience, and was, after some continuance of the fracas, taken into custody by the Protector's order. The same paper contains an account of the death of an Indian washerman from excessive drinking, and the mention of this circumstance gives rise to some sensible observations, which we quote, as follows :—

"It is deeply to be regretted that the practice of giving arrack to persons employed to do any odd jobs prevails so extensively, even among respectable persons. Many an Indian, never used to strong drink in his own country, has acquired an ungovernable love for it from this custom, which cannot be too strongly condemned. We firmly believe that the greatest part of the intoxication and disorder consequent upon it among the Indian labourers has been produced by the habit of giving rations of spirits on the estates. If some other article were issued to them in lieu of spirits, we believe that a great deal of irregularity and complaint might be avoided. We are well aware that if coffee or anything of that sort were given, it would cost more to the planter; but we are persuaded that the difference in cost would be far more than compensated by the difference in conduct which would arise from it."

In a letter inserted in the *Cernéen* from the *Calcutta Star*, we find the following passage :—" You will be surprised to hear of this great want of labour after the introduction of 50,000 labourers from India, but numbers of those people having worked for one year under engagement, have dispersed throughout the island, and little or nothing is known as to how they are employed." We submit that this is a statement of considerable importance. Assuming its truth, (and it comes from a source at all events not hostile to the planters), it goes to prove that there is very little use in immigration, since, so long as anything else can be found to do, the Coolies will

not work, after the obligations of the first year have expired, on the plantations. The immense cost of this system, consequently, is mere extravagance and waste. To this it may be added that, if there are 50,000 Coolies, or any large fraction of 50,000 Coolies, in Mauritius, of whom it can be truly said that "little or nothing is known as to how they are employed," this is a state of things which ought not to exist. The writer of the letter, indeed, goes on to say that "they probably devote their time to petty trades;" but this is a matter which need not be left to conjecture. There can be no difficulty in the way of the facts being ascertained by the Governor, and we think that some certain knowledge on this point might throw some serviceable light on the question of immigration generally.

An article in an American paper, the *Washington Union*, rejoicing that the culture of cotton in British India is a complete failure, and that this fact gives to the United States "wealth in peace and power in war," has become the occasion of an excellent letter on that subject in the *Times*, for the whole of which we wish we could find room. The writer is evidently in possession of ample information, and writes with great discrimination and moderation. His statements, however, are on the whole most gratifying. It appears that, from 39,587 bales in 1825, the export of cotton from the East Indies to this country has increased to 239,718 bales in 1844. After advertiring to the characteristics of soil and climate in various parts of India, the writer adverts to "the true cotton district," or Central India, in the following terms :—" There the elevation of the table land, with the modifying influence of the several ranges of mountains, produces a peculiarity of climate which is equally removed from the excessive moisture of Bengal, or the parching drought of Northern India. With a favourable climate there is also abundance of the excellent cotton soil of India; and hence the cotton culture has extended almost of itself, and will go on extending in proportion to the encouragement given by the capital and energy of European merchants. About twenty years since some excellent cotton was grown at Dharwar, in the southern Mahratta country. One of the American planters has established himself at this place, and finds it well suited to the cultivation of American cotton. The culture, indeed, has been yearly increasing; it was at first 600 acres, then 3,000; last year 7,000 acres were under cultivation in the Government farms by the ryots and by some German missionaries in different parts of the district, with New Orleans cotton. This year seed has been engaged for not less than 15,000 to 20,000 acres, and the intelligent American planter writes that not less than a million of pounds will be produced this year. The important fact is, that the culture is increasing, and has been taken up by the natives. He further states that the ryots find it the most profitable unirrigated crop they have, and they can sell it for about a penny a pound. They get more of the American than of their own cotton per acre, and they get a better price for it without extra expense in cultivation. Much of what has been grown by the ryots has been bought by the Government, is being cleaned, and will be sent to Liverpool. The planter further states, that 'there is no better short staple cotton than that of Central India, when it is fairly handled, and gets the ghost of a fair chance.'

Every friend of humanity and freedom will receive this statement with sincere pleasure. Knowing the attention which is now paid to this subject in influential quarters, we confess our anticipations in relation to the culture of cotton in British India are sanguine. Our contemporary exults in the thought that its failure would secure for his country "wealth in peace, and power in war." We rejoice that its success will tend to bring about there a triumph of humanity and righteousness, which none of the glories of war can equal, and none of the blessings of peace can exceed.

THE ORDINANCES FOR THE REGULATION OF THE SLAVES IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

(From the *National* of November 1st.)

THE *Moniteur* of this morning publishes the two following ordinances.

"In view of the article of the law of the 18th of July, 1845, par. 2, 3, and 4 :—

"If the price of redemption is not amicably agreed upon between the master and the slave, it shall be determined in each case by a commission composed of the President of the Royal Court, a Councillor of the same court, and member of the Colonial Council; the two latter to be chosen annually by ballot by their respective bodies. This Commission shall decide by majority of votes, and without appeal.

"The payment of the price thus fixed shall always be completed before the delivery of the act of enfranchisement, which shall state this fact, as well as the decision of the Commission fixing the price.

"A Royal ordinance shall determine the forms of the several acts above prescribed, as well as the measures necessary for securing the rights of third parties interested in the price of the slaves.

"The Council of Delegates having been constituted in conformity with article 17 of the said law,

"We have ordained and do ordain as follows :—

"Art. 1.—Sec. 1. In the case supposed in paragraph 2, above cited from the law of July 18, 1845, the demand to fix the price of redemption shall be transmitted to the Commission charged to act upon it by the Attorney-General of the colony, on his receiving it from the Royal Attorney of the arrondissement in which the mayor resides.

"Sec. 2. The Royal Attorney shall be put in possession of this demand writing, either directly by the slave or his master, or by the intervention and advice of the mayor of the commune, or the justice of the peace of

the canton, at the choice of either of the parties concerned. He shall transmit it to the Attorney-General, with all the elements of the valuation.

" Art. 2.—Sec. 1. The Commission shall determine *sur pieces*, except as hereafter excepted. It shall be authorised, by means of the Attorney-General, to demand all the additional information which to it may appear necessary for its decision.

" Sec. 2. The Commission may summon the parties, and hear them, either separately or in opposition. In this case the slave shall have leave of absence during a period fixed by the Commission.

" Sec. 3. Whenever a slave shall have leave of absence the master shall receive an allowance for each day, regulated according to the scale now in use in relation to slaves required to give evidence in a court of justice.

" Art. 3.—Sec. 1. The Commission shall make the Governor acquainted with its decisions, by a report transmitted through the Attorney-General.

" Sec. 2. The Attorney-General, with the concurrence of the *ordonnateur*, shall immediately deposit the price of redemption in the colonial chest.

" Sec. 3. On seeing the treasurer's receipt, and after receiving the report of the Attorney-General, the Governor shall deliver the title to freedom in the usual form, and shall add to it the particulars directed by paragraph 3 of the article of the law of the 18th of July, 1845.

" Art. 4.—Sec. 1. The redemption money shall remain in the colonial chest for six months; and its deposit shall be announced by three successive official insertions in the journals of the colony: it shall also be affixed to the gate of the mayoralty of the commune in which the mayor resides, as well as to the registries of the justice of the peace of the canton and of the tribunal of the arrondissement.

" Sec. 2. The opposing claims to which this deposit may give rise on the part of creditors shall be received by the treasurer during the period of six months aforesaid.

" Sec. 3. On the expiration of this period, if there are no claims, the redemption money shall be paid to the master of the enfranchised slave, on the order of the Governor.

" Sec. 4. In case of opposing claims, the claimants shall be referred for the determination of their rights to the tribunal, which shall decide with promptness.

" Sec. 5. The sums deposited shall bear interest at 5 per cent. in favour of the parties entitled to them, and at the expense of the colonial chest, from the day of deposit to the day of payment."

The second ordinance is as follows:—

" Art. 1. The propositions to be submitted to the Governor for the employment of the credit above indicated may be made, in each colony, by the director of the interior and the Attorney-General, according to instructions which shall be given by our Secretary of State for the Marine and the Colonies.

" Art. 2. These propositions shall be prepared—

" By the Prefect Apostolic and by the mayors of the communes, so far as relates to the business of the director of the interior:

" By the royal attorneys and the justices of the peace, so far as relates to the business of the Attorney-General.

" Art. 3. The Governor shall determine in privy council, on the report of the two chiefs of administration, the individual grants which shall be made in pursuance of the preceding arrangements. These decisions shall be confirmed by decrees, which shall be inserted in the *Bulletin Officiel*.

" Art. 4. The grant made by the Governor in pursuance of the preceding arrangements, shall be placed in the name of the petitioner in the savings bank, and, if there be none, in the municipal chest. It shall not be withdrawn thence but in virtue of the completion of the redemption-price which shall have been fixed by the Commission, and the lodgment of which in the chest appointed for its deposit shall have been effected as prescribed by Arts. 3 and 4 of an ordinance of the 23rd of October, 1845."

OBSERVATIONS.

The first law on the regulation of the slaves in the colonies was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 4th of June. It was not sanctioned till six weeks afterwards, the 18th of July. The second law, relating to funds, was passed by the Chamber on the 9th of July, and waited for its sanction ten days longer. The two laws ought to have been sent immediately to the four slave colonies. They should have been promulgated in the middle of August in the West Indies and Guiana, and the Colonial Councils should have been immediately assembled in order to adopt the measures reserved for them, and for the Governor, under the direction of the Government. Unless there has been great negligence, the Government should by this time have received intelligence of the promulgation of the laws, and of the colonial decrees necessarily arising from them. However, nothing has yet appeared on this subject in the *Moniteur*.

The Government chose to retain its initiative on the most important questions of colonial administration. It did not like the Colonial Councils on account of their spirit of resistance to emancipation, and it did not like legislative interference on account of the details into which it could not enter. What has happened in consequence? In an affair elaborated since 1844, and amply discussed in May and June, 1845, the Minister has taken nearly four months to construct two petty ordinances.

The law, by its first article, directs that royal ordinances shall be issued on four distinct and important points: viz.—

1. The food and treatment of slaves, and the mode of exchanging nourishment for one day of freedom.

2. The punitive discipline of plantations.

3. The elementary and religious instruction of slaves.

4. The marriage of slaves belonging to the same master, its conditions, forms, and effects.

Two hundred and forty thousand human beings are interested in these matters being clearly and precisely regulated; these are women, children, old people, and even adults, who have no right to assemble for petition-

ing, and who, if they were to do so, would be treated as conspirators. Their organs are only justices of the peace and royal attorneys, subject to an influence long hostile to them, or slaveholding mayors, their natural enemies. The duty of the Government to come to their aid is imperative; nothing can supersede it. In the colonies the press is as much enslaved as the blacks.

The ordinances so long looked for have appeared. Not a word on the important subjects to which the legislator himself indicated that the attention of the Government had been directed! It must then have been necessary to take more time to acquit itself of this duty. But how long will its silence last? No one can tell; although there are in question the prime wants of man, those which it is impossible to postpone.

The law enacts also (Art. 4) that a Royal ordinance shall regulate the mode of preserving and employing the property belonging to slaves who are minors. Are there then no minors in a population of 240,000 persons? Are there not blacks dying every day who leave to their young children the result of their frugality, and of the worst recompensed labour in the world? What is waited for in order to attend to the protection of these unfortunates? Will more light be thrown on this subject in six months than now? M. de Mackau often repeated that he and his under-secretary had become thoroughly acquainted with the colonies by a long administration, and that respect ought to be shown to their solicitude and experience!

Once more, a Royal ordinance ought to have provided for the organization of establishments necessary for the newly emancipated persons, in cases in which the liberated blacks did not wish to live in the houses of masters who had been hostile to their redemption. The arrangement respecting redemption, consequently, is a dead letter, since the minister has not published this ordinance. Nothing can justify his silence on this subject.

If at the same time we cast our eyes on the two ordinances intended to regulate redemption in other respects, and the employment of the credit of 400,000 francs created in order to favour them, we see nothing but barren words, arrangements scarcely worthy of a circular. It was not this that M. de Mackau promised in his animated speeches in the Chamber of Peers, and in his demands of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies.

As the law had relation to persons ignorant, uneducated, and not free to act for themselves, an injunction expressive of solicitude for the execution of the beneficial arrangements of the 5th article should have been laid on the mayors, the justices of the peace, and the royal attorneys, both to take down in writing, without charge, the verbal demand of persons not free, and to adopt, while the parties were incapable of it, such civil and administrative measures as might be necessary to support their demands. It should also have been enjoined on them to go, whenever it might be necessary, to the plantations in order to lend their assistance; since it is to be feared that an unwilling master may oppose all kinds of obstacles to communication between slaves wishing to redeem themselves and the magistrates. In the colonies all proceedings are very costly, and every written document is charged very high. The interest of money there is 12 per cent.; but the ordinance of the 23rd of October does not expressly forbid the collecting of any tax from the unfortunate slaves, and allows only 5 per cent. on the deposits. The ordinance supposes opposing claims to the money paid for redemption. These claims can arise only from the creditors of the colonists, and can affect nothing but the price of the redemption, and not at all the person of the slave who seeks it. Why not have said this explicitly? It is by chicanery that the freedom of unfortunate persons without advice and without education may be obstructed.

We shall not enter at present into a minute criticism of these pitiful ordinances, which the spirit of liberty has not impregnated. Their worthlessness is evident on a mere perusal. Not a word on behalf of marriages or married slaves! The most solemn promises have been forgotten. It has been forgotten that the regeneration of the colonies is in question. Perhaps it has been intended rather to consolidate slavery.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The *Sierra Leone Watchman* of the 30th of August, supplies us with an unusual quantity of information respecting the Slave-trade.

On the one hand it appears that the British cruisers have met with unprecedented success. A summary view of this matter is given in the following passage:—

" Commencing from the period when the strength of the squadron was augmented by the addition of steam power (being also the date of Commodore Jones' arrival) viz., in April 1844, up to the last month, (June,) so short a period as fourteen months, no fewer than between sixty and seventy vessels of various sizes have been captured by her Majesty's cruisers, for being engaged in the slave-trade. Out of this number, though sent to different Courts of mixed Commission for adjudication, not one has escaped condemnation, either for being equipped for the slave-trade, or for having slaves on board at the time of capture: in the latter case, upwards of five thousand slaves have been rescued, and emancipated by the courts established in this colony."

On the other hand, however, we learn, that the Mixed Commission Court had, in consequence, no doubt, of the expiration of the treaty with Brazil, declined to take cognizance of any more cases of vessels under the Brazilian flag; so that several captured slaves had been restored, and the flag of Brazil was also had recourse to for the protection of others. In addition to this, the paper contains some melancholy accounts, both of the extent to which the traffic is carried on in the Bight of Benin, from whence it was thought to have been expelled, and of the atrocities and calamities of which it is the source. The following extracts detail the particulars:—

" THE SLAVE TRADE THE CAUSE OF A FIRE AT THE TOWNS OF LAGOS, AND A DREADFUL SLAUGHTER OF FIVE THOUSAND HUMAN BEINGS.

" From information by Lieut. Gray, R.N., Prize Officer of the *Africana*, states that a very large number of slaves have been shipped from the Bight of Benin, from those notorious slave-ports Lagos and Wydah,

during the last three months. A very large brig, under Brazilian colours, sailed from Wydah in June, with 800 slaves; the *Carlotta*, a Sardinian brig, sailed under Brazilian colours, having been sold a few days before sailing, had upwards of 600 slaves on board; an American schooner, formerly called the *Seaford*, was also transferred to the Brazilian flag, and sailed from thence with upwards of 300 slaves, about the middle of July; a brig, name unknown, sailed from Lagos in the early part of July, with upwards of 600 slaves,—showing no less a number than 2,300 slaves which have been known to have been shipped during the last three months, from those two places alone.

"Lieut. Gray also reports, that the town of Lagos has been completely destroyed. It appears that a chief, who was banished from Lagos by the king about three years ago, returned in July with a force of 10,000 men by water, (several of the canoes held 100 men each,) and drove out the reigning king and his people, and he now holds possession of the rivers and town of Onee. It is said that upwards of 5,000 persons were killed. Lieut. Gray states that for several nights the horizon was for miles illuminated, from the glare caused by the burning of towns; the firing of the parties was distinctly heard on board of her Majesty's steamer *Hydra*."

"DREADFUL MORTALITY ON BOARD OF A SLAVE SHIP."

"On Tuesday night, the 19th of August, the brigantine *Africano*, in charge of Lieut. Gray, and Assistant-Surgeon J. Barr, Esq., arrived here, having been captured by Commander Young, of her Majesty's sloop *Hydra*, in the Bight of Benin, 31st July. At the time of capture, this vessel had about 589 slaves on board, of which number twenty-eight died on the passage up. On the first night of her arrival in this harbour (Tuesday night) thirty died! They were strangled during the night. It appears there are two distinct tribes on board this vessel, and that during the night they quarrelled amongst themselves, beat each other with billets of wood, and throttled each other. It was a shocking sight to see so many dead bodies lying on the deck. On Wednesday night only one died, and during Thursday three others died. Five hundred and twenty-four slaves were landed on Thursday the 21st, and conducted to the Liberated African yard. An eye-witness informs us that the poor creatures were so thirsty that they drank the water out of the ends of old canoes, which were hauled up on the beach, surrounding them like so many hounds after a hard chase, each pushing the other for a drop of water. On reaching the African yard they were supplied with water, which they drank out of mess-tins with avidity. There was no slave-deck on board of this vessel, and several of the poor creatures got jammed between the casks, and were severely bruised. These casks formed their beds to lie upon."

In this melancholy case there can be no doubt that the struggle was one, not of jealousy, but for fresh air and life. Such details as these cannot but supply fresh arguments against the system of armed suppression.

THE AFRICAN STATION.

THE following is an extract from a letter written by an officer on board the squadron on the west coast of Africa:—

"*Her Majesty's Ship —, West Coast, Africa, July 26, 1845.*
 "Here we are, on the most miserable station in the wide world, nigger hunting—attempting an impossibility—the suppression of the slave-trade. We look upon the whole affair out here as a complete humbug. You may make treaties in London, and send the whole combined squadrons of England and France to this coast, and then you will not have gained your object. So long as a slave, worth only a few dollars here, fetches 80*l.* or 100*l.* in America, men and means will be found to evade the strictest blockade. The French ships trouble themselves so little about the affair, that they have never yet been known to take a prize. The absurdity of blockading a coast 2,000 miles in extent must be obvious to the meanest capacity. Even if successful, you must be prepared to continue the force for ever and a day, or your labour is lost; for the moment the ships are removed, the business recommences. The market is the true centre to aim at; put an end to that, and the supplies will not be required. The loss of life and demoralizing effect to our service are very great, the climate and service being of that nature to prevent the proper exercise of discipline, and ships are anything but men of war; and many officers acquire habits neither beneficial to themselves nor ornamental to the navy. The best method of suppressing the trade we may leave to speculative theorists; but the naked fact of our exertions in favour of the African slave having increased his miseries to an awful extent, with an immense sacrifice of life, is uncontradicted by the best informed advocates of the slave measures—I mean men of practical information employed on the coast. I will cite one or two instances within my own knowledge. At the spot we are now blockading, about 3,000 slaves have been collected by the agents for exportation; but the difficulties to get them away have been so great, that few have been known to be shipped for twelve months. Provisions have been exhausted, and dreadful expedients, if report be true, have been resorted to for subsistence. Among others, and the least revolting, is driving them into the woods every morning, like herds of swine, to pick berries. Again, the slavers are obliged to make the most of any slight opportunity that offers. Frequently the heavy surf on the open coast beach prohibits the passage of ship's boats, and sometimes also the native canoes; when this occurs, and the slaver is anxious to run his cargo, the unfortunate devils are dragged through the surf to the boats anchored outside by lines attached to their persons. Men, women, and children are served in this way; you may imagine what numbers must be drowned in such an operation. Prior to our interference they could not afford to trifle with their lives in this way, as the supply equalled the demand; prices were low, and it was an object with the slaver to preserve all his cargo: the loss of a few slaves carried off the cream of his profits. Now a few survivors will give a handsome return. Some of the vessels, apparently not much larger than our coasting vessels, have been taken with hundreds on board. Seeing is believing, but nothing less could have convinced me it was possible to stow so many in the space; the slave-deck where they are packed is

not three feet high, sometimes it is merely a space between the beams and the water-casks. When a full vessel is taken we are obliged to make use of the slaver's crew to pack them away. At sunset this is done in the most clever manner, by the Spaniards making them all lie on the same side and fitting them in one by one, the projecting part of one body filling up a corresponding hollow. Our men are not sufficiently skilful to do this. I am told long practice is required. As a set-off to this, we sometimes catch a few lucky rascals and liberate them at Sierra Leone; but you may see by the parliamentary returns that the per centage is very small. The station is now and has been considered healthy, although the few ships we have as yet communicated with have afforded a dead list of nine officers since our arrival, and men, no, doubt, in proportion.

Home Intelligence.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

Several anti-slavery meetings, within the last few days, having been held in the country, and attended by Mr. Joseph Sturge and Mr. Scoble, we insert such particulars as we have received of them, or can find room for.

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 4.—The annual meeting of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in Ebenezer Chapel, Mr. R. T. Cadbury in the chair. The report was read by the Rev. T. H. Morgan, in the absence of the Secretary. The re-appointment of officers was moved by the Rev. J. Roberts (who apologised for the absence of the Rev. J. A. James and the Rev. T. Morgan,) and was seconded by Mr. Brooks. Mr. Sturge, in moving the second resolution, said he himself was strongly impressed with the conviction, though he spoke only as an individual, and not on behalf of any society, that while the slave-trader could turn round on the slaveholder, and say, "You are equally guilty with me," the slaveholder could say to those knowingly and willingly taking the produce of slave labour, "You are a participator in the crime." He (Mr. Sturge) held in his hand a statistical account, which he wished to be made more generally known. About fifty years ago slavery in America appeared likely to become extinct. Soon after that, however, improvements in machinery commenced in this country, and the demand for cotton from America by England was increased, and with that increased demand for cotton the slaves increased also, as the following facts strikingly prove:—

Exports of Cotton from the United States.

Year.	lbs.
1790.....	189,316
1800.....	20,911,201
1810.....	62,186,081
1820.....	124,893,405
1830.....	270,979,784
1840.....	540,959,568
1843.....	1,081,919,136

Slave Population in America.

Year.	Pop.
1790.....	657,437
1800.....	866,582
1810.....	1,299,872
1820.....	1,733,162
1830.....	2,310,882
1840.....	2,485,683
1843.....	2,847,810

No person, then, looking at these facts, could doubt that the consumption of cotton in this country had very much increased the amount of slavery in the United States; and a consideration of this had led to some attempts which had lately been made to supply cotton, exclusively the produce of free labour, from the East Indies; and he hoped Christians would see it their duty to use those articles, the produce of free labour, rather than those stained with blood. Mr. Scoble seconded this resolution; and the concluding one was moved by the Rev. T. Swan, and seconded by Mr. Law.

WORCESTER, November 5th.—This evening an anti-slavery meeting was held at the Athenaeum, in this town, at which the Mayor had the kindness to preside. Alderman Evans moved the first resolution, which was of a general nature, and was followed by Joseph Sturge, in a clear statement of the general objects of the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Scoble supported the resolution by illustrations of slavery and the slave-trade; the beneficial results of emancipation in the British colonies, and the satisfactory effects produced by the labours of English abolitionists in various parts of the world. The second resolution had reference to the immigration of Hill Coolies into the emancipated colonies, and the new legislation attempted to be carried into effect in them by vagrant, contract, and appeal laws, and an unjust system of taxation. This resolution was moved in an excellent speech by Dr. Redford, and seconded by Mr. Brooks. The last resolution had reference to British subjects held in slavery in the Spanish and Dutch colonies.

CHELTENHAM, November 6th.—This evening a public meeting of the friends of the anti-slavery cause was held in the Town Hall, F. Monroe, Esq., our old and staunch friend, in the chair. The meeting was much larger than had been anticipated. Our valued friends, Samuel Bowly, of Gloucester, Joseph Eaton, of Bristol, and Samuel Sturge, of London, were present, and each assisted in the business of the evening. The Rev. M. Browne and Messrs. Lewis and Camps, of Cheltenham, took part in the proceedings.

GLOUCESTER, November 7th.—A morning meeting was held in this town. Various particulars were gone into respecting slavery and the slave-trade, the progress of the anti-slavery cause, and the duty of sustaining it, to which there was a warm response. The only resolution passed at this meeting had reference to Coolie emigration and West India legislation. It was moved by Edmund Rickards, Esq., and seconded by Wm. Montague, Esq., M.P., and will be forwarded to Lord Stanley by the chairman, Samuel Bowly, Esq.

STROUD, November 7th.—This evening a meeting was held at Stroud. The subscription room was the scene of our labours. Our platform was crowded—the side galleries were nearly filled with ladies, and the body of the place contained a good body of hearers, many of whom were compelled to stand during the whole of the evening. Had there been enough seats the room would have been filled. Among those present were the Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan ministers, and several of the highly

respectable and influential persons of the town. W. B. Cartwright, Esq., was in the chair. Besides Joseph Sturge and myself, the Revs. Messrs. Yates, Wheeler, and Parsons, of Ebley, and Messrs. Fewster, Partridge, and others, addressed the meeting. At its close an auxiliary association was formed, the names of the office bearers of which will be forwarded as soon as the organization is complete. We trust that a ladies' committee will also be formed. We were much pleased with the spirit of the meeting, and hail its result with satisfaction.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT CORK—MR. DOUGLAS.

ON the 20th of October, an anti-slavery meeting was held at Cork, for the purpose of receiving Mr. Douglas, once an American slave, but now happily a freeman, whose published narration of his sufferings has produced a deep sensation throughout the Union. We are happy to find him on this side of the Atlantic, where we are sure he will be warmly greeted by all the friends of freedom. It would have gratified us to have given his speech at length; but the state of our columns constrains us to limit ourselves to the following extract:

"I will briefly tell you what past during my voyage to this country, which will illustrate the feelings of our people towards the black man.—I took passage at Boston, or rather my friend Mr. Buffum, the gentleman who lived in the same town with me, went to Boston from Lynn to learn if I could have a cabin passage on board the vessel. He was answered that I could not, that it would give offence to the majority of the American passengers. Well, I was compelled to take a steerage passage, good enough for me. I suffered no inconvenience from the place—I kept myself in the forecastle cabin, and walked about on the forward deck. Walking about there from day to day my presence soon excited the interest of the persons on the quarter deck, and my character and situation were made known to several gentlemen of distinction on board, some of whom became interested in me. In four or five days I was very well known to the passengers, and there was quite a curiosity to hear me speak on the subject of slavery—I did not feel at liberty to go on the quarter-deck—the captain at last invited me to address the passengers on slavery. I consented—commenced—but soon observed a determination on the part of some half a dozen to prevent my speaking, who I found were slave-owners. I had not uttered more than a sentence before up started a man from Connecticut, and said 'That's a lie.' I proceeded without taking notice of him, then shaking his fist, he said again, 'That's a lie.' Some said I should not speak, others that I should—I wanted to inform the English, Scotch, and Irish on board on slavery—I told them blacks were not considered human beings in America. Up started a slave-owner from Cuba, 'Oh,' said he, 'I wish I had you in Cuba!' 'Well,' said I, 'ladies and gentlemen, since what I have said has been pronounced lies, I will read not what I have written, but what the southern legislators themselves have written—I mean the law. I proceeded to read—this raised a general clamour, for they did not wish the laws exposed. They hated facts—they knew that the people of these countries who were on the deck would draw their own inferences from them. Here a general hurry ensued—'Down with the nigger,' said one—'He shan't speak,' said another. I sat with my arms folded, feeling no way anxious for my fate. I never saw a more barefaced attempt to put down the freedom of speech than upon this occasion. Now came the captain—he was met by one of the other party, who put out his fist at him—the captain knocked him down—instead of his bowey, the fallen man drew out his card crying, 'I'll meet you at Liverpool.' 'Well,' said the captain, 'and I'll meet you.' The captain restored order, and proceeded to speak. 'I have done all I could from the commencement of the voyage to make the voyage agreeable to all. We have had a little of everything on board. We have had all sorts of discussions, religious, moral, and political, we have had singing and dancing, everything that we could have, except an anti-slavery speech, and since there was a number of ladies and gentlemen interested in Mr. Douglas, I requested him to speak. Now, those who are not desirous to hear him, let them go to another part of the vessel. Gentlemen,' he said, 'you have behaved derogatory to the character of gentlemen and Christians. Mr. Douglas,' said he, 'go on, pitch into them like bricks!' (Laughter.) However, the excitement was such that I was not allowed to go on. The agitation, however, did not cease, for the question was discussed to the moment we landed at Liverpool. The captain threatened the disturbers with putting them in irons if they did not become quiet—these men disliked the irons—were quieted by the threat; yet this infamous class have put the irons on the black."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—CASSIUS M. CLAY has prosecuted a number of citizens for having taken possession of his office by violence, and transported it into the State of Ohio. The parties charged admitted the fact of taking and transporting the printing materials, but justified, alleging that the paper was a nuisance.

After the testimony had been closed, the Court instructed the jury upon the law of the case.

The defendant's then asked the following instructions:

1. That as the proceeding was *quasi* criminal, the jury were the judges of the law and fact.

2. That the people have a right to abate a nuisance, and in its abatement to use just so much force as might be necessary for that purpose.

The Court gave the first instruction asked by the defendants, with the qualification, that although not legally, the jury were morally bound to decide according to the law given them by the Court.

The second instruction asked by them the Court refused.

The defendants then asked the following instruction:—That if the jury believed that the *True American Press* was a public nuisance, and could not exist in its then location and condition without being a nuisance, the defendants were justifiable in abating it—which the Court gave, and the cause went to the jury.

The definition of a nuisance, as given by the best common law writers, was then read to the jury in the following terms:—A common nuisance is an offence against the public, either by doing a thing which tends to

the annoyance of all the King's subjects, or by neglecting to do a thing which the common good requires.

After a full argument the jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict of "Not Guilty."—*Times*.

Nine of the 84 fugitives who left Maryland in a body escaped to Canada by way of Oswego. They were pursued by the man catchers, but without success. We presume that nearly or quite half of the whole number will elude all pursuit.—*Free Labour Advocate*.

A PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY has been published in the papers with the signatures of one hundred and seventy Unitarian ministers. It is full of just sentiment, and animated by an excellent spirit.

IMPORTANT DECISION IN ILLINOIS.—Several hundred persons, including descendants, have been held in slavery in the region of country now Illinois, for nearly sixty years, who, by the express terms of the Ordinance of 1788, as well as by the decisions of the Courts of several of the slave states made under it, were entitled to their freedom. A decision has lately been come to by the Supreme Court in the case of *Pete v. Janot*, by which the right to freedom of all this class of persons is established, and Illinois practically declared to be a free state.—*Western Citizen*.

BRAZIL.—It was known at Rio on the 30th August, via France, that a bill had been introduced by Sir Robert Peel for declaring Brazilian vessels engaged in the slave trade pirates, and the passing of the act had also been learnt by the arrival of a steamer from this country.—*Morning Chronicle*.

FRANCE.—The abolitionists of France intend to raise a very grave question in the Colonial Courts, which if it be decided in their favour will lead to the emancipation of a large body of slaves. By the law of France all slaves which have been illegally introduced are free. One of the slaves who have been so introduced will be instructed to demand his freedom, and will be sustained in his demands by his friends in France. Should his appeal be successful, it will hasten the period of complete emancipation, for there are thousands in this case in the French colonies, particularly Bourbon and Cayenne.

ILLEGAL EXPORT OF SLAVES.—The colonial code establishes the punishment of two to twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine not exceeding the value of the slave, nor less than 500 francs, against any person who shall have illegally exported, or caused to be exported from the colony one or more slaves. The Court of Cassation has just extended the application of this article to cases in which the slaves shall have been found on board of a vessel bound to a foreign island, even should such vessel not yet have entered the port,—*Les Antilles*.

TURKEY.—THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Two Frenchmen purchased two negroes in Syria, whose names they had caused to be inserted in their passports. On their arrival at Constantinople, the Turkish police questioned the travellers, and the origin of their acquisition becoming known, the Turks declared that the laws of the empire did not allow foreigners to purchase slaves on the Ottoman territory. In the mean time, the Frenchmen conducted their slaves to the house of the second dragoman of France, M. Lauzierrois, who took them under his protection. The Porte then applied to M. de Bourqueny, who ordered the negroes to be conveyed to the embassy for the purpose of being exchanged for a sum of 1,000 francs, the price they had cost.—*La Réforme*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last announcement, are hereby thankfully acknowledged:

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
London—Lester, J. J.	15 0 0	
Barry, J. T.	10 0 0	
Leominster—Pritchard, John	2 0 0	
Southal, Ed. P.	2 0 0	
Southal, Sam'l.	2 0 0	
Helston—Balance of late Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	0 15 0	
Anti-Slavery Society	3 7 8	
Leicester—Hodgson, Isaac	5 0 0	
Burgess, Thos.	1 0 0	
Hutchinson, W. E.	0 10 0	
Ellis, Joseph	0 10 0	
Reeve, Wm.	1 0 0	
Ellis, Ed. S.	0 10 0	
Burgess, Alfred	0 10 0	
Waters, Samuel	0 10 0	
Breston—Burder, Rev. J.	0 10 0	
Liverpool—Ladies' Negro Friend Society	2 0 0	
Birmingham—Sturge, Joseph (five years subscription to 1845-6)	26 5 0	
M. C., per Joseph Sturge	10 0 0	
Edgbaston—Wilmore, Ann.	0 10 0	
Kendal—Ladies' Auxiliary	6 0 0	
Carlisle—Ladies' Association	5 0 0	
Ufford—Beaumont, John	1 0 0	
Dublin—Pim, Jonathan	1 0 0	
Doyle, William	0 10 0	
Anonymous	0 5 0	
Waterford—Jacob, Maria	1 0 0	
Youghal—Auxiliary Society	1 5 9	
Jamaica—Gurney's Mount, per Rev. Mr. Wooley	5 0 0	
Demerara—Georgetown Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, per Rev. Josh. Ketley	25 0 0	

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CLVI. VOL. VI.—No. 24.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1845.

[PRICE 4d.

FINAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

We have great pleasure in laying before the public the following correspondence.

TO G. W. HOPE, ESQ., &c. &c.

Sir,—During a recent visit to France, in which I was brought into contact with some of the influential members of the French Anti-Slavery Society, and with many devoted friends of that cause, I was enabled to give them satisfactory information in relation to the abolition of slavery in all parts of the British empire, with the exception of Ceylon, the peculiarities of which case I fully explained.

Without entering into details with which you, Sir, must be perfectly familiar, I would merely call your attention to the fact, that, owing to the non-registration of the slaves in that colony under the local ordinance passed in 1843, the liberty of the great bulk of them had been secured, with the entire approbation of her Majesty's Government. There yet remained, however, a small number (379) in the Kandian provinces, whose legal right to liberty yet remained to be secured. In Lord Stanley's despatch to the Governor of Ceylon, dated 5th June, 1843, they are thus referred to,—"I am still without a detailed report, which I should wish to receive, as to the state of slavery in the Kandian provinces. But the information of which we are in possession leads me to hope, that the remains of slavery are merely nominal, that they may speedily and safely be brought to a termination, and to feel very confident that, in the intrinsic value of the slave, there can be no valid ground for any expectation of compensation." Presuming that this information has been received, and trusting that measures have been taken to secure the Kandian slaves their liberty, I have respectfully, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to request that you will favour them with information on this point. It will be in the highest degree satisfactory for them to learn that at this moment, in no portion of the British empire can a single human being be legally held as a slave, and to communicate the gratifying fact to the friends of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and in the United States.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
JNO. SCOBLE, Sec.

New Broad-street, 13th Nov., 1845.

REPLY.

Downing-street, 13th Nov., 1845.

Sir,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of slavery in Ceylon.

His Lorship desires me to inform you, in reply, that an ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council of Ceylon, in the month of December last, to provide for the total abolition of slavery in Ceylon, and that the ordinance has been confirmed and allowed by the Queen.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
(Signed) JAS. STEPHEN.

Jno. Scoble, Esq.

BRITISH GUIANA.—THE NEW ORDINANCES.

SEVERAL weeks ago we inserted from the Guiana papers some passages which announced the probable enactment of some stringent and oppressive ordinances, tending to render the condition of the peasantry far too much like slavery. By the mail last received we learn that the first of the new batch of ordinances has made its appearance, under the style and title of a rural police ordinance. We take from the *Guiana Times* the following account of its origin and provisions:—

"British Guiana contains numerous townships and villages, but only two chief towns, Georgetown, the metropolis of the province, and New Amsterdam, the capital of the county of Berbice. A police-magistrate's office was established in and for Georgetown, in the year 1839. Down to the period of the enactment of the new ordinance, the rural parts of the colony possessed no tribunal for the trial of petty offences, more accessible or summary than an inferior criminal court, composed of a sheriff and three or more justices. For the purposes of the new ordinance, all parts of the colony are to be regarded as rural, which are not within the limits of either of the two chief towns.

"The persons who are to possess judicial authority under the new ordinance, are those justices of the peace whom the governor may from time to time include in a special commission to that effect. Every such justice is to sit separately, constituting a court of himself. He is to be empowered to receive complaints on oath, to summon witnesses, and to summon, try, and fine and imprison the parties complained against. The fine may not be less than one dollar, or more than 24 dollars, and the duration of the imprisonment may not exceed six days. But when the convicted parties either neglect or refuse to pay the fine, the imprisonment may be for thirty days. The justice may adjourn a complaint from

time to time, as he sees fit. The processes of the justice are not to be quashed on account of mere want of form, and there is to be no appeal, of any judicial sort, from his decisions. Only the governor, on good cause shown, may remit the remainder of a long term of imprisonment, restore the fine levied, and further adopt the extreme course of superseding the justice.

"We shall next enumerate the offences, of which the justices under the new commission are to have cognizance.

"1. Breaches of the peace, not deserving a severer punishment than a fine of 24 dollars, with costs.

"2. Petty thefts, the value of the property stolen not exceeding 24 dollars.

"3. The obtaining, under false or fraudulent pretences, of property of a like value.

"4. Embezzlement of the same.

"5. Resetting of stolen property of a like value.

"6. Malicious injury to property, the damage not exceeding 24 dollars.

"7. Endangering property by the negligent use of fire.

"8. Entering on premises without permission of the owner or occupier, and refusing to quit them.

"9. Indecent exposure of the person.

"10. Indecency or profanity on the highway or elsewhere, or violent and abusive language.

"11. Cruelty to animals.

"12. Furious or careless riding or driving.

"13. Discharging of fire-arms or fireworks on or near the highway.

"14. Flying of kites on or near the highway.

"15. Bathing near to, or in sight of, the highway.

"16. Leaving carcasses unburied at or near the highway."

Our contemporary justly observes that "this statute is likely to exercise a powerful influence, whether beneficial or mischievous, over the relations and aspect of society in the country districts;" and, without inquiring for the present whether this ordinance is intended for the country or the town, it is plain at a glance that it is of excessive rigour. Look at the list of offences, for example, which are punishable under it. One of these is "entering on premises without leave of the owner or occupier;" so that persons residing in cottages to which there is no access by a public thoroughfare (and there are many such) may be arbitrarily prevented from receiving a visit of any kind, or under any emergency. Another is "violent or abusive language," a phrase which, according to the temper of the accuser or the judge, may be construed to comprehend many of the most ordinary and harmless forms of speech. Another is "indecency or profanity (who can tell what may be meant by these?) on the highway or elsewhere." "Or elsewhere?" Why, this carries the jurisdiction of the ordinance, not only into a man's house, but into his most secret chamber, a position in which indulgences of the tongue, however wanting in good taste or good morals, are not at all events injurious to society. The enactments against exposure of the person and bathing are evidently capable of vexatious application.

The machinery of the ordinance also is very tyrannical. It enacts that "each and every police-officer shall have full power and authority to apprehend any person committing any of the acts" punishable under it, and thus lays the community open to a very large amount of petty—and not always petty—annoyance, where the parties (as in this case is but too probable) may be disposed either to indulge themselves in such amusement, or to make themselves the tools of others. The magistrates to act under this ordinance are to be appointed at the mere pleasure of the Governor, so that there is no guarantee against the jurisdiction conferred being placed in the hands of the ordinary magistrates, that is to say, of the planters themselves. In addition to this, all charges are to be disposed of by a single magistrate, and no appeal can be made against his decision, so that the population will, by this ordinance, be placed altogether at the unrestrained disposal of individuals, and subjected to an incalculable amount of arbitrariness and caprice. The case would be bad enough if it were the arbitrariness and caprice of the magistrates alone which would be brought into bearing; but this is not so in a system of *rural* police. These gentlemen, in travelling through the country districts will be exposed to influences tending still further to pervert their judgment, and to make them pliant instruments of the planters' will. Take the following sketch from our contemporary, who must be well acquainted with facts of this class:—

"There are no inns, except in the two chief towns of the province. The justice, in many cases, under the proclamation of the governor, is to hold his court on plantations, in the big house. But the justice's horse is jaded, and the justice is thirsty. 'Boy, rub down the magistrate's horse, and give him a feed of oats. A good one! Yearie? (Do you hear?)' 'Yes, massa.' 'Cupido, five sangarees! Mr. Smith (suppose it is Mr. Smith,) let me offer you a sandwich!' In the meantime it may be that there are, humbly waiting, at the gallery steps, either complainants prepared to accuse the donor of the oats, the sangaree, and the sandwiches, or defendants whom he has accused. The justice picks his teeth, wipes his face, which glows like the full moon newly risen, tolerates

all sorts of irregular interruptions on the part of his host, but silences, with a menace of instant commitment for contempt, every interference on the other side, tries to look sagacious and energetic, and gives his award. If you fancy him to stay dinner, and take a bed, with his host, your imagination will only complete a picture of what is too often a reality."

To administer justice under such circumstances, magistrates must be more than men. Such a system must constitute a revival of one of the worst features of the olden time of slavery, and will go far towards reproducing some of its greatest atrocities. It will be an aggravation of the mischiefs of such a system that they will be perpetrated in darkness. The magistrates, on the one hand, are not under obligation to report to the Government the cases they adjudicate; and, on the other, there are no reporters to attend their courts on behalf of the public. On the contrary every means will be employed by the planters to prevent the wrongs done from being ever heard of, or, if heard of, from being made capable of proof and correction. The ordinance appears to us, whatever may be its motive, adapted to turn a quiet colony into a disturbed one, and to create far more important evils than it can remedy. If it is meant well, it is a gross blunder, which should be immediately arrested; and if otherwise, which, we are sorry to say we think but too probable, it is a fault which should be no less promptly rebuked. Alarm is already excited among the labouring population, and agitation is commencing. It behoves the proprietors of estates in British Guiana, who are to a large extent absentees, to attend in time to what their factors are concocting in their name. Let them hear the warning faithfully, and not intemperately, given by the paper we have already quoted. It is in the following terms:—

"Should the absentee proprietors happen to hear, some months hence, of desertions from plantation work, or of turbulence, or of sudden and wide-spread disaster, let them reflect how much of it might have been avoided had their factors been considerate and humane. Ten men to force such a statute on a hundred and twenty thousand men who had no voice at all in its construction! The idea is monstrous! Fortunate it is for some absentees, that their factors are known to take no political part adverse to freedom, but either keep aloof altogether, or favour liberal principles. The dominant party, old slave-mongers, as the members are, would drench the country with the worst social miseries, were there not moderate and just factors, on the spot, whose influence goes far to counteract theirs."

In addition to this clear and unequivocal warning, it may not be without its use to place before proprietors the words of a correspondent of the same paper, albeit they breathe somewhat more of earnestness. He writes thus:—

"In considering these questions, it should be steadily kept in mind, that the executive government of this province, and the colonial members, or planter body, have been, until very recently, at most deadly feud, and that so long as this hostility existed, the members of the executive exerted themselves in protecting the mass of the people as well from injustice in the working of the law as it exists, as from the various attempts made by the planters to enact unjust and coercive laws. These feelings, this protection, seem no longer to exist. The planter legislature granted to the governor 5000£. sterling per annum, and a house, with corresponding salaries to other officials, and secured them in possession of their princely incomes for seven years after the expiry of our present civil list; the governor and officials, grateful for such munificence, aided the planters in obtaining an immigration and loan ordinance; bitter hostility was succeeded by friendly relations, these ripened into amity, and have resulted in a coalition between the official and the planter, or old slave clique, from which party, now firmly united, possessing all power in the colony, enabled at pleasure to mislead her Majesty's government at the colonial office, the people of British Guiana have everything to fear, and nothing to hope. The executive seems to be as ready to concede as the old school clique are to demand; and where all this is to end, philanthropy shudders to contemplate. It has resulted already in an enormously increased expenditure of public money, a fashionable and truly autocratic indifference to the interests of the peasantry, a hatred and persecution of those friends of the people who dare to plead the cause of liberty and justice, and who, under the slang phrase of 'turbulent spirits,' are being hunted down. But, planters, believe me, agitation has not yet commenced. God grant, for the sake of all parties concerned, that by a change in your measures, people may not be driven to it as a dernier resource. I well remember when the whole country between Mahaica and Berbice was like a garden; it is now a wilderness,—and I assert, that if unhappily the rest of the colony, still under cultivation, was reduced to the same deplorable state, if black sedge took the place of the cane, the masses of the people could still exist, ay, even though a hogshead of sugar was not manufactured in the colony. Reflect, then, gentlemen of the legislature; I implore you, stay your hands, and check that inclination which is but too plainly shown in your recent acts, to enthrall or partially re-enslave the people. The attempt cannot, must not succeed; but once made, it will be too late; a whole people once justly enraged, thoroughly aroused to a deep sense of wrong, are not easily pacified. Stop, then, I implore you, in your high-handed career, for if you do not, you will surely see your measures lead to a state of affairs which all well-wishers of the colony and the inhabitants as a whole, must deeply deplore."

Really, gentlemen and ladies who have property in British Guiana should see to their interest. For ourselves, we must look at higher objects. Everything that has been done for British Guiana is in jeopardy, and it must not be lost, at least without an effort. The words of the writer we have quoted will be responded to, when he says:—

"To the philanthropist I appeal, that he may prevent the social system being so altered, as to enable the enemies of emancipation to point to future turmoil and bloodshed in Guiana, as an argument against emancipation; and to the British public I appeal, to prevent the people of this province being robbed of that practical freedom which that public paid so liberally in hard cash to secure."

THE FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY.

It is already known to our readers that the measure brought forward by the French Government for the regulation of the colonies consisted of two parts, or *projets de loi*; the one comprehending what may, for distinction sake, be called principles, and the other being devoted to practical expedients. The former of these was brought into the Chamber of Peers, and from thence passed, by the usual course, into the Chamber of Deputies; the latter, since it had the character of a money bill, was introduced in the first instance into the Chamber of Deputies, and thence passed into the Chamber of Peers. Casual references were made to it in the course of the debates on the first *projet*; but about the middle of June the second *projet* came on formally for discussion.

The proposition of the Government was materially modified by the Commission, out of whose hands it came in the following form:—

"The following sums are placed at the disposal of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies:

"For the introduction of European workmen and labourers into the colonies.....	120,000 Francs.
"For the formation, by free and paid labour, of agricultural establishments, for employment and correction	360,000
"For a general valuation of the movable and immovable property in French Guiana.....	50,000
"For assisting the redemption of slaves, in such cases* and by such forms as a royal ordinance shall determine.....	400,000
	930,000"

In the discussion of this *projet*,

M. Dubois, of Nantes, observed that nothing was said in it of the religious and moral instruction of the slaves. It might be replied, that a former Ministry had obtained a grant of 650,000 francs for this purpose. He had endeavoured to find out what had been done with this money. It was to have been divided into three parts: 200,000 francs for the increase of the clergy; 200,000 francs for the building of chapels; and 250,000 francs for instruction. As to chapels, the return was very imperfect; it appeared, however, that, after the expenditure of a million francs, there were but five or six new chapels. No priest was allowed to go more than once a month on any plantation; the sacraments were scarcely ever administered there; the blacks died without receiving them; and, above all, there were no places of worship. In two colonies, so far from any increase of religious instruction, there had been a diminution. The causes of this were, the resistance of the slaves on the one hand, and of the masters on the other. The magistrates stated that the negroes went readily to splendid ceremonies, because they were amused by them, but that they were repugnant to religious duties and exercises of instruction; and that the masters did nothing to encourage their attendance. They said the slave's body was theirs, but his soul was his own. He did not know what coercive measures could be used, but he thought something ought to be done. It was of no use to depend on the voluntary zeal of individuals; nothing but a powerful organization would effect the object. As religious instruction suffered, so did the elementary. 250,000 francs ought to have been applied to the primary instruction of slaves: but there was not in fact a single school for slaves. Notwithstanding the positive orders of the Government, and the endeavour of several Governors, who had been stopped by public sentiment, the money had been spent on schools for the free and white population. This had been done upon system. All the Governors had replied to the instructions of the Minister, that to begin with instructing the slaves was bad policy. This systematic resistance should be conquered, and it would require the whole force of the Government. He asked the Government, why they had not used authoritative means to correct this usurpation of the public funds? (The Ministers were silent.)

In the discussion of the clauses,

M. BEAUMONT, from the Somme, wished explanation as to the kind of workmen to be introduced into the colonies. Considerable derangement might take place in the colonies, especially on the sugar estates, the managers of which might be able to redeem themselves. Their place might well be supplied by those who had been discharged from the beet-root sugar manufactories at home.

The MINISTER had contemplated this. The Government did not intend, however, to give a free passage to any persons but those who should have entered into engagements to labour with colonial proprietors.

M. Dubois afterwards moved an amendment, to the effect "that the Government should hereafter render an account of the expenditure of the money granted for the religious and elementary instruction of slaves." Several efforts were made to draw something from the Minister on this subject: but all he could be induced to say was, "This is not the time." To this M. Ternaux Compans pithily and truly rejoined, "The time never comes."

In the Chamber of Peers this *projet de loi* was introduced by M. de Mackau, with the following observations:

The MINISTER said the arrangements proposed were chiefly

* Instead of the words "in such cases," the following were afterwards inserted—"when the administration shall think proper."

applicable to the West Indies; Bourbon and Guiana would require different methods. The black population of Guiana, already very much reduced, diminished year by year from a cause (the inequality of the sexes) against which neither the happiness of the slaves nor the kindness of the masters could prevail. Cultivation could not develop itself, and the scarcity of hands rendered it every day more difficult. This large and fertile colony excited the peculiar solicitude of the Government. Its inhabitants appeared to be determined on making great efforts to extricate themselves from a situation which must lead, in a given time, to the abandonment of their estates. A plan, including the formation of a Company, and a mode of enfranchisement which would favour the ultimate introduction of free labourers, had been submitted to the Government by several colonists. It deserved serious consideration. As a preliminary measure, however, it was indispensable to effect a general valuation of property in the colony; for which, without committing the Government to any opinion, he asked 50,000 francs. In Bourbon, the remarkable abundance of capital, and the increase of cultivation, rendered more and more sensible the insufficiency of the labouring population; which, however, through the disproportion of the sexes, was continually decreasing. In order to procure hands, the colonists had thought of availling themselves of their geographical position, and they had made inquiries after Asiatic labourers, once in 1838, and a second time in 1844; but without any important result. But something might result from these operations, if aid were given from the colonial chest. In the *projet* now before them, 400,000 francs were allotted, to aid the redemption of slaves. This would be useful in various cases, although the decision ought to be always in the hands of the Government. The circumstances which might render the application of this fund desirable are these,—the difficulties arising out of the marriage of slaves belonging to different masters; the necessity of not allowing the most important members of the same family to be separated by two such opposite conditions as slavery and liberty; and the power of separating from his master a slave habitually maltreated. While claiming the right of using its discretion, the administration promised to be always just and humane, and to give a particular account of the grants which might be made.

The Prince of Moskwa objected to creating a fund for aiding the redemption of slaves. It was a bastard scheme of emancipation, and threatened the colonies with anarchy.

Baron CHARLES DUPIN referred to the proposed introduction of European workmen, which might be useful if they could be gradually acclimated; but he observed, that the efforts tried by the English in the West Indies had proved abortive. Most of them would die in two or three years, and the rest would leave the estates for other occupations. He should prefer an importation of labourers from China, Hindostan, and Africa. He affirmed that the diminution of the population in Guiana did not arise from the disproportion of the sexes, but from the number of women enfranchised being nearly double that of the men. In Bourbon, in consequence of the continuance of the slave-trade, the disproportion was very great. To 24,766 women there were 41,076 men. He approved of the introduction of Asiatic labourers into Bourbon, and he insisted strongly on the importation of blacks from Africa. He declared that the grant of 400,000 francs for aiding the redemption of slaves had created the utmost alarm among his constituents.

Baron de CROUSEILHES expressed his fears lest the institutions for employment should be confounded with institutions for punishment.

M. MERILHOU objected to the fund for aiding the redemption of slaves, because it was contradictory to the former law, which required that the property by which the slave should be purchased should be his own.

The Duke de BROGLIE said, if the Chamber, by having passed the former law, had precluded itself from aiding the redemption of slaves by public funds, he should regard that law as a great misfortune, and as rendering slavery perpetual. It would lead to very few redemptions, if limited to its own action. For two hundred years the right of redemption had existed in the Spanish colonies, with greater facilities than had been given by the French law; but, far from having abolished slavery, it had produced no appreciable effect. Those who had profited by it had been the artizans, the domestic servants, and the objects of specific charity; but to expect that the rural slaves would acquire freedom in this way, would be a strange illusion. He did not depreciate the law. He thought it very well adapted to produce a moral effect. He repeated that, if nothing more should be done for emancipation than had been done by it, slavery would be perpetual. There was then no hope for those who now groaned under their chains. (Hear.)

the poor sufferers, only made him feel worse. But on one occasion he was passing by the Arcade, and hearing something very unusual, was induced to go in. There was great crowd assembled, and a fine, likely coloured man, apparently about 25 years of age, was placed upon the "stand," well dressed, but looking as though his all had been wrested from him. Three, four, and five hundred dollars were bid for him, and he was finally knocked off to the purchaser. The auctioneer presented him to his future master, and the poor man seemed to be phrenized. He wrung his hands, wept, and went up to his purchaser and said, "No, sir, I will never serve you, I will die first. I have been torn from my wife, cheated, deceived, cruelly treated, and I have ever been a faithful servant. I have ever been a faithful servant. I have not deserved this, and I will not serve you." Said my informant, he was beaten dreadfully, and dragged off, and the auctioneer began to apologise to the bystanders for the interruption, by saying that the fellow had been brought there by his master in company with his wife, with the promise that they should be sold together, but on getting there, the master had determined to keep the wife and sell the husband, and had that morning been under the necessity of confining the man in gaol until he could get away with the woman, whom he chained and took back again to his plantation, and it was that the fellow was keeping such a fuss about. As this piece is already too long, I will retain another fact for my next article.

M. B. D.

Peoria, Sept. 4, 1845.

(From the *Vermont Phœnix*.)

THE SLAVE AUCTION.

New Orleans, June 21, 1845.

FRIEND RYTHM.—This is a city of strange sights. One can witness many scenes here which are not to be witnessed in our Green Mountain State. In the street which forms the division line between the first and third municipality, slaves, attired in their best, are daily exposed to private sale. The "chain-gang," as it is called, may be seen, day after day, labouring in some part of the city. One very hot day I saw this gang, at work with their spades, excavating ditches in one of the streets of the city. There were about fifteen males and five females, all at work, except the driver, with long-handle spades. Each of the men wore a long iron chain on one of his legs, fastened round the ankle, above the knee, and to the waist. The women were not loaded with chains. One of the "gang," a large stout man, gave directions as to the manner of doing the work, and his commands appeared to be implicitly obeyed. Near by sat or lounged a white man, who I supposed was the overseer of the whole. This gang are kept in prison at night, and are employed by the city during the day. They are slaves who had run away from their masters, or for some other *crime*, had been taken up and confined. To-day I have attended an auction of slaves at Bank's Arcade, near the middle of the city, and the centre of business. Twenty slaves were advertised for sale, in the public papers, of which, however, only six, I think, were "struck off." These, three men, and three women, were sold at prices from ninety to four hundred and eighty dollars. Several of those who were for sale, were sent from South Carolina, mostly from Charleston; but as nothing but the title of property in these were guaranteed, no one bid upon them, and they remained unsold. In regard to the rest, the title to property in them was not only warranted, but their age, character, qualities, condition, and accomplishments were proclaimed. One of the men was very much emaciated and sickly-looking; he was sold for ninety dollars; age, I think, forty, or thereabouts. Another was a young man, who had been brought up to the cigar-making business, and brought four hundred and eighty dollars. He was a bright, intelligent, good-looking young man, and was a runaway from his master. He was represented as having always sustained a good character till he ran from his owner. His only fault was, it seems, a desire to be free. Another, also a young man, was offered for sale by the Union Bank of New Orleans, having been taken for debt. He was represented as an excellent man, a man of unexceptionable character, and, as evidence of it, as I suppose, he was said by the auctioneer to have a perfectly smooth back, i. e. he had never been whipped.—Three women were also sold, two of them were quite young, and the other about thirty. Their characters, qualities, and condition, were all made known. The youngest was sold for four hundred and fifty dollars. The next, whose peculiar condition was publicly cried, brought a little less; and the other, having a weakness in her back, her only defect, was sold for less still. Two women, with infants in their arms, were brought upon the stand, and offered for sale; but as they were from Charleston, and nothing said about their character or qualifications, no bid was made for them, and they were ordered off.

The auction was held in a large public room, at the back part of which there were accommodations for eating and drinking; which operations were going on, I believe, at the time of the sale. There was a large crowd of men standing around, some there as purchasers, and some, like myself, as spectators. A stand or platform, three or four feet high, was erected on one side of the room, on which sat a clerk, who noted down the particulars of the sale, and on which stood the auctioneer and the slave who was to be sold. The auctioneer was a middle-aged man, well dressed, and had the outward appearance of what is generally termed a *gentleman*. He did not think it necessary, however, to refrain from the use of profane language. Perhaps he considered it the mark of a gentleman. He cried the slaves, proclaimed their good qualities, age, defects, &c., with the same nonchalance and indifference as if they were common articles of merchandise.

UNITED STATES—THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.

The following notices of this dreadful traffic are so late as June and September last:—

(From the *Emancipator*.)

SLAVE MARKETS AT NEW ORLEANS.

I will relate a fact with regard to the "slave market in New Orleans," called the "Arcade," which I get from an eastern gentleman who spent the winter in that city of whips and chains, prisons and tortures.

Mr. —— said he always avoided such scenes as much as possible, for they harrowed his feelings; and the fact that he could not relieve

ence that an auctioneer in Vermont would describe a horse, or a pair of oxen, which he was about to sell to the highest bidder. The slaves showed various emotions, more or less intense. Those who were sent from Charleston for sale wore very sad countenances. One of the young men who was sold, I perceived, eyed his purchaser very closely. Some of them did not appear to care much about being sold; others looked exceedingly dejected. The crowd looked on very calmly as the sale proceeded. When the unfortunate man who was sold for ninety dollars was struck off, a pious Baptist deacon standing by my side very coolly remarked, "That man would be worth more than that to me." The whole scene was to me heart-sickening beyond description. I will not undertake to describe the thoughts and feelings which it excited in my mind, for it would be impossible.—And all this in a Christian land!

Yours truly,
A. BROWN.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

NOTICE is hereby given to the Friends and Subscribers of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, that from and after the 1st January, 1846, it will be issued MONTHLY instead of fortnightly, as at present, and that whilst it will be increased to double its present size, its price, with a view to its increased circulation, both at home and abroad, will be reduced to FIVE SHILLINGS per annum, payable in advance if ordered through the Anti-Slavery Office.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. MURRAY will hear from the Secretary.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 26, 1845.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to an advertisement which appears in this day's number, of the intended alteration in the time of issue of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, which has hitherto appeared every fortnight, but which will be issued from the beginning of the next year, 1846, on the first of every month, except, of course, when it falls on a Sunday. The price, it will be seen, is to be reduced from eight shillings and eightpence, to five shillings per annum. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society hope by this means greatly to increase its home circulation, and to be enabled thereby to cover the expense connected with a large gratuitous foreign circulation; they would, therefore, respectfully and earnestly urge on the attention of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Auxiliary Associations throughout the country the necessity of obtaining additional subscribers for the ensuing year. The Committee will use their best exertions to improve as far as possible its form, and to render it worthy, in every respect, of the great cause it has hitherto so efficiently subserved. The Committee will be happy to learn that some of their friends have taken this subject under their special care, and would add, that lists of subscribers should be forwarded to the office agreeably to the terms specified in the advertisement.

IT will be seen by the extracts which appeared in our last number, as well as from those which are inserted in the present, that a deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been visiting the counties of Warwick, Gloucester, Worcester, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The cities and towns already visited are as follows:—Birmingham, Stratford-on-Avon, Worcester, Cheltenham, Gloucester, Stroud, Bristol, Taunton, Devonport, Plymouth, Tavistock, Kingsbridge, Liskeard, Truro, Falmouth, Helstone, and Penzance, in all which places, we are happy to learn, there has been a warm and hearty response to the appeals made on behalf of suffering and oppressed humanity.

We direct attention to a correspondence which appears in another column, between the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Colonial Office, in relation to the extinction of slavery in Ceylon. It will be in the recollection of our readers that the last remnant of slavery as sanctioned by law in the British dominions existed in that island, in the case of a small number of persons (about four hundred) still held in bondage. The Committee rejoice to learn, in reply to the inquiry which they thought it their duty to make on this subject, that an ordinance for the final abolition of slavery in Ceylon has been passed by the Governor, and has received the sanction of Her Majesty in Council. This step we are sure will be duly appreciated by the British public, but by none more cordially than ourselves, and we tender our sincere thanks to Her Majesty's Government for it. It will be a high gratification for every Englishman to be able to say that, according to law, there is no longer a slave under the dominion of his sovereign. It yet remains, however, in India particularly, that the freedom which the law de-

clarles should be realized by those whose bondage is as yet practically prolonged.

FROM the West India mails we have selected such extracts as were pertinent to our columns. The most important part of the intelligence they bring relates to the rural police ordinance which has been enacted in British Guiana, the first of those mischievous and oppressive measures some time since announced. This important ordinance we have noticed at length in another page. Immigration from Africa seems not to go on very swimmingly. The Barbicians who speculated in the voyages of the *Roger Stewart* have lost money by her second trip, about which they are stated to be, not unnaturally, "very sore." The efforts of the Senator from Trinidad having been so unsuccessful that the Governor will not charter her again, the planters of this island also are trying a private speculation, in which the Governor joins them. No doubt these gentlemen will soon be "very sore" likewise. And in this state of things, the little island of Grenada is smitten with the immigration mania, and is actually voting five thousand pounds a-year to this purpose! The intelligence from Barbados discloses the fact that the system of oppression by arbitrary rental is still pursued in that island; but we must express our satisfaction that, in a recent case, it has been rebuked and put down by the Court of Appeal. We wish we could speak in similar terms of the conduct of some other magistrates in that colony. The case of Richard Curtis is a very strong one, not only against Lieutenant Williamson, by whom he was given into custody without a shadow of pretence, but against the magistrates of Bridgetown, who, apparently to shield the military officer from a well-grounded charge of false imprisonment, had recourse to various pretexts in order to prevent the hearing of it. Messrs. Gill and Griffith told Curtis that the complaint must be in writing, or they could not entertain it! Was ever anything more preposterous, or more unjust? We hope the Governor will look to the case, more especially, as we learn that it is far from being a solitary one. Our well-known contemporary, the *Barbadoes Liberal*, thus speaks:—"We publicly bring the subject to the notice of Sir CHARLES GREY, and in the name of the poor of the island, ask how long these things are to be endured? Scarcely a week passes, in which, from almost every parish in the island, complaints do not reach us of unbearable petty tyranny, or the basest subserviency to oppression, on the part of those who are placed among the people to weigh evenly and decide impartially in disputes between them."

THE *Times* gives, as from a "Malta paper," an article on slavery in Tunis, to the effect that the Bey of that regency has not really abolished the slave-trade, and that the British Government has been deceived on this point. We have copied the paragraph as an article of intelligence, with a view to promote the investigation which such a statement calls for. We cannot give immediate credence to it, and we most sincerely hope it will prove to be without foundation.

We observe by the *Dominica Colonist* of the 4th of October, that a Mr. Edward Lockhart is appointed Coroner of that island. This appointment strikes us painfully. A Mr. Edward Lockhart was among the commissioners of the census, and in that capacity acted a most culpable and mischievous part. He forced open the houses of some of the labourers on Geneva estate, while the occupiers were quietly at work in the field, thus causing an immediate uproar on that property, and contributing largely to the disastrous results which followed. The official documents laid before Parliament give to this gentleman a very unenviable notoriety. The Governor-in-Chief, Sir Charles Fitzroy, thus speaks of him: "I am happy to be able to acquit Mr. Edward Lockhart of the charge of intentional violence," (if it was not accidental how could it be otherwise than intentional?) "on this occasion; but I cannot acquit him of having acted with *very great indiscretion*, in forcing open two doors and a window of different negro houses which were fastened, particularly as he must have been aware of the excitement which there was among the people at that moment." Lord Stanley also notices him for reproof, in the following terms:—"It is impossible to deny that the conduct of some of those employed, and *especially of Mr. Lockhart*, was highly indiscreet." Now that this very person should be distinguished by the favour of the Government, and appointed to an office of such peculiar trust as that of Coroner in the West Indies, might seem almost incredible: yet, unless there be two gentlemen of the same name in Dominica, both of them in the way of promotion—a contingency in which we have no faith—this has actually been done. And a worse thing scarcely could have been done. If there was any lesson inculcated by the outbreak of last year in Dominica, it was that the affairs of the island should be confided to prudent men, adapted to engage the confidence of the people; but this lesson, though learned in terror and writ in blood, has, it appears, been speedily forgotten. It might almost seem that the party in power long for another *emeute* in that colony, and for a fresh indulgence in the tyrannical and murderous luxuries of martial law. Certainly it can be no marvel if the man who produced the first should also produce a second. May it not be hoped that the attention of Lord Stanley will be given to this mischievous appointment, and that he will see the necessity of forbidding the application of a torch to matter so easily inflammable as the feelings of a population recently emancipated from the galling yoke of slavery?

SOME extracts from the American papers are in type, but have been crowded out. The following extract of a letter from Pennsylvania to Mr. Sturge, with which we have been favoured, is rendered unusually interesting by the light it throws on the problem of free-labour cotton manufacture :—

"Pennsylvania, 10th month, 28th, 1845.

"We are labouring in the free produce concern cheerfully, and hope to engage in the manufacture of free cotton soon. We are surprised to find we can obtain large quantities of this description in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. What will some of your manufacturing friends think of making an arrangement with us to furnish them with free cotton direct from the plantations?"

In answer to this question, we can say, without hesitation, that free-labour cotton from any part of the Union, *properly guaranteed*, would be received in this country with the greatest readiness and pleasure.

IN our first page will be found the second of the two laws which together constitute the measure of the French Government for the regulation of colonial slavery, together with the principal proceedings which took place respecting it in both Chambers. It is simply the authorization of an expenditure, by the Minister of Marine, of the sum of 930,000 francs, about 37,000*l.*, for several purposes more or less nearly connected with the object of the first law. Of this sum, the largest item (16,000*l.*) is appropriated to aid the redemption of slaves, at the discretion of the Government. 14,400*l.* is to be expended on the formation of colonial establishments adapted to supply both employment and punishment to redeemed slaves; 4,800*l.* is set apart for introducing European workmen and labourers into the colonies; and about 1200*l.* is designed to meet the expense of a general valuation of property in French Guiana. The last-named appropriation might seem to have little to do with the business before the Chambers. The Minister explained, however, that the proposition arose out of a plan for organizing a system of free labour in Guiana, which had been submitted to the Government by the planters, and the consideration of which they wished to facilitate by taking this preliminary step. M. de Mackau added that the condition of Bourbon, as well as that of Guiana, was peculiar, inasmuch as the planters there were endeavouring to obtain labourers from Asia, a plan in which the Government was disposed to aid them. So much importance was attached by some speakers to the vote of 16,000*l.* towards aiding slave redemptions, that without it, they affirmed, the first law would be useless, and slavery would be perpetual. That the first law will be useless is but too manifest; and that much can be done by the paltry sum of 16,000*l.*, spent, as no doubt it will be, after the manner of the two supplementary ordinances, to rescue it from its apparent destiny, is altogether improbable. In the discussion of this law, M. Dubois made an exhibition of the deplorable manner in which the funds voted in 1839, for the elementary and religious instruction of the slaves had been misapplied. We have given that part of his speech at length, and commend it to perusal. On being pressed for some observation on the subject, M. de Mackau, after long silence, grudgingly ejaculated, "It is not the time for it." And well did M. Ternaux Compans rejoin, "The time never comes." Oh! "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark;" and state jobbers and tricksters go on trifling at their pleasure with the dearest interests of humanity and justice.

WE are glad to observe the frequent notice which has been taken in the papers of the last two or three weeks of the important subject of cotton culture in India. One or two of the parties whose letters have been published have thrown out the opinion that the Anti-Slavery Society was about to take the lead, or at all events an active part, in the formation of a company for promoting this object. It is proper, perhaps, that we should say there is no foundation for such an expectation. An effort of this sort would be altogether, and very widely remote from the proper objects of that Society. The Committee, however, are deeply interested in the subject, and ready at all times to do whatever they can consistently do in relation to it.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT BRISTOL.

(From the *Bristol Mercury*.)

A PUBLIC meeting, convened by placards posted on the walls, was held on Monday evening last in the large Public-room, Broadmead, for the purpose of hearing from Joseph Sturge and John Scoble, Esqrs., as a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, some details of an interesting and important character, in connexion with slavery. There was a very large attendance.

JOHN EVANS LUNELL, Esq., in taking the chair, said the meeting, as they were no doubt aware, was one of the friends to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. Happily slavery in the British colonies had wholly ceased, and it was long since this country had anything to do with the slave-trade except in attempting to put it down. (Cheers.) Ample as was the compensation paid for the liberation of the slaves in our West-India possessions, he believed there was no part of our 800 millions of debt which had been so well spent as the 20 millions paid to the planters. (Hear.) He was happy to state that they had present with them that evening John Scoble, Esq., the talented secretary of the Anti-slavery Society—(cheers)—and also Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham—(cheers)—who was well known as a long tried friend of the abolition cause, who had travelled by sea and land in its service, and who had perilled his property, his liberty, and even his life in promoting the well-being of the slave populations. (Loud applause.) He believed that the object of

the present meeting was to hear a statement of the amount of slavery in different parts of the world, and of the lamentable extent to which the slave trade was carried on.

GEORGE THOMAS, Esq., said there seemed of late to have been a kind of apathy throughout this country on the subject of slavery, as if, having abolished it in our own colonies, men had settled down, thinking there was nothing more to do. But they should remember that slavery still existed in other parts of the world, and in the United States of America to three times the extent it had ever done in connection with our own country. It was an anomaly that in that land of boasted freedom there were yet three millions of human beings held in bondage. The slaves in the French colonies, in the Brazils, and the Dutch possessions, were not emancipated, and there seemed to be some danger that, in the Mauritius, slavery might be again introduced. A considerable number of Hill Coolies were constantly being imported, and unless the proceeding was closely watched a form of slavery might again grow up. (Hear.) After hearing the statements of their friends Scoble and Sturge, he felt satisfied that they would not sit down as if nothing remained to be done. In America the system was abominable. A gentleman who had gone out in the *Great Western* met with two passengers who were slave-owners. He discussed the question with them, and as might be imagined, the planters had the worst of it. The discussion, however, ended in the planters' saying to their abolition opponent, "If you come to New Orleans with those abolition notions, we'll hang you up by the neck." He mentioned this, to show what feelings were engendered in those who had unlimited power over the bodies of their fellow-men. (Hear.) It seemed to him that it was, if possible, more important to liberate those who held the slaves from such a contaminating influence than it was to liberate the slaves themselves; for the system of slavery did produce a degree of mental degradation even in the slave-holders, which could scarcely be understood or believed. (Hear.) He had recently read a narrative of Frederick Douglas, who had escaped from slavery in the United States, and the picture he gave of the misery and suffering of the slaves, and of the hardness of heart and barbarity of their masters, it was difficult to describe. Mr. Thomas concluded by proposing—

"That whilst this meeting deeply deplores the continued existence and dreadful atrocities of slavery and the slave-trade, they rejoice to learn the encouraging progress of anti-slavery sentiment and effort in various parts of the world, especially in the United States; and would encourage the philanthropists of this and of every other country to renewed exertions for the complete overthrow of these gigantic evils."

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., on coming forward was received with much cheering. He said, before his friend Mr. Scoble entered upon some details of the system which it was their object to abolish, he would call their attention for a few minutes to the extent of the evil which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was labouring to uproot. In the Brazils, at the present moment, there were at least 3,000,000 of slaves. In the United States, which boasted of being the freest country in the world, there were 2,750,000; in the Spanish colonies, 800,000; in the French colonies, 250,000; in the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish possessions, 100,000; in the South American republic, 400,000; and in Texas, 30,000; making the enormous aggregate of 7,330,000 of Africa's descendants now held in the most degrading bondage in the western hemisphere. The laws relating to the management of the slaves were of the most abominable character. They were declared to be absolutely the property of their masters; their food, property, liberty, and everything was given into the hands of their owners. Protection was said to be given to their lives, but in point of fact they might be mutilated, tortured, and slain by their masters, if the atrocious deeds were committed in the presence of slaves only, for their evidence would not be taken as against their masters, in a slave country. Their labour was coerced by the most cruel usage, and it was frequently eked out to such an extent as not only to exhaust their physical strength but to destroy their lives. The average of deaths in the Brazils was full five per cent. per annum above the births, while in Cuba it was as much as seven and eight per cent. over the births. He (Mr. Sturge) knew that there were persons come to England who did not hesitate to state that the slaves were better off than the labouring population of this country. Far be it from him to underrate the sufferings of his fellow working-men in England; but he could state, from personal observation, that even the most degraded Freeman in the kingdom would not exchange his condition with the best treated of the slaves. (Applause.) After some further remarks, Mr. S. went on to observe, that no human regulations could check or mitigate the evils of slavery while the system existed, because no human regulations could change the human heart. He would not trouble the meeting with many illustrations, but would give them one or two of a different character. At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Committee in London, last week, a gentleman who had come from the Dutch colony of Surinam, had mentioned the following fact:—Some years ago a number of slaves escaped from the plantations and took refuge in the woods. The planters, after they had endeavoured for a long time to re-enslave them, finding the effort vain, came to a kind of compromise with them, which resulted in their being appointed as a sort of police to capture other run-away slaves. Their instructions were, if they could not take them alive to shoot them, and as it would be troublesome to send the bodies of the slaves to the seat of government, it was arranged that upon giving evidence of the slaughter, and sending down the hands of a killed negro, they should receive seven guilders as their reward. The gentleman added that he had brought home a number of those hands, and they were then at the Custom-house, as a present to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The other illustration was of a different character, and was on the authority of a gentleman from New Orleans, who stated that a few years ago there was a man in that town who was of pure negro blood, and of considerable intelligence, and who was free. He had some little capital, which he employed in his business as a carpenter, by which, till his death, he supported his wife and family, in what in England would be considered a state of much respectability. Some years ago, he became acquainted with a very handsome coloured woman, a slave in a family near the city, and in order to have her for his wife he proposed to purchase her of her master. His proposal was acceded to on condition of his paying a large sum down, and the remainder by annual instalments, on paying the last of which the conveyance of the

woman was to be made to him. After they had been married some years, and she had borne him four children, and when nearly all the purchase-money had been paid, he was attacked with disease of the lungs, which terminated his life,—and, would it be believed, the widow, because all her purchase-money had not been paid, was compelled to return to her slavery, and her children, although born in freedom, were by the law of Louisiana obliged to follow her, and become slaves also. The frightful waste of slave life in the island of Cuba would be best understood when they considered that if such mortality were general the whole world would become depopulated in the course of comparatively few years. In America, the waste in the slave-consuming states was supplied from the slave-breeding states, and 70,000 or 80,000 changed hands annually, and were chained together and marched through the country. He had himself visited some of the slave gaols, and had seen a mother and seven or eight children sold to New Orleans dealers, each to a separate master. To supply Cuba and the Brazils, the dealers went to Africa, and by various means, predatory warfare, kidnapping, and all kinds of fraud and crime, they carried off the natives as their slaves. In 1807, when the slave-trade was abolished by law, it was calculated that 70,000 annually were carried across the ocean. From the statement of Sir Fowell Buxton, which might be relied on, it would be found that in consequence of the British cruisers attempting to stop the trade, the cruelties had not only been increased, but the trade itself had increased in the number of slaves from 70,000 or 80,000 to from 120,000 to 150,000 annually. (Hear.) The waste of life was so enormous in the march overland to the coast, a distance of 2000 miles in the middle passage, and the wars of the interior, that not less than half a million of the inhabitants of Africa were sacrificed annually by people calling themselves Christians. (Hear.) He had lately visited a captured slave-ship in the port of Gloucester, which when taken had 600 or 700 slaves on board. She was not longer than two canal-boats. (Hear.) The sufferings of the Africans must have been dreadful; indeed, he had never conversed with an officer who had seen anything of the slave-trade, who did not agree in describing the scene as horrible beyond description. Mr. Sturge went on to state his conviction that it was unjustifiable to attempt to suppress any crime by the force of arms, and that the present mode of attempting to put down the traffic in slaves would, while it cost millions in this country, and sacrificed the lives of her soldiers and sailors, never succeed. The cure would be the abolition of slavery; for while there were receivers of stolen goods, there would always be found men ready to steal. (Applause.) After referring to the state of slavery in Africa, and the specious arguments by which the slave-holders of that country endeavoured to defend their connection with the horrid system—he alluded to the fact of the ministers of many of the American churches holding slaves; and, declaring their conduct to be unchristian, he expressed surprise that they should have been received as Christian ministers, and allowed to preach in the pulpits of this country. He then continued—It would be remembered that a little time ago there was a great difference of opinion among the advocates of free-trade on the question of altering the duty on slave-grown sugars. He felt it to be due to the Anti-Slavery Society that he should take that opportunity of stating the principles on which it, at that time, acted. (Hear.) He would not yield to any man, or body of men, in zeal for free-trade—in all legitimate commerce; but he could not include in that term stolen goods. Holding the belief that a man took his innocent fellow-man, held him in bondage, and lashed him even to death, in order to coerce him to produce cotton or sugar, he felt that he ought to treat the produce of that labour as stolen goods. (Loud cheers.) They ought to try the question by their own feelings. Would any one whose child or brother had been stolen, and lashed and maltreated to make them produce sugar, purchase one farthing's worth of that sugar when produced? (Cries of "No, no.") If their judgment would not refuse, their feelings would. To show that by purchasing the produce of slave labour they increased slavery, he would call their attention to a few facts. In the year 1784 a vessel came to Liverpool, having on board eight bags of American cotton; and to show that this article had not been imported into Liverpool up to that time, he would mention that those bales were actually seized by the Custom-house officers, under the belief that cotton was not the produce of America. In 1790, so unprofitable was slavery in America that they were about to abolish it in the States. But the growth of the cotton manufactures in England opened a market for slave-grown cotton. In 1790, there were only 189,000 lbs. of cotton imported from America, and the total number of slaves in the United States was 657,000. From that period the imports and number of slaves went on increasing, till, in 1843, there were 1,081,919,000 lbs. of cotton imported, and 2,847,810 slaves employed. (Hear.) If free-trade would destroy slavery, it would have been destroyed long ago in America. He thought, however, that the figures he had given would tend to show practically that purchasing the produce of slave labour did encourage slavery. (Applause.) He had lately had the opportunity of conversing with the principals of some of the leading cotton firms in Manchester; and although they did not sympathise with him in all his views, he found they were anxious to encourage the growth of cotton by free labour. (Hear.) He (Mr. Sturge) hoped that the time was not far distant when they would be able to produce an article which would enable the people of this country to wash their hands of slavery. Mr. Sturge enlarged on this part of his subject at some length, and concluded an eloquent speech by expressing the hope that the period would soon arrive when the sun would neither rise upon a tyrant nor set upon a slave. (Loud cheers.)

J. SCOBLE, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in rising to address the meeting, was received with loud applause. After some preliminary observations, he said, although at the present time, in the western hemisphere, there were not less than seven millions of Africans, or the descendants of Africans, held in bondage, yet that amount formed but a small number of those who had been torn from Africa since slavery was first established in the western world. It would be, indeed, impossible to arrive, with any certainty, at the immense number of those who had been torn from their native land, with all its endearing ties and happy associations to glut the avarice or feed the ambition of the slaveholders. The Abbé Runne computed the number, upon what data at his time could be obtained, at not less than thirty millions. Since that period they could not pretend to estimate how many millions had been added to that number. This, however, they knew, that after

three centuries of slave-trading, there were only seven millions of Africans left enslaved, and it was on behalf of those seven millions that they, as representatives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, stood before their fellow-Christians, whom they asked to aid them in their efforts to procure their freedom. (Cheers.) They had already heard that there were annually torn from Africa not less than 120,000, and in some years 150,000 Africans, and that in order to secure the bodies of slaves to supply the slave-markets of Cuba and the Brazils, at least 300,000 human beings were annually sacrificed. It was difficult to form at once the full idea of wretchedness and misery, disease and suffering, degradation and death, which such a statement must suggest to the mind. The figures were too vast to be comprehended at one view. What would be their feelings if they were told that the whole of the inhabitants of Manchester were annually swept away to supply some horrid system? And yet Africa was annually robbed of 300,000 of her children to supply the waste of human life in the slave-market of the western world. It had been ascertained by the British consul that in the last twenty years 2313 cargoes of slaves were known to have been landed in those countries; and, although it was impossible accurately to ascertain the number of beings comprised in those human cargoes, they were returned at, at least, 700,000—(hear)—and there was reason to believe that not less than a million were landed from those vessels alone. What could the people of England know or imagine of the horrors connected with the slave-trade? (Hear.) They heard much of the terrors of the middle-passage—of the cruelty of the predatory warfare which was carried into the interior of Africa—of the miseries which accompanied the land-march over the burning and arid deserts of that ill-fated country; but, after all, it was utterly impossible for them to picture to themselves anything like an adequate idea of the suffering, the cruelty, degradation, and death consequent upon the horrid system. (Applause.) In endeavouring to state to them some of its horrors, he should confine himself to two or three illustrations. He would not dwell upon the appalling fact that all the young African children, captured with their mothers, were invariably put to death, because they should not encumber their parents in the march—he would not dwell upon the masses of bleached bones of human skeletons which marked the slave-routes from the interior, and which some of their countrymen had seen—he would not dwell upon the position in which those bones had been found, clustering around the wells, and indicating the horrors which the poor wretches, whose remains they were, must have suffered from thirst and hunger—nor would he dwell upon the fact that all the slaves rejected by the slave-dealers were universally put to death upon the coast, because they would yield no profit to the chief, having been refused. He would not attempt to paint the horrors of the middle-passage—but would ask them to form some faint idea of them from a statement which was made by Sir Robert Peel, upon a public occasion, in connection with the Niger expedition. Sir Robert Peel stated—and the truth of the circumstance was well-attested—that a slaver, with 900 slaves on board, started from Mozambique, on the coast, for the slave-market of the Brazils; after she had been at sea for three days she was overtaken by a violent storm; it raged for forty-eight hours with such fury that during that time it was found necessary to close the hatches and batte down the hold. There were 900 children of Africa packed and chained together without light and without air. And what a sight presented itself when the hold was again opened! Of the human cargo, 300 wretched beings had terminated their sufferings in death; others were parched with fever and raving with frenzy, and all were oppressed by disease. Who could attempt to picture to himself the horrors of those dreadful two days?—the suffering from thirst and terror, and the consciousness of approaching death? (Hear.) After the 300 dead bodies had been thrown overboard the storm recommenced; its fury rendered it necessary again to batte down the hold, and again 300 wretched human beings perished. The vessel then put about for Mozambique harbour, and when she arrived there, out of her cargo of 900 slaves not more than 100 were found alive, and those in the most dreadful state of suffering and disease. But were the hearts of the slave-dealers touched with compassion by the miseries of this voyage? No: they loaded their vessel with another human cargo, which they took to the Brazils, and by it realised a large profit, notwithstanding that they had lost 800 slaves. Although such was not the fate of every slave cargo, yet it had been ascertained that the average mortality was 25 per cent.; and when it was considered that the voyage to the Brazils only occupied from three to five weeks, what a dreadful amount of mortality was that! (Hear.) He would not dwell on the circumstances connected with the sale of the slaves at Cuba and the Brazils—the misery and suffering attendant on their "seasoning"—or the pains and punishment inflicted on them in order to extort unwilling labour; but he would call their attention for a few moments to the internal slavery of America, which, although in some of its features not so bad, was yet, in others, more revolting than that of Africa. (Hear.) Delicacy would not admit of his dwelling on some of the circumstances connected with American slavery. They might imagine all that was vile, disgusting, dreadful, and degrading, and yet they would have but an imperfect conception of some of the revolting circumstances connected with slavery in America. (Hear, hear.) He would state to them one or two facts which had been made known to him by a friend connected with the United States, which would give them a faint idea of some of the evils of American slavery. At a slave sale at St. Louis, in the state of Missouri, a negro was put up who was about 25 years of age, and an excellent workman in iron, but whom his master, by his necessities, was forced to sell: after he had been examined (as beasts of the field were examined), and it had been ascertained that his limbs were sound, his frame active, and his wind unburnt, he was put upon the block, and the sale commenced. The auctioneer dwelt on his knowledge and ability, his skill in ironwork, and general qualities, and the lot attracted the notice of one of the south drivers, who was in the habit of sending slaves to the southern market. The poor fellow perceived that the driver was intent upon buying him, and stepping down from the block, he went across to him, and said imploringly, "I see, master, that you are going to buy me; if you do, you must buy my wife also; see, there she stands, weeping"—pointing to a female close by. The driver replied, "I do not know that I shall buy you; get upon the block." The biddings went on, and the slave again went across to the driver, and again implored him to buy his wife. The dealer gave him a touch with his cane, and said, "Get upon the block, I cannot say that I shall buy you." The sale

proceeded, and the man was knocked down to the dealer. In an agony of supplication, he went again to his purchaser, and said, "Do you buy my wife; I shall be of little use to you without my wife." The cruel reply was, "I did not come here to buy your wife, but to buy you: you will have wives enough when you get to the south." The young man rushed and embraced his wife, and they mingled their tears together. Again he supplicated the dealer to buy her, and again was the boon peremptorily refused. He went once more and fondly kissed the partner of his bosom, and then he seemed to have recovered the dignity of manhood, and standing erect he marched boldly across to his purchaser, and said in a commanding tone, "Will you buy my wife?" The answer was, "No;" and the slave replied, "Then I will never be your slave;" and drawing a razor from his pocket, he cut his throat and fell dead in the presence of the assembled multitude. By the laws of America, the woman was not his wife. The code of the United States forbade marriage between slaves, and yet there were apologists for American slavery to be found among doctors of divinity, who came to this country to preach the religion of the Bible; while there were those among the Christians of this country who would give to such men the right hand of Christian fellowship, and lend them the use of their pulpits to pour their divinity into the ears of Christian audiences. (Applause.) The same friend had told him another incident. He was standing on a wharf, to which some slaves were brought in order to be put on board a steam-boat which was to take them southward: among them was a woman, with a child at her breast, who happened to remain a little behind the rest to pay her infant some maternal attention. The driver was indignant, and called her to come on, and upbraided her for detaining him. She explained to him the reason she had delayed, upon which he snatched her infant from her arms, and, holding it out, said, "Who will have this child?" There was a monster in the crowd who took it from him, and the poor slave mother was forced on board the vessel, and robbed of her tender infant, never to see it more. ("Shame.") And this was according to American law!—this was tolerated and sanctioned in the freest country of the world! Away with such freedom as that! (Loud cheers.) The speaker went on further to describe the horrors of American slavery, and stated that in instances in which God had been pleased to convert the heart of the negro the fact of his being a Christian was put forward at his sale as a means of enhancing the price. He would ask that assembly whether the sale of Christian men and women was not a gross outrage offered to the Redeemer? (Yes, and cheers.) Was it not selling the very image of God, and putting up for sale the very grace of his blessed Spirit? And should they be told that they had nothing to do with slavery in America? (Loud cheers.) His humanity told him that it was his duty to care for the sufferings of his fellow-man, and his Christianity told him that his voice should be raised in earnest protestation against a system which was opposed to the very essence and spirit of Christ's gospel. (Cheers.) Mr. Scoble next proceeded at length to show the blessings which had followed emancipation in our West India colonies, and related several anecdotes to explain how highly the boon of liberty was valued by the negroes themselves. Were the planters as wise as the emancipated slaves were thankful they would, instead of having to mourn decreased crops, have had to rejoice in increasing prosperity. With this, however, they (the Christian public) had nothing to do. The question was one of justice and religion, and they dared not weigh the liberty of a fellow-creature against a hogshead of sugar, a bale of cotton, or a bag of coffee. (Cheers.) The speaker then adverted to the growth of abolition feeling in the United States. Ten or a dozen years ago, and any man who ventured to open his lips on behalf of the slave was subjected to persecution, loss of property, and even of life itself. A change had, however, been brought about. Anti-slavery conventions had been held in all the free states, and he believed that the day was not far distant when anti-slavery societies would be formed even in the slave states of Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee. (Cheers.) The Christian churches of America were a short time ago in a state of dead slumber on this great question; now it engaged the attention of divines, and was discussed in their conferences. (Hear, hear.) The churches were all in disruption on the subject, and the northern free churches were separating themselves from the slave-holding churches of the south. Not only was there an awakening of the churches, but a great political movement was going on. There was a party in America which, copying the example of the earlier abolitionists of England, sunk all minor differences in the feeling that the franchise they held was a sacred trust to be used for promoting the liberty of their fellow-men. (Cheers.) In 1840 this party put forward an abolitionist as a candidate for the presidential chair—not, indeed, in the hope of being able to carry him, but with a view of trying their strength. There were 700 American citizens who voted for him; but such was the growth of feeling upon the subject that last year there were 62,000 votes for an abolitionist president—(Cheers)—votes of the very cream of the Christian churches, who were determined to persevere till they had placed a friend of the slave in the chair of government. (Cheers.) Mr. Scoble next adverted to the growth of the anti-slavery cause in France. The government of that country had passed laws recognising the right of the slaves in their colonies to hold private property, to purchase their redemption, in opposition to the will of their masters, and to marry. (Hear.) Let the last privilege be carried out, and slavery would be abolished in the French colonies. How could the government continue slavery, and yet preserve the rights of husband and wife and those of the offspring of their marriage? He believed that they would be obliged to consent to immediate abolition. The question had been undergoing discussion in all the French colonies, and resolutions had been come to that emancipation was not desirable, but that if it took place it ought to be simultaneous and their holders ought to have compensation. (Hear.) After pointing out that the French slaves, dissatisfied with their condition, were already resorting to incendiarism and poisoning, Mr. Scoble adverted to the immigration of Coolies in the West Indies. He denounced the system as productive of incalculable evil, and adverted to the unjust manner in which the free labourers were being taxed for the purpose of importing labourers to compete with them. It should be known, too, that the Coolies were kidnapped and betrayed into emigration by falsehood and fraud. This system was to be extended to our English colonies. No regard to decency was observed, sensual idolaters were introduced to corrupt and demoralise the negroes, and if the system were not closely watched it would lead to a re-enactment of much of the hor-

rors of slavery. Vagrant laws and contract laws were being enacted in the colonies, with the view of again bringing the emancipated negroes under the power of their masters. The Anti-Slavery Society had agents engaged with the Government in endeavouring to effect a removal of these evils, and they now asked the support of the people of England, and particularly of the industrious classes of England, who were interested in the welfare of the labouring man throughout the world—(Hear); and especially they asked the ladies to assist them. They could not forget what had been done by the fair sex in reference to the West India colonies. If the Anti-Slavery Society were only adequately supported, it might work out the emancipation of the whole world; and oh! what a happy day would that be, when there should not remain on the face of the globe a single slave to water the earth which he tilled with his tears, or stain it with his blood. (Cheers.) After referring to the infamous "black code" of laws regulating slavery in Louisiana, by which the mere charity of teaching a slave to read was punishable, upon a second offence, with death, Mr. Scoble concluded by saying he hoped that he had said enough to awaken their sympathy, and to show them that the liberty and happiness of millions of their fellow-creatures were in some sort—in some degree—committed to their care. Mr. S. resumed his seat amid loud cheers.

The Rev. W. LUCY stated, in reference to one remark of Mr. Scoble, that the associated evangelical ministers, of the Baptist and Independent churches in this city, had come to a resolution some years since, not to receive as Christian ministers, or lend their pulpits to, any minister from America who refused to avow himself opposed to slavery.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously.

The Rev. JOHN BURDER then moved, and the Rev. THOMAS HAYNES seconded, the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—"That whilst this meeting offer no opposition to the free emigration of labourers to the emancipated colonies, when conducted on sound principles, they feel it to be their duty to denounce the present mode of supplying them with labour, as unjust in principle, unwise in policy, and inhuman and degrading in its consequences; and would earnestly call on her Majesty's government and the British legislature to withdraw their sanction from it. And this meeting would further urge upon the Queen's government the duty of withholding the sanction of the crown from all colonial enactments, whether in the form of vagrant, contract, or other laws, the effect of which may be to place the labouring population within the power of their masters, or to give the local justices concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary magistrates in the colonies."

The Rev. GEORGE ARMSTRONG then moved, and the Rev. GEORGE DAVIS seconded, "That this meeting have learned with painful interest the fact that several thousands of British subjects are now held in slavery in the Spanish and Dutch colonial possessions, and would respectfully entreat her Majesty's government to take the necessary measures for securing to them their liberty, and for restoring them to their native homes."

Mr. SCOBLE, in reference to this resolution, stated that our late consul-general at Cuba, Mr. Turnbull, discovered that there were on that island a considerable number of British-born negroes, speaking the English language, who were held in slavery. This was represented to the English Government, and Lord Palmerston determined to rescue them from their bondage, but he was superseded by Lord Aberdeen. The consular-judge at Surinam had also found several British-born slaves there. The present consul at Cuba stated, that there were still several thousand British-born slaves in the island.

The Rev. GEORGE ARMSTRONG moved, and Mr. H. C. HOWELLS seconded the following—"That, convened as we have been for the purpose of aiding in the great cause of freedom from the bonds of slavery, we should deem ourselves wanting to that cause, were we to withhold the expression of our admiration of those magnanimous men and women in the United States of North America, who in the face of unparalleled difficulties (we rejoice to learn now in process of diminution), with a zeal that no danger can damp, with a love that no opposition can quench, continue to be nobly banded in the holy cause of freeing their coloured brethren from the cruelest bondage that has ever afflicted and disgraced the human race. That, in tendering thus the expression of our sentiments, we gladly embrace the opportunity of joining our voice with that of all men, everywhere, who respect the right of free discussion, and the sacred liberty of the press, in condemnation of the atrocious outrage lately committed at Lexington, in Kentucky, in violation of those rights, so nobly, but on that occasion so vainly, sustained by the high-souled, but still indomitable Cassius M. Clay. For those true heroes of humanity we devoutly invoke the blessing of Almighty God; while we hereby offer them our respectful, admiring, and affectionate sympathy."

The Rev G. ARMSTRONG, in the course of his address, stated that the Unitarian ministers of this country had remonstrated with their American brethren, and had elicited from them an able protest against slavery. He suggested that the ministers of other denominations might, by the same means, effect much good.

The able addresses of the several speakers were warmly cheered, and the resolutions adopted *nem. con.* Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated shortly after ten o'clock.

Home Intelligence.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.—PLYMOUTH AND DEVONPORT.—On Thursday evening, the 13th instant, a public Anti-Slavery Meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institution, Devonport. The theatre was crowded, and the deepest interest manifested in the statements of Messrs. Sturge and Scoble. The chair was taken by an old friend of the Society, Mr. Foster; and the Anti-Slavery Committee was revived and re-organized. Among those who rendered the deputation great assistance on the occasion, were the Rev. Messrs. Spencer and Jones. Others took part in the business of the evening, which appeared deeply to impress the audience, and which, it is hoped, will prove of good service to the cause. Friday morning was devoted to Plymouth, where a meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institution, presided over by Mr. Collier, late M.P. for the borough. The gathering was highly respectable for the hour of the day, and the proceedings passed off with

unabated interest to the end. Besides Messrs. Sturge and Scoble, who gave a condensed view of the present state of Slavery and the Slave trade, the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiment and effort in various parts of the world, the emigration of Coolies to the emancipated colonies, &c., &c., were the Revs. Messrs. Nicholson, Jones, Odgers, Mr. Derry, and others. The visits to Devonport and Plymouth afford evidence that the old Anti-Slavery spirit still exists, and that the Society will not want firm and fast friends in these important towns.

TAVISTOCK.—On Friday evening, the 14th instant, Messrs. Sturge and Scoble proceeded to Tavistock, where they held a meeting in the large room of the Bedford Hotel. It was crowded to excess, and amply repaid the effort they had made to get there. In the absence of the secretary of the Tavistock Auxiliary, the deputation were greatly aided by our friend Mr. Feaston.

KINGSBIDGE.—A public meeting was held at this place in the evening of the 15th. It was well attended, though called at a short notice, and held on the evening of the market day. Our old and warm friend, Mr. Richard Peek, of Hazlewood, took the chair, and all persons present seemed to be deeply interested in the Anti-Slavery cause. Dr. Jones, Messrs. Nicholson, Fox, and other friends moved and seconded the resolutions, which were presented and passed unanimously. The meeting was invited to ask questions, for the purpose of drawing forth such information as they required.

LISKEARD.—On Monday, the 17th instant, Mr. Scoble started for Liskeard, Cornwall, and took up, on his way thither, the Rev. Mr. Spencer, of Devonport, who kindly consented to accompany him to various towns in the county, for the purpose of aiding him in the proceedings. On the evening of that day they met a crowded audience in the Town Hall, and were highly gratified by the spirit which it exhibited. The meeting was presided over by the vicar of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Todd, whose urbane and interest in the Anti-Slavery cause will not easily be forgotten. Among the friends who assisted on the occasion were Messrs. Adams and Allen. On the following morning (Tuesday), Mr. Scoble met the members of the Ladies' Association and their friends, and had an opportunity of pressing on their attention those practical measures, which, if generally adopted, will greatly advance the Anti-Slavery cause.

TRURO.—On arriving at this place, everything appeared unpromising. Mr. Tweedy was absent at Redruth; his son, Mr. W. Tweedy, was engaged at Falmouth; the secretary of the local Auxiliary, Mr. H. Stokes, was unavoidably prevented being present; and there were religious meetings to be held which could not be put off. The deputation, however, applied to E. Turner, Esq., M.P. for the borough, to be chairman of a meeting. He kindly consented. The Town Hall was filled, and the deputation were listened to with very deep interest. Our friends the Tweedys, the Rev. Mr. Moore, and others, dropped in and took part in the proceedings, which did not end till nearly ten o'clock. All were gratified by the result.

THE FELICIDADE AND THE ECHO.—In the Court of Exchequer, on Saturday, the 13th instant, the fifteen judges heard the arguments of counsel in the case of Serva and others tried at Exeter for the murder of Mr. Palmer, on the points reserved for their opinion. The arguments related chiefly to the alleged illegality of the capture. The judges retired without giving their opinion, and have since expressed their desire to hear the case re-argued by two civilians from Doctors' Commons. The prisoners have, in consequence, been further respite until the 15th of December.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—IMMIGRATION FACTS.—The African immigrants in Hanover are never taken to any school or church. They are not decently clothed. They live, boys and girls, in the same house, and in the same rooms indiscriminately, some of the houses not being floored. Several have wandered about begging victuals from actual starvation. Some of these immigrants are not allowed to visit their countrymen on other properties, or to receive their visits at their own houses. This is especially the case with those located on a pen, the property of Mr. H. E. Walcot, Justice of the Peace. These poor children are not allowed to go beyond the limits of the property—Sundays not excepted. We are informed that they think they are slaves.—*Baptist Herald*.

According to the *Morning Journal* it will require, on the lowest calculation, one hundred thousand pounds per annum of additional taxation to supply this island with six thousand Coolies per year. For our own part, it remarks, we think the measure of Coolie immigration so fraught with absurdity and injustice, and so unlikely to confer any permanent benefit on the country, that we are surprised to find men of experience and reflection at all favourable to it.

A CORONER'S INQUEST was held on the 25th of September, at Rock River estate, in the parish of Clarendon, on the body of a Hill Coolie who died suddenly. The verdict was, that he died from congestion of the brain produced by the excessive use of spirituous liquors.—*Baptist Herald*.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.—Where are the thousands of Irish and German immigrants?—Mouldering in the grave. Where the Africans from Sierra Leone?—Wandering about from estate to estate, with no settled habitation—no instruction—but with discontent at the treatment they have received, and with their superstitions and ignorance in full operation. These men have now become the "obeah men" of the land—the children, the tricksy corrupters of our youth—and the wanton, ah! where are they? Where are the Hill Coolie women?—*Baptist Herald*.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.—In the House of Assembly, on the 30th of September, Mr. Challenger said that it was in the recollection of the House that two large sums of money had been recently granted to the Agricultural Society for the purpose of promoting European immigration into this colony—no report had been made to the House of the manner in which the money had been expended,—he begged

to move, "That application be made to the President of the Agricultural Association requesting a return, setting forth the manner in which the two sums of 500/- and 1,000/- granted by the Legislature for the promotion of European immigration into this colony have been expended—the number of persons introduced, their names and occupations—how they have been disposed of, and whether the parties receiving them have paid any sums as bounty to the Society." After some discussion, the motion, on a division, was carried.—*St. Christopher's Gazette*.

GRENADA.—IMMIGRATION.—The House of Assembly is occupied with a bill for applying 5,000/- annually to the introduction of labourers. It is proposed to raise the money by a tax of 6d. per gallon on the rum consumed in the colony.—*St. George's Chronicle*.

BARBADOS.—RENT-OPPRESSION.—A case was heard before the Court of Appeal, on the 19th of September, in which an attempt was made to exact double rent for a cottage, because the occupier would not work on the estate on which it was situated. The Court very properly frustrated the attempt, with costs.—*Barbados Liberal*.

UNJUST MAGISTRATES.—The *Liberal* narrates the case of Richard Curtis, a black man, who, having been engaged to deliver a letter for another person to Lieut. Williamson, was given into custody by that officer, because he would not tell where the party who sent him might be found! When the case was brought before the magistrates the military officer quickly ordered his prisoner to be released, having had a hint, no doubt, to this effect from the magistrates: but when Curtis wanted to bring a charge of false imprisonment against him, they evaded it by various pretexts, and at last told him they could not entertain it unless it was in writing!

TRINIDAD.—AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—We have heard that her Majesty's Government have consented to afford increased facilities for securing a free immigration from the coast of Africa, and have already adopted measures of an effective nature in promotion of our wishes, in accordance with the suggestions of his excellency the Governor.—*Trinidad Standard*.

The Senator having had such bad success in bringing emigrants from Sierra Leone that the Governor would not charter her again at the public expense, he has combined with several planters in chartering her for another voyage as a private speculation.—*Ibid.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.—There has been for several years a large mortality in the parish of St. Catherine, Berbice, which the *Berbice Gazette* ascribes to want of medical attendance. A correspondent of the *Congregational Record* thus notices it:—"I believe that the people paid more for the medical attendance than it was worth. Some of our doctors were willing to attend to their practice, but were not able. Others were criminally negligent. A Portuguese in the district, whose fee is not lower than the usual one, meets with considerable encouragement. In some cases where there has been no regular engagement with the doctor, a fear of exorbitant charges has prevented him being called in until it was too late. I have heard of a case in which a doctor demanded 7 dollars 33 cents before he would look at a poor and dying man. I paid the handsome sum of 109 dollars to the order of one for four days' attendance, &c., on a poor man who lost his life in a fall. I believe that great numbers have had their constitutions ruined by the hardships of former years, and that many valuable lives have been lost for the want of prompt and good medical attendance, for which they were both able and willing to pay."

IMMIGRATION FROM MADEIRA.—Two vessels have arrived from Madeira: a schooner, the *Florida Primo Vera* of 86 tons, that came in Tuesday with 46 immigrants from Madeira, and a brig, the *Dras Annas*, of 147 tons, which followed her the next day with 81 of the natives of that island.—*Guiana Gazette*.

The Roger Stewart had arrived at Berbice, from Sierra Leone, with 180 African immigrants. The parties by whom it is chartered are said to be losers by the adventure, and, as a matter of course, are sorely disappointed.—*Guiana Times*.

Foreign Intelligence.

SWABIA.—EMANCIPATION OF SERFS.—The *Swabian Mercury* gives the following from Lemberg (Galicia), 10th October. It is generally believed that the peasants of our province will be emancipated. The States have been occupied with this question for the last fortnight, whereas formerly they confined themselves to the discussion of the propositions of the Government. In 1843, the Marshal of the diet of Wasilewsky begged his Majesty the Emperor to make a change in certain relations between the nobles and the peasants. The Emperor received the redress favourably, and demanded explanations on the subject from the States. Count Potatry, in consequence, proposed to the Diet of 1844, to give the peasants an interest in the soil which he possessed, and to introduce mortgage registers. The Diet obtained the authorisation of the Emperor to appoint a committee to draw up regulations concerning the position of the peasants. This committee has been named, and is composed of thirty-six members. A public functionary forms part of it.

MADAGASCAR.—There are at least sixteen British subjects in the province of Tamatave implicated in illegal slaveholding, as well as Fréne Mazandré. We could cordially approve a law cutting off those unworthy subjects of so noble an empire from all the rights and privileges of citizens. If they will act in a manner so contrary to the spirit and letter of the British constitution, they are unworthy to enjoy its protection.—*Mauritius Watchman*.

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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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AMERICAN SLAVERY.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—The anti-slavery exertions in Cork during the visit of Frederick Douglass, were so important and extensive in their influence as to be worthy of a record in the pages of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. And though some notice has already been taken of them in your journal, yet I should think a brief sketch of the whole, and of the sensations they produced in this city, would be in accordance with the objects of your paper. Should such be your opinion, you will oblige us here if you can afford space for the following record, which I would commence with a notice of the man who is at present directing public attention in these countries to the slave system of America.

In the person of Frederick Douglass we have one of the ablest advocates for the universal emancipation of the slave. Undoubtedly he is such, when the peculiarities of his circumstances and situation are taken into account, as they cannot fail to be by all who look upon the man, and read the "Narrative of his Life." The effects which the expositions of such a man must produce upon "Slavery as it is," can scarcely be over-estimated. They are powerful and enduring, and fix the lever which will finally overturn the slave system in all nations making any pretensions to civilization; especially will the American slave system feel the shock of his powerful and sustained efforts. A system which can doom such men as Douglass to the whip and fetter, it may be of an ignorant and imbruted slaveholder, cannot long stand before the stirring emotions of an informed public opinion, which will sway to and fro amongst the various nations of the earth. The physical obstructions to this interchange of feeling are being every day removed, and mind shall sway mind, though lying at earth's remotest bounds. This interchange of thought and feeling amongst good and true men is to be the sure purifier of the world. It can mould public, domestic, political, and "peculiar institutions" to its will, and make "the wilderness blossom as the rose."

When one of an enslaved people, bursting his fetters, quits the land of false pretensions, and stands amongst the nations who have abolished the horrid traffic and ownership in human flesh and blood, and pleads—his countenance beaming with the light of an unclouded intellect, his breast heaving with deep but calm emotion, his whole figure and bearing stamping him nature's freeman, it is a fact of mighty significance, portending no distant revolution. Frederick Douglass is a defender, leader, and advocate, that any people might be proud to acknowledge. As a man, he is ours; we claim him as one of the great human family.

The *Philadelphia Elevator*, a paper conducted by coloured people of the United States, and devoted especially to the elevation of that class, and to the cause of abolition, contains such an interesting reference to the inquiries concerning Douglass of his former companions in slavery, and of free coloured people who knew him when a slave, that we are tempted to extract it.

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—We observe that this self-emancipated man has lately sent forth from the press a sketch of his life. Everybody should read it. It is an exceedingly interesting, as well as ably written work. While lately in a part of Maryland, we were unexpectedly called upon by at least a dozen coloured persons, some of them slaves, and others freemen, who had heard that we knew Frederick at the north, and who wished to hear news of their old friend. They knew him by his assumed as well as by his real name, and related to us many interesting incidents about their former companion."

"Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, written by Himself," is the title of this memoir. Since the arrival of Douglass in these countries, it has been republished by Webb and Chapman, of Dublin. It is introduced to the public by an eloquent letter from the pen of William Lloyd Garrison, which relates the overpowering effect the first speech he ever heard from the lips of Frederick Douglass had upon his mind and heart, and upon the minds and hearts of the multitude assembled at the convention at Nantucket, gives a history of the connexion from the first of Frederick Douglass with the abolition party, and goes on to say—"This narrative contains many affecting incidents, many passages of great eloquence and power; but I think the most thrilling one of them all is the description Douglass gives of his feelings, as he stood soliloquising respecting his fate, and the chances of his one day being a freeman, on the banks of the Chesapeake Bay, viewing the receding vessels as they flew with their white wings before the breeze, and apostrophising them as animated by the living spirit of freedom. Who can read that passage, and be insensible to its pathos and sublimity? Compressed into it is a whole Alexandrian library of thought, feeling, and sentiment—all that can, all that need be urged, in the form of expostulation, entreaty,

rebuke, against that crime of crimes, making man the property of his fellow-man!" This letter is followed by another, powerfully and beautifully written, from the heart and mind of the "mellifluous-toned Wendell Phillips."

Though prepared for the visit of Frederick Douglass, nothing could prepare us for the effect which the sight of such a man produced, as a fugitive from a democratic, Christian-boasting, freedom-shouting people! Our souls sickened within us at the thought of such a people tightening the slave-chain, and wielding the slave whip, yet making the loudest professions to human equality and brotherhood of any nation of the earth.

"His skin may be black, his skin may be white,
We carena a fig, if his bosom be right,"

says a Scotch song. And the bosom of Frederick Douglass is all right. He is a man of power, a true-hearted man, one of God's best gifts to the world.

Mr. Douglass came to these countries in company with J. N. Buffum, Esq., in his own country the well-known, long-tried friend of the slave. We were sorry that Mr. Buffum had to leave us in the midst of our exertions—that we lost his advocacy at the greater number of the public meetings. He is a gentleman in the truest sense of the word, a man that quickly wins the sympathy of those he is introduced to; he soon became endeared to us, and we parted him with regret.

During the short stay of Frederick Douglass in our city, he spoke at eleven public meetings; nine of these were summoned in quick succession to listen to his addresses. In the City Court House we had the first great public meeting—it was crowded to excess. The following resolutions, evincing the interest our leading public men themselves took in the subject which Frederick Douglass advocates, were adopted by acclamation. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed.

"1. That we extend our cordial greetings to Frederick Douglass, the American slave, and to J. N. Buffum, Esq., the American freeman who has nobly volunteered to suffer for the bondsman, and with open hands and warm hearts welcome them to our native land.

"2. That it is the bounden duty of the people of this country to bring their moral influence to bear on the American nation, to awaken them from their criminal apathy in regard to the three millions of their fellow-countrymen whom they hold in bondage.

"3. That the system of slavery, as it exists in America, is of so extensive and hideous a character, as to influence and promote slaveholding and slave-trading in any country where they may unhappily exist: that, therefore, our duty to injured Africa and our abhorrence of the slave system in every land, calls upon all people, however poor, however distressed, to give time, thought, and labour to the best means of exterminating a system that demoralizes the slave, demonizes the master, and is a degradation to the whole human family."

On the morning of the day that this meeting was held at the Court-house, the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Anti-Slavery Societies met to breakfast at Lloyd's hotel, to entertain Mr. Douglass and Mr. Buffum. On this occasion the information Mr. Buffum communicated and the illustrative anecdotes he related were deeply interesting to the company. Mr. Douglass, by his calm, forcible remarks, showed his power of intellect and soundness of heart, and gave the utmost satisfaction by his conversation and presence. We had three great evening meetings at the spacious Independent chapel. The moment Mr. Douglass stepped upon the platform, and proceeded with his lectures, he appeared nature's nobleman, knowing himself, and commanding at will the minds and hearts of his audience. We had day-meetings at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Patrick-street, and at the Clarence-rooms, Imperial hotel. We had a meeting of the contributors to the Boston Bazaar, in addressing which Frederick Douglass was particularly effective; his calm, quiet manner, his elevated spiritual views, served to render this one of the most interesting of the series. In company with Mr. William Martin of this city, Frederick Douglass visited Youghall, twenty-six miles from Cork. They had a crowded meeting, anxious to hear again the burning eloquence of Frederick Douglass.

Previous to the departure of Frederick Douglass from our city, the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Anti-Slavery Societies met in the Committee-room of the Royal Cork Institution, and unanimously adopted an address to him. The evening of the same day he delivered his farewell address to a respectable and overflowing audience. And now that he has departed our city, he goes with the hearty good wishes for his success, and the warm personal attachment of a large circle of friends, who have spent many happy hours in his society, and can never forget the pleasures of his intercourse with them.

Yours respectfully,
RALPH VARIAN.

Cork, Dec. 2, 1845.

THE CASES OF THE FELICIDADE AND THE ECHO.

SEEJEANTS INN HALL, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

Before the Fifteen Judges.

REGINA v. SERVA AND OTHERS.

Sir J. Dodson, Queen's Advocate, and Dr. Phillimore, appeared for the Crown; Dr. Addams for the prisoners Joaquim, Ribeiro, Martinos, and Francisco; and Dr. Harding for the other prisoners, Serva, Majaval, and Alves.

Dr. ADDAMS opened the argument. The foundation of this conviction he collected from the concluding paragraph of the report of the learned judge (Mr. Baron Platt) who tried the prisoners, which was in these terms:—"I thought that the *Felicidade* was in the lawful custody of Her Majesty's officers, that all on board that vessel were within Her Majesty's Admiralty jurisdiction, and that if the jury were satisfied by the evidence that the prisoners plotted together to slay all the English on board, and run away with the vessel, and that in carrying their design into execution Majaval slew Mr. Palmer, by stabbing him and throwing him overboard, and that the other convicted prisoners were present, aiding and assisting Majaval in the commission of that act, they should find them guilty of murder." The facts of the case he also collected briefly from the same report to be these:—"The evidence established the following facts:—On the 22nd of February last the *Felicidade*, a Brazilian schooner, commanded by Joaquim Antonio de Cirqueira, and bound on a voyage from the Brazils to Africa, for the purpose of bringing back a cargo of slaves, arrived off the African coast, and on the 26th of that month, while she was hovering within sixteen miles of the shore, and within six degrees of north latitude, was observed by Her Majesty's ship of war the *Wasp*, stationed off the Slave Coast for the prevention of the slave-trade, and then cruizing for that purpose near Lagos, off the point of Benin, under the command of Captain Usher, who, upon approaching the *Felicidade*, manned two boats and gave the command of them to Lieutenant Stupart, one of his officers, with orders to board the *Felicidade*, and if she appeared to be fitted up for the slave-trade to capture her. Lieutenant Stupart, in obedience to those orders, went with the two boats to the *Felicidade*. Cirqueira, the captain, immediately surrendered, and, accompanied by all his crew except Majaval and three others, was conveyed on board the *Wasp*." Something had been suggested as to that being a voluntary surrender, but he thought their Lordships would not so consider it. The report continued,—"At the time of her capture the *Felicidade* was fitted for the reception of a cargo of slaves, and was within sixteen miles of the shore. On the 27th of February, between four and five o'clock p.m., Captain Usher having removed from the *Felicidade* the three men who had been left with Majaval, sent back Cirqueira to the *Felicidade*, manned her with sixteen British seamen, and placed her under the command of Lieutenant Stupart, and directed him to steer a particular course in pursuit of a vessel capable of being seen from the *Wasp*, although then invisible from the *Felicidade*." Now, there was no *constat* that the vessel which was captured by Mr. Palmer was the vessel that was seen from the *Wasp*. However, "Lieutenant Stupart accordingly steered that course, but did not observe any object until the following morning at daybreak, when he descried the *Echo*, a Brazilian brigantine, commanded by the prisoner Serva. He chased her, and, coming up with her at ten o'clock on the following night, fired a pistol as a signal to bring to, got into the jollyboat, (what jollyboat there was no proof), and hoisted the British colours. The captain of the *Echo* hailed the men in the boat and asked who they were, and upon being informed that they were English immediately set sail. Lieutenant Stupart continued the chase, and overtook the *Echo* at eight o'clock on the next night within ten miles of the African coast, when and where she lowered her sails and surrendered. The lieutenant had at that time under his command Mr. Palmer, a midshipman, and sixteen British seamen. He ordered Mr. Palmer and eight of the seamen to take charge of the *Echo* during the night. On Mr. Palmer going on board the *Echo* he found in her the prisoner Serva, Serva's nephew, twenty-five men, and a cargo consisting of 434 slaves; and by the direction of Lieutenant Stupart, the vessels being at that time close together, sent Serva, his nephew, and eleven of the crew, to the *Felicidade*, where they remained during the night in the custody of Lieutenant Stupart. During the chase, and at the time of the surrender, Lieutenant Stupart wore his uniform, and at the time of the surrender and capture told Serva he was going to take them to Her Majesty's ship *Wasp*, for being engaged in the slave-trade. The *Wasp* had printed instructions on board. Lieutenant Stupart had not any printed instructions on board the *Felicidade*, and did not show any other authority than his uniform and the British ensign; he had, however, boarded the *Echo* several times before, and to Serva was well known as an officer in Her Majesty's navy. The slaves had been shipped on board the *Echo* at Lagos. At nine in the morning next after the capture, Lieutenant Stupart took with him Serva's nephew to the *Echo*, and placed Mr. Palmer and nine British seamen under his command on board the *Felicidade*, in order that he might take charge of her, and of Cirqueira and Serva, and the other prisoners, and three others of the *Echo*'s crew. Within an hour afterwards Serva, Majaval, Alves, Ribeiro, Francisco, Martinos, and Joaquim, conspired together to kill all the English on board the *Felicidade*, and take her; and in pursuance of that conspiracy rose upon Mr. Palmer and his men, and after a short conflict succeeded in slaughtering them;"—observe, after a short conflict. Now, if these persons were in lawful custody, then there might be a plot to kill; but if not in lawful custody, then it would only be a plan to regain the property of which they had been unjustly deprived, and if in the course of that plan a killing ensued, it could not be murder. The root, therefore, of all was, whether this was a lawful seizure, and whether these persons were in lawful custody. If they were not in lawful custody, there was no *corpus delicti*; but if they were, even supposing that there was a killing, then they were not amenable to the laws or jurisdiction of this country, and by no principle of international law with which he was acquainted could this conviction be sustained. The learned civilian then proceeded to argue that the crew on board the *Felicidade* were not liable to be seized

as pirates, under the treaty with Brazil, and the act of the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., founded on it.

By the 5th George IV., c. 113, the regulations of the right of search and capture were laid down with respect to the Portuguese subjects, and the same regulations applied to the other act with respect to Brazilian subjects. By that act a ship of war of the royal navy which should be provided with such special instructions for the purpose as were thereafter provided might visit any merchant vessel of the two nations which might be suspected on reasonable grounds of having slaves on board acquired by illicit traffic; and, in the event of actually finding slaves on board, might detain and take such vessel, in order to bring it to trial before the tribunal thereby provided. Now, in the case of the *Felicidade*, admitting the search to be lawful, the detention was unlawful. The officer searching the vessel was bound to adhere strictly to the exact tenour of the instructions. It should have been by a vessel forming part of the royal navy at the time, and one, too, provided with the special instructions he had mentioned. He believed it was in evidence that there were not proper instructions on board the *Wasp*.

Mr. Baron ALDERSON said, there was no such evidence.

The CHIEF BARON said, it might be put thus.—Either the instructions were violated by the captain of the *Wasp*, or the treaty was violated by the instructions.

Dr. ADDAMS said, either there were or were not instructions on board the *Wasp*. If there were, they were the instructions specified in the act, or they were not. If they were, she had exceeded her power; if they were not, she was not qualified to make the capture. But by an additional article, made in 1823, to the convention of 1817, it was declared that, if there were clear and undeniable proof that any slaves had been on board a vessel on a particular voyage, she might be detained; but what evidence was there that there had been slaves on board the *Felicidade* in the course of the voyage in which she was captured? Again, if the British officers had acted conformably to the instructions of their own Government, that might be a justification for them, but that would not do with respect to foreigners.

Mr. Baron PARKE.—Supposing, instead of murder, this had been a larceny committed on board the *Felicidade*, would the Admiralty have had jurisdiction? Would it, if the vessel had been seized under Admiralty instructions, which were contrary to the treaty? Would it, if the vessel had been seized by a British subject, contrary to instructions or without instructions?

Dr. ADDAMS submitted that in neither of these cases would the Admiralty have had jurisdiction.

Mr. Baron ALDERSON.—Is the nationality of the ship changed by a capture which is the private act of the captor wrongfully; and is it changed by a capture which is the act of the Government?

Lord DENMAN.—Where should an offence committed on the deck of the *Felicidade* after the capture have been tried?

Mr. Baron ALDERSON.—That is one of the points we want information upon.

Dr. ADDAMS.—A wrongful seizure, even if made in compliance with instructions from our Government, would not bind foreigners, to make them liable to be tried in this country and by its laws. The officer might be justified to his own Government, but there would be no privity between the foreigner and the British Government. Here, however, there was no evidence of the sanction of that Government, and surely the Court would not presume that it had issued orders to its officers contrary to the treaty and the statute. But next with regard to the *Echo*,—as to this vessel the treaty was violated in several points. The search was made "by an officer holding a rank inferior to that of lieutenant in the navy," namely, by a midshipman. There were no instructions on board the *Felicidade*, and she had been absent fifty-two hours from the *Wasp*, which had instructions, and was perhaps 500 miles from her. The visit and seizure were not made by "a ship of war of our royal navy;" the jollyboat of the *Felicidade* was employed. The *Felicidade* could not be deemed a tender to the *Wasp*. The *Felicidade* remained still a Brazilian vessel; there was not even an incipient conversion; and could it be contended that the captain of the *Wasp* could make any vessels which he chose to capture, rightfully or wrongfully, tenders to his vessel, so that they could capture slave-ships under the treaty? It was absurd. Therefore the visitation and search of the *Echo* were unlawful, and, if so, the detention was unlawful, for a lawful detention could not be grounded on an unlawful visitation and search; and so this was not a plot to murder the English on board, but a plan which these persons had a right to concert for the purpose of gaining their liberty; if, in carrying it into effect, killing ensued, there was no *corpus delicti* attached to the act. Here was no finding of unnecessary violence; and, *ex natura rei*, the probability was from the whole of the *res gestae* that there was none. In the next place, the Court which had tried these prisoners had no jurisdiction, and the proceedings had been *coram non judice*. On the broad seas no nation had any jurisdiction except over the persons of its own subjects in its public and private vessels. Hence the present indictment stated that Mr. Palmer "was within Her Majesty's peace," and concluded that the slaying was "against the peace of the Queen."

Mr. Baron PARKE.—The question is, then, whether the *Felicidade* became by the seizure an English ship *quod hoc*?

Dr. ADDAMS.—That, again, depended on the question whether it was a lawful seizure.

Lord DENMAN.—Supposing Mr. Palmer had seized a person actually dealing in the slave-trade without orders from his Government, for the purpose of taking him to be tried by the law of Brazil, or by the Mixed Commission, and the person seized had resisted and been killed by Palmer, and Palmer had been tried for the murder, must he not, upon your argument, have been found guilty?

Dr. Addam's answer was not distinctly heard, but he was understood to say that it would have been manslaughter.

Mr. Baron ALDERSON here read a case of "Turner v. Carew," from Beawe's *Lex Mercatoria*, where a capture, made under a mistaken impression that letters of reprisal had not been recalled, was held no piracy, because it was only done with a view to a condemnation, and not *animus depredandi*, it being held, also, that the power of reseizing continued until brought into port.

Dr. HARDING, who appeared for Majaval, Serva, and Alves, then proceeded to argue, first, that neither the Queen's ships nor the Queen's officers have any general right to search foreign vessels on the ocean in time of peace, but that the sea is free and common to all nations; second, that these prisoners were not pirates by the law of nations, inasmuch as slave-trading was not piracy, and not contrary to the law of nations; third, that these prisoners were not pirates under or by reason of the treaty or any construction to be put upon it; fourth, that the prisoners were illegally and wrongfully captured, and detained in direct violation of the treaty; fifth, that at all events they were not subject to the British jurisdiction or criminal law, in other words, that this offence was not against the peace of our Lady the Queen; sixth, that even if subject to the British jurisdiction, they had either committed no crime or a less one than murder. Supposing that the Court would look at the treaties as they would at any other document of the same kind, they would see what the parties had undertaken to promise thereby. What was the first thing they discovered to be wanting in these treaties between Portugal and England, and Brazil and England? There nowhere appeared any means pointed out or any desire expressed by the parties to have the persons engaged in these pursuits brought to justice, or even restrained in any way from committing the offence again. He could not find one word of authority for putting into custody, for keeping in custody, or for handing over parties to be dealt with by their own Government in these treaties, or for the English Government doing that or anything else necessary for restraining or preventing them doing the same thing again. This he submitted was a very material argument in favour of the prisoners. Then, was there any law of Brazil making the slave-trade piracy, or for enforcing the treaty in any way whatever, or making the pursuing such trade any offence at all? There was nothing in the report of the learned baron to show that at present the traffic was not as lawful in Brazil as the traffic in sugar. Then it appeared that this was lawful traffic by the law of nations, and there was nothing to show that it was unlawful by the laws of Brazil. He apprehended, therefore, that he had a right to say, that as the case stood on the treaties there was no means of bringing offenders in this traffic to justice or of restraining them from following it.

Mr. Baron PARKE.—The question simply is as to the seizure of the vessel. The real question is, was the *Felicidade* seizable in the manner in which she was seized in virtue of the treaty?

Dr. HARDING resumed.—As to the ships, they were differently situated. As to the *Felicidade*, she had no slaves on board, and there was no presumption that she ever had. By the treaty with Portugal of 1817, the instructions were most positive not to seize any vessel that had not slaves on board. Those instructions were in force at this time. Here the *Felicidade* was captured and detained, and used to capture another vessel. The instructions were also, that no ship without slaves on board should be detained on any account or pretence whatever. There was no evidence that Captain Usher gave any other orders but to pursue. It did not appear that his orders were to capture; where was the pursuit to stop? They did not come up with the *Echo* till night. Now constat she was the same vessel. A boat was sent to board her without any colours. What had been done before by the attempt to capture in a jollyboat with colours did not amount to an incipient capture. Then, when a party was sent on board, that did not constitute a legal custody. He submitted there was no identification of the jollyboat. It could not be presumed that the jollyboat which took the *Echo* was the jollyboat of the *Wasp*, and not the jollyboat of the *Felicidade*. This was not such a capture as in lawful war would have confiscated the *Echo* to the *Wasp*. If the *Echo* was captured at all, the capture was not by the *Wasp*, but the *Felicidade*. The *Wasp* and *Felicidade* had been separated fifty-two hours when the capture of the *Echo* took place, and it could not be said to be a capture by the *Wasp*; the capture, therefore, was in direct violation of the treaty which confined the right of visitation to ships of the British navy. The next point was, what were the consequences that attached on the capture? He submitted that on an illegal capture no legal consequences attached. Upon these grounds, he contended that the prisoners for whom he appeared were improperly convicted.

Sir J. Dodson, as counsel for the Admiralty, said he trusted he should satisfy their lordships that the capture, both of the *Felicidade* and of the *Echo*, was lawful, and that both, at the time of the transaction that led to this conviction, were in the lawful custody of Her Majesty's officers. The material point was as to the legality of the capture of the *Felicidade*. The great objection to that legality arose from the circumstance that she had no slaves on board, which it was contended was a necessary circumstance to justify her detention under the treaty between this country and Portugal, and which was adopted between this country and Brazil. The 5th article of that treaty was in these terms:—

"The two high contracting powers, for the more complete attainment of their object, namely the prevention of all illicit traffic in slaves on the part of their respective subjects, mutually consent that the ships of war of their royal navies, which shall be provided with special instructions for this purpose, as hereinafter is provided, may visit such merchant vessels of the two nations as may be suspected, upon reasonable grounds, of having slaves on board, acquired by an illicit traffic, and in the event only of their actually finding slaves on board may detain and bring away such vessels, in order that they may be brought to trial before the tribunals established for this purpose, as shall hereinafter be specified." Now, the objection was that there was no slaves on board the *Felicidade* when it was captured; but for the proper elucidation of this question it was necessary to refer to the convention between Great Britain and Brazil, which was recited in the 7th and 8th George IV. The first article of the treaty was this:—

"It was agreed upon and concluded between the high contracting parties, that at the expiration of three years, to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade under any pretext, or in any manner whatever, and that the carrying on such trade after that by any person, subject of His Imperial Majesty, should be deemed and treated as piracy."

So that at the end of three years from the date of that treaty—that was,

on the 13th of March, 1830—the slave-trade was finally abolished by Brazil, and was to be deemed piracy. No words could be stronger. The second article was this:—

"By the second article of the said convention, His Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, deeming it necessary to declare the engagements by which they hold themselves bound to provide for the regulation of the said trade till the time of its final abolition, did mutually agree to adopt and renew, as effectually as if the same were inserted word for word in the said convention, the several articles and provisions of the treaties concluded between His Majesty and the King of Portugal on this subject on the 22nd of January, 1817, and the several explanatory articles which have been added thereto."

Then, upon the face of those two articles he apprehended it was quite clear that on the 13th of March, 1830, the treaty altogether prohibited the slave-trade, and made it piracy, and persons engaged in it were to be considered as pirates. Then came the stipulations, that till the time of the final abolition of the slave trade the Portuguese treaties of 1815 and 1817, and the additional articles, should be the rules by which the trade was to be guided. But they would not apply after the 13th of March, 1830; and if that were so, then the case was quite clear against these parties; for any British vessel might have seized and detained a vessel engaged in the slave-trade and the persons on board. He did not say they could have tried the prisoners as pirates, unless there had been an act of the Legislature to enable that to be done, but an act might have been passed to that effect. He would, however, take it that the Portuguese treaties were in force, and formed part of the Brazilian treaty; but then they must be considered with reference to the important first article to which he had referred. Now, it seemed to him that many of the conditions of the Portuguese treaties could not possibly, and were not intended to, apply to or override the first article. That was evident from the circumstance that by the Portuguese treaties the slave-trade was to be legal south of the equator, a provision that could not apply to Brazil, who said that the trade should be entirely abolished. Another thing that occurred to him in that respect was, that by the Portuguese treaties a passport was required for vessels lawfully engaged in the slave-trade.

The CHIEF BARON said, there were certain clauses in the treaties with Portugal which applying to illegal slave-trading. Those clauses could not apply until the term of three years from the treaty with Brazil, because it was not until then that the trade was illegal; so that the term "*mutatis mutandis*" in that treaty, in reference to the Portuguese treaties, could only be read with respect to those parts which were applicable. The additional articles of March 15, 1823, appended to the treaty, in consequence of vessels being found to put their slaves on shore just before being visited by ships of war, declared that if there should be clear and undeniable proof of slaves having been put on board in the particular voyage for the purpose of the traffic, such vessel should be detained by the cruiser, and finally condemned by the commissioners; that qualified the article which prohibited detention except where slaves were actually found on board; and Captain Usher, if he had reasonable ground of suspicion, would have been justified in taking this vessel into port with a view to investigation. It was a mistake to suppose that a vessel could not be legally captured, unless that were followed by condemnation; what was the use of a court of justice if the parties were to be quite sure of the facts before taking a vessel in? If taken improperly, the remedy was given by the award of costs and damages. As to the instructions on board the *Wasp*, it must be assumed that after 1830, when the slave-trade was made piracy by the Brazilian treaty, instructions were sent out conformable to that state of things, and very different from those applicable to Portuguese vessels, which could deal in the trade under certain restrictions.

Mr. Baron PARKE.—Still, where was the "clear and undeniable proof" that slaves had been put on board in that voyage?

Sir J. Dodson.—There was reasonable suspicion, for the vessel had been hovering for four days about the coast, and that was sufficient to warrant its being taken, that "clear and undeniable proof" might be given in Court; it was that practice of being colourably without slaves when actually visited that lead to the additional articles of 1823. But further, the treaty applied to all vessels equipped for the slave-trade after its total abolition. The judgments of the only competent courts, the Courts of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone and Rio, had been to that effect. These cases, though not regularly reported, were certified by the judges themselves and printed in the slave-trade papers laid before Parliament. In the papers for 1839-40 there was the case of the *Emprehendador* before the Brazils British and Brazilian Court, and the vessel being equipped for the slave-trade, that was held sufficient to call for condemnation under the treaty; it had no right to go anywhere for slaves, and therefore an equipment was *prima facie* evidence of being about to do an illegal act. So the case of the *Fortuna*, (1 Dodson, 86), showed it to be Lord Stowell's opinion that it was not necessary there should be slaves on board, if there was an equipment in spite of a prohibition to traffic in slaves; and a vessel must be condemned if she sailed upon the illegal voyage. Thus, then, there was a right to capture the *Felicidade*, and give up the parties to be punished by the laws of their country, if there were such a law, and there ought to be, since the treaty made the trade piracy. It had been said that the British legislature, in 7 and 8 George IV., had drawn a distinction, while making it piracy to carry on the slave-trade, by making it only a common felony to be guilty of the minor offence of being concerned in the trade, or equipping for it; but the treaty, be it observed, applied to Brazilian subjects only, and not to British, and therefore that argument failed. Chancellor Kent treated the slave-trade as piracy, so far as it was made so either by treaty or statute of the nation to which the delinquent belonged; and, indeed, if Brazil entered into a treaty with Great Britain, Great Britain had a right to presume that Brazil followed it up by a corresponding municipal law, nor could a Brazilian be heard to contend that there was no such law. It was true, that the case of the *Emprehendador* gave only the British view of the subject, for it was a condemnation at Sierra Leone by the British commissioner; but there was also the case of the *Maria Carlotta*, carried into Rio, on being found equipped for the slave-trade, but with no slaves on board; the Brazilian government consented that that case should go before the court.

LORD DENMAN.—The conduct of the Government can hardly be properly cited; but if its consent was given, it would seem that the courts would not otherwise feel authorized to condemn.

SIR J. DODSON.—The *Esperanza*, equipped for the slave-trade, but with no slaves on board, was also carried into Rio, and condemned; and that happened to be a capture by this very Captain Usher. It had been argued that where there was only an equipment there was a right to resist, and to recapture; so that if the captors were wrong as to the event, they might be murdered. The case of neutral vessels captured in war had been mentioned; now, the crews of these had no right to rise upon their captors, and rescue the ship by violence, but were bound to abide the sentence of the proper court of the country of the captor; an attempt to rescue would render the ship and cargo liable to condemnation. Here, let it be remembered, the treaty gave a right of visit and search; every Brazilian subject had agreed to that.

MR. BARON PARKE.—He has agreed to what the executive government has agreed to; but the question is, has he by the treaty agreed to anything more than a seizure by a British officer with proper instructions?

SIR J. DODSON.—But the officer's exceeding his instructions would not authorize a rising upon him. The instructions must be taken to be for the capture of Brazilian subjects. Then the captain's commission was on board, and even if it were exceeded in the manner of doing what had been done. With respect to the *Felicidade*, the visitation and search were admitted to be proper, and he submitted that under the circumstances the detention and capture were legal, and that it was in the legal custody of a British officer. As to the capture of the *Echo*, it was made by the jolly-boat of the *Wasp*. There was nothing to show that the lieutenant should be the first person to enter the ship. Previous to the vessel striking its colours, there had been a visitation and search by the lieutenant in the strictest sense. But if there was something not quite correct in this part of the proceedings, he could not think that every minute deviation would justify the crew rising up and slaying the prize officer on board. The vessel was taken by a person in a jolly-boat, by a British officer; but if it had been taken by the *Felicidade*, that, he submitted, was a legal use to put it to. The only question that remained, was, whether these vessels being lawfully captured, and in the possession of the British Crown, was sufficient to found the jurisdiction of our courts. His learned friends had endeavoured to make out that these were Brazilian vessels, and that the property was not converted; but the fact was, that if they were in the custody of the British, that was quite enough. They must be looked on in the same light as if they were floating islands; and put the case of our taking possession of an island in the sea, would not the law of England prevail there if the Crown chose?

MR. BARON PARKE.—The old law remains in force till the Queen orders otherwise.

MR. BARON ALDERSON.—Then another question is, whether, if this offence be triable at all, it ought not to be tried by the Brazilian law?

THE CHIEF BARON.—The jurisdiction of the Admiralty does not extend to islands. Is there any case that decides that neutrals captured are under British law before adjudication?

The learned gentleman resumed by saying, that if in proper custody the deck was part and parcel of British land; not, he was ready to admit, to all intents and purposes, but he contended that for the time, for this purpose, it was part of British territory. That would be the case of a neutral, and for the time the allegiance of the crew captured was transferred to the British Crown, and they would be liable not merely as Englishmen, but as parties who had committed the offence in that place. It followed of course that murder by a Brazilian subject was within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty. Therefore he contended he had made out that the *Felicidade* was lawfully captured, and that she became thereby British territory. The rest of the case only related to the amount of the crime.

DR. ADDAMS AND DR. HARDING replied.

The Judges then retired.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

NOTICE is hereby given to the Friends and Subscribers of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, that from and after the 1st January, 1846, it will be issued MONTHLY instead of fortnightly, as at present, and that whilst it will be increased to double its present size, its price, with a view to its increased circulation, both at home and abroad, will be reduced to FIVE SHILLINGS per annum, payable in advance if ordered through the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 27, NEW BROAD-STREET, LONDON. The REPORTER can be ordered also through the usual News-vendors.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 10, 1845.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to call the attention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause generally to the annexed advertisement, which indicates the intended alteration in the time of issue of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER. Hitherto it has appeared every fortnight, but from the beginning of the next year, 1846, it will be issued on the first of every month, except, of course, when it falls on a Sunday. The price, it will be seen, is to be reduced from eight shillings and eightpence, to five shillings per annum. The Committee hope by this means greatly to increase its home circulation, and to be enabled thereby to cover the expense connected with a large gratuitous foreign circulation; they would, therefore, respectfully and earnestly urge on the

attention of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Auxiliary Associations and their friends everywhere throughout the country the necessity and importance of obtaining additional subscribers for the ensuing year. The Committee will use their best exertions to improve as far as possible this organ of the Society, and to render it worthy, in every respect, of the great cause it has hitherto so efficiently served. The Committee will be happy to learn that their friends have taken this subject under their special care, and would add, that lists of subscribers should be forwarded to the office agreeably to the terms specified in the advertisement. The REPORTER will contain every species of information, of material importance, on slavery and the slave-trade, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world. It need scarcely be asserted, that that cause stands intimately associated with the progress of knowledge, civilization, and religion amongst men, and deserves the enlightened and warm-hearted support of every friend of humanity.

We have inserted as extended an account as our space will permit of the second argument held before the fifteen judges on the case of the Brazilian slave-traders tried at Exeter, for the murder of Mr. Palmer on board the *Felicidade*. By a subsequent announcement in the *Times*, we learn that the judges have declared the conviction invalid on two grounds—first, that it is not piracy for the Brazilians to carry on the slave-trade until they have made it to be so by Brazilian municipal law; and, secondly, that the *Felicidade* was wrongfully taken, not having any slaves on board, and, therefore, that she did not become a British ship, and was not accordingly justified in capturing the *Echo*.

In so far as the lives of seven human beings are rescued by this decision from the hands of the executioner, we sincerely rejoice in it; and we shall be still more happy, if lives redeemed from such imminent peril shall be hereafter devoted to less criminal pursuits. The whole case, however, casts a melancholy light on the system of armed intervention for the suppression of the slave-trade, which the British Government has long pursued, and still pursues, with so much ardour. Had the proceedings of the British cruiser been legally conducted, here would have been a double sacrifice of human life—of Mr. Palmer and the prize crew, in the first instance, by the hands of the slave-traders, and of the slave-traders themselves, in the next instance, by the hands of justice. First, half a dozen British lives by murder, and then as many Brazilian by the hangman, constitute a dreadful price to pay for the capture of a couple of slavers. The chances, however, as it seems, are many that, in some point or other of this intricate business, there shall be a flaw, and that captures effected at an imminent peril, and often at a great expense, of life to the captor, shall not be legally made. Hence the course of British naval officers is subjected to most trying embarrassments, and the exposure of their lives is made without even that shadow of protection which the retributive operation of British law might be supposed to afford. After all the pains that has been taken with this system, this is a melancholy result, and it goes still further to strengthen the arguments which have been adduced against the system itself.

FROM the West India mail we have extracted the most interesting particulars. In Jamaica, Lord Elgin has expressed himself very cautiously on the Immigration question. He admits that an opinion unfavourable to it "seems very generally to prevail," and declines giving any opinion of his own. In Guiana there has been a meeting held in favour of political reform. The *Gazette* tries to laugh at it, as consisting of "uninfluential" persons; the *Times*, on the contrary, exhibits the assemblage as one of no common importance. Upwards of a thousand people were collected on the occasion, in Georgetown, and they showed throughout that they knew how to conduct themselves. The resolutions adopted, which we have given elsewhere, are justly stated by the *Guiana Times* to be "both reasonable and temperate." The *Grenada Gazette* states that "a spirit of enterprise and of improvement has been displayed, far beyond anything that was ever known ere protection became a problematical question with the government of the day. The subject of leases is evidently occupying the mind of the agricultural body just now very seriously, as the only secure and practical means of accomplishing that full development of the resources of the soil, which is indispensable at once for their own interests, and those of the country at large."

Our file of the *Cernéen* makes us acquainted with the further progress of affairs in Mauritius. It appears that the planters have addressed a letter to the Governor, requesting him to take measures for compelling the immigrants who have hired themselves as labourers to complete their engagements. To this His Excellency has replied that he will give his best consideration to such measures for this purpose as may be submitted to him, and he requests that the Committee on immigration, with the character and proceedings of which our readers are already acquainted, will take the question into their hands, and report upon it. In consequence of this request, this body are engaged in the preparation of a second report, of the tenor of which we suppose we shall not be long uninformed.

Next to His Excellency, Sir William Nicolay, the Committee of

the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been honoured with the largest share of our contemporary's regard, in the present batch of his lucubrations. The letter which this body addressed in the spring to Lord Stanley, and the petition which they presented to the House of Commons, both of them on the subject of Coolie immigration, have fixed his attention, and stirred him rather deeply. He confesses, indeed, that he has been put out of temper by them; and in full consistency with this confession he proceeds to remark upon them. They contain, he says, "a combination of ignorance and misrepresentation," "palpable falsehoods, abominable calumnies, and flagrant absurdities." Accordingly he feels towards the Committee "anger and contempt," "disgust and indignation," and tells us that he is going to use towards them "some of those words which, like a red-hot iron, brand shame and infamy," (we quote his exact words, although they are almost too candid for belief,) "on the brow of those who utter them," but of which we forbear further quotation. He assures us finally, that he boils with rage the more furiously, and the more fiercely brands himself with shame and infamy, in proportion to the devotion he feels "to the cause of truth and justice." We confess we had not rated this quality in our contemporary so high as to account for quite so violent a disturbance. We beg to suggest to him, however, that, if he is really actuated by so ardent a devotedness to the sacred cause he mentions, a little self-command may do more to promote it than many ebullitions of unbridled wrath. An angry man, like a drunken one, can neither see clearly nor reason conclusively. For our own part, we are sorry that a writer who, if he could have kept his temper, might have rendered some service to the cause of truth and justice, should have so absolutely disqualified himself for this service, by the use of language which, according to his own showing, "brands shame and infamy" on his brow.

Our contemporary is scarcely less angry with the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, than with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Our offence consists in having exhibited "a sort of kindness and sympathy" towards the *Cernéen*, in having "quoted its testimony in support of our own views," and "assigned to it great weight and authority." That the editor should be vexed at finding that the views of this paper can be sustained by the citation—and we will affirm, the fair citation—of his own words, is not altogether surprising; but it is not equitable that he should vent his chagrin upon us. He should choose his side better, and adopt a cause in reference to which he may tell all the truth without giving an advantage to an adversary. As he now stands it is impossible for us to please him. If we contradict him he frets, and he frets if we coincide with him. He belongs, we suppose, to the race of cats who cannot bear to be either pinched or stroked. At the risk of getting another scratch, however, we feel an irresistible inclination to repeat our offence, by making the following extract from the letter of A PLANTER in the *Cernéen* of the 12th of August, premising merely that the weight we assign to this authority is second only to that which we attach to the words of the editor himself. Our extract is this:—"A self-appointed Sirdar, who arrived by the Atyet Rohoman, was permitted, within the dépôt, to sell 180 men, besides women and children, at five rupees a head, as was there reported, and universally believed, because those who had offered short of that sum lost them." There is more in the paragraph from which we have made this quotation of which we may avail ourselves hereafter; but this will suffice for the present, and we leave our readers to digest it, as a pregnant illustration of the boasted freedom of choice which is guaranteed by so many alleged securities to the immigrants who land at Mauritius.

FROM the American papers we have given a few extracts, which will speak for themselves. It is cheerfully evident that the anti-slavery cause, to use a term of their own, is onward in the United States. No circumstance, however, more strikingly indicates this, than the fact that the slaveholders themselves are beginning to take the subject of slavery into serious consideration, with a view to the termination of that great social mischief and wrong. The most remarkable case of this kind we have yet heard of is that of a meeting of slaveholders of all classes held in October last in Mason county, state of Kentucky. That a variety of opinions should be found to exist in such an assembly on such a subject was but natural; but it is much to say that the subject was temperately discussed by such parties at all, and more to say, that after discussion, such resolutions as the following were adopted by them:—

"1. Resolved,—That in a government of laws, under no circumstances, should force be used to inflict punishment for offences already committed, because of these the laws can take cognizance, and afford the appropriate remedy.

"2. Resolved,—That it is only in extreme cases, when a great and irreparable calamity threatens a community, and where the laws do not afford an adequate remedy, that force ought to be resorted to, and then only as a preventive remedy. And that, in the application of such force, the utmost care should be taken to guard against the slightest unnecessary injury to person or property.

"3. Resolved,—That we consider the paper called the *True American*, as having been commenced in a wrong spirit, conducted with indiscreet violence, and that it was wantonly offensive to the community where it was printed.

"4. Resolved,—That we consider the request submitted to the editor by a committee of the people of Lexington, to discontinue his paper, warranted by the intemperate and inflammatory character of his recent numbers; and that his reply to that request was conceived in a spirit of outrage, wholly unjustifiable, and meriting the severest reprobation.

"5. Resolved,—That this meeting regard the continued publication of an abolition paper in Kentucky as dangerous to the peace, order, and well-being of society; and in order to prevent irregular action in future, we recommend that laws be passed, inflicting such penalties upon incendiary abolition publications in our state, as shall effectually prevent their being hereafter circulated.

"6. Resolved,—That in the state of being which now prevails in Kentucky, produced by intemperate and injudicious zeal of abolitionists of other states, it would be impolitic to agitate the subject by calling a convention to amend the constitution. We, therefore, request our senators and representatives to oppose a call of a convention at the ensuing session of the Legislature, should a bill for that purpose be introduced.

"7. Resolved,—That in the opinion of this meeting, the moral condition of emancipated slaves cannot be improved while they remain here, mingling with a slave population; and that slaves thus emancipated, must continue to be a degraded race, injurious alike to themselves and the slave population. We are, therefore, of opinion, that the colonizing of them on the coast of Liberia, would be greatly beneficial to them, and a decided advantage to this community.

"8. Resolved,—That we highly approve the contemplated establishment on the coast of Liberia, of a colony of free persons of colour, from the state of Kentucky, and that a liberal encouragement ought to be afforded by our citizens to so useful an undertaking.

"9. Resolved,—That we regard gradual emancipation, accompanied by colonization, as the true and the only true policy of Kentucky; and we confidently hope that the time may come when this great system will be established by the people of this state. The discussion of its propriety, and the time when that discussion is to commence, are matters which should be left to individual judgment, under the promptings of an enlightened patriotism. When that discussion does commence, it should be faithfully protected by the law.

"10. Resolved,—That in thus expressing ourselves, we disclaim all sympathy with modern abolitionism, and condemn it as fanatical and dangerous, and calculated to delay the period when our state shall be relieved from the evils of slavery."

Of course we have not printed these resolutions because we approve them, but because they indicate, in our judgment, the existence and growing power of a sentiment in the slave-holding portion of the United States, from which, with all its present deficiencies, the best results may be expected. With an obvious exception, we sympathise with the following remarks in the *True American*:—

"There is something definite in these resolutions. They have substance in them. And no man can read them without being satisfied that there is, in a large portion of the Kentucky mind, at this hour, if extraneous influences could be removed from it, an earnest determination to adopt some practical scheme of emancipation, and an ardent wish to discuss and consider it when it shall be presented. This determination and wish may be controlled—suppressed—hid for a season, but they are there, deep-felt and strong—and they will out in spite of every device of master spirits to prevent it.

"These resolutions affirm:

"1. The necessity of gradual emancipation.

"2. That its discussion should be left to individual judgment and the promptings of an enlightened patriotism.

"3. That those who discuss this great question should be faithfully protected by law.

"Sound and sensible conclusions; just such conclusions as a law-abiding patriotic spirit would dictate and maintain, and such as we have contended for, and mean to contend for. Conditions are annexed, a rule laid down, in the ninth resolution, the correctness of which we might dispute; but this is a secondary matter. The thing—the noun substantive—emancipation, is there, and that is all in all. At that we look. For that we contend. And when we hear it affirmed that gradual emancipation, with or without conditions, is the true policy of Kentucky—when there accompanies this affirmation, the hope, expressed by the people, that the time will come when this great principle shall be adopted by this state—and when, in addition, the right of discussion is asserted—we put aside all minor points, and are content—ready almost, to rejoice in the sufferings we have borne, if, through them, these things were brought about, or even helped to be brought about, in the patriotic county of Mason."

We direct attention to our intelligence from Portugal. We learn from a private correspondent, that the opulent merchant at Angola, who has been so unceremoniously put on board ship, and carried no one knows where, as a man of infamous pursuits, has been for years employed in aiding and abetting the slave-trade, in providing manufactured goods for it, in having ships chartered for it, and in falsifying the ships' registers at the Custom-house. If so, this culprit may at last have got his deserts. In the Portuguese government it would afford us great pleasure to see proofs of sincerity and consistency.

TEXAS—OPPOSITION TO ITS ANNEXATION AS A SLAVE-STATE.

(From the *Liberator*.)

A MEETING of the citizens of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, was held in Faneuil Hall on the evening of November 4, 1845, for the purpose of devising means to resist the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave state.

The meeting was organized by the choice of the Hon. Charles F. Adams as chairman, and Messrs. James M. Wilton, Charles G. Hovey, and William I. Bowditch, as secretaries.

The Chairman having stated briefly and eloquently the object of the meeting, the Hon. John G. Palfrey, secretary of the commonwealth, presented the following preamble and resolutions for adoption:

Whereas, the government and independence of the United States are founded on the adamantine truth of the equal rights and brotherhood of

all men, declared on the 4th of July, 1776; a truth which receives new and constant recognition in the process of time, which is the great lesson from our country to the world, in support of which, the founders of our government toiled and bled, and on account of which, we, their children, bless their memory:

And whereas, it is essential to our self-respect as a nation, and to our fame in history, that this truth, declared by our fathers, should not be impeached or violated by any fresh act of their children:

And whereas, the scheme for the annexation of the slave state of Texas, begun in stealth and fraud, and carried on mainly with the view of confirming slavery and extending its bounds, in violation of the very fundamental principle of our institutions, is not consummated, and may yet be arrested by the zealous and hearty co-operations of all who sincerely love the institutions of their country and the liberty of mankind:

And whereas, this scheme, if successfully perpetrated, involves the whole country, the free as well as the slave owners, is one, and threatens to involve them in the other, of the two greatest crimes a nation can commit, slavery and unjust war; slavery of the most revolting character, and war to sustain slavery:

And whereas, the state constitution of Texas, which is soon to be submitted to Congress for its adoption or rejection, expressly prohibits the legislature, except under conditions rendering the exception practically void, from passing laws for the emancipation of slaves, and from abolishing the slave trade between Texas and the United States, thereby entirely reversing the natural and just tendency of our institutions towards freedom:

And whereas, the slaveholders seek the consummation of the scheme of annexation for the purpose of increasing the market for human flesh, and for extending and perpetuating the unreligious institution of slavery:

And whereas, the slaveholders seek also by the consummation of this scheme, and by creating within the limits of Texas, new slave states, to control the political power of the majority of freemen represented in the Congress of the Union:

Therefore, be it resolved, in the name of God, of Christ, and of humanity, that we, belonging to political parties, and reserving all other reasons of objection, unite in protesting against the admission of Texas into this Union as a slave state.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts will continue to resist to the last the consummation of this wicked scheme, which will cover the country with disgrace, and make us responsible for crime of gigantic magnitude.

Resolved, That we have the fullest confidence that the senators and representatives of Massachusetts, in Congress, will never consent to the admission of Texas as a slave state; but will resist to the utmost this fatal measure, in every stage of its progress, by their voices and votes.

And furthermore, whereas the Congress of the United States, by assuming the right of connecting this country with a foreign state, have already involved the people of the free states in a great expense for the protection, by force of arms, both by sea and land, of the usurped territory; and whereas, a still greater expenditure may hereafter be incurred to maintain by violence what is held by wrong:

Resolved, That we hereby protest against the policy of enlisting the strength of a free people to sustain, by physical force, a measure threatening to be consummated for the criminal purpose of perpetuating a system of slavery, at war with the fundamental principles of our institutions.

Resolved, That be a committee to present copies of these resolutions to the senators and representatives from Massachusetts, and also to send them to every senator and representative in Congress from the free states.

This adoption having been eloquently and earnestly advocated by the Hon. John G. Palfrey, Messrs. Chas. Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Henry B. Stanton, George S. Hillard, of Boston, Rev. Wm. H. Channing, of Roxbury, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, in a lengthy discussion, in which all present, by their repeated applause, manifested their sympathy, the preamble and resolutions, as presented, were unanimously adopted.

Voted, That Hon. John G. Palfrey, of Cambridge, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, and Hon. Charles F. Adams, of Boston, constitute the committee contemplated by the last resolution.

It was also voted that the proceedings of the meeting, signed by the chairman and secretaries, be published in the Boston papers.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, Chairman.
JAMES M. WHITON,
CHARLES G. HOVEY, } Secretaries.
WM. I. BOWDITCH,

Home Intelligence.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.—On Thursday evening, the 18th of November, a public meeting was held in Falmouth, E. O. Tregelles, Esq., in the chair, who gave some of the results of his observations in the West Indies during his recent tour, of an interesting and satisfactory character. The meeting was addressed at considerable length by the Rev. W. Spencer, of Devonport, and Mr. Scoble, after which resolutions were unanimously adopted by the meeting. Messrs. R. W. Fox, Alfred Fox, and Round, kindly assisted in the business of the evening. An Auxiliary will be formed. A Ladies' Association already exists in the town.

Friday morning was devoted to Helstone, where a public meeting was held in the town-hall. Our zealous and kind friend Mr. Fanning presided. The meeting was small in point of numbers, but there were present the Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan Ministers, some of whom took part in the proceedings, and all of whom appeared to be deeply interested. In the evening of the same day a public meeting was held in the hall of the Literary Institution, which was kindly lent for the occasion. The Rev. Mr. Foxall in the chair. Besides the addresses delivered on the occasion by the deputation, the Rev. Messrs. Fletcher, New, and Jenkyn, advocated the cause of the slave. In this rising and important town Auxiliary Associations, are to be formed.

Rapid as has been the progress of the deputation, it has been most

pleasing to observe that they have met with a cordial reception, and that the Anti Slavery cause is still dear to those who so long, and at last so successfully struggled, to abolish slavery in the British colonies.

THAMES POLICE OFFICE.—ALLEGED SLAVERY.—Sir George Stephen presented himself before the sitting magistrate, Mr. Broderip, and applied for his worship's assistance under the following circumstance:

Sir G. Stephen said the communication he had to make was a very extraordinary one, which he was satisfied would create no little surprise. There was at present in the London Docks a vessel which, contrary to the laws and practice of this country, had twenty men on board in a state of complete slavery. The crew were compelled to be on board at stated hours, but of that he of course did not complain, as it went no further than the usual discipline. But, passing this, the men were held in such a state of duresse and dread, that they were afraid at all to leave the vessel, and were, moreover, subjected to severe personal ill-treatment. Indeed, from all that he had been able to ascertain, they were slaves, in the strictest sense of the word, and to such an extent had the domination been carried, that one man had been murdered in the course of the voyage.

Mr. Broderip.—You use a strong term, involving a serious charge.

Sir G. Stephen—I can use no milder term, though I fear, sir, the act does not come within your jurisdiction. The man was killed whilst the vessel was off the island of Ascension, and there is a person in court who can prove that he was held down by the order of the supercargo, and pressed to death by two others of the crew, in their peculiar fashion, with the knees and elbows. I should have stated before that the vessel in which the men came over belongs to the Imaum of Muscat; she is called the *Caroline*, and is the same which lately brought presents to the Queen. Some of the crew are, as I am given to understand, slaves to the master, some to the supercargo, and others to the boatswain. I have the names of all the parties, and perhaps you would grant a summons for the captain or supercargo, so as to make them aware of the danger which they incur, by asserting absolute rule over these men in a free country.

Mr. Broderip.—I do not see in what way you shape your application. You speak of the men as slaves. Here there are no slaves.

Sir G. Stephen.—That is what I want to establish; and if by any process of this court the men can be brought before you, it will be ascertained how far they are *bona fide* at liberty, or how far in duresse. I can give you the testimony of an English witness.

Mr. Broderip.—Then your application is, that these men should be afforded an opportunity of making any complaint that they may have to prefer.

Sir G. Stephen.—Exactly, sir; and moreover, as they are good sailors, that they may have liberty to ship where they please.

Mr. Broderip.—Have they signed articles?

Sir G. Stephen.—I am told they have; but I am at the same time given to understand that it was under compulsion.

An English seaman, named Morris, was here called, and stated that the men were kept in a state of complete slavery. They had signed articles, but at the time of doing so they were not free agents.

Mr. Broderip.—How do you know that? They told me so.

Mr. Broderip.—Where are the men now? They are on board a vessel called the *Anne*, but they came in the *Caroline*.

Mr. Broderip (to Sir G. Stephen.)—Am I to understand that there is one serious charge of murder?

Sir G. Stephen.—There is no doubt that human life has been sacrificed, but I fear the case does not come within your jurisdiction.

Mr. Broderip.—Do you make any application on that point? No, sir.

Mr. Broderip.—Then, with respect to your other application, the best course will be to communicate the matter to the Thames Police, who will go on board the vessel, and make the necessary inquiries. The relative positions of the men and the officers will be pointed out to both parties, and if there be cause of complaint on either side, the police will take cognizance of it.

Sir G. Stephen.—I thank your worship for your advice, and will follow it.

Mr. Broderip.—Do not misunderstand me; I never give any advice in a case which may come before me in my magisterial capacity. I merely point out here, if these parties have any complaint to make, they can procure free access to the proper tribunal.

Sir G. Stephen.—My object is, that the men may ascertain their perfect freedom to ship where they please, and that they also may learn that slavery is incompatible with the institutions of this free country.

Mr. Broderip.—That principle is throughout understood. Whoever lands here is a slave no longer. The question, as I apprehend, will be whether they have signed articles to go back, and if so, whether they were free agents at the time. Instructions were then given to one of the inspectors of the Thames division to visit the *Anne*, and Sir G. Stephen took leave, thanking the worthy magistrate for his assistance.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—IMMIGRATION.—On the recent opening of the House of Assembly, the Governor expressed himself on this subject as follows: "The opinion seems to prevail very generally that the introduction of more economical processes of cultivation and manufacture, and the progress of civilization among the peasantry, have a tendency to give enhanced value to that which already exists in the colony. But there are, nevertheless, many persons who believe, that in order to the development of its resources, an addition to the population, by means of immigration, is indispensable. Your thorough knowledge of the circumstances of the island, and your deep interest in its prosperity, qualify you to form a correct judgment on these points; and I earnestly hope that the result of your deliberations may be conducive to the general welfare. The report of the agent general, which I shall lay before you, details the proceedings which have been adopted under the Act for the encouragement of immigration now in force. Her Majesty's government have placed immigra-

tion from Africa upon a less expensive footing. A small portion only of the Coolie immigrants, for whose introduction provision was made by the Legislature last Session, have as yet arrived, but the remainder may be shortly expected. The reports which I have received of their conduct and service are generally satisfactory. A certain number of the class of persons designated Emancipados, have been imported at the expense of the colony, from the neighbouring island of Cuba."

PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF SUGAR ESTATES.—Mr. Hart has given notice that he intended to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire and report to the house the present state and condition of the several sugar estates throughout the island, compared with their condition prior to the abolition act, whether the quantity and quality of produce now manufactured on such estates is greater and better than was made during the time of slavery, or whether the same has fallen off, and the cause of such falling off.—*Falmouth Post.*

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—THE WEATHER.—We regret to state that there has been no alteration in the weather since our last notice of it. The country is literally parched up, and the prospect of a good crop for next year entirely destroyed. The heat in town has been distressingly oppressive; the thermometer at 89° and 90°.—*St. Kitt's Advertiser.*

GRENADE.—IMMIGRATION.—The Immigration Duties Bill has passed, and it has passed with a clause reducing the rum licences. The result will be that the town and country will swarm with grog-shops, and the effect will not be long in showing itself in an augmentation of the many vagrants that are now to be seen in an awful state of disease about the liquor shops of the island.—*Grenada Gazette.*

TRINIDAD.—INTER-COLONIAL MIGRATION.—In the Legislative Council, on the 1st of November, attention was called to the bonus hitherto allowed to the owners of vessels which were engaged in the introduction of immigrants from the islands. The general opinion seemed to be that that it would be inexpedient to continue or encourage the system any farther, and that it had failed to afford that benefit to the colony contemplated by its adoption. Mr. Burnley, Mr. Ganteaume, and Dr. Philip concurred most fully in this opinion, and animadverted upon the systematic imposition which was being practised upon the colonial government by the parties concerned as immigrants and as masters of vessels. Dr. Philip observed that there was now no inducement whatever for continuing the system any longer. It was altogether a bad system, accompanied in its operation by serious evils. It offered a bonus to persons to come here, who merely came as transient visitors. It was a notorious fact that labourers would, on getting their wages paid, often go away from Trinidad on a visit to their friends in the other islands, and sometimes return again as newly-imported immigrants. The hon. gentleman considered that the colony would be much better without it, particularly as they had to pay so dearly for it.—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRANTS.—One vessel, the *Louisa Baillie*, had arrived at Berbice from Sierra Leone, with 252 persons on board, of whom eight were returned delegates; and another at Georgetown, from Madeira, with 202 passengers. The *Royal Gazette* says,—“When it is known that the governor of that island prohibits altogether the younger class of men from emigrating, and exacts a fee of eight dollars a head from those who are allowed to quit the bay of Funchal in the regular mode, the fact of one vessel, and that not a very large one, arriving with so many of these poor, but hardy and laborious people within her decks, proves that there must be a strong inclination in the natives which no difficulties or regulations of the government can effectually repress, to cross over to British Guiana to try their fortunes in it. There is one circumstance worthy of note which renders the immigration of these islanders particularly desirable; usually they bring their wives and families with them. The consequence is, that not merely do they soon become colonists, with no desire in most instances to revisit their father-land, but they are likewise generally speaking a very orderly and well-conducted class of persons.”

REFORM MEETING.—On the 20th of October a numerous and animated meeting was held in Georgetown, on the subject of political reform. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted: 1. “That the present legislative institutions of this province, having been founded on the basis of a system of slavery, which has happily passed away, are not fitted, either in principle or in operation, for the present advanced state and altered composition of society.” 2. “That it is the inalienable right of British subjects to elect their legislative representatives, and that it is a bounden duty which every inhabitant of this province owes to himself, to his fellow subjects, and to his posterity, to use every legal means to obtain for himself and fellow-subjects in British Guiana a legislature, to be elected by the full, free, and direct suffrages of its inhabitants.” A petition to the Queen, embodying these sentiments, was adopted.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—MISSISSIPPI.—By a provision in the Constitution of Mississippi, the introduction of slaves into that State, after the present year, either as merchandise, or by settlers for their own use, is prohibited. The Legislature at its last session passed an act to authorise the people to vote on a proposition to change the provision. The *New Orleans Bulletin* says that the popular sentiment is against any change.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

CHARLES T. TORREY.—A letter from Baltimore from R. G. Lincoln, speaks thus of Mr. Torrey:—“But, alas! poor Torrey. A sad change has come over him that has blasted in a day all his long cherished hopes of usefulness. Confined amid the vulgar and the vile, shut out from his family, his friends, and the world, pale, emaciated, and sick, unable for several weeks last past to perform his daily task at the wheel, his eyes are dim, his voice hoarse, his spirits depressed, and to me he ap-

peared like one not long to be held by the massive walls of iron and granite that now surround him. His confinement is evidently undermining his constitution, and that he will survive the five long years yet remaining of his sentence is quite improbable. This, I think, he sensibly feels, for he spoke discouragingly, like one whose earthly hopes had fled. He thanked me affectionately for my visit, and wished to be kindly remembered to several friends whom he named. We shook hands and parted, he to return to his forlorn and confined abode, from which he can expect no release except by death, and I to pursue my journey with a heavy heart, made sad with the reflection that nothing could be done to restore him to his freedom and usefulness. And now should Mr. Torrey die in prison, as most probably he must, in the skirts of whose garments will be found his blood?”

KIDNAPPING IN PENNSYLVANIA.—According to the *Gettysburg Star*, a vile outrage was recently perpetrated in Adam's county, Pa., by certain kidnappers from Maryland. Above two years since, it says, “an elderly widow lady” removed to that county, from the State of Maryland, bringing with her a family of slaves, consisting of a mother with her children, left to her by the will of her husband. She manumitted them; and some have since died. This fact becoming known to certain kidnappers in Hagerstown, they obtained all necessary information concerning the situation of the family from an emissary they took into their employ, and at an appointed time made their appearance with a covered wagon, seized the woman and her two children, threw them into the wagon, and hurried them off to Maryland, whence, it is supposed, the poor victims have been transferred to the South. Great excitement arose in Gettysburg, but it was too late.

THE SPITFIRE.—Captain Flowny has been found guilty on the charge of fitting out the *Spitfire* with a view to employ her in the slave-trade, but recommended by the jury to mercy. He is sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and a fine of 2,000 dollars.—*Boston Chronicle.*

A man, avowing himself an abolitionist, and publicly attempting to give currency to his sentiments, was yesterday arrested by the police and committed to the watch-house. At night a crowd attempted to get him out, to be tarred and feathered, but did not succeed. A second attempt was made this morning, when he was brought before the mayor. He was saved only by the firmness of that functionary, who seized a pistol, and threatened to shoot the first man who made the attempt.—*Ibid.*

CATCHING A RUNAWAY.—We have received a handbill, which states that James T. Vermillion, of Fairfax county, Virginia, was murdered by a negro man, whom he had apprehended as a runaway, near his residence, Pleasant Valley, Fairfax county, on Tuesday, the 7th inst., whilst he was in the act of carrying him before a magistrate.—*Baltimore Journal.*

RUNNING OFF SLAVES TO TEXAS.—In November last, a man by the name of James Spurlock and his overseer, ran off about seventy negroes to Gasper county, in Texas, on which property liens were held by persons in New Orleans and elsewhere. Rewards were offered for their recovery, and a young man volunteered to fetch them back. He succeeded in securing five, and recrossed the Sabine, when he was overtaken, and the negroes captured. The young man raised fifteen armed men, and again reached Spurlock's residence, fifty miles in the interior of Texas, when he captured Spurlock's overseers and fifty-six negroes. When about forty-five miles from Alexandria, the party, overpowered by fatigue, stopped, and sunk into slumber, from which they were awakened by the whistling of bullets through their tents. All but the leader and two of his men took to their heels and fled for life. The assailants numbered about forty men. The two who stood by their leader were shot dead. The principal in the enterprise, and another young man came up afterwards, succeeded in killing two of their opponents, and wounding another, and then made good their retreat. The slaves were retaken and carried back to Texas.—*Alexandria Democrat.*

DANGER OF RETURNING.—A negro man, by the name of Charles, was yesterday committed to jail by the request of his master, from whom he had run away over two years ago. He settled in Michigan, and after being there for twelve or eighteen months, concluded once more to visit this section, for what purpose he does not say. His master getting wind of it, laid a plan to catch him, which proved successful.—*St. Louis New Era.*

SIGNS FROM THE SOUTH.—A Cincinnati friend writes to me that a man has lately arrived in Cincinnati, bringing four slaves from Mississippi, whom he intends to set free, educate, and settle on a farm. He states that there is a strong growing sentiment against slavery in the portion of Mississippi where he resides, and he has no doubt many of his neighbours will follow his example, by emancipating their slaves. Our friend also mentions the recent arrival of thirty emancipated slaves from South Carolina.—*Spirit of Liberty.*

In one paper a boy is advertised for sale in Philadelphia, and in another, a man, at Washington. “O shame! where is thy blush?”

ST. DOMINGO.—The Washington correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, says, under date of October 20th, 1845:—“Mr. Calhoun, towards the close of the late administration, despatched an agent to the island of St. Domingo, for what particular object it was not known. He was paid out of the secret service fund. This agent (Mr. Hogan) has returned, and made a voluminous, and, as I understand, an interesting report, which will probably, at some time, see the light. It is conjectured that it relates chiefly to the condition of the Spanish portion of the island, and the situation and prospects of the Dominicans, their war with the Haytiens, the policy of the English and French governments in regard to them, and to the slaveholding portion of the West India islands, generally, &c. It has been supposed that the British Government, and perhaps the Government of France also, will take such a course as will aid the entire abolition of slavery in this island, and, indeed, in all the Spanish and French islands. The subject is one of some interest to the slaveholding portion of the United States.”

MARTINIQUE.—RECAPTURE OF AN ESCAPED SLAVE.—The *Dominican* says,—“We learn by an arrival from Martinique that the schooner *Cherub*, on her way to Berbice, having put into the first mentioned port had one of her seamen taken from her by the authorities there. It appears that the man was a fugitive, having escaped from Martinique some years ago, and taken refuge here, and, being a seaman, found employ on board of our droghers. Not being aware that the vessel would have touched at Martinique, he shipped on board of her. On the vessel’s coming to anchor, she was boarded by the customs’ boat, and one of the boatmen recognising him, told the circumstance to the officers, who left the vessel, and shortly after returned on board with a writ and the proper officer, who took the poor fellow into custody, and carried him ashore, where he is doomed to endure the horrors of slavery, now doubly aggravated by his having enjoyed the blessing of liberty.”

BRAZIL.—By the *Journal de Commerce* of the 11th of October, it is announced that Senor Galvao is appointed by the Brazilian Government to confer with Mr. Hamilton for the purpose of arranging a convention between the Brazils and Great Britain for the effectual suppression of the slave-trade, without annoyance to the lawful trade of the empire.

AFRICA.—THE GREAT DESERT.—GHADAMES.—The caravans, either of the Touaricks or the Ghadamseen, bring slaves from Timbuctoo, Soudan, and Bourou, but chiefly from the latter two countries. These arrive in Ghadames twice, and sometimes thrice, during the year. From Ghadames they are exported to various parts of Tripoli, and formerly were to Tunis and Algiers. But the war in the one country, and the abolition of the traffic in the others, have cut off the trade in that direction. A good adult slave is sold in Ghadames for 30 mahhbous, or about 71. sterling: most of them, however, are sold at 15 and 20 mahhbous, or from 4l. to 5l. each. The Touaricks of the Saharah occasionally deal in slaves, and their slaves are very badly treated. In all cases, excepting very young children, the slaves are obliged to walk a four months’ journey through the desert before they arrive at Tripoli. Many hundreds and thousands of the poor creatures—the victims of man’s sordid cupidity and lust—perish on their way! A large caravan of slaves is expected in the course of two or three months from Soudan; I think, however, this traffic is gradually declining, and will diminish more and more. There are, besides, not now half a dozen slaves in Ghadames, except the resident slaves who are attached to the various households. Some people in Tripoli, however, think that the new treaty between France and England will have the effect of driving the slave-trade this way over the desert; but this I do not believe. As to the way in which the slaves are obtained, from all I can learn, it is by simply stealing them—*din*, or “theft,” as it is called in the negro language. But it is necessary to go to the heart of Africa itself, if I would obtain correct information on the mode of the capture of these unfortunate people. And to effectually put a stop to the traffic it is both requisite to shut the slave-market in Tripoli, and to negotiate some sort of treaty with the princes of Bourou and Soudan for the abolition of the trade in human beings. Above all, it is requisite that our Government, or some other, should take means for opening a legitimate commerce of exchange and barter with the products of Europe and Africa. All the pagan slaves captured are immediately made Mahomedans. The Ghadamseen are greatly mixed with the negro race, and two-thirds of them are casts, more or less dark. This arises from the Soudan merchants, who have trafficked from time immemorial in slaves, cohabiting with and marrying their favourite slaves, whereas the Touaricks of the Saharah, who generally have not the money to purchase slaves, are comparatively a pure and unmixed race of Arabs. The Sheikhs of the slaves here told me there are always some 200 resident slaves. This is but a small population; unquestionably it was much greater in former times. The country between Bourou and Timbuctoo is distinguished by the Moors and Arabs as the Bur Abee, “country of slaves,” or Soudan, from the epithet *eswad*, “black,” the colour of the inhabitants. Slaves are, however, equally exported from Bourou and Timbuctoo, and the term “Bur Abee” is not appropriate. —*Correspondent of the Times.*

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—A correspondent of the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* states that cotton planting is advancing rapidly at Port Natal.

PORTUGAL.—The *Diana* frigate arrived at Lisbon, from Angola, Nov. 1st. Among the passengers was M. Possolo, who, on landing, was arrested, by virtue of an order from the Government, and conveyed to prison. The charge against him is said to be that he has connived at the slave-trade, and that he has been engaged in it himself to a very great extent. This has long been rumoured of him, and the statement goes far to confirm the report. He had a contract with government for the supply of coals, which may have had the effect of removing any suspicion in the first instance. However, it shows that the Portuguese government is sincerely disposed to do its best for the extinction of the slave-trade. The territory of Angola, though capable of being rendered as great a mine of wealth as Brazil once was, has, under the baneful effects of the slave-trade, which exports the labourers that ought to be employed in the culture of its fertile soil, been greatly neglected, but it is presumed that the Government has at last determined upon breaking the spell under which the capabilities of that vast colony of upwards of 60,000 square miles have till now lain dormant. When the frigate left Angola, the commander of the Portuguese naval station, Captain Curba, remained there as acting Governor. He was installed on the 6th of Sept., on which day, for reasons which have not transpired, he caused a rich merchant, named Del Caspio, to be arrested and conveyed on board the *Cabo Verde* sloop of war, which next day sailed with him nobody knows where. The *Diana* likewise brought the Black Prince, not Edward, but Nicholas, a lad of fourteen, the heir apparent of his most sable Majesty, the king of Congo, whose territories, half as large as the Peninsula, at

least, lie to the northward of Angola. This sprig of royalty, who has been sent by his papa for the purpose of being educated, was received with royal salutes, manning of yards, and all other demonstrations due to his exalted rank. The duke of Terceira was sent with the queen’s carriage to receive him. The prince, as his name seems to imply, is a Christian. His grandfather, while the Portuguese court was at Rio, paid a visit to king John the Sixth, by whom he was received with great distinction.—*Morning Herald.*

Miscellanea.

SIERRA LEONE.—This colony is now governed by a native of the interior of Africa. William Ferguson, Esq., staff surgeon of the first class, and principal medical officer on the western coast of Africa, received his education in Edinburgh, and has, by his talents, earned the honourable appointment of Governor of Sierra Leone.—*Jamaica Baptist Herald.*

FREE LABOUR IN TENNESSEE.—It is said that a colony of 800 or 1,000 Germans are about to locate in Morgan county, Tennessee. One design of the colony is to introduce free labour. Success to every such enterprise.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN THE BAHAMAS.—Companies are about being formed in England for cultivating the sugar-cane in the West Indies. Similar efficacious means applied to cotton culture here might once more insure the growth of most important staple in the Bahamas, where the climate and rocky land, with fissures and crevices filled with rich vegetable earth, are peculiarly adapted to the cotton plant. Of all the tropical climates in her Majesty’s dominions, there is none, perhaps, more happily situated than the Bahamas for the cultivation of cotton, but there is wanted to insure its success capital to expend and judgment to direct the culture. It may be added, that at New Providence African agricultural labourers abound, willing to be employed as labourers, males at the rate of a quarter of a dollar per day, and women at half that amount, and that Crown land may be purchased at 6s. sterling per acre, and private land at moderate rates; the application of British capital to which is wanted to supersede the native “bush” by the graceful cotton plant, with its golden blossoms and silver fleece.—*Nassau Guardian.*

OREGON.—A letter from Oregon, published in the *Platte* (Mobile) *Argus*, states that the legislature had passed an act declaring that slavery shall not exist in that territory. The letter continues:—“The owners of slaves who bring them here are allowed two years to take them out of the country, and in default, the slaves to be free. The act also prohibits free negroes or mulattoes from settling or remaining in this country, and requires them to leave in two years, and, in default, to be hired out to the lowest bidder, who will bind himself to remove them from the country for the shortest term of service, and within six months after the expiration thereof. The object is to keep clear of this most troublesome class of population.”

STEAM SLAVERS.—(From the *Philadelphia U. S. Gazette*)—“Pernambuco, July 29, 1845. The steamer *Cacique* is lying here, fitting out for the coast of Africa, for slaves. She has had the propellers taken off, and both pairs are now lying on the wharf. She is to be driven by paddle-wheels on her sides, with buckets to unship, and her engines have been upon deck. These arrangements and changes have been contracted for by C. Starr and Co., and she will sail in a few days. The owner, captain, mate and hands are Portuguese, and the engineers and firemen are Americans. I believe this is the first experiment of slaving by steam, but there is no doubt that the example will be followed. She flies Brazilian colours, and is lying in company with two Brazilian men of war brigs, taking aboard her casks, &c., and it is publicly known that she is going to the coast of Africa for a cargo of slaves.”

Extract of a letter from her Majesty’s ship *Penelope*, dated St. Helena, Oct. 13th.—“We left on the 19th of September for the coast, and on the 26th a sail was reported ahead, which was soon made out to be a steamer, and knowing that none of ours were there, supposed to be the French *Commodore*, (as that was the only one we know of,) were getting ready to salute, but as we headed her we could not understand why she did not show her colours. We fired a blank gun when we saw her hoist a Brazilian ensign, and throw a parcel overboard, and we passed papers floating. We stopped and sent the cutter to board her, and when the boat left the ship we saw another parcel of papers with a weight attached to it, thrown over the stern, and as soon as the lieutenant boarded, he hailed, ‘No papers, and completely fitted for the slave-trade.’ She proved to be called the *Cacique*, from Campos, in the Brazils, and cruising off the coast for a cargo of slaves. She had been to the mouth of the Congo, but as she could not get the whole of them she was obliged to leave, and intended to return in a few days, when there were to have been 1,500 slaves ready for her, but as we pinned her we saved her the trouble. The *Cacique* is an American-built vessel, with a high-pressure engine on the upper deck of 40-horse power; all the crew live on the upper deck also, so that her full length is given to the slave-deck. Her crew consisted of twenty-six men, and two stokers, (Americans.) We sent one lieutenant, two midshipmen, and two engineers, and twenty-eight men to bring her to this place for condemnation; and on the morning of the 30th, at daylight, a sail was reported, which proved the brigantine, called the *Lageira*, with no papers, with a slave-deck laid. We sent her also to this place, as they are both Vice-Admiralty Court cases, but there has been such a prevalence of light winds we cannot expect them here yet.”—*Devonport Telegraph.*

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ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

In order to obtain a just view of the results of emancipation in the British colonies, it is necessary to bear in remembrance a few important facts relating to the former slaves and their masters.

The slaves were regarded and used as absolute property; their persons could be sold, their labour coerced, and their family connexions, such as they were, broken up at discretion. They had no protection in law against cruelty or oppression, to whatever extent it might be carried short of wilful maiming or murder; nor in cases of this nature was their evidence valid against their masters. And the same law which reduced them to this degraded and helpless state, subjected them to heavy penalties for the slightest infraction of its requirements, and the most venial of offences committed by them were treated as heinous crimes. Such was their legal condition.

With respect to their actual treatment, it is sufficient to state, generally, it was of a most atrocious character. A cursory examination of official records will show that. But one fact in particular stands out in all its frightful enormity, to prove the murderous cruelty of the system, to the horrors of which they were subjected. In a period of eleven years, ending in 1829—30, it was discovered that the slave population of the colonies had decreased upwards of 52,000! And this waste of human life was found to have arisen from over-working, under-feeding, and severity of discipline. Their condition, to use the words of Lord Stanley, was one of "unredressed justice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong."

We turn from them to their masters, for the purpose of ascertaining what was their condition, in an economical point of view, under the system of slavery. It may be granted that some of them were possessed of large fortunes, but it is an undoubted fact, that the great bulk of them were in a state of decay long before the abolition of slavery, or even of the slave-trade, though they had the entire monopoly of the British markets, and were allowed large bounties, as well as drawbacks of duty, on the surplus produce they shipped to foreign ports. Here is the proof. On the 23rd November, 1792, a report was prepared on the sugar-trade of Jamaica, by a committee of the House of Assembly, which contains the following passage:—"In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up; and 99 are still in the hands of creditors." And it appears from a return made by the Provost Marshal, that "80,121 executions, amounting to 22,563,786 sterling, had been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years." A gleam of prosperity followed the revolution of St. Domingo, but in a few years the sky was again overcast, for we find in another report of the Assembly, issued in 1804, and printed by order of the House of Commons in 1805, the following passage:—"Every British merchant holding securities on real estates in filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantations, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequence. No one will advance money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value of their property, nor even lend a moderate sum without a judgment in ejectment and release of errors, that at a moment's notice he may take out a writ of possession and enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. Sheriffs' officers and collectors of taxes are everywhere offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen better days, and now must view their effects purchased for half their value, and at less than half their original cost. Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is not satisfied. All kind of credit is at an end. If litigation in the courts of common law has diminished, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting with property but for an immediate payment of the consideration. A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature." In 1807, the House of Commons printed another report of the Jamaica legislature, from which we learn, that "within the last five or six years, sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of Chancery, and 115 more respecting which suits in Chancery were depending, and many more bills preparing." From these facts, the reporter says, "the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing; for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the colony." In 1812, the case of the planters of Jamaica was recommended to the attention of the king, on which occasion it was stated, that "the ruin of the original possessors has been completed. Estate after estate has passed into the

hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident. The distress," it is added, "cannot well be aggravated." Now it must not be supposed that the foregoing statements were applicable to Jamaica alone; for we have the testimony of Mr. Marryat, a gentleman deeply interested in West Indian property, given in his place in the House of Commons, in 1813, that "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies, that had not, during the preceding twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors. One quotation more will bring the history of the West India distress up to the year 1832. In the address of the West India body to the British nation, signed by the most eminent of its members resident in Great Britain, they say, "the alarming and unprecedented distress in which the whole British West Indian interest is involved," justified them in imploring Parliament "to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin." Viscount Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, in commenting on this subject, in a despatch, dated 5th November, 1831, observes, "The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily too evident;" and in stating the great cause his lordship said, "without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country, in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support—in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward." And again, "I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses, of which, not only at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just."

With these facts before us, we may now pass on to consider the results of emancipation.

First, In reference to the emancipated classes. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that whatever opposing causes may have obstructed the full development of the benefits of freedom in their case, their moral and physical condition has been wonderfully improved, and the first great object contemplated by the abolition of slavery fully realised. If it were needful, we could adduce in support of this gratifying fact, the unbroken testimony of every official person in the British colonies, from those who superintended the transition from slavery to freedom, down to those who are now employed in administering their affairs. The dispute, in point of fact, is not whether the emancipated slaves have been benefited by freedom, for the planters are inclined to exaggerate those benefits, but whether their late masters have been injured by it. Yet it may be well to quote the deliberate opinion of Lord Stanley, founded upon the ample data in his possession, as Colonial Secretary, given to the Spanish minister in 1842. His Lordship says:—"There are some unquestionable facts, and some broad results of the British emancipation, on which all men are agreed." These he enumerates as follows:—

"1st, It will be found that the British emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance, or employment of military force; and that the joy of the negroes on the 1st of August, 1838, was orderly sober, and religious, and was manifested throughout the colonies, by prayers and thanksgivings offered up in the churches.

"2nd, It will be found that the emancipation of the 1st of August, 1838, was absolute and unqualified, and that there does not exist in any colony a single law which makes any distinction between white men and black, or between black men coming from Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, and those who are natives of the West Indies.

"3rd, It will be found that since the emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have raised their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and unfrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has been more and more substituted for concubinage; and that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion.

"Such," his Lordship adds, "are amongst those results of the British emancipation, which are plain and indisputable. And before proceeding to the controverted questions of the amount of labour to be obtained from the negroes, and the value of property, it is proper to observe, that whatever may be the conclusions on these questions, the results which have been enumerated, constitute, in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government, and of the British people, the complete success of the British emancipation, in so far as relates to the primary and paramount objects of that act. These objects," he observes, "were to substitute for a system which is contrary to

justice and humanity, and repugnant to Christian principles, one which should render an oppressed and degraded portion of our fellow-creatures happy and contented, and raise them in the scale of society and Christian life, by protection and instruction, and the enjoyment of equal rights. It was no doubt of great importance that the further objects of agricultural and commercial prosperity should be also secured; but these objects, however important in themselves, were merely secondary to the others; and how little they were deemed to be worthy of being placed in comparison with them, is evinced by the preliminary grant of twenty millions sterling to the planters in compensation for such losses as they might be exposed to."

It would be easy to follow these general statements of the results of emancipation given by Lord Stanley, with details of a most striking and encouraging character; and to show that every year since the great event has taken place, there has been an advance in the material condition and moral habits of the people. The proof of this pleasing state of things will be found in the rapid acquirement of land for cultivation on their own account—the formation of free villages distinct from the estates to which they formerly attached—the construction of better habitations to dwell in—the improved character of their clothing and food—the extension of education among the rising youth—the vast increase in the means of religious instruction which has been afforded them—and as a consequence, their rapid improvement in social virtues and religious excellence.

Secondly, In relation to the West India body. They predicted that complete ruin would result from emancipation. In a manifesto issued by them in 1831, they deliberately stated it as their "well-founded conviction, that 'the speedy Annihilation of slavery,' would be attended with the devastation of the West India Colonies—with loss of lives and property to the white inhabitants—with inevitable distress and misery to the black population—and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of the empire." In no one particular has this sinister prediction been fulfilled. The transition from slavery to freedom was most tranquil; not a single proprietor or white man was injured, either in person or property; the emancipated slaves, as we have already seen, derived the greatest benefits from that act of justice; the credit of the West Indies is now better than during the existence of slavery; and the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the colonies, has been in every respect, improved by its abolition. Individuals may have suffered, and may still be suffering from this great event; but the great mass of the population, including the proprietors as well as the labourers, have derived the highest advantage from it. The safety, and we may add the policy of emancipation, has been demonstrated.

We now turn from the predictions to the complaints of the West India body, for the purpose of ascertaining how far they are founded in truth. The complaints from the smaller colonies, if indeed they complain at all, are so feeble as to merit no attention. It is from Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, that complaints are loudest, and they resolve themselves into a cry for more labour. It is believed, upon good evidence, that this cry is factitious. There is at this time more labour in the British colonies, than there was at the termination of slavery, though it is well known that during the apprenticeship, which continued until 1838, the mortality was as great as during the latter years of slavery. But since the complete termination of slavery, there has been in some of the colonies a rapid, and in all a steady increase in the population. By the census of the British West India colonies and of British Guiana, taken in 1844, and recently aid before Parliament, imperfectly as it appears to have been made up, there can be no doubt of a considerable augmentation of the population by natural means. In Jamaica, the Governor informs us, that there are 20,512 children under six years of age more than there were in 1834. In Tobago, the increase for the last five years has been from two to three per cent. per annum. In Barbadoes, much beyond that. The increase in Antigua has been 3,000 within the last four years. In Montserrat, the increase appears to have been 2,753 since 1838; and in British Guiana, the Creole population is steadily increasing. In the other colonies there is a decided increase, but the figures cannot be given. This cheering increase contrasts most satisfactorily with the rapid decrease of the population under slavery and the apprenticeship.

The great bulk of the labour in the colonies is still available for agricultural purposes. What is wanted is capital to secure it, and intelligence to apply it in the right direction. If, in opposition to this view of the case, it be said that the produce exported from the colonies has been greatly reduced under the free system, we admit it. But this does not prove that there is less available labour than heretofore, it simply indicates that certain causes have been in operation to bring about this result. To those who have closely studied the question, those causes are obvious enough. Let any one look through the parliamentary reports, which, from year to year, have been laid before the Legislature, and he will not fail to perceive, that the legislation which ushered in the epoch of complete freedom, and the flagrant injustice which marked the conduct of too many of the planters, begot a spirit of resistance and estrangement, the effects of which are visible at this hour. It was this treatment of the emancipated classes which drove a large number of them from the estates, which led to the formation of independent and free villages, and to the purchase of considerable lots of land, and consequently decreased the amount of sugar cultivation. The number of freeholds purchased since emancipation,

in Jamaica, is nearly 20,000, and in British Guiana nearly 5,000, other colonies in proportion.

To the unwise course referred to, many be added the almost unparalleled droughts which raged for several years in the largest sugar colonies; and the inability of a large body of planters to secure by regular money-payments, the services of the labourers which surround them. It must not from this remark, however, be inferred, that the cost of labour is high. We have before us a large body of evidence on this point, recently obtained from the West Indies and Guiana, which shows that labour is, and may be had, on moderate terms. In Jamaica, wages range from 1s. to 1s. 6d. *per diem*; in British Guiana, from 1s. 4*½*d. to 1s. 8d. *per diem*; and in Trinidad, from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 5*½*d. *per diem*, for the first class labourers. When work is performed by the job the labourers can earn more; but the rates of wages are falling generally in the colonies; and again we assert, that capital and not labour is the principal thing wanted, to secure what, it is said, is so much coveted. Of course we do not shut out from our consideration the serious disadvantages resulting from the non-residence of proprietors; and that, under the present expensive system of management, or rather mismanagement, much capital is wasted that might be most beneficially employed; nor do we forget the difficulties, almost amounting to resistance, thrown in the way of agricultural improvements by men of the old school, whose influence is too much felt and feared in the emancipated colonies. But there is a cure we trust for these evils, for wiser men, and better habits are beginning to appear. The old system it is found will not do. The practice of slavery and the privileges of freedom will not coalesce. Most heartily do we hope, that those at present interested in plantation property may be wise in time, and yield to the exigencies of their position. Those who happily have done so, are reaping a rich harvest as the reward of their practical sagacity, and they have already demonstrated that the cost of production by free men is much less than that by slaves.

As to any serious loss having been sustained by the West India body, as a whole, by emancipation, we are more than sceptical. Individuals may have suffered from it, but we believe them to be few in number. And more than this, we affirm, that their losses, in the great majority of cases, have resulted from other causes than the abolition of slavery, such as heavy mortgages which they could not pay off, even with the aid of the compensation money allowed them; the exhausted soil, or the unfavourable situation of their estates; and the dogged resistance they have offered to the new order of things. But, making every allowance that can be fairly claimed for individual cases, we observe, that if there has been a diminished export of produce since the period of complete emancipation, it has been more than compensated by enhanced prices. The average price of sugar during the four last years of slavery was 27s. 6d. *per cwt.*; the average price during the six years of complete freedom has been about 39s. 1d. *per cwt.* But not to dwell on the point, it is now clear that production reached its lowest point in 1841, when the amount of sugar exported to Great Britain was 2,148,218 cwt.; in 1844, 2,503,567 cwt. exclusive of the quantity imported from Mauritius and the East Indies; and this year, there can be no doubt, from the advices which have been received, that the quantity of sugar exported to Great Britain will be much larger than at any period since the abolition of slavery took place. Indeed, we may say, that the cry now is, not so much for labour for ordinary, as for extraordinary, purposes. The planters complain that they have not enough hands to take off their crops; they want continuous labour, that is, they want during the season of crop, their labourers to work from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, which few of them will consent to do, occupying as it does from five to six months in the year. But even in this case, arrangement and not labour is the thing principally required.

We have dwelt longer on this subject probably than it deserves, and we therefore turn from it to contemplate once more the vast blessing which has been conferred on upwards of 700,000 human beings, by the great act of emancipation. The whip no longer sounds in their ears, as the stimulant to labour and the instrument of torture; the fetter no longer galls their limbs; the marketplace no longer beholds them submitted for sale, in lots to suit purchasers; the anguish of forcible separation is no longer felt or feared; instruction is no longer interdicted; the preaching of the gospel is no longer forbidden. Masters of their own persons and their own labour, the emancipated slaves can now bestow it when and where they please, as may best suit their taste, or serve their interests—the marriage-tie hallows and blesses their unions—the relations of parents and children exist, and cannot be severed by the caprice or will of slave-masters—the chastity of woman can no longer be violated with impunity, nor the hearts of mothers lacerated by the base and degraded uses to which their offspring were devoted. These are some of the results of emancipation. And let it be remembered, that the liberty which has been conferred, with all its present and future privileges and blessings on the existing generation, will be transmitted to their children, and their children's children, to the remotest generations. It were to view this great subject in its lowest and most sordid light to make the measure of its necessity and value to depend on the amount of exportable produce raised in the British colonies. Yet what was sound in morals, has been found wise in policy. What would have been the condition of the West India body at this time had not the abolition of slavery taken place? In 1832, they were on the verge of ruin, their credit in the money-market utterly gone, and their slaves decreasing at the rate of 5000 per annum. They had stimulated

production by the most cruel means to its utmost limit, to cover the interest due on the vast mortgage-debts to creditors in the mother-country, and to meet the current expenditure of their estates; and with what effect, let Lord Stanley answer. "In all the islands," he said, in 1832, "there had been a general increase in the production of sugar, and a corresponding decrease in the amount of the labouring population." His Lordship illustrated his statement by facts, drawn from official records; for instance, the medium slave-population, in Jamaica, during the three years ending June, 1826, was 334,393, and the average quantity of sugar raised was 1,354,488 cwts. The medium population during three years ending June, 1832 was 327,464, the average amount of sugar raised was 1,410,026 cwts.! Demerara showed a more frightful result. For the first period referred to, the slave-population was 72,722, the quantity of sugar raised 652,336 cwts.; for the second period, the population had decreased to 67,741, and they were compelled to produce 806,120 cwts. of sugar! Now, what did emancipation do when it arrested in its course this murderous system? Did it complete the ruin of the West India body? No! It restored their lost credit. It took from them the weapon with which they were destroying themselves; and we venture to say, that were the alternative placed before them this hour, of returning to the system which has been abolished, they would utterly refuse it on the mere ground of pecuniary gain. But slavery has been abolished throughout the British colonies, and the songs of freemen have succeeded the wailings of slaves. The rights of humanity have been vindicated—the demands of justice have been met—and the claims of religion have been regarded; the person, the liberty, the property of the late slave have been declared inviolable; and now, under the protection of impartial law, he can sit as a free man beneath the shade of his own palm-tree—"none daring to make him afraid."

MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

It has always been one among many weighty objections on our part to the systematic emigration of the Indian peasantry to Mauritius, that no real freedom of choice could be secured to them on their arrival in that island. This point has been strongly contested with us by the advocates of the measure. Even the noble lord lately at the head of the colonial department has loudly affirmed that a free choice both of employment and employer could be secured to the labourer, and that, by regulations which he would frame and enforce it should be so. Accordingly we have had regulations without number. And supplementary regulations and enactments have emanated from the local government of Mauritius, intended in good faith, we doubt not, to prevent or put a stop to the various artifices by which every antecedent set of rules had been rendered void. Everything, in a word, may be deemed to have been done which regulations and government agents can do to secure that freedom of choice which is admitted on all hands to be necessary in order to prevent the immigration system from acquiring much of the character of a practical slave-trade. Well, what is the result? How are things now managed? And how far can the immigrants be now said freely to choose their employment and employers?

To these questions, vitally important as they are, we are by no means enabled to give a full and satisfactory answer. Some information in relation to them, however, may be gleaned from a letter in the *Cernéen* of the 12th of August, to which we referred in our last number. It is signed A PLANTER, and is intended to show what the planters generally have to complain of in the procuring and distribution of immigrant labourers. Let our readers ponder a few of the revelations which this letter contains. The first passage we extract from it is as follows.—

"Knowing that my neighbours and others were in the habit of sending up to India to procure labourers for their respective estates, I determined to adopt their plan, in order to have some chance of having men to replace part of the 400 whose time will shortly expire, and in March last I sent to Calcutta a Sirdar of excellent character, (one of the exceptions to that class of scoundrels;) but from his having been ten years with me, I was aware that he would be faithful to my interests and to his duty. On his arrival in Calcutta in April, he at once proceeded far up the country, a distance that he was 'three weeks in walking.' There he selected forty able and effective men, as I had cautioned him to be very circumspect, moderate number, really good, being more useful than a large quantity taken promiscuously. He conducted these men to Calcutta, providing food, &c., for them on their three weeks' march, and then took them to the Government agent, Mr. Caird, for shipment for Mauritius. The Sirdar wore, suspended by a blue ribbon from his neck, a large silver medal which I had given him, in token of my approbation of his good conduct for the ten years that he had faithfully served me; which fact is engraved on the medal, and which medal, instead of acquiring notice and respect for him, was the cause of his disgrace and disappointment; for, when the agent saw it, and that he was a Sirdar, he told him that he could not allow him to embark with the men, as he had orders from the Protector at Mauritius, to prevent Sirdars going with the immigrants. My man in vain remonstrated, and my correspondent in Calcutta, who furnished him the necessary funds, gave every assurance and explanation, probably with the purpose of showing that the choice of a master, made under such circumstances, offered these Coolies better security than if made at the dépôt, and that moreover, should they within forty-eight hours after their arrival, change their mind, they would be perfectly at liberty to take service with any other master,) but without effect. The agent would not allow him to embark with them. The man, in his anxiety to insure his passage, and knowing that everything was done by bribery with the natives of India, had the simplicity to offer some fifty rupees to the agent, to permit him to go with his men. Mr. Caird angrily turned him out of his office, having first made him sign some paper (to what purport he knows not,) and finally forbade his embarka-

tion. The captain of the ship, who had received the immigrants, knowing all the circumstances, and being a personal friend of mine, took him on board as his servant, and landed him here. It appears that there were other Sirdars disguised as Coolies, embarked with the other men; and here is the trick! My Sirdar, who, after a fatiguing journey at considerable expense, collected and brought to the agent forty men expressly chosen by him, and who but for him would have remained at home, openly and honestly stated the exact truth, and was forbidden to embark with them, whilst these forty men were sold by the disguised Sirdars, and their dépôt accomplices to the highest bidder. So I lost my men, my money, and almost my temper. 'This is my case,' as the lawyers say."

And a very pretty case it is, not merely with respect to the individual, but more especially with respect to the system it discloses. It is, it seems, the general practice of the Mauritius planters, not to apply at the dépôt in that island for such immigrants as may be willing to serve them, but to send Sirdars to India, to scour the country in all directions, and to engage labourers for their particular estates. Of course, to carry out this system it is necessary that the Sirdars should accompany those they have hired through the voyage, and land at Mauritius with them in charge. This, however, is forbidden by the regulations, as an obvious interference with the liberty of the emigrants; so that a person appearing as a Sirdar would be, and in the case before us was, refused a passage. But this is nothing to the honest planters of Mauritius, who, in the teeth of the regulation, direct the Sirdars employed by them to disguise themselves as Coolies, and so to effect their unlawful purpose. "Here is the trick!" says the correspondent of the *Cernéen* very justly, his chagrin at his own disappointment inducing him to tell so much of the truth concerning his fellow-planters; and a trick it is, by which all the good intentions of the government, whether in England or Mauritius, are completely frustrated.

What the proceedings of these Sirdars are in India, in the process of collecting Coolies, does not appear, although it may easily be conjectured; but what is disclosed of their doings at Mauritius deserves to be carefully noted. "These forty men," says A PLANTER, speaking of those whom his Sirdar had collected, "were sold by the disguised Sirdars, and their dépôt accomplices, to the highest bidder." Will our readers mark and ponder these expressions? They are not ours, but those of a correspondent of the *Cernéen*, the organ and thorough-going advocate of the planters, and inserted not only without any sign of contradiction or qualification, but with a general expression of approbation. The dépôt at Mauritius is a place to which Indian immigrants are conducted, under a profession of being enabled to make a free choice among such employers as may desire their services. But the process which is actually effected there is of a very different kind. Of the number of Coolies there at any given period, a part are under the charge of keepers, who deliver them without any questions, like gangs of slaves,—and contrary, we believe, to the provisions of the contract ordinance,—to specific planters, for whose service they are destined. For the disposal of the rest, there exists a system of artifice and fraud, by which, according to A PLANTER, they are "sold to the highest bidder." The meaning of this is, that, with the complicity of the functionaries at the dépôt, the Sirdars who happen to be within it contrive to place themselves between the labourers and the employers, preventing all direct intercourse between them, and so getting the disposal of them into their own hands. No planter can get labourers unless he says to a Sirdar, "I will give you so much a head for them;" and no immigrant can get an employer but by the Sirdar directing him to one. The dépôt thus becomes a regular market for human beings, where eager planters bid one against another for the bodies and souls of men; and where men, women, and children are, for the money so offered, and without any consent of their own, handed over to their purchasers. A PLANTER states that, of the immigrants by the *Atlet Rohoman*, 180 men, besides women and children, were thus sold in the dépôt at five dollars a head. Is this less than a practical slave-trade?

A very grave part of this abominable state of things is the alleged complicity of the functionaries of the dépôt. Whether any persons higher than the rank of doorkeepers may be involved in this charge we know not; but even the doorkeepers of the dépôt are servants of the government, and care should be taken by superior officers that they do their duty. Of the tricks which are systematically carried on there, the letter of A PLANTER affords an instructive sample, in connexion with a fact we have already cited. The entire statement is as follows:—

"A self-appointed Sirdar, who arrived by the *Atlet Rohoman*, was permitted within the dépôt to sell 180 men, besides women and children, at five rupees a-head, as was there reported, and universally believed, because those who had offered a little short of that sum lost them. But remark, Mr. Editor, this self-made Sirdar was neither more nor less than a former peon and doorkeeper at the dépôt, a former servant of the Protector himself, in his public capacity. He showed a certificate to several of his dupes, of his having formerly belonged to the dépôt. Now see his trick; he enters into this speculation with others at the dépôt, (that I have no doubt of,) gets his discharge, goes up to Calcutta, finds a ship full of men, enters as a Coolie, and comes down, with all the impudence in the world, to the very dépôt he had left; where he is known by everybody, and must, I presume, be known to the Protector himself; and there he audaciously sells the men at five rupees a head!"

To this individual case may be added the following graphic sketch of the *tout ensemble* of an act of immigrant distribution at Mauritius. A PLANTER assures us that it is repeated every time a ship arrives:—

"Look at the system at the dépôt at this moment. Can anything be

more shameful? Are there any such scenes enacted in any civilised country? At the distribution of the immigrants who arrived by the *Afrit Rokomeh*, the rush to get in, in order to procure a few of these people, the uproar of sixty planters, more or less, and their sixty interpreters all bawling out together, were really frightful. Impudent fellows belonging to the dépôt digging their elbows in your sides, and puffing their segars in your face, each pushing and squeezing to get near the bar, or rail, which divides the crowd from the Coolies, in order to address the latter; they, the Coolies, staring with astonishment at the frantic antics of their excited visitors, wondering what could be the matter, and hardly conceiving that they could be the cause of such extraordinary riot and confusion; others, with their usual apathy, seated smoking their bubble-bubbles, and beating their tam-tams, perfectly indifferent to the Bartholomew-fair row before them. Such was the picture. Here you would see a planter, distressed for labourers, dreading the loss of his crop, holding up a bag of rupees to the selling Sirdars and interpreters; others outbidding him, with a handful of bank-notes,—all perhaps borrowed at twelve per cent,—thus accelerating their ruin, and all screaming out, trying to be heard, amidst this din of Babyl. At length the division takes place, nobody knows how, and out are ejected the different bands, nobody knows to whom, until you behold those who bribed highest walking off with them. The disappointed stare foolishly at each other, many duped out of their money cursing the cunning Sirdar who has tricked them. The immigrants, Sirdars and all, quickly disappear, and the Protector, shutting the gates, closes this eventful scene."

"Can anything be more shameful?" The question is well put; and let it be remembered that it is put by a Mauritian planter. What bitter mockery do these undesigned revelations cast upon the entire system of government regulations and agencies, from which Lord Stanley would insist upon it the friends of humanity ought to expect so much. A deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee told him at the commencement that nothing effectual could be expected from them, and here is an unquestionable confirmation of their words. How long will the government of Great Britain continue a system, which repeated experience has demonstrated they cannot prevent from degenerating into profligate and scandalous fraud, and upon which even Mauritian planters cry out shame?

TREATMENT OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following narrative has been furnished us by the Rev. Hope H. Waddell, late missionary in the island of Jamaica, who has now devoted himself to the same noble service in Africa. It reveals the indignities to which her Majesty's subjects are compelled to submit, when the tincture of their skin is darker than that of the proud republicans of North America. We observe, however, that this treatment of our fellow-subjects is contrary to our treaties with the United States, as well as to the comity of nations, and that a decided effort should be made by the British Government to remedy so serious an evil. What would be said if a law were passed and acted upon by this country to imprison and sell every American slaveholder who, by accident or on his lawful occasions, visited our shores? Yet such a law exists in the Southern slave-states against the coloured portion of our countrymen, and has been acted upon on several occasions, and the probability is that, at this very moment, there are British subjects held in slavery in those states, whose only crime is their colour. Shall this treatment of our countrymen be allowed to continue?

"Sailed with my family from Montego Bay, Jamaica, on Saturday, the 11th of January, in the American schooner *Weymouth*, Nelson Jarvis master, for New York. My family consisted of my wife, four young children, and a maid servant of the coloured class, named Frances Moulton, aged between eleven and twelve years. On the night of the 12th our vessel struck on the reef at the east end of Grand Cayman. Next morning both crew and passengers got ashore in safety, but the vessel was lost. After remaining at that place ten days, and having no other way of getting from it, we took passage in the schooner *Commerce*, bound for New Orleans, Parsons master and owner.

"On the 4th of February we anchored in the Mississippi, opposite the fore-mentioned city. The harbour-master, on coming on board, observed the girl Frances Moulton, and inquired if she was a slave or free, where she came from, &c. I told him that she was a free girl, a native of Jamaica, a British subject, and my servant. He informed me that her coming to that city was against their laws, and would subject her to imprisonment, and that he must report her to the recorder.

"Having ascertained who the British consul for that city was, I waited on him, stated the case, and requested his interference on behalf of the girl, who had committed no crime to subject her to imprisonment. He held out no hopes of her being exempted from the application of the law, said that he had no power in such cases, and that he had failed to obtain any relaxation of the law in similar cases on former occasions. On my urgent solicitation, however, he gave me a letter to the mayor of the city, requesting as a favour that the law might not be enforced against our servant, in consideration not only for the unfortunate circumstance which forced us to put into that port, but also for her tender years, and her being engaged in waiting on children, who might suffer from the loss of her services.

"With this letter I proceeded to wait on the mayor, who, having read it, sent me to the recorder. When this gentleman perused it,

he expressed his fears that he could do nothing in our favour, as their laws on the subject were imperative, and admitted of no exception. I pressed on his attention that she was a free-born British subject, that she had not come of her own accord, but under my care, and compelled by unavoidable circumstances; that I would be responsible for her good conduct while in their city, and would leave it by one of the first vessels for Great Britain; and that it would be very harsh, and would tell very badly in Britain, and all over the world, to imprison so young a creature for so small a cause as her accidental touching on their shores. In reply he said he would consult the district attorney; that I must appear and produce the girl in his office next morning, at eight o'clock, and that in the meantime he would issue no order for her arrest.

"Next morning I waited on him with the girl. He said he would mitigate the application of the law so far as to give us time to leave the state without troubling her. She was then measured, and her height, with a minute description of her person entered in a book, which she was required to sign, binding herself to quit the state within sixty days under the penalty of a year's imprisonment. She wrote her name, as desired, and we quitted the office. Ten days after, that is, the 15th of February, I took passage on board the *Miltiades*, Captain Gowan, for Liverpool, where we arrived on the 29th March.

NOTE.—Captain Parsons, the owner of the vessel, was also required to appear and give some account of himself for having brought the girl in his vessel, as he also was liable to heavy penalties for transgressing the laws of the state of Louisiana. He lives at George Town, Grand Cayman."

JAMAICA.—COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

AT a meeting of the "Baptist Western Union," held at Mount Carey, on the 5th day of November, 1845, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That this meeting has heard with indignation and alarm, that proposals have been made in the Hon. House of Assembly, for the introduction of a large number of Hill Coolies, and expresses its decided and well-matured opinion, an opinion formed after the most deliberate thought and observation, that this step is fraught with the deepest injury to all classes of the island;—that this measure is as unnecessary as it is unjust; that there is not a want of labourers, but a want of capital in the island; and they therefore call upon the friends of freedom and of man, both here and in the mother country, to unite in preventing the accomplishment of a scheme which, while it will impoverish the resources of the island, will entail licentiousness and crime upon its inhabitants.

2. That this meeting declares its full conviction, that all the past schemes of immigration carried out by the House of Assembly, while they have been characterized by extravagance, injustice, and cruelty, have entirely failed, and that they can anticipate no better result from the introduction of the demoralized and degraded Hill Coolies.

3. That as Christian ministers, we cannot but view with dismay a measure which is sure to produce the same disgusting vice that has degraded Demerara and the Mauritius, and so calculated to impede the progress of morals and religion in the island, and to destroy many of the benefits conferred upon the agricultural labourers by the glorious act of Emancipation.

That these resolutions be published twice in the *Baptist Herald*, and *ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER*.

WALTER DENDY, Chairman.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

NOTICE is hereby given to the Friends and Subscribers of the *ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER*, that from and after the 1st January, 1846, it will be issued MONTHLY instead of fortnightly, as at present, and that whilst it will be increased to double its present size, its price, with a view to its increased circulation, both at home and abroad, will be reduced to FIVE SHILLINGS per annum, payable in advance if ordered through the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 27, NEW BROAD-STREET, LONDON. The *REPORTER* can be ordered also through the usual News-vendors.

The Anti-Slaberry Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 24, 1845.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to call the attention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause generally to the annexed advertisement, which indicates the intended alteration in the time of issue of the *ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER*. Hitherto it has appeared every fortnight, but from the beginning of the next year, 1846, it will be issued on the first of every month, except, of course, when it falls on a Sunday. The price, it will be seen, is to be reduced from eight shillings and eightpence, to five

shillings per annum. The Committee hope by this means greatly to increase its home circulation, and to be enabled thereby to cover the expense connected with a large gratuitous foreign circulation; they would, therefore, respectfully and earnestly urge on the attention of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Auxiliary Associations, and their friends everywhere throughout the country, the necessity and importance of obtaining additional subscribers for the ensuing year. The Committee will use their best exertions to improve as far as possible this organ of the Society, and to render it worthy, in every respect, of the great cause it has hitherto so efficiently served. The Committee will be happy to learn that their friends have taken this subject under their special care, and would add, that lists of subscribers should be forwarded to the office agreeably to the terms specified in the advertisement. The REPORTER will contain every species of information, of material importance, on slavery and the slave-trade, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world. It need scarcely be asserted, that that cause stands intimately associated with the progress of knowledge, civilization, and religion amongst men, and deserves the enlightened and warm-hearted support of every friend of humanity.

We give, as reported in the papers, the legal proceedings which have been taken in relation to that part of the crew of the Caroline alleged to be slaves. We are, as may naturally be supposed, in possession of full information on the subject; but we do not deem it prudent, at the present moment, to enter into further explanation.

THE West India mail has brought the painful intelligence of the decease of the Rev. W. Knibb, at his residence at Kettering, near Falmouth, Jamaica, on the 15th of November. He died of yellow fever, after an illness of four days. His loss will be severely felt in many respects; but to us it belongs only to observe how heavily it will fall on the cause of humanity, freedom, and happiness in Jamaica. We are happy to perceive, by the account in the *Falmouth Post*, that the afflictive event has drawn forth an unequivocal testimony of respect from all classes, not excepting those who, on points connected with slavery, have been most violently opposed to him. Our pages will contain some further notice of this distinguished and extraordinary man.

The other contents of the mail are not of great importance. In Jamaica, the House of Assembly have unanimously voted the introduction of 5000 Coolies during the ensuing year. Some resolutions, which will be found advertised in our columns, show that the baptist missionaries are alive to the importance of the subject; and the language of the *Falmouth Post* shows that the difference of opinion upon it is by no means confined to that body. This journal says:—"For our own part, we candidly confess that we entertain great doubts as to the policy of this project. We have already shown that an export tax will bear heavily on recent purchasers of estates, who, at the time they effected their purchases, did not calculate on this increase of expenditure. We also think that the colony will reap but little good from a limited emigration, and especially from the emigration of a class of men who cannot be prevailed upon to remain more than three or five years from their native land. If, as we said in a late number, it is indispensably necessary that we should resort to foreign labour, we must, to make it effectual, have it in abundance, and of a permanent character. Hence our preference to machinery." A memorial to the queen, for a system of representative government, has been adopted in Trinidad. According to the *Trinidad Standard*, it is in the contemplation of the home government shortly to discontinue the stipendiary system, or, at least, to hand over the paid magistrates to the colonies for support. We find intimated in another paper a design to introduce the clergy of the Church of England into the magistracy. Both these measures must be pronounced very bad—we scarcely know which of them the worst. The drought by which, more or less severely, a large part of the West Indies has been affected, has become so intense in British Guiana as to constitute a very heavy calamity. We have gleaned a few other particulars from the papers for our colonial intelligence.

The most interesting fact communicated to us by the American papers is, that the movement against the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave state, is carried on with great spirit. The effort has given birth to a newspaper, called "The Free State Rally, or Texan Chain-breaker," a small sheet issued at Boston weekly, or oftener, until the question is decided. It is full of energy, and must have a powerful influence. We give the following as a specimen of its contents:—

"THE CONSEQUENCES.—Texas contains an immense area of land, so fertile that it has been called the garden spot of the world, ready to yield even to slovenly labour the richest productions of the torrid zone. Fearfully for the slave does it resemble those countries which for ages have sucked the life-blood of Africa, and made the Atlantic waves vocal with the groans of the 'middle passage.' Its population under the slave system will create an insatiable demand for slaves to be supplied from

abroad. Whence shall they come? Our own law makes the trans-ocean traffic piracy. The moral and physical energies of the civilized world are combined to sweep it from the ocean. There is but one source open; that, however, is protected from the interference of mercy by the entire power of this nation; it is the traffic with our northern slaveholding States, where the breeding of slaves for a more southern market has already become more lucrative than any other business. It is extreme folly to believe that, as agriculture decays, and the demand for slaves increases, and the breeding of them becomes more lucrative, the people of these states will become more ready to quit it; that as this 'vigintial crop,' as Mr. Faulkner called it in the Virginia legislature in 1832, becomes more and more their staple, they will sell off the very means of continuing it. It is a plain triumph of wickedness over weakness, to convince any honest mind, that the annexation of Texas as a slave-state can by any possibility have the slightest tendency to diminish slavery, either in the whole, or any portion of this or any other country; on the contrary, nothing can be conceived which would more powerfully tend to increase both the extent and horrors of the system. It converts the very heart of our country, the birth State of our Washington, into a Guinea coast, where the minions of Mammon, who coin dollars out of violated affections, instead of having to run the gauntlet of African war, and pestilence, and British cruisers, shall operate at their ease, under the protection of what is called law, as if they were dealing in sheep or swine. It is just as if the enlightened slave-holders of Virginia and Maryland were to transfer themselves in a mass to Africa, buy out the petty chiefs of Congo, and in their stead sell off the poor people out of their huts to be consumed on Texas cotton and sugar-fields. Rather it is just as if, now that the slave-drivers of Brazil, Martinique, and Cuba find it difficult to supply the consumption of their plantations from Africa, we were to say to them, 'Only transfer yourself to the virgin soil of Texas, and we will supply you with any quantity of victims.' Is this doing any less to sustain and perpetuate slavery, than it would be to abolish our law declaring the foreign slave-trade felonious, and, in spite of Europe and Heaven, to supply the same planters with African victims where they are? Were it proposed to relinquish our country's share in that glorious achievement of humanity, won by Wilberforce and Clarkson, and give full license to our shipping to enter into the African slave-trade, under the protection of our national flag, would not the press and the pulpit speak: Would the Christianity, would the humanity, would the patriotism, would the common honesty of the North let that question pass to the irrevocable vote in Congress, without a united shout and thunder of remonstrance loud enough to penetrate the very graves? And yet this is practically that question."

We have inserted to-day a paper on the results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, a subject of paramount interest and importance, not only as presenting to the British nation the issue of a great act of justice done by them, but as constituting a standard by which other nations are judging of the practicability and utility of abolishing slavery. What we have inserted is part—the principal part, however—of a small paper which has recently been prepared by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and which may be had in any quantity for distribution by our friends, on application at the office.

Home Intelligence.

THE CREW OF THE CAROLINE.

(From the Times.)

THAMES POLICE OFFICE, DEC. 10.

Soon after Mr. Broderip had taken his seat, Inspector Maddox, of the Thames division, reported that he had, in pursuance of the magistrate's directions, been on board the ship *Anne*, in the eastern London Dock, and from the inquiries he had made, it did not appear that any of the men were in a state of slavery, or that any murder had been committed on board the *Caroline*, as was alleged by Sir George Stephen, when he applied to his worship on Monday. There was no reason to believe that the men had been used with cruelty in general; but one or two of the men had been flogged by the captain's orders, for pawing their clothes, and getting drunk with the money. Sir George Stephen, and some other gentlemen connected with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association, had seen the Arabs on board, and conversed with them, but only four had taken advantage of the offer made to them to be sent back to Zanzibar. The others were content to remain on board the *Anne*, until the repairs of the *Caroline* were completed, when they would return to their own country.

Mr. Broderip.—Were the men made acquainted with the fact that they were free agents here, and that they could come to this court and make their complaints?

Maddox.—Yes, sir. I told them distinctly the magistrate would hear any complaints, if they had any to make.

Mr. Broderip.—Had they any grievances to complain of?

Maddox.—None at all, sir.

Sir George Stephen waited upon the magistrate just before half-past one o'clock, and stated that he was anxious to let the court know the result of its interference, and thought it would be more satisfactory and respectful to the magistrate that he should do so openly. He felt very grateful to the magistrate for the kind assistance afforded him, and it would be duly appreciated by all persons interested in the abolition of slavery. Upon going on board the *Anne*, he found a crew of black people, and he had the slaves separated from the others; and all on board, with the exception of three, were examined through the medium of an interpreter. One man, who understood a little English, was also questioned, and he fully confirmed the statement made by Grant, that twenty of the crew were slaves, and had been very much ill-used. The general

appearance of the food was satisfactory, but as regarded the clothing, the men were in a very dreadful condition. They had no clothing suitable for a northern climate, and suffered much from the cold and dampness of the weather. A majority of the men were in a very dejected state of mind. He ascertained that her Majesty's Government had provided the men with clothing, and they had pawned the things to procure food. He asked them all if they wished to return to Zanzibar, and four only availed themselves of the offer he made to send them back. They said they wished to join their wives and families in their own country. Some were afraid they would obtain a bad character, if they did not return in the *Caroline*. The whole of the slaves were very apprehensive and distrustful, a feature of slavery wherever it was found. He intended to repeat the communication he had already made to the slaves, and he had made arrangements for lodging the four slaves, who wished to leave the *Anne*, in the Sailors' Asylum, till he could ship them for Zanzibar. He had only one other remark to make. He had received a letter from Messrs. Freshfield and Co., solicitors of the consignees, stating that they intended to present themselves in that court at half-past one o'clock, to meet any charge he had to make. He disclaimed any intention to make a charge against the consignees or any one else. He was not in a condition to do so. There was a case of murder, but the magistrate had no jurisdiction over it. He would pledge himself that one of the slaves had been murdered on board the *Caroline*, and if the magistrate had the power to investigate the charge, he would establish it by evidence. He attended at the instance of the Anti-Slavery Association, to afford protection to a number of unhappy strangers. He felt it was a gross insult to every Englishman to bring slaves here, and he was quite sure, if our excellent Queen had known that the ship which brought over the presents from the Imaum of Muscat had been navigated by slaves, she would have rejected them with contempt.

Mr. Broderip.—The Thames police-inspector has also made a report. He has given the crew of the *Caroline* to understand they are not slaves, and he says they are not ill-treated, and have no complaints to make. He also stated, that some were inclined to go and others to stop. He says there are no grounds whatever for the charge of murder, and that no one has died from violence during the passage.

Sir George Stephen said he had the information from the Englishman, Grant, who was confirmed by another seaman, and also by the ship's carpenter. He was only very sorry he could not bring the case here.

Sir George then retired, and he had not left the court more than ten minutes before a gentleman from the office of Messrs. Freshfield and Co., the solicitors, the Arab captain of the ship (an old man, with a grey beard and mustache,) his son, and several others, entered the court. The Arabs wore very handsome turbans, and their costume was very picturesque. On learning the purport of Sir George Stephen's observations, the Arabs expressed the greatest indignation, and said there were no slaves on board the *Anne*, that no murder had ever been committed, and that the statement of Sir George Stephen was a gross misrepresentation.

Mr. Clarkson, the barrister, soon afterwards made his appearance, and at once proceeded to address the magistrate in refutation of the statement made by Sir George Stephen. He said he had the honour to represent the respectable firm of Freshfield and Co., solicitors to Messrs. Newman, Hunt, and Co., merchants in the city of London. He complained that the public mind had been prejudiced against respectable men, by a most extravagant and unfounded statement of a very extraordinary kind; and he hoped those journals which had circulated the poison, on the authority of a person seeking popularity, would present the antidote to that poison. The *Caroline* was a ship of 600 tons burthen, and belonged to the Imaum of Muscat—a wise and benevolent prince, whose relations with this country were of a most friendly nature. The Imaum had executed treaties with this country to repress slavery, and all his promises and engagements had been executed with the greatest sincerity. There was a most earnest desire on the part of the Imaum of Muscat to repress slavery. The *Caroline* sailed from Zanzibar in March last, with a valuable cargo, and numerous presents for her Majesty the Queen of England. The crew were shipped under articles of agreement, in the ordinary manner. On the arrival of the vessel in London, it was necessary for her to undergo extensive repairs, and the crew were transferred to the *Anne*. The agents for the Imaum of Muscat were Messrs. Newman and Hunt, one of the most respectable firms of the city of London, and the very last persons to have anything to do with slaves and slavery. The crew of the *Caroline* consisted of sixty persons, and, according to the statement of Sir George Stephen, he could only induce four of them to abandon their master and sail in another vessel. He was in a condition to prove the whole of the crew had received their wages, that they had experienced the most humane treatment, and had been supplied by the agents with money and clothes beyond what they were entitled to by the articles. He could find nothing to justify Sir George Stephen in the extraordinary course he had pursued. There had been no ill-use whatever, except that two of the men had been flogged for pawning their clothes, and procuring spirits with the money raised by them, and that punishment was necessary for the maintenance of proper discipline. Sir George Stephen had erroneously stated that murder had been committed. If murder had been committed, and Sir George was in possession of matter to prove his case, it was a glaring absurdity for him to come before an English magistrate, and tell him he had no jurisdiction. It was really too bad to make such a serious and unfounded charge. Some persons, with a spirit of knight errantry, were constantly seeking adventures, and in their Quixotic adventures did great mischief. Sir George Stephen had conjured up a phantom. Some black men came in this port, and of course they must be slaves, and then a story was told about a murder. The learned counsel proceeded at great length, and in forcible language, to denounce the interference of Sir George Stephen, which was quite uncalled for. There had not been a single death on board the *Caroline* during the whole voyage, either from accident, violence, or any other cause. The men were free agents, at liberty to go where they pleased. There had been no illness on board, and the men were all contented. The Quixotic knight-errant, Sir George Stephen, who was always running after adventures of this kind, fancied that every man whose arm was locked in another's was a slave; he had been on board the *Anne*, and endeavoured to convince the black men they were slaves, and offered them all a passage. He could get but four to desert the vessel; but Messrs. Newman and Hunt would

be much obliged to him if he would maintain them all, and provide them with a passage. He was welcome to them all. The master and his son, the English sailing-master of the vessel, the assistant sailing-master, also an Englishman, and several of the crew were in attendance, and most anxious to be examined. He was satisfied the statements that had gone forth to the public would ultimately do no injury to any one, except the person who so rashly made them.

Mr. Broderip reiterated the statements made by Sir George Stephen, and the officer Maddox, and said it was contrary to his practice, and it ought to be contrary to the practice of all justices to hear *ex parte* statements, in cases over which they had no control; but Sir George Stephen had made a complaint that men were in this port in a state of slavery, and he should have been wanting in his duty to the public, if he had not directed an officer to inform the men of their relative position. Before Sir George Stephen came into the court, the inspector made a report, which exculpated the master, and he negatived the assertion that a murder had been committed. Sir George Stephen still laboured under an idea the men were slaves, and they had been told by the officer that the moment they touched the English soil they were free.

Mr. Clarkson.—Slaves, indeed! The captain of a slaver, who would bring his slaves into the port of London, must be as excited as Sir George Stephen. (A laugh.)

Mr. Broderip said he had heard Mr. Clarkson with much pleasure and satisfaction, and that he would not, after this, suffer the court to be made the arena of such discussions.

Mr. Clarkson.—It is a very serious thing for such a charge to go out, and I hope Sir George Stephen will be more careful in future.

The parties then left the court.

In relation to this report, Sir George Stephen addressed the following letter to the Editor of the *Times*:—

Sir,—In reference to the importance of the subject, I shall feel obliged to you to allow me to correct your Thames Police report of yesterday, in a few particulars.

I informed the magistrate that I had ascertained that the slaves had received rations from Government, but that they had previously pawned their clothes to obtain food, and were now in a state of destitution; most of them having on no other clothing than an old blanket and a woollen cap.

I also distinctly informed the magistrate, and I now repeat the statement, which a gentleman who informed me that he was your reporter had an opportunity of confirming, by personally examining the witness himself, that according to the information I had received, one of the slaves had been murdered on the voyage: this, according to your report, appears to be contradicted by the inspector, Mr. Maddox; and Mr. Maddox's contradiction also appears to have been received by the magistrate with more credit than my accusation.

You may judge for yourself which of our reports is most deserving of credit, when I add, that there is only one of the slaves who can talk English, and that all the rest speak Arabic or Persian, and can only be understood through an interpreter; the interpreter and the slave who spoke English, were engaged with me during the whole time that Maddox was on board, and that officer did not exchange a single word with any one of the slaves, or through the interpreter: there were four gentlemen with me who can confirm my assertion; nor was the captain himself able to speak a word of English; upon what authority, therefore, Maddox could make the report which he appears to have made to the magistrate, I am at a loss to conceive; but I think that you will agree with me that official men ought to be more cautious both in making and in receiving reports upon such important matters.

I will state to you the real facts, as they have been given to me by the witness Grant, and confirmed by the slave who spoke English, so far as I could understand him.

About two days' sail from the Island of Ascension, Abdullah, the slave who was killed, was engaged on some duty, which the boatswain reproved him for doing negligently, threatening at the same time to give him the rope's end; Abdullah answered insolently, and the boatswain struck him with his fist on the face; Abdullah threatened to return the blow, and the boatswain then immediately went aft, and reported him to the captain; the captain called three of his own slaves, and directed one of them to throw the man down, and sit upon his neck, while the other two slaves were ordered to "chamboo" him, a process, as I understand, often made subservient to severe punishment. The slaves kneaded the poor creature with their knees and elbows for ten minutes: he was then released, and with great difficulty crawled to his berth; within an hour, my informant found him throwing up blood in considerable quantities, and though, previously to the operation, he had been in perfect health, and a good sailor, he died within twenty-five hours, and within two hours more his body was thrown overboard. The mate, who was an Englishman, reproached the captain (or supercargo, as he is sometimes called,) with causing the man's death, and my informant appeals to him to corroborate the whole story, as they both witnessed the transaction. When I went on board the *Anne* on Monday last, I asked the captain what had become of Abdullah, my object being to observe whether he met the inquiry with confusion. He certainly was agitated by the question, and answered, after some hesitation, "He has deserted." I was present when all the facts were stated yesterday by Abraham Grant to your reporter.

If Mr. Clarkson wishes to know my reason for mentioning that murder had been committed on board, it is because I was anxious to convince the magistrate that there did exist a state of things which loudly called for interposition; nor do I perceive any "absurdity" in my doing so; but had your reporter done me justice, he would also have quoted my remark to the magistrate, that I purposely refrained from mentioning the name of the party implicated, because the case not being within his jurisdiction, I was unable to make any legal accusation.

I shall also be obliged to you to mention, that I deferred my attendance on the magistrate from twelve o'clock to half-past one, with great inconvenience to myself, on purpose to keep the appointment which Messrs. Freshfield and Sons had made with me for that hour; I then waited

nearly ten minutes, and as nobody attended from their office, I felt at liberty to proceed. If Mr. Clarkson really made the remarks given in your report, and in the tone which is implied, it would have been more manly to have refrained from such personalities, till he had the opportunity of making them to my face; and it would equally have consisted with the magisterial dignity had Mr. Broderip suspended his determination "not to suffer the Court to be made the arena of such discussions any more," till he had ascertained with greater certainty whether he may not yet find himself compelled to investigate the matter further.

I am fully aware that all personalities proceeding from a counsel of Mr. Clarkson's very peculiar celebrity are of so little consideration with the public, as scarcely to deserve even the epithet of "impertinence;" but I must take the liberty of saying that it is contemptibly ungenerous on the part both of Mr. Clarkson and the magistrate to aggravate the difficulties of professional duty, by using, or permitting the use of uncourteous remark. I shall never be deterred by the insulting imputation of a love of notoriety from doing my duty to a client, because that client is a miserable slave; but it happens that in this case my interference has not been spontaneous, for I acted entirely at the suggestion and under the instructions of the Anti-Slavery Society.

I remain, Sir, yours very obediently,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

3, Furnival's Inn, Dec. 11.
There are a few other errors of trifling character, too unimportant to make it worth while to extend my explanation.

(From the Times.)

MANSION HOUSE, DEC. 16.

Mr. Clarkson, the barrister, after having remained in the justice-room for a considerable time, addressed the Lord Mayor upon the subject of a letter which appeared in a morning newspaper, as an advertisement, imputing to the captain and some of the crew of the *Caroline*, a vessel belonging to the Imam of Muscat, which arrived with presents from his Highness to the Queen, the crime of murder. An application had, the learned counsel understood, been made on the preceding day to the sitting magistrate, for the purpose of causing an investigation into a charge against Sir George Stephen for having published the libel, under the 6th and 7th of Victoria, cap. 96, sec. 5, entitled An Act to amend the law respecting defamatory words and libel, and enacting, "That if any person shall maliciously publish any defamatory libel, every such person being convicted thereof shall be liable to fine or imprisonment, or both, as the court may award, such imprisonment not to exceed the term of one year." The latter was a report of a reiterated charge of murder, represented at the Thames Police-office, by Sir George Stephen to have been committed upon one Abdallah. In answer to the accusation of having caused to be published the defamatory libel, Sir George Stephen stated that it was his intention to apply to the judges for a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up the crew before their lordships, the case was necessarily no longer under the jurisdiction of the magistrate, and declined to give his attendance. He (Mr. Clarkson) would not enter into the particulars of the case, further than was necessary to make it intelligible. The Lord Mayor was aware that Sir George Stephen made a charge to the effect that murder had been committed on board the *Caroline* upon one of the slaves, and that the crew, which consisted of slaves, were on board that vessel in the docks. The agents for the Imam of Muscat—whose authority as a sovereign was recognized in this country, with which his Highness was on terms of perfect amity—being most anxious to ascertain whether there was any foundation for so serious a charge, instituted an inquiry, from which it appeared that there was no ground whatever for the statement; that there were no slaves on board the vessel; that no murder had been committed; that no death, whether by design or accident, had occurred. The denial of the statement was made and established before Mr. Broderip, at the Thames Police-office, in the absence of Sir George Stephen, who failed to keep his appointment before the magistrate. Not content with having insisted subsequently upon the correctness of the accusation, Sir George Stephen published in the *Times* newspaper, as an advertisement, the letter alluded to, which contained, amongst other matter, the following statement:—

"About two days' sail from the Island of Ascension, Abdallah, the slave who was killed, was engaged in some duty, which the boatswain reproved him for doing negligently, threatening at the same time to give him the rope's end. Abdallah answered insolently, and the boatswain struck him with his fist in the face. Abdallah threatened to return the blow, and the boatswain then immediately went aft, and reported him to the captain. The captain called three of his own slaves, and directed one of them to throw the man down and sit upon his neck, while the other two slaves were ordered to 'chamboo' him, a process, as I understand, often made subservient to severe punishment. The slaves kneaded the poor creature with their knees and elbows for ten minutes. He was then released, and with great difficulty crawled to his berth; within an hour my informant found him throwing up blood in considerable quantities; and though, previously to the operation, he had been in perfect health, and a good sailor, he deceased within twenty-five hours, and within two hours his body was thrown overboard." Now he (Mr. Clarkson) had the persons to whom the statement first read referred, prepared to come forward, and declare upon oath that the whole of it was an untruth. He did not mean to attribute a knowledge that it was a false statement to Sir George Stephen, but he meant to assert that there was not an atom of foundation for the story itself. It was thought right by the agents of the gentleman who represented the Imam of Muscat to bring forward the crew of the *Caroline*, who were thus designated slaves and murderers, to make their depositions on oath before the magistrate, in denial of the whole of the circumstances described in Sir George Stephen's letter, and to proceed under the statute of Victoria just quoted from. Sir George Stephen had, as was before stated, declined to attend before his lordship, and intimated his intention to apply to a court of law. That course Sir George Stephen had adopted, and the further proceedings in the case should be reserved for the consideration of the judges, and would, he entertained no doubt, put an end to publications calculated to occasion great distress and annoyance to those upon whom they reflected, and

tended to place the Imam of Muscat in a false position in the opinion of the people of this country, who knew nothing of his highness that was not calculated to do honour to his character.

The Lord Mayor said the Judges were certainly the authority to which such a subject must most properly be introduced. His Lordship at the same time admitted there was ground for making a statement in contradiction to the contents of the letter before a magistrate.

Mr. Clarkson.—The men are ready to appear before their Lordships, and were here yesterday, prepared to make their statement, when Sir George Stephen, we suppose, was applying for the writs of *habeas corpus*.

(From the Times.)

JUDGES' CHAMBERS, DEC. 20.

In obedience to a writ of *habeas corpus*, obtained at the instance of the Anti-Slavery Association, the crew of the *Caroline*, lying in the East London Docks, consisting of fifteen persons of colour, were brought before Mr. Justice COLERIDGE at chambers this (Saturday) afternoon, with the view of ascertaining from them whether they were detained as slaves in the brig *Anne*, in which they were placed during the repair of the vessel *Caroline*, in which they were brought to this country.

The case has already appeared in the columns of *The Times*, on an application made by Sir George Stephen, as solicitor of the Anti-Slavery Association, to the magistrates of the Thames Police-court. It will be remembered that the vessel *Caroline* brought over some presents to her Majesty from the Imam of Muscat, and that since its arrival it had been alleged, by a person named Grant, who was one of the crew, that a murder had been committed during the voyage, and that the crew were detained as slaves on board the vessel until they returned to Zanzibar, whence they were shipped.

Sir John Bayley and Mr. Clarkson appeared for the captain of the vessel, of which Messrs. Newman, Hunt, and Co., merchants of London, were the consignees.

Mr. Lush (barrister) and Sir George Stephen represented the Anti-Slavery Association.

Mr. CLARKSON professed his readiness to afford the amplest information to satisfy his lordship and the world that there was not the least pretence to suppose that a murder had been committed, or that the men on board the vessel were slaves. There had been an improper interference in this case by the Anti-Slavery Society, and his Lordship had been induced, on the affidavits of Sir G. Stephen and a person named Grant, to issue the writ for the attendance of the men.

Mr. LUSH demanded a return to be made to the writ.

Mr. CLARKSON replied, that the men would be produced, and his Lordship could satisfy himself whether they were slaves.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE was of opinion a return should be made.

Mr. CLARKSON undertook, that before the proceedings terminated a return should be regularly made, to the effect that the men were free, and had not been slaves.

After some further discussion, it was arranged that four of the men, who had been brought from the ship in omnibuses, should be brought before his Lordship. Subsequently others were brought into the room, and, eventually, all were admitted. Two interpreters attended.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE separately examined seven of the crew, including a little boy. His Lordship questioned them in a very searching manner.

The men all stated that they were free, and, as they expressed it, "unslaves." They had come from Zanzibar as sailors, and had agreed to work the vessel back to that place. The little boy was examined, and his paucity of ideas rendered it very difficult to understand what he meant. He said he had been sold for sixteen dollars by his mother, and he afterwards gave a very confused account of himself.

Mr. LUSH asked his Lordship to allow Grant to be examined, as he could make the boy understand.

Mr. CLARKSON said Grant was the person who had made the statement that a murder had been committed.

Grant was called.

Mr. CLARKSON, before he was sworn, asked him whether he was a Mussulman or a Christian.

Grant.—A Christian.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Have you never been a Mussulman?

Grant.—Yes, for a few days I was necessitated to be one.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE.—What do you mean? Was it for food?

Grant.—It was, my Lord.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Do you believe in Mahomet?

Grant.—I believe in God.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Did you not ride on a white horse, and have money collected for you?

Grant.—I did.

Mr. CLARKSON.—And were you not circumcised?

Grant.—I was.

He was sworn on the New Testament. It turned out that he could not make the boy understand, although he could understand what he said.

His LORDSHIP dispensed with his services.

The examination of the men was continued, his Lordship expressing his readiness to put any question suggested by the learned counsel. They all generally stated that they were freemen. The last who was examined said he had seen Grant, who was one of the crew, pray as a Mussulman, with the Koran before him.

Mr. CLARKSON was anxious that his Lordship should ask whether any one had died on the voyage.

His LORDSHIP put the question, and they all denied that any one had died or been killed. They said that they had been very well treated, and, if they had not been, they should have complained to the law. They denied that any person of the name given by Grant had been on board the vessel.

Sir G. STEPHEN asked his Lordship to inform all the men that they were free persons on coming to England.

His LORDSHIP, who had in the course of the inquiry told them that there were no slaves in this country, requested the interpreters to exclaim

that slaves, on coming to this country, became free; that the laws of this nation would strike off their masters when they arrived.

The men all declared they were free. Some of them had holes in their ears, which it was stated were marks of slaves.

The questions were concluded, and the men retired in high glee, wishing his Lordship "good day" as they passed the room. Their appearance was healthy, and they seemed to have been well fed.

Mr. Justice COLEBROOK, after some discussion, ordered the return to be made to the writ by Tuesday, and it was intimated on the part of the consignees, that his Lordship would be applied to for a summons against the Anti-Slavery Association.

The inquiry was commenced at three, and was not terminated till nearly six o'clock.

Sir G. Stephen was attorney to the Society, and Messrs. Freshfield for the consignees of the vessel.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—A correspondent informs us that some, if not all the Africans, on the estate of Mr. Walcot, in Hanover, are anxious to change their situation. Mr. W. has, however, taken means to prevent them from leaving the property, and has forbidden communication between them and some of their friends upon other properties. Why is this?—*Baptist Herald*.

SUGAR ESTATES.—The House of Assembly has appointed a committee to inquire and report to the House the present state and condition of the several sugar estates throughout the island, compared with their condition prior to the Abolition Act; whether the quantity and quality of produce now manufactured on such estates is greater and better than what was made during the time of slavery, or whether the same has fallen off, and the cause of such falling off.—*Baptist Herald*.

IMMIGRATION.—A meeting has been held in the parish of St. Elizabeth, to petition the House in favour of immigration. If we have been informed aright, we understand that there is not sufficient employment in this parish for the native labourers that are located therein, and that emigration of labourers is more needed than immigration.—*Baptist Herald*.

GRENADA.—CLERICAL JUSTICES.—We have heard it reported within the last few days, that it is in contemplation to associate the clergy of the Church of England in this island in the general commission of the peace. We should hope that this report is not correct.—*Grenada Gazette*.

TRINIDAD.—REFORM.—A memorial to the Queen, praying for a representative form of government for this colony, which has been for some time in course of signature, has been forwarded to his excellency the Governor, for transmission by the next packet to the Secretary of State; 1,540 names are attached to it. Whether we consider the number of the petitioners,—the justness and necessity of their request,—or the unexceptionable terms in which that request is couched, as well as the friendly disposition of the Home Government towards the West India colonies, we are not without some confidence in the result of the present appeal.—*Trinidad Standard*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION FROM SIERRA LEONE does not, it must be candidly admitted, wear a very promising aspect. The colony is just now expending its money to little purpose. Two late arrivals from Africa seem to confirm this alarm. To-day the *Rufus* came into our river from Sierra Leone, with 140 persons on board,—a small allowance of immigrants considering her bulk; and on Sunday our old friend the *Arabian*, with her usual ill-success, arrived from the same place with only 78. We are scarcely surprised that our worthy and spirited neighbours of Berbice, seeing facts like these before them, have come to the conclusion that this will never do.—*Guiana Gazette*.

THE WEATHER continues very, indeed distressingly dry. The plantations, as well as the inhabitants of the towns, are at last suffering severely from want of water. The navigation trenches, by means of which the canes are planted from the fields to the engine-houses to be ground, are on many estates entirely dried up, and, from want of water to convey them to the buildings, the canes are in some places beginning to rot on the ground.—*Guiana Gazette*.

The dry season is nearly as severe as ever. Vegetation looks generally as if it had been scathed with fire, and the want of good water, in town and country, is very distressing.—*Guiana Times*.

Miscellanea.

ESTHONIA, LIVONIA, AND COURLAND.—It is well-known that Estonia, Livonia, and Courland have been successively conquered by five nations, viz., Russia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. After having passed under the dominion of these powers, they remained incorporated with Russia. But nevertheless the German race have continued to have the ascendancy, through its nobility, and with it the Protestant religion, the language, institutions, and manners of Germany. The commercial class in the towns came originally from the Hanseatic cities. The nobles are almost all from Northern Germany, and chiefly from Westphalia. There is a strong line of demarcation between the races of the conquerors and the primitive owners of the soil, and therefore all the freemen call themselves Germans, *Deutsche*, while the peasants or serfs are called *Undeutsche*, non-Germans. These denominations are derived from the period when these provinces were under the dominion of the Teutonic order. The indigenous people, whose origin is Finnish, or Livonian, have con-

tinued in the state of the vanquished race. Attached to the glebe, they have remained without mixture, preserving all their original characteristics. The peasants have in general kept themselves apart from the German race, and the diversity of languages which exists among them has still further contributed to keep up this division. Russia has, with great ability, profited by these political circumstances, and made herself the protectress of the conquered race against the conquerors. She has done more for the Livonian than for the Russian peasants, and, as we are bound to acknowledge, has even had recourse to liberal measures in support of her policy. Thus through her influence the peasant has passed gradually from his condition as a serf into that of a free-labourer of the soil. By a ukase issued in 1804, it was ordained that no peasant should be sold from off the land to which he was attached as a serf. In 1826 the peasant acquired the right of establishing himself where he pleased, without leave or license from his former masters. Such is the state of things in these countries, in which Russia is now making an active propagation of her language and religion.—*Journal des Debats*.

ANTI SLAVERY MINSTRELS FROM AMERICA.—An extract of a letter from Manchester will have points of interest to those who take pleasure in seeing how in America the blood of those of whom England was not worthy struggles with the offspring of our negro-drivers on the question of slavery.—"I must mention to you a family of American vocalists, the Hutchinsons—who have made their appearance in these parts; a programme of whose performances I send you. There are four brothers and a sister, farmer's children of New Hampshire, part of a family of thirteen. In the spring they put the seed into the ground, during summer go out to sing, and in autumn return to gather in the harvest. This year they determined to try their luck in England; and from the success already met with, I should think they will have no reason to regret it. The first thing that struck me was the good taste they displayed in the selection of their words, and in the next place the excellent ear they have. Many of their melodies, and, if I mistake not, the whole of their harmonies, are of their own composition; and there is an earnestness, as well as a delicacy in what they do, which is delightful. Their manners are simple, unaffected, and independent; as you may judge from an anecdote I gathered from an American paper. The notorious editor of the *New York Herald* told them, that if they sang one of their anti-slavery songs, a mob would rise upon them, and he knew sixty young men who had determined to fall upon them. 'But,' said one of them, 'we must sing the truth; if not, we will go home and dig potatoes.' The night came, the hall was filled; they came on, accompanied by their sister, and began the song. The tumult began; they persevered; by-and-by there was something like applause; and before the conclusion they were received with cheers. They repeated the song, night after night, to audiences of three thousand people. Here and in the neighbouring towns, at the various institutions, their success has surpassed anything I remember; and they are engaged every night for this month. You must not expect a Malibran in the girl, who is only sixteen, nor a Duprez or a Lablache among the brothers; but simple harmony and ballad-singing in a style which catches hold of the popular feeling to a high degree. I have seen a whole Atheneum and Mechanics' Institute, consisting of clerks and the working men, with tears coursing down their noses most piteously. They are encored in almost everything they sing, and they have considerable comic humour, which, though upon local subjects principally, has caught hold of our Lancashire people most thoroughly. They come with excellent letters of character to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. George Thompson, as well as to myself." Truly the hand that is not shortened hath variety of instruments, and can make the fenced city fall before the voices of singing men and singing women, as well as before the battle and the storm.—*Nonconformist*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last announcement, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
York—Ladies Negro Friend Society	5 0 0	
Bristol—Thomas Alfred	5 0 0	
A Friend, per Daniel Wheeler (for past omissions)	4 4 0	
Webb, Charles	0 15 0	
Wheeler, Daniel		1 1 0
Collerell, J. H.		0 10 0
Birmingham—A Friend, per Joseph Sturge....	0 10 0	
Sturge, Edward (1842-3 to 1845-6)		3 0 0
Sturge, Charles (1843-4 to 1845-6)		6 0 0
Worcester Auxiliary Society	10 0 0	
Coalbrook Dale—Graham, Thomas	2 15 0	
Bedford—Langley, Elizabeth		1 1 0
Falmouth—Fox, Mrs. Elizabeth		1 1 0
Fox, Miss		0 10 0
Truro—W. M. Tweedy	1 0 0	
"Friends," by W. M. Tweedy		1 0 0
Ipswich—Rev. Mr. Dickinson		1 0 0
Dublin—Bewley, J.		5 0 0

ERRATUM.—In our last list of contributions, for Liverpool, instead of Negro Friend Association, £2, read, Liverpool, Ladies' Negro Friend Association, additional subscription, £2 5s.

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