



Over dit boek

Dit is een digitale kopie van een boek dat al generaties lang op bibliotheekplanken heeft gestaan, maar nu zorgvuldig is gescand door Google. Dat doen we omdat we alle boeken ter wereld online beschikbaar willen maken.

Dit boek is zo oud dat het auteursrecht erop is verlopen, zodat het boek nu deel uitmaakt van het publieke domein. Een boek dat tot het publieke domein behoort, is een boek dat nooit onder het auteursrecht is gevallen, of waarvan de wettelijke auteursrechttermijn is verlopen. Het kan per land verschillen of een boek tot het publieke domein behoort. Boeken in het publieke domein zijn een stem uit het verleden. Ze vormen een bron van geschiedenis, cultuur en kennis die anders moeilijk te verkrijgen zou zijn.

Aantekeningen, opmerkingen en andere kanttekeningen die in het origineel stonden, worden weergegeven in dit bestand, als herinnering aan de lange reis die het boek heeft gemaakt van uitgever naar bibliotheek, en uiteindelijk naar u.

Richtlijnen voor gebruik

Google werkt samen met bibliotheken om materiaal uit het publieke domein te digitaliseren, zodat het voor iedereen beschikbaar wordt. Boeken uit het publieke domein behoren toe aan het publiek; wij bewaren ze alleen. Dit is echter een kostbaar proces. Om deze dienst te kunnen blijven leveren, hebben we maatregelen genomen om misbruik door commerciële partijen te voorkomen, zoals het plaatsen van technische beperkingen op automatisch zoeken.

Verder vragen we u het volgende:

- + *Gebruik de bestanden alleen voor niet-commerciële doeleinden* We hebben Zoeken naar boeken met Google ontworpen voor gebruik door individuen. We vragen u deze bestanden alleen te gebruiken voor persoonlijke en niet-commerciële doeleinden.
- + *Voer geen geautomatiseerde zoekopdrachten uit* Stuur geen geautomatiseerde zoekopdrachten naar het systeem van Google. Als u onderzoek doet naar computervertalingen, optische tekenherkenning of andere wetenschapsgebieden waarbij u toegang nodig heeft tot grote hoeveelheden tekst, kunt u contact met ons opnemen. We raden u aan hiervoor materiaal uit het publieke domein te gebruiken, en kunnen u misschien hiermee van dienst zijn.
- + *Laat de eigendomsverklaring staan* Het “watermerk” van Google dat u onder aan elk bestand ziet, dient om mensen informatie over het project te geven, en ze te helpen extra materiaal te vinden met Zoeken naar boeken met Google. Verwijder dit watermerk niet.
- + *Houd u aan de wet* Wat u ook doet, houd er rekening mee dat u er zelf verantwoordelijk voor bent dat alles wat u doet legaal is. U kunt er niet van uitgaan dat wanneer een werk beschikbaar lijkt te zijn voor het publieke domein in de Verenigde Staten, het ook publiek domein is voor gebruikers in andere landen. Of er nog auteursrecht op een boek rust, verschilt per land. We kunnen u niet vertellen wat u in uw geval met een bepaald boek mag doen. Neem niet zomaar aan dat u een boek overal ter wereld op allerlei manieren kunt gebruiken, wanneer het eenmaal in Zoeken naar boeken met Google staat. De wettelijke aansprakelijkheid voor auteursrechten is behoorlijk streng.

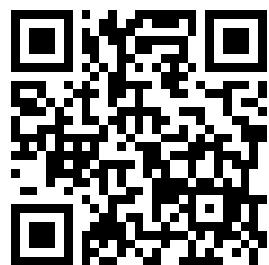
Informatie over Zoeken naar boeken met Google

Het doel van Google is om alle informatie wereldwijd toegankelijk en bruikbaar te maken. Zoeken naar boeken met Google helpt lezers boeken uit allerlei landen te ontdekken, en helpt auteurs en uitgevers om een nieuw leespubliek te bereiken. U kunt de volledige tekst van dit boek doorzoeken op het web via <http://books.google.com>

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>



ifornia
onal
ity

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY
REPORTER.

VOLUME V. 1844.

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

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY LANCELOT WILD, 13, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND;
SOLD BY W. EVERETT, 16, FINCH LANE, CORNHILL.

AND TO BE HAD AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
27, NEW BROAD STREET.

INDEX.

- A.**
- Abdy, E., remarks on, 131.
 - Abolition of slavery at Hong Kong, 139.
 - Abolition in France—see *France*.
 - Abolitioniste Français*, the, 131.
 - Abyssinia, slave-trade in, 24.
 - Address to the friends of the Negro, by Blair, Anstie, and Spencer, 53; retraction of by Mr. Blair, 77; letters relating to, 54, 67, 77.
 - Address of the Berbice missionaries to the proprietors, 241.
 - Admission of free labour produce, 41.
 - Affairs of Dominica, 178.
 - Africa—domestic slavery in, 8; slavery of Christians in, 131.
 - African emigration to the emancipated colonies, 210.
 - Agriculture in British Guiana, 31.
 - Aiding slaves to escape, U. S., 71.
 - Alexander, G. W., and the Moravian missionaries, 38; and B. Wiffen, tour of, on the continent, 78.
 - Algeria, slavery in, 154, 163, 170, 214; the French and slavery in, 144; letter of the Institut d'Afrique to Marshal Bugeaud, 201; reply of Marshal Bugeaud, 214; remarks on ditto, 204, 212, 231.
 - Allen, W., death of, 4; memoir of, 9.
 - American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the, 189.
 - American slavery—John L. Brown, letter of Elizur Wright, 59.
 - Amistad, the, again, U. S., 148.
 - Annexation of Texas—see *Texas*.
 - Annual Meeting of British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 97.
 - Another victim at the South—arrest of Jonathan Walker, 190.
 - Antigua, state of, 15; labour and produce in, 244.
 - Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, 5; of 1843, 95.
 - Anti-slavery movements in France, 18—see *France*.
 - Anti-Slavery Society, British and Foreign, annual meeting of, 97; annual report of, 93; foreign operations of, 95; home operations of, 93; special general meeting of, 110.
 - Anti-Slavery Society, British and Foreign, Committee of, address of, to
 - British proprietors of estates in Surinam, 233, 240. shareholders in foreign mining companies, 11; the friends of the slave in those countries of Europe that possess slave colonies, 209; the people of Hayti, 161; deputation of, to Mr. Gladstone, 46; Sir R. Peel, 220; letter of, to Mr. Gladstone, on admitting free produce, 46.
 - Lord Ripon, on slave-trade in the East, 27.
 - Lord Stanley, on Coolie emigration, 27; the same, on Chinese emigration to the West Indies, 19; the same, on the Guiana ordinances, 125; Sir R. Peel, on admitting free labour produce, 41; the United Brethren, on holding slaves, 33; memorial of, to Lord Stanley, on proceedings in Dominica, 201; the same, on immigration to the British colonies, 218; Sir R. Peel, on the same, 225; petition of, to parliament, on admitting free produce, 67.
- B.**
- Anti-Slavery Society, Birmingham British and Foreign, annual meeting of, 207; report of, 215.
 - Appeal on the iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade, by the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Great Britain, 235.
 - Arab tract, the, distribution of, 76.
 - Armed suppression of the slave-trade, 176.
 - Attorney-general, a coloured, 40.
 - Austria, serfage, 96.
- C.**
- Burke, Mrs., her slave, 133.
 - Can arms suppress the slave-trade? 24.
 - Capture of slavers—see *Slave-trade*.
 - Case of John L. Brown, 69—see *Brown*.
 - Case of Mr. Torrey, 205—see *Torrey*.
 - Catching runaways by the federal government, U. S., 83.
 - Cattie, the, in Mauritius, 199.
 - Chalmers, Rev. Dr., letter of, to Rev. Dr. Smyth, remarks on, 228.
 - Correspondence respecting, 236.
 - Chinese emigration to the West Indies, 16, 19, 31.
 - Christian slavery in Africa, 131.
 - Christopher's, St., the census, 199.
 - Clarkson, T., letter of, to the Christian and well-disposed citizens of the Northern States of America, 170; on the ill-treatment of people of colour in the United States, 43.
 - Colonial Gazette*, remarks on, 12, 20, 229.
 - Colonial Intelligence, 6, 15, 22, 31, 70, 82, 91, 143, 159, 174, 184, 191, 199, 208, 215, 222, 243.
 - Coloured people of Philadelphia, the, 175.
 - Consumption of sugar in Great Britain, 28.
 - Conviction, a, in Guadeloupe, 176.
 - Coolie emigration, appointment of emigration agents in India, 16; evil consequences of, 146; letter to Lord Stanley on, 27; number of immigrants, 131; proceedings on, at the India House, 152; returned Coolies, 31.
 - Coolie emigration to Mauritius, 131.
 - Coolie exportation, 27.
 - Coolie slave-trade, the, 2, 16, 27.
 - Correspondence, 21, 30, 38, 59, 69, 131, 222.
 - Court martial—the slave-trade, (Lieut. Gray), 159.
 - Cuba, critical state of, 61; crop, the, 192; dreadful state of, 132, 145; execution of twenty persons in, 168; execution of Placido, 165, 173; hurricane in, 216; insurrection *versus* emancipation, 23; more slave revolts, 23; negro insurrection in, 7, 60, 72, 84, 92, 144, 160, 200; news from, 26; remarks on, 58, 119, 165, 172; slave revolts in, 60; slave-trade in, 16; tragical event in, 92; treatment of slaves in, 40.
 - Cultivation of cotton in India, 84.
 - Cunard steam-packets, the, prejudice against colour, 172.
- D.**
- Danish sugar and the sugar duties bill, 129, 140.
 - Denman, Captain, and the slave-trade, 224.
 - Denmark, anti-slavery movements in, 224; new slave ordinance in, 60, 95.
 - Dent, Peter, 6.
 - Deserters at Mauritius, 200.
 - Distribution of Arabic tracts, 76.
 - Dominica, affairs of, 178; agricultural state of, 6, 71; memorial to Lord Stanley on proceedings in, 201; outbreak in, 145; remarks on, 140, 156, 164, 197, 204;
- E.**
- resistance to the census in, 143; trials in, 161.
 - Dreadful state of Cuba, 132.
 - Drought, the, in Jamaica, 91.
 - Donations and Subscriptions, 24, 40, 60, 84, 136, 144, 160, 176, 208.
 - Dutch slavery, 194; see *Surinam*.
- F.**
- Effect of Zulueta's trial in Spain, 9.
 - Emigration from Africa to the British colonies, 94; from India, the *Calcutta Star and Colonial Gazette*, on, 4, 12; of Coolies to Mauritius, 94, 137; of Chinese to the British colonies, 94; of Indian labourers to Mauritius, 94, 137; to the British colonies, 225.
 - Escape from slavery, 192.
 - Escape or death, U. S., 6.
 - Exclusion of persons of colour from British steamers, 172.
- G.**
- Fact for emigration schemers, 31.
 - Fairbanks, Mr. and Mrs., arrested in U. S. for aiding slaves to escape, 232, 240.
 - Fate of a retaken fugitive slave, U. S., 135.
 - Fine arts, engraving from Biard's painting of a slave-trade scene, 198.
 - Five slaves condemned at Sierra Leone, 136.
 - Florida fugitives, the, 2, 25, 63.
 - Foreign intelligence, 6, 16, 23, 31, 39, 52, 60, 71, 82, 92, 124, 135, 144, 152, 159, 167, 175, 192, 200, 208, 216, 223.
 - Foreigners know it, 8.
 - France, abolition movements in, 73; anti-slavery movements in, 18; anti-slavery petitions in, 67, 200; attitude of, 95; banquet of the workmen at Paris, 182; debate in Chamber of Deputies, 85; pamphlet of M. Bissette, 140; project of law, M. de Mackau, 125; proposed representation of the colonies of, 28; slave manumission in, 7; speech of M. de Gasparin, 137.
 - Free Church of Scotland, the, remarks on, 228; sentiments of the Moderator of, 237.
 - and American slavery, 198, 231; see *Glasgow Emancipation Society*.
 - Free labour, cost of producing sugar in Jamaica, 200; in Trinidad, 174.
 - Freeman, a, to be sold into slavery at Washington, 72.
 - French colonies, state of, 128; value of slaves in, 35.
 - French commission on slavery, 26.
 - French Guiana, marriage of M. Revoil to a young person of colour, 176; trial of M. Fourier, 23, 37.
 - French government, the, and free immigration, 25.
 - French views of British emancipation, 64, 75.
 - Fugitive slaves within the British dominions, 94.
 - Fugitive slaves in United States, 175.
- Gag resolution, the, U. S., 6.**
- General review, 1.**
- Germans in the United States, 19.**
- Germany, anti-slavery movement in, 96.**

INDEX.

iii

- J.**
- Emancipation Society, annual meeting of, 165; and the Free Church, 166, 231; memorial of, to Lord Aberdeen, on the sugar question, 58; special meeting of, 229.
- Good work, Jamaica, 70.
- Got safe off, U. S., 32.
- Gray, Lieut., court martial on, 156.
- Greece, prohibits slavery and slave-trade, 96.
- Grenada, the weather in, 71.
- Grey, Rev. H., letter of, on American slavery, 237.
- Guadeloupe, a conviction in, 176; a slave rewarded in, 24; incendiary in, 216.
- Guiana ordinances, the, appeal to Government on, 125.
- H.**
- Hard case, a, if it be law, U. S., 23.
- Hayti, attitude of, 96; address to, from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 161; intercourse with foreigners in, 72; insurrection in, 92, 160, 176; reception of the address, 224, 240 trade of, 72.
- Helena, St., state of liberated Africans at, 197.
- Hill Coolies, intentions of Government, 176.
- Holland, attitude of, 95; speech of the king of, 204; the sugar duties act, 176.
- Home intelligence, 22, 39, 70, 91, 159, 231.
- Hong-kong, abolition of slavery in, 136.
- Hope H. Slatter again, U. S., 82.
- I.**
- Immigrants, Trinidad, 31.
- Immigration to the West Indies, 76, 200.
- Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, 91.
- Important decision, U. S., 152.
- Income and expenditure of the West India Colonies, 155.
- India, coolie emigration from, 6; cultivation of cotton in, 16.
- Inhuman assault, U. S., 135.
- Iniquitous and artful proceedings in British Guiana, 109.
- Inquiries of the British Government, 175.
- Institut d'Afrique*, address of, to Marshal Bugeaud, 201—see *Africa*.
- Intercourse with foreigners, Hayti, 72.
- Interesting case before the Supreme Court, U. S., 135.
- Introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market, 94.
- Ionian islands, Mediterranean slave-trade, 7.
- J.**
- Jamaica, drought in, 91; doings of the assembly, 222; fact for emigration schemers, 31; free labour, and cost of producing sugar in, 200; general news from, 70, 159, 174, 191, 208.
- good work, 70;
- immigration, 70, 91, 243
- immigration bill, 22;
- resolutions on the sugar duties, 148, 164, 174, 188;
- weather, the, 15, 31, 70, 143.
- Jay's letter to Mr. Frelinghuyzen, 220, 223.
- Jersey, anti-slavery meeting in, 141.
- Jews, sentiments of the, on slavery, 138.
- Judge O'Neal, 124—see Brown.
- K.**
- Kidnapper, a, baffled, U. S., 71.
- Kidnapping by law, U. S., 71.
- L.**
- Laws of foreign states affecting the rights and liberties of British subjects, 94.
- Leaders—**
- Abdy, E., 131;
- Abolitioniste Français*, 131;
- African emigration, 213;
- Allen, W., 4;
- American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, the, 189;
- Anti-slavery Convention, the, Baxter's print of, 141;
- Bahamas, outrage in, 140;
- banquet of the workmen at Paris, 182;
- Bourbon, colonial council of, 189;
- British Guiana, returned coolies, 47;
- immigration loan ordinance in, 118, 131, 140, 148, 182, 197, 212, 239.
- British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, annual meeting of, 88, 106;
- attacks of the press on, 118;
- speech of Mr. G. Thompson at, 107;
- special general meeting of, 106, 117;
- Bugeaud, Marshal, address of *L'Institut d'Afrique* to, 204, 212, 231;
- Chalmers, Rev. Dr., 228, 238;
- Clarkson, T., 47, 214;
- colonial immigration, 118;
- Mr. Macqueen and the *Morning Herald*, 148, 156;
- deputation to Sir R. Peel, 220, 228;
- Colonial Gazette*, the, 12, 20, 229;
- consumption of sugar in Great Britain, 28;
- Cuba, 58, 191, 165, 172;
- speech of Lord Aberdeen on, 141;
- Dominica, riots in, 140, 156, 164, 197, 204;
- emigration from India, the *Calcutta Star and Colonial Gazette*, on, 4;
- exclusion of persons of colour from British steamers, 172;
- France, representation of the colonies, 28;
- anti-slavery petitions, 67;
- debate in the Chamber of Deputies, 89;
- speech of Admiral de Mackau in, 108;
- pamphlet of M. Bissette on, 140;
- Free Church of Scotland, the, 228;
- Glasgow Emancipation Society, annual meeting of, 165;
- special meeting of, 229;
- Gray, Lieut., court-martial on, 156;
- Hayti, address of the Committee to, 164, 181, 240.
- Helena, St., state of liberated Africans at, 197;
- Holland, speech of the king of, 204;
- Hong Kong, abolition of slavery in, 140;
- Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, 88;
- importation of Coolies into Bourbon, 157;
- Jamaica, vote of the House of Assembly on immigration, 220;
- Jersey, anti-slavery meeting in, 141;
- League*, the, on the sugar question, 88;
- reply to an article in, 228;
- Mauritius, 20, 181, 197;
- Palmerston, Lord, speech of, on the slave-trade, 148;
- Paulo, an escaped slave from Pernambuco, 197;
- Portugal, proceedings in the legislature of, 204;
- Revue Coloniale*, the, 67;
- Reynolds, J., reply to, 196;
- Russia, punishment of 23 serfs, 28;
- Sierra Leone, emigration from, 197;
- slave-trading by British subjects, the *Formidable*, 36;
- Spain, legislation in, 229;
- sugar duties, the, proceedings of the Commons on, 118, 130, 140;
- relation of Denmark to, 130;
- sugar question, the, debate in the Commons on, 42;
- letters on, 57, 78;
- petitions on, 66;
- statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on, 78;
- Sweden, message of the king of, 212;
- Texas, 78, 89, 118, 130;
- Torrey, J., his attempt to escape, 204;
- tour of Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, 78;
- Trial of Pedro de Zulueta*, 20;
- resolutions of Committee on, 4;
- Trinidad, case of Manuel Martine, 47;
- changes in the laws of, 78;
- United Brethren, liberation of slaves held by the, 37;
- United States, anti-slavery petitions, 13;
- case of J. L. Brown, 28, 37, 47, 58, 78;
- case of R. T. Lucas, 214;
- cases of Torrey and Walker, 189;
- election of Mr. Polk, 220;
- explosion of the Paixham gun, 47;
- gag rule, the, 47;
- martyrs in, sympathy with, 240.
- West Indies, anti-slavery meetings in, 188;
- Venezuela, sugar from, 229;
- Zulueta, P., his account of his trial, 28, 36.
- League*, the, reply to, 221.
- Legislation in the British colonies, 94;
- in British Guiana, 202;
- in Jamaica, 91.
- Letter of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland, 85.
- Letters on the sugar question, from Blair, W. T., 77;
- Brougham, Lord, 67;
- Buxton, Sir T. F., 77;
- O'Connell, D., 56;
- Fergusson, J., 68;
- Johnson, J. H., 56;
- Lushington, Dr., 77;
- Peek, R., 56;
- Richardson, G., 56;
- Stuart, C., 68;
- Sturge, J., 54.
- Letters from
- Alexander, G. W., from Brussels, 69;
- on the trial of Fourier, 38;
- Lefroy, C. E., in reply to the *Guiana Times*, 21;
- M., on a typographical error, 222;
- Murray, J., on raising sugar by free labour, 131;
- N., on the Leeward Islands, 241
- Nicolls, Col., on the suppression of the slave-trade, 30;
- Wayne, Rev. J. W., on Mr. Bright's speech, 59;
- Wright, Elizur, on the case of J. L. Brown, 59.
- Liberty party, the, in the United States, 127, 230.
- Literary Notices—
- Antigua and the Antiguans*, 29;
- Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society*, report of, 215;
- Effect of an alteration in the sugar duties on the condition of the people of England and the negro race considered*, by Macgregor Laird, 70;
- Emancipation of the negroes in the British West Indies; an address, &c.*, by R. W. Emerson, 197;
- Immediate and absolute freedom, or slavery. Observations on the Report of M. le*
- duc de Broglie, &c., &c.
- By G. W. Alexander and J. Scoble, 182;
- Fourth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, 4.
- Lithuania, intelligence from, 224.
- Loan ordinance, the, in British Guiana, 192.
- Lucas, R. T., case of, U. S., 214
- Lucia, St., intelligence from, 91, 192, 215, 222, 244.
- Lutheran synod, the, U. S., 100.
- Lynching a spy in Ohio, 7.
- M.**
- Macqueen, Mr., on colonial immigration, 148, 156.
- Martine, Manuel, case of, Trinidad, 47.
- Martinique, intelligence from, 208, 216.
- Maryland, state of, 82.
- Mauritius,
- bad state of, 42, 227;
- capabilities of, 195;
- cattle the, in, 199;
- Chinese immigrants at, 22;
- deserters at, 200;
- excess of labour at, 71;
- immigration to, 20;
- irresponsibility of civil commissioners at, 178;
- number of immigrants to, 6;
- returned immigrants from, 199;
- state of the coolies at, 144;
- want of food at, 31.
- Mediterranean slave-trade, the, 10.
- Methodist Episcopal church, U. S., 144.
- Mexico and Texas, 152.
- Moravian Missionaries, and G. W. Alexander, 38;
- liberation of slaves held by, 33, 37;—see *United Brethren*.
- Moravian Missionary Society, attitude of, 94.
- Moravian slaveholders in N. Carolina, 136.
- More slave revolts, Cuba, 23.
- Morning Herald*, the, on colonial immigration, 148, 156.
- Morocco, mission of Mr. Richardson to, 41, 74;
- slave-trade in, 77.
- Movements in the senate, U. S., 40.
- Mozambique, prospectus of the *Empresa dos Concídiaos*, 7.
- Mulatto youth, a, U. S., 175.
- Murder and Lynch law in Mississippi, 175.
- N.**
- News from Cuba, 26—see *Cuba*.
- Negro town, U. S., 40.
- New source of labour, British Guiana, 71.
- Northern Africa, slave-trade in, 96.
- Negro burning, U. S., 135.
- Newcastle on Tyne, resolutions of the auxiliary on the sugar question, 56.
- North British Review*, the, remarks on, 228.
- North Shields, resolutions of Anti-Slavery Committee at, on the sugar question, 66.
- Number of slaves in the United States, 40.
- O.**
- Outhwait in Dominica, 145—see *Dominica*.
- Ordered to leave, U. S., 152.
- Oregan, slavery in, 40.
- P.**
- Parliamentary intelligence—
- House of Lords—
- Cuban slave-trade, 132;
- petition of Anti-Slavery Committee, 79;
- right of search, 21;
- slave-trade, 159;
- sugar duties bill, 141;
- House of Commons—
- Brazil treaty, 21;
- British Guiana, 134;
- Dominica, 165;
- emigration, 91;
- landing of diseased slaves at St. Helena, 132;
- slave-trade, 149;
- slave-trade cruisers, 31;
- sugar, 91;

INDEX.

- sugar duties, 80, 119, 132, 142 ; trade with Brazil, 48.
- Palmerston, Lord, speech of, on the slave-trade, 148.
- Paulo, a slave escaped from Pernambuco, 197.
- Peel, Sir Robert, deputation to, 220, 228 ; memorial to, 225.
- Pennsylvanian law, 133.
- Pinang sugar, 90.
- Pirates cruising near Gibraltar, 32.
- Placido, the Cuban poet, execution of, 165, 173 ; dying prayer of, in Spanish, 165 ; in English, 173.
- Poetry—A Dios, Plegaria; to God, a prayer, 165, 173.
- Pope's bull, the, 71.
- Portugal, attitude of, 96 ; proceedings in the legislature of, 204, 232 ; slave captured by a vessel of, 176.
- Portuguese India, slavery in, 204.
- Prejudice against colour, U. S., 6.
- Preparing to escape, U. S., 6.
- Presbytery (Free) of Glasgow, proceedings on communion with slave-holders, 232.
- President's message, the, U. S., 6.
- Price of blood, the, U. S., 160.
- Proceedings of religious bodies in the United States, in reference to slavery, 147.
- Progress of the anti-slavery cause in the United States, 41.
- Pro-slavery alliance, 24.
- Prussia, colonization by, 232.
- R.
- Reappointment of the West African Committee, 22.
- Release of slaves held by the Moravian Missionaries, 33.
- Removal of Mr. Slacum, U. S. consul at Rio de Janeiro, 40.
- Revolution Coloniale, the, 67.
- Reynolds, J., reply to, 196.
- Richardson, J., mission of to Morocco, 74.
- Ripon, Lord, letter of the Committee to, 27.
- Rumoured treaty of Brazil with England, 192.
- Russia, barbarous punishment of twenty-three serfs in, 32 ; serfage in, 195 ; slave-trade, official notice, 24.
- S.
- Safety of John L. Brown, 69.
- Sailing in master's boat, U. S., 40.
- Sale of estates in British Guiana, 15.
- Selling freemen into slavery for jail fees, U. S., 135.
- Sentence of death for aiding a slave to escape (J. L. Brown), 32.
- Sentiments of the Jews on slavery, 138.
- Sierra Leone, emigration from, 197. five slaves condemned at, 136 ; Slave case in New York, 175.
- Slave hunters in the field, U. S., 175.
- Slave insurrections, Cuba, 40.
- Slave-manumission, France, 7.
- Slave policy of the United States, letter of J. Q. Adams, 183.
- Slave sugar, 174.
- Slavers, capture of, 7, 84, 152, 160, 176, 184.
- Slave-trade, the, in Abyssinia, 24 ; in Algeria, 201 ; in Cuba, 84, 162 ; in the East, 27 ; in the Mediterranean, 10 ; at Mauritius, 39 ; in Morocco, 77 ; in North Africa, 219 ; Spanish, 179 ; on the coast of Africa, 160 ; in the United States (internal), 34 ; armed suppression of, 17, 176 ; measures of the admiralty on, 22, 32 ; murderous outrage in Brazil, 84 ; parliamentary papers on, 153, 162, 171 ; reported loss of the *Rapid*, 72 ; *versus* steam power, 72 ; under the flag of the United States, 171.
- Slave trading case, the, (Thomas Jennings), 189, 208.
- Slave traffic, measures of the Admiralty against, 22, 32.
- Slave whipped to death, U. S., 135.
- Slaves at Bourbon liberated by law, but thrown back into slavery by the colonial council, 186.
- Slavery, in Algeria—see *Algeria* ; in Brazil, 179 ; in British India, official despatch, 34 ; in Oregon, 40 ; in Portuguese India, proceedings in the Chamber of Peers, 204 ; in Surinam, 5, 193 ; in the United States, 6, 203 ; action against in Ireland, 208.
- Spain, legislation in, 229 ; proceedings in the Cortes, 216 ; promised law against slave-trading, 244, 232.
- Spanish slave-trade, 179.
- Stanley, Lord, letter of the Committee to, 27 ; memorial to, 218.
- State of the immigrants at Mauritius, 200.
- State of the French colonies, 128.
- Steam power *versus* slave-trade, 72.
- Subjects of taxation, U. S., 40.
- Sugar question, the, 53, 61, 188 ; the Glasgow memorial on, 58.
- Sugar, supply of, by free labour, 89.
- Surinam, slavery in, 5, 193 ; capture of two fugitives from Martinique at, 72.
- Suspected American slave-traders, 203, 224.
- Sweden, attitude of, 96 ; message of the King of, 212.
- T.
- Texas, admitted, 83 ; President Tyler's message, 3 ; President Houston's message 23 ; prospects of annexation, 16, 40, 90, 95, 72 ; prospect of invasion, 232 ; remarks on, 78, 89, 118, 130. the treaty signed, 92 ; will Texas be annexed ? 72.
- Thompson, G., speech of, at annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 98 ; remarks on, 107.
- Tobago, the census, 199.
- Torrey, C. T., arrest of, 170 ; letter of, to Maryland, 185 ; attempt of, to escape, 200 ; justification of, 242 ; remarks on, 188 ; sufferings of, 232 ; case of, 205.
- Trials, the, in Dominica, 161.
- Turkey, Circassian slaves in, 24.
- Trinidad, case of Manuel Martine, 47 ; census, of 199 ; changes in the laws of, 78 ; crime in, 71 ; editor of the *Trinidad Standard* on Philipps's *Jamaica*, 22 ; im migration to, 6, 15, 91 ; immigration loan ordinance in, 184 ; native of, about to be sold as a slave in New Orleans, 91 ; proceedings of the auxiliary in, 190 ; proceedings of the council in, 83 ; produce of, 31 ; reduction of wages in, 192 ; return of immigrants to, 91 ; the old leaven, 222 ; the sugar duties, 174.
- U.
- United Brethren, letter to, from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 33 ; letter from, in reply to the Committee, *ibid* ; remarks on, 37.
- United States, aiding slaves to escape, 71 ; Amistad, the, again, 148 ; annexation, 72, 83, 152 ; annexation treaty, the, 83, 92, 144 ; another victim at the South, 190 ; anti-slavery petitions in, 13 ; arrest of Jonathan Walker, 190 ; aspect of the Texas question in, 39 ; black circular, the, 30 ; Brisbane, Dr., and his slaves, 133 ; British cruisers and American ships, 40 ; Burke, Mrs., and her slave, 133 ; case of J. L. Brown, 28, 37, 47, 58, 59, 69, 78, 124 ; case of R. T. Lucas, 214 ; case of the Rev. C. T. Torrey, 170, 189, 204, 205, 232 ; Cassius M. Clay, and his slaves, 175 ; catching runaways by the federal government, 83 ; coloured people of Philadelphia, 175 ; election of Mr. Polk, 220, 244 ; explosion of Paixham gun, 47 ; escape of slaves from, 173 ; extradition clause, the, 52 ; fate of a re-taken fugitive slave, 135 ; flag of, 156, 171 ; Florida fugitives, the, 2, 25, 63 ; freeman, a, to be sold into slavery at Washington, 72 ; fugitive slaves, 175 ; gag rule, the, 9, 47 ; got safe off, 32 ; hard case, a, if it be law, 23 ; hear ! 82 ; Hope, H. Slater, again, 82 ; important decision, 152 ; inhuman assault, 135 ; interesting case before the supreme court, 135 ; internal slave-trade in, 34, 135 ; Judge O'Neill, 124 ; kidnapper, a, baffled, 71 ; kidnapping by law, 71 ; letter from Lewis Tappan, 183 ; letter of Judge Jay to Mr. Freelinghuysen, 220, 223 ; Liberty party, the, 127, 230 ; Lutheran synod, the, 160 ; Lynching a spy in Ohio, 7 ; Methodist Episcopal church, 144 ; more victims in, 232 ; movements in the senate of, 40 ; murder and Lynch law in Mississippi, 179 ; mulatto youth, a, 17 negro burning in, 12 negro town in, 40 ; number of slaves in, 26 ; ordered to leave, 152 Pennsylvanian law, 1 Peter Dent, 6 ; policy of the Whig towards Texas, 232 ; poor Torrey, 232 ; prejudice against color preparing to escape fr President's message, t price of blood, the, 16 proceedings of religious bod in, 147, 244 ; progress of the cause in, 41 religious privileges of slaves in, 23 ; removal of Mr. Slacu at Rio de Janeiro, 41 ; safety of John L. Brown, 69 ; sailing in master's boat, 40 ; selling freemen into slavery for jail fees, 135 ; sentence of death for aiding a slave to escape, 32 ; slave case in New York, 175 ; slave-hunters in the field, 175 ; slave policy of, letter of J. Q. Adams, 183 ; slave whipped to death, 135 ; slavery in, 6, 154, 159, 203, 244 ; state of Maryland, 82 ; subjects of taxation, 40 ; suspected American slave-traders, 203, 224 ; Texas and the slave market, 232 ; the three brothers, Work, Burr, and Thompson, 190 ; Virginia, emancipation in, 244 ; warlike demonstration against Mexico, 136 ; Webster, D., on annexation of Texas, 175.
- Use of the American flag in the slave-trade, 152.
- V.
- Value of slaves in the French colonies, 35.
- Venezuela, slavery and the slave-trade in, 230 ; sugar imported from, 229.
- Vincent, St., 244.
- W.
- Walker, Jonathan, arrest of, U. S., 190.
- Warlike demonstrations against Mexico, 136.
- Way to have no labourers, the, British Guiana, 71.
- Weather, the, and the crops in Jamaica, 70 ; in British Guiana, 71.
- Webster, D., on annexation, 175.
- Webster, Miss, arrest of, U.S., 243.
- West of Africa Committee, rumoured re-appointment of, 22.
- West India colonies, income and expenditure of, 155.
- West Indies, anti-slavery meetings in, 188.
- Worcester Anti-Slavery Committee, resolutions of, on the sugar question, 91.
- Word to the wise, a, reply to an article in the *Manchester Times*, 11.
- Z.
- Zulueta, Pedro de, trial of, effect of in Spain, 9 ; review of, 91 ; publication of, 20 ; his own account of, 28, 36 ; resolutions of the Committee on, 4.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CVII. VOL. V.—No. 1.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

GENERAL REVIEW.

WITH the commencement of another year, we employ ourselves for a few moments in reviewing the principal events of that which is past, in relation to the anti-slavery cause.

Beginning with our own country, we find reason for the warmest gratulation in the fact, that slavery has within the year been abolished in British India; a great act of humanity and justice, happily giving consistency to the attitude assumed by Great Britain on the important question of slavery, and contributing greatly to the augmentation of her influence. It is satisfactory to add, that the law which effects the abolition of slavery in the territories of the East India Company is expressly extended to the newly-acquired district of Scinde. By the effect of the registration system, slavery has been abolished in Ceylon also, with the exception of about four hundred persons, by whom liberty will soon be acquired.

Another event which may be reckoned on the whole favourable to the anti-slavery cause, is the passing through Parliament of the bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. Although there are some clauses in the act to which we felt it our duty to take objection—and we still retain the objections we took—it effects, we think, a valuable extension of the law as previously bearing on that nefarious traffic. One most important and gratifying feature of this act is, that it puts an end to the system, so extensively practised by British subjects on the west coast of Africa, of holding persons in slavery under the name of pawns.

Among the home occurrences of the year, we must notice, also, with great pleasure, the Anti-Slavery Convention, which assembled in London on the 13th of June, and continued its sittings until the 20th of that month. If the second Convention possessed less novelty than the first, it was not inspired by less zeal; and, if its proceedings were less adapted to display, they were not of less practical utility. The friends of the anti-slavery cause have reason to be thankful that it was held, and to expect from it no trifling results.

In looking abroad, our attention is first engaged by France; a country in which, the question of abolition having been taken up by the Government, general expectation is fixed on a movement to be originated in this quarter. The Report of the Commission which had been appointed on the subject of slavery in the French colonies having been published and presented to the Chambers, we have entertained a hope, which we do not yet abandon, that a measure would be matured for the consideration of the legislature in the present session.

In Holland we see with pleasure signs of increasing activity. Besides the society which has for some years existed at Rotterdam, one has recently been formed at Utrecht, and is said to contemplate a periodical publication on the subject of emancipation. Conducted with vigour, such a publication cannot but be extensively useful.

Although steps are not yet taken for the abolition of slavery in the West India islands belonging to Denmark, there are nevertheless indications of a movement on behalf of the Government of that country towards a beneficial change in the condition of the slaves. We look upon it as a good omen, that, in a recent ordinance, an effort has been made to hide the word slave by using a different term—"the *unfree*"; and we trust that the same feeling which must have prompted the use of this term, may speedily lead to measures for the abolition of slavery itself.

The Government of Sweden is also in motion. An ordinance giving to the slaves in St. Bartholomew's a right of self-purchase has been recently passed; and the public papers contain a rumour, which we trust will prove to be well-founded, that the King of Sweden has directed the preparation of a measure for their emancipation.

Of Spain and Portugal we can say little that is satisfactory. In the legislature of the latter country, indeed, a discussion has taken place on a project for abolishing Portuguese slavery in the East, in which some eminent individuals distinguished themselves; but the influence of the Government led to the postponement of the measure *sine die*.

In the United States the prospects are more cheering, and more cheering, we rejoice to say, than they ever have been. The indications of progress in this great cause are thus sketched in a recent document, from which we extract them:—

"Maine, though controlled by a party claimed as the natural ally of the slaveholder, has spoken out her condemnation of the unconstitutional laws of the slave states in relation to free people of colour.

"Vermont has advanced beyond any other state, demanding such amendments of the federal constitution as will lead to the extinction of slavery throughout the nation.

"Massachusetts has sent back her final answer to the requirements of Virginia in the Latimer case, by making it a penitentiary offence for her officers or citizens to aid in any way the arrest or detention of a fugitive

from oppression, and forbidding her jails to be prostituted to the purposes of the slaveholder.

"Rhode Island has extended to the coloured people the right of suffrage.

"New York has refused to repeal the jury-trial law, and, despite the machinations of a servile party, still maintains her anti-slavery attitude towards Virginia.

"The Black law of Ohio is repealed, and her Supreme Court has decided that coloured persons lighter than the mulatto have a right to vote, under the constitution of the state.

"Judge Ewing, of one of the state courts in Pennsylvania, has decided that a claim of property in man is not entitled to any favour in law, and that the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg, did not deprive a person seized as a slave of the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act in the state courts.

"According to a recent decision of a court of Common Pleas in Missouri, the laws of that state prohibiting the immigration of the free people of colour are violations of the constitution of the United States, and therefore null and void.

"Kentucky has put her veto on another most strenuous effort of the slaveholders to repeal the law forbidding the importation of slaves.

"The legislature of Alabama has districeted that state according to the white population alone, thus depriving the slaveholder of undue political power; an event the more remarkable, as an attempt in Georgia, a few years ago, to accomplish the same thing, proved a failure.

"The Supreme Court of Mississippi has again decided, notwithstanding the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the constitution of that state does prohibit the introduction of slaves within its limits.

"Governor M'Dowall, of Virginia, has recommended a state convention, with a view of so amending the constitution as to apportion representatives according to the white population alone; the result of which, if carried into effect, would be to transfer the balance of power from Eastern to Western Virginia, and thus facilitate the extinction of slavery in that state.

"Mr. M'Donough, of Louisiana, has worked out before the eyes of the planters the demonstration that wages are better than stripes; that the system of free labour, under the heaviest restrictions, is infinitely more productive than slavery; and that nothing but the condition of freedom is needed to invest the slaves with the character of freemen.

"Efforts are now being made in Louisiana to extend the right of suffrage, doubtless to reduce the power of the larger slaveholders.

"Public sentiment is changing slowly, though steadily, in the south. In the heart of Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay, an extensive slaveholder, has uttered an indignant protest against the system, and pledged himself to unceasing efforts for its removal from his native state. Throughout the south generally there is a lowering of tone, an abatement of the fiery spirit which used to blaze out so fiercely against the mere shadow of abolition. The *New Orleans Bulletin* confesses that, even there, 'it is a common opinion' that slavery is a 'terrible misfortune to the country'; and, though it will not assent to this, it declares that it does not consider that 'it can or will be perpetuated.'

The circumstance, in connexion with the anti-slavery cause in the new world, which at the present moment gives rise to the greatest anxiety, is the anticipated effort for the annexation of Texas to the United States. The latest intelligence on this point, however, is cheering; and we entertain a confident hope that the efforts of the friends of humanity and justice, who are watchful at their post, will in this instance also be attended with success.

With respect to the colonies of Great Britain in the West Indies, it is most gratifying to know that freedom is there producing most abundantly its precious fruits. The welfare of the emancipated classes is in a state of rapid advancement. And so much attention is at length directed by proprietors to the improved system of management and culture which the change from slavery to freedom rendered obviously necessary, that the most sanguine expectations are warranted of their reviving and solid prosperity. Hitherto they have clung tenaciously to the idea of a large increase of labouring population, by immigration from Africa and India, and even from China, a system which the Committee have always regarded with unconquerable apprehension and alarm; but it may be hoped that the small advantage which has hitherto resulted from it, together with the great practical benefits which improved methods so promptly realize, will induce an abandonment of the immigration scheme, as at once unprofitable and unnecessary.

Of the state of the slave-trade we can speak in no terms of congratulation. Armed opposition to it continues to produce its uniformly mischievous results, and treaty stipulations respecting it are as far as ever from being faithfully observed; nor is there any reason to think, either that it is in fact materially diminishing, or that it is in progress towards extinction.

In England, an attempt has been made to check the long-suspected employment of British capital and British merchants in the slave-trade, by the prosecution in London of Pedro de Zulucta, jun., for slave-trading, under the Consolidated Slave-trade Act of '24. This trial is remarkable, as being the first instituted under the Act.

And although, in consequence of technical objections to the admission of evidence, a conviction was not obtained, the proceeding cannot be without an extensive and salutary influence.

All that takes place respecting the slave-trade confirms the position, that the only mode of its effectual extinction is the abolition of slavery.

We sum up this review in one word. There is much to be done; but, by patience and perseverance, it will be done. Truth, justice, benevolence, are on our side, and those who love them; and God, from whose bosom their obligations emanate, and whose administration secures their triumph.

THE FLORIDA FUGITIVES.

A FILE of the *Emancipator* received since our last, supplies us with the following particulars of these interesting fugitives.

It appears that they were the property of a Mr. Williams, of St. Augustine, East Florida, and that they made their escape in the month of August, in a whale boat. The eagerness with which they were searched after, and their good fortune in escaping such a force as was employed in this national negro hunt, may be estimated from the following narrative in a Savannah paper:—

"On October 3rd, a fishing smack arrived at Key West, direct from Key Biscayne, the master of which gave information that the negroes, after being absent several days, had returned, and when he left were at the old lighthouse.

"On the 4th, Captain F. A. Ogden, of the 8th infantry, commanding the port at Key West, upon learning this fact, promptly ordered Lieutenant Hetzel, with twenty men, with twenty days' provisions, to proceed to Key Biscayne, in the schooner *Walter M.*, then just arrived from Indian Key, with instructions, if possible, to capture them, and, if need be, dead or alive. At the same time the collector despatched the revenue cutter *Nutilus*, with the same object.

"On the same day a small schooner arrived at Key West, the master of which reported that on the 2nd he had landed at Key Biscayne, and seen the negroes, and was pursued by them until he reached his vessel. Lieutenant Hetzel arrived at Key Biscayne on the afternoon of the 6th, and occupied the next two days in examining the Key; but the negroes had left. All the coves and creeks where a boat might possibly be concealed, were thoroughly explored, but without success.

"From the 7th to the 13th, Lieut. Hetzel's party was occupied in examining both shores of Key Biscayne, Bay Fort Dallas, the Miami, Little River, M'Gregor's Island, and a great portion of the tract of country called the Hunting Grounds. At M'Gregor's island tracks, evidently negroes', were seen about a week ago.

"On the 10th the cutter *Nutilus* anchored off Key Biscayne lighthouse, and effected a junction with Lieutenant Hetzel; and a reinforcement, under command of Lieutenant Woodward, proceeded a second time to the Miami, giving the country a more thorough examination, but no further traces of them were discovered.

"On the 6th, Lieutenant Davis, of the United States schooner *Flirt*, landed at the lighthouse, and searched in vain for the negroes.

"Concluding from the result of the expedition that the negroes were nowhere in that neighbourhood, Lieutenant Hetzel left Key Biscayne, and returned to Key West, where he arrived on the evening of the 15th. The supposition is that they had made another attempt to cross to the Bahamas, and being favoured by several days' calm weather about that time, renders it probable that they had succeeded in the attempt."

Happily, this was the real issue. The *Royal Gazette* of Nassau, of October 11, gives the following account of their arrival there:—

"Yesterday the schooner *Springbird* arrived from a wrecking or droghing voyage. She has brought with her seven persons, who state themselves to be the slaves of a Mr. William Williams, of St. Augustine, E. F.; and that they had been two months on the water in a whale boat, previous to being fallen in with by the above vessel. From their landing here they are now free men, and, unless they have committed some crime, cannot, we believe, be further molested, as far as the late treaty goes."

During their mysterious absence, the Florida papers rang with tales—unauthenticated tales, however—of their deeds of rapine; but now it seems that they are to be claimed under the treaty of Washington on a specific charge of murder. The nature of the proof to be offered is said to be as follows:—

"A little girl has been found on the Miami, who says her name is Gieser, and that she was alone in the house, when three negroes, armed, entered the house, and took the provisions, all they had, consisting of bread, flour, and pork. The negroes used no violence or threats towards her; but endeavoured to stop her cries, by putting their hands across her mouth. As soon as she could make her escape, she ran to her father, who was fishing a short distance off. The father seized his rifle, and pursued the negroes. He had been gone but a few moments, when she heard two shots in quick succession, and her father's cries immediately after. She and her brother then hid themselves in the bushes, where they remained during the night, enduring intense suffering from the stings of myriads of mosquitoes; for, lest the least noise should discover them, they feared to brush them off. In the morning they ventured out. They found their house robbed of everything, and all their provisions carried away, their father dead! and no other inhabitants on the island. At noon a Mr. Ferguson, with several other settlers from that river, came in search of the negroes, and took the children to his house. The boy is about eight or nine years of age, and his sister two years younger. They are spoken of as very intelligent children. They have a mother in New York, if she be alive."

Speaking of the attempt which will certainly be made to reclaim these negroes, the *Augustine News* says:—

"If the negroes have reached the Bahamas, we fear that there will be more difficulty in bringing them to trial and punishment than was at first apprehended. The question of identity will arise in full force, and,

under the circumstances, we apprehend full proof will be required by the British authorities."

We should think so, certainly; and some proof, also, both that a man was really killed, and that he was killed by one of the fugitives, and that, if so, he was not killed by them in self-defence, or by a justifiable homicide. We shall hear more of this matter, we suppose, by and bye.

THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.

The papers brought by the *Hindostan* steamer are to a somewhat later date than those which arrived by the overland mail, and they contain some modification of the preceding accounts respecting the Coolies.

It appears that the ship from which the two Coolies, one of whom was picked up by Mr. Miller, jumped overboard, was the *Faiz Robani*. The *Bengal Hurkaru*, which had reported cruelties to have been inflicted on the Coolies on board this ship, has seen it necessary to contradict this statement, in consequence of official inquiries which had been instituted, and of the evidence thus procured. Its language is, "Of our report of cruelty to the Coolies on board the *Faiz Robani*, delete the whole."

About this most fortunate occurrence for the kidnappers, there has been made quite a hubbub in certain newspapers, both in Calcutta and in London, as though it disproved the whole case. But what is disproved? Nothing but the alleged cruelties on board the *Faiz Robani*. Let us admit, then, that these were inaccurately alleged, and that, in the elegant language of some of our contemporaries, the Coolies "told a parcel of lies." Every thing else remains undisputed, even respecting this ship. That two of them jumped overboard, that Mr. Miller picked up one who implored his protection, and that, on the subsequent visit of an officer, thirty or forty were at their urgent request released; all this is not called in question. Only there had been no cruelties on board. None had been put on board against their will, or without proper explanations by the proper officer. There were, however, inconveniences, (to use the gentlest term,) as will plainly appear from the following statement from the *Friend of India*; and these, we suppose, have been exaggerated into cruelties.

"After the foregoing remarks were in type, we received information, that on the 20th September, Mr. Fraser, the assistant to the protector of Coolies, went on board the *Faiz Robani*, the vessel from which the Coolies were released, and, mustering all the men, identified them with the registers, so that it was impossible for any individual to have been on board who had not been duly examined and passed at the office. At the same time he distinctly informed them that, if they chose, they might return on shore immediately. He also requested that any among them who were unwilling to proceed to the Mauritius should hold up their hands; but not a sign was made by any one of them. This fact, for which we have good authority, appears to exonerate the protective officers from blame in this matter. The vessel was afterwards detained in the river for nearly three weeks from the want of a steamer, and the men were doubtless subjected to very great, and to them, intolerable inconvenience on board. There can be little doubt that if Mr. Fraser had visited the ship on the day on which the two men jumped overboard, and offered the Coolies their liberty, a very large number would instantly have availed themselves of the offer."

Let us, however, put the whole affair of the *Faiz Robani* out of sight, and suppose that she and her discontented passengers had never been heard of. Let us suppose even, that we had heard nothing of Mr. Miller, and his benevolent interposition. There remains then the statement of the *Friend of India*, which we gave at length in our last, to the effect that the whole affair of Coolie emigration is, as much as ever, a private speculation, conducted by duffadars, or crimps, who prowl about the country, inveigling persons to Calcutta under false pretences, and detaining them there till the formalities of a public office can be gone through. There is also the uncontradicted fact, mentioned by the *Calcutta Star* itself, that the duffadars, or collectors of emigrants, are furnished with "printed documents, signed by the emigration agent, addressed to the police authorities and others in the interior, requesting that no interference or hindrance be offered to the bearer." "To the issue of any such document," says the *Friend of India*, "there is the greatest possible objection. It is precisely the same as though the crimps had received a public purwannah, or writ, authorizing them to proceed through the country, and bring down to Calcutta every man, woman, or child, they could lay their hands on. To say that such a document, and the power it gives to the holder among an illiterate and timid population, is liable to be abused, is talking idly. It is impossible that it should not be turned into an instrument of oppression." And so have evidently thought the authorities in Bengal, who, upon hearing of this mischievous document have interposed to recall it. But it shows, nevertheless, the *anomia* of the whole system.

In what we have now stated there is amply sufficient to justify the remarks of the *Times*, which appeared in a recent number of that journal, and from which we make with pleasure the following extracts:—

"We have all along opposed the theory of Coolie immigration to the West Indies, because we know that its practical operation will be to undo the work of the Emancipation Act. We look upon this scheme as an indirect way of bringing to life again the slavery which it was the object of that act to extinguish utterly. We do not, of course, object in the abstract to the employment of voluntary labour imported into the West Indies; but we know too well the nature of this so-called voluntary labour, the manner in which it is procured, and the manner in which it is

imported, not to be aware that the worst predictions about the matter are in the course of fulfilment, and that the fears which were entertained for the 'free will' of the Coolies were not vain. * * *

" If these things be as we have stated them, what do they amount to but a renewal of the most odious and guilty traffic which the concurrent efforts of a people indignantly crushed? What do they constitute but a new slave-trade? Grant that the practice is not universal—that only a few Coolies have been juggled or trepanned on board ship—that with the majority it is, what it is supposed to be with all, a *bonâ fide* voluntary engagement to perform free work in the West Indies—yet what does the exception to the uniformity of the cases prove? What, but that there is already a disposition to foster a slave-trade under the pretext of voluntary emigration, and to continue those horrible abuses which England laboured so honourably and so unceasingly to extinguish? If there are crimps going about the country to beat up for Coolies, agents at Calcutta to farm them, and shipowners to contract on the most reasonable terms for their aggregate importation, we shall soon see the old state of things brought back, not without the horrors of the middle passage."

Since the preceding remarks were written another overland mail has arrived, bringing no later dates from Bengal than the *Hindostan*. The papers, however, contain some additional facts, fully confirmatory of the view we have taken. At Calcutta three duffadars have been prosecuted on a charge of decoying thirty-six persons from Gyah; two of them were convicted, and fined 50 rupees each. There is no "parcel of lies," of course, here. The *Times*, which is prompt enough now, is out again upon the subject. "By the Indian mail just arrived," (we quote its leading article of Saturday,) "it appears that the usual game of impressment, seduction by false pretences, exportation of infirm and disabled emigrants, (who can only be sent out to be sent back again,) and the like ingenuities, is going on to a tolerable tune in Calcutta, the whole under the supervision of the most able and experienced crimps. In several instances it even seems that 'a species of absolute slave-trade has been discovered,' which, however, 'has led to inquiry,' and also, we are glad to hear, 'to the application of prompt remedies.' Our contemporary further says—and we fully agree with him—that, 'if these abuses are found to be inevitable and incorrigible in the existing case of the Mauritius, then it is abundantly certain that the country will never permit any further experiment to be tried, in which, besides the ordinary and less atrocious features of that slave-trade which the Coolie exportation even now calls to mind, the renewal of the horrors of the middle passage would form an additional contingency.'

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

At length the message from the President to the Congress of the United States has made its appearance; and we give at once that part of it which relates to the deeply interesting question of Texas.

" I communicate herewith certain despatches received from our minister at Mexico, and also a correspondence which has recently occurred between the envoy from that republic and the secretary of state. It must be regarded as not a little extraordinary, that the Government of Mexico, in anticipation of a public discussion which it has been pleased to infer from newspaper publications as likely to take place in Congress, relating to the annexation of Texas to the United States, should have so far anticipated the result of such discussion as to have announced its determination to visit any such anticipated decision by a formal declaration of war against the United States. If designed to prevent Congress from introducing that question, as a fit subject for its calm deliberation and final judgment, the Executive has no reason to doubt that it will entirely fail of its object. The representatives of a brave and patriotic people will suffer no apprehension of future consequences to embarrass them in the course of their proposed deliberations. Nor will the Executive department of the Government fail, for any such cause, to discharge its whole duty to the country.

" The war which has existed for so long a time between Mexico and Texas has, since the battle of San Jacinto, consisted for the most part of predatory incursions, which, while they have been attended with much of suffering to individuals, and have kept the borders of the two countries in a state of constant alarm, have failed to approach to any definite result. Mexico has fitted out no formidable armament, by land or by sea, for the subjugation of Texas. Eight years have now elapsed since Texas declared her independence of Mexico, and during that time she has been recognised as a sovereign power by several of the principal civilized states. Mexico, nevertheless, perseveres in her plans of reconquest, and refuses to recognise her independence. The predatory incursions to which I have alluded have been attended, in one instance, with the breaking up of the courts of justice by the seizing upon the persons of the judges, jury, and officers of the court, and dragging them, along with unarmed, and therefore non-combatant citizens, into a cruel and oppressive bondage, thus leaving crime to go unpunished and immorality to pass unreproved. A border warfare is evermore to be deprecated, and over such a war as has existed for so many years between these two states humanity has had great cause to lament. Nor is such a condition of things to be deplored only because of the individual suffering attendant upon it. The effects are far more extensive. The Creator of the universe has given man the earth for his resting place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, shall make the first, or any part of it, a scene of desolation, affects seriously his heritage, and may be regarded as a general calamity. Wars may sometimes be necessary; but all nations have a common interest in bringing them speedily to a close. The United States have an immediate interest in seeing an end put to the state of hostilities existing between Mexico and Texas. They are our neighbours, of the same continent, with whom we are not only desirous of cultivating the relations of amity, but of the most extended commercial intercourse, and to practise all the rights of a neighbourhood hospitality. Our own interests are deeply involved in the matter; since, however neutral may be our course of policy, we cannot hope to escape the effects of a spirit of jealousy on the part of

both the powers. Nor can this Government be indifferent to the fact that a warfare such as is waged between those two nations is calculated to weaken both powers, and finally to render them, and especially the weaker of the two, the subjects of interference on the part of stronger and more powerful nations, which, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may sooner or later attempt to bring about a compliance with terms, as the condition of their interposition, alike derogatory to the nation granting them, and detrimental to the interests of the United States.

" We could not be expected quietly to permit any such interference to our disadvantage. Considering that Texas is separated from the United States by a mere geographical line; that her territory, in the opinion of many, formed a portion of the territory of the United States; that it is homogeneous in its population and pursuits with the adjoining States, that it makes contributions to the commerce of the world in the same articles with them, and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language and live under similar political institutions with ourselves, this Government is bound by every consideration of interest as well as of sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force, and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries. In full view of all these considerations, the Executive has not hesitated to express to the Government of Mexico how deeply it deprecated a continuance of the war, and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination. I cannot but think that it becomes the United States, as the oldest of the American Republics, to hold a language to Mexico upon this subject of an unambiguous character. It is time that this war had ceased. There must be a limit to all wars; and if the parent state, after an eight years' struggle, has failed to reduce to submission a portion of its subjects standing out in revolt against it, and who have not only proclaimed themselves to be independent, but have been recognized as such by other powers, she ought not to expect that other nations will quietly look on, to their obvious injury, upon a protraction of hostilities. The United States threw off their colonial dependence, and established independent governments; and Great Britain, after having wasted her energies in the attempt to subdue them for a less period than Mexico has attempted to subjugate Texas, had the wisdom and justice to acknowledge their independence, thereby recognising the obligation which rested on her as one of the family of nations. An example thus set by one of the proudest as well as most powerful nations of the earth, it could in no way disparage Mexico to imitate. While, therefore, the Executive would deplore any collision with Mexico, or any disturbance of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries, it cannot permit that Government to control its policy, whatever it may be, towards Texas; but will treat her, as by the recognition of her independence the United States have long since declared they would do, as entirely independent of Mexico. The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy, which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the Executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the Government in its course of action."

The first impression made by the reading of this "lengthy" reference is, that it falls absolutely short of all that the world has been led to expect. Long and often have we been told that the President's message would contain a recommendation to annex Texas to the Union. The message, however, contains no such recommendation, nor any thing like it. We have not yet seen how it affects the United States papers generally; but the well-known and talented editor of the *Emancipator* speaks of it in the following terms:

" The general tone of the Message is understood as an indication that Mr. Tyler has at length given up the idea he had so fondly cherished, of imposing himself upon the country as President for the next four years, and now means to confine his efforts to the line of operations marked out by the steward in the parable, so as to establish as strong claims as possible upon the future gratitude of those whom he calls his friends. Annexation was his last card, and so little luck can he see in this, that he has not even dared to name it to Congress, except as a matter of mere newspaper rumour, of no account whatever; accompanied, though, with a brave declaration that it will not be the fear of Mexico that will prevent Congress from considering it. Never was there so small a mouse brought forth from so enormous a parturition. The whole thing seems well nigh turned to a farce."

What ebullition of public feeling may take place on the occasion a few days will inform us. In the meantime we may observe that President Houston has, in an address to the Texans, somewhat unceremoniously brushed away the cobwebs which some parties have been so busily spinning, averse the favourite subject of English intrigue. The following extract is much to the point:

" My Countrymen.—One question in relation to England. What has England done? And there is no secret in connexion with her. I say it before God, that Texas wants peace, to be attained by the intervention of the three great powers. England has assured us that we have her most friendly disposition and aid. There is no condition mentioned. Abolition, or anything of the kind, is wholly unknown to the archives of the Government. They have a right to advise, if they choose, and we to reject. There is nothing compulsory on their part. England is in no wise making claims, or asserting anything as a right, which is incompatible with the interests of this country. But, as to the United States—and here I am at a loss what to say. Suppose that England had landed goods upon the territory, and forcibly retaken them from the officers of the law under legal seizure, what would not have been the clamour? Or suppose English officers had, by superior force, captured a command, acting under authority of the Government, of our citizens, and deprived them of their arms, leaving them subject and exposed, in a defenceless situation, to be slain, without power or means to defend themselves? This would be very wrong in the English. I hope the Government of the United States will make honourable reparation for the wrongs done by its officers. It would be consonant with their magnanimity of charac-

ter. Our troops have been disarmed 100 miles within our territory. And this was done by a regular officer in the United States service. Yet they denounce us as bandits and pirates. The United States will send convoys, if necessary, says their general, to the Rio Grande. What should we say if England were to do this? What would England say if the United States were to do so in Canada? Or the United States, if England were to do it in New York? They would say, it is an act of daring hostility and disregard of privilege."

We concur with one of our contemporaries in thinking that Sam Houston has here the advantage of John Tyler.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

DEDICATED BY COMMAND TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT.

GEORGE BAXTER has the honour to announce that he has commenced his OIL COLOURED PICTURE, by the patent process, from Haydon's celebrated Painting of the great Meeting of Delegates held in London in June, 1840, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

At this meeting, over which the venerable Thomas Clarkson, Esq., presided, the most illustrious and distinguished advocates of the freedom of the slave were present, and assisted at the solemn and animated proceedings. This noble band of true patriots, thus assembled together in the cause of liberty, deserve to be handed down to posterity, and it will be his delightful task to assist, however humbly, in the accomplishment of this great and good object.

The undertaking is a very onerous one, and will cost nearly 2,000*l.*, before any return can be expected; but this outlay G. B. is prepared to make, in the confident hope that the great body of philanthropists—foes to slavery—will encourage and honour him by immediately enrolling their names amongst the number of royal and noble personages already on the list of subscribers to this magnificent picture.

Upwards of 200 portraits of philanthropic noblemen, statesmen, clergymen, &c., distinguished for their steady and untiring ardour in the cause of freedom, will be presented at one glance to the eye; while each countenance and figure will be most faithfully executed. In a word, no expense will be spared to render this Picture a worthy memorial of the most important meeting ever held in behalf of the despised slave.

Price to Subscribers—Proofs, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Prints, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Size, 21*½* inches by 17. No money to be paid until completed and delivered.

Subscribers' names received by George Baxter, the patentee, 3, Charter-house-square, London; at the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street; by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street without; and by the Treasurer or Secretary of every Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom, whose names have been already announced.

In a few days will be published,

THE TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA, Jun., at the Central Criminal Court of the city of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th days of October, 1843, on a charge of Slave-trading. With Introductory and Concluding Remarks, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Ward and Co., Paternoster-row; and Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome volume, price 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

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 10, 1844.

An ardent and devoted friend of the anti-slavery cause, William Allen, Esq., has departed this life since our last. He died at his residence at Lindfield, on the 30th December, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Of the varied aspects of his character—for in many he was eminent—it will not be for us to speak; and of his labours in the cause of human freedom we are not able to speak as we could wish to-day. That he was connected with Thomas Clarkson from the commencement of his anti-slavery efforts, and that he has been a faithful adherent of the cause through all its changes, are facts universally known. Beyond this we cannot at the present moment go; but we shall give further details respecting this admired and useful man hereafter.

The trial of Pedro de Zulueta has been deemed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society an event too important to be permitted to pass over without a grave expression of their sentiments upon it. They have consequently adopted a series of resolutions in relation to it, which we insert below.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, on Friday, Dec. 29th, 1843,—

George William Alexander, Esq., in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were adopted :—

I. That this Committee, regarding the recent trial of Pedro de Zulueta, jun., on a charge of slave-trading, in the Central Criminal Court, on the 27th of October last, and following days, as an event of the highest interest and importance, feel it their duty to express their sentiments on the state of things which has been developed by it.

II. That, abstaining from all comment on the verdict of the jury, this Committee regard the following points as brought out with great force by this trial, viz.:—

1. That articles of British manufacture are principally used on the coast of Africa in barter for slaves.

2. That British merchants, who are engaged in furnishing such supplies to slave-traders, are practical supporters of the African slave-trade.

3. That although a British merchant may furnish supplies to the most notorious slave-traders in the world, the evidence by which a charge of aiding and abetting the slave-trade can be substantiated against him is of such a nature, that it is extremely difficult, if not almost impossible, to prosecute such an offender to conviction.

4. That the practice of aiding and abetting the slave-trade by supplying goods to slave-traders, prevails to a considerable extent among British merchants, and that, by a portion of the mercantile community, it is not regarded with the sentiments due to its flagitious character.

III. That this Committee regard in particular the last fact now stated with the deepest and most poignant regret; and that they earnestly invoke, not so much the fear of punishment, as the sense of honour, of justice, and of benevolence, in the British community, for the correction of so great an evil.

IV. That the difficulties encountered in the course of this prosecution in an English court of justice, and the extended ramifications of the slave-trading interest which have been developed by it, have, in the judgment of this Committee, confirmed the principle held by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that the only effectual mode by which the slave-trade can be abolished is the abolition of slavery itself.

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

THE papers by the Indian mail contain an Act which has been passed by the Governor-General in Council for the better regulation of the emigration system, and with a special view to augment the number of emigrant females. The urgency of the mischiefs calling for this act is apparent from the circumstance, that the rule requiring the publication of an intended act three months before passing it has in this case been specially suspended. Certain papers continue to cry out, "Oh! nothing is the matter! It is only the benevolent fantasies of Mr. George Thompson and the Anti-Slavery Committee!" Is it these fantasies, too, which have led to the conviction and punishment of two duffadars, for decoying thirty-six persons from Gyah to Calcutta under false pretences?

The *Calcutta Star* and the *Colonial Gazette* are doing themselves no credit in this business. In the same sentence in which the editor of the *Star* expresses his desire that the facts of the case may be "calmly considered," he designates the allegations which have been made by the cant phrase of abuse, (which we do not profess to understand,) "slangwhangery;" and, at a few lines' distance, he calls the Coolies who jumped overboard from the *Faiz Robani* (this, at least, is no "lie,") "skulking rascals," "swearing that they were ill used, that they might offer themselves at the emigration office again, and get a second bonus." Can there be much regard to truth, when there is so little to decency? But we mentioned also the *Colonial Gazette*, and we will show our reason. The editor of the *Star* has made the following assertion:—"No single case of cruelty, or oppression, or wrong of any kind, to an emigrant, has ever been proved since the act came into operation; I mean, of course, after he has tendered himself as an emigrant." The *Colonial Gazette*, in quoting this sentence, omits the last clause, and so leaves the assertion to apply to all that takes place, whether before or after the tender. For what reason has this paper taken no notice of the case of the two convicted duffadars?

THE West India mail arrived yesterday; but the papers we have received by this conveyance contain nothing worthy of extract.

MOROCCO.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Tangier, 20th Dec., 1843.

THE esteem in which the negro race is held by the Emperor of Morocco is exceedingly great. There are no less than nine thousand negro troops at Mequinez, (or Micknas,) the third capital of the empire. In that city, also, there are about two thousand negro guards, who have the cus-

tody of the imperial treasures. These troops, however, are not all pure negroes; some of them have Moorish fathers, and nearly all of them were born in this country. The amount of treasure in the custody of the black guards at Mequinez is estimated at some millions sterling; consisting of jewels, bars of gold, silver, and current money, the greater part of which is doubloons and Spanish dollars.

This morning I had an interview with Jidi Mohammed Elmarte, the Government auctioneer, whose business it is to sell, not only all the slaves imported into Tangier, but also those who are born in, or belong to, that town. The following is the information which I collected from his conversation; I reduce it to as small a compass as possible:—"The ordinary price of a sound African youth is eighty dollars. Boys of the age of nine or ten years sell the best. Female slaves do not fetch so much as male slaves, unless they are of extraordinary beauty. There is no market in Tangier; the ordinary way is to hawk them about the town, more especially in the main street. The Sultan exacts no duty on the sale of slaves. They are imported from all parts of Africa and Barbary, and even from Algiers. Slaves, indeed, are still sold in Algiers amongst the Moors, the French not interfering in the traffic. A female slave was sold last Sunday. She was a native of the Jireed, or country of the dates. She wept much when she was taken to be sold, and prayed to see her late master and mistress. This proves that even in a country like this, where slavery exists in a milder form, the being bought and sold like animals is keenly felt by the poor slaves. The auctioneer endeavoured to pacify her by promising her a better master. In cases of punishment for all *grave* offences, the slaves are brought before the judicial authorities, and suffer the same kind and amount of punishment as freemen; but in cases *not deemed grave*, the master is allowed to flog or otherwise punish them *ad libitum*. Runaway slaves are often not sought after. Sometimes, when a slave runs away, and takes up with a new master, or whoever will protect him, the new master sends to the old master, and offers to buy him; and slaves are thus transferred without the horrid system of advertising runaways which we find in the United States' newspapers. The number of slaves now imported into Morocco, though but a few reach Tangier, (say about one hundred per annum,) is very great. The chief dépôt is Morocco, the capital. The Sultan has immense numbers of negro troops; most of them are born in this country. Abd-el-Kader has no negro troops; but the Arabs, in going to war, are frequently attended by slaves. When the Moors leave this country for any place under the British flag, they always liberate the negro slaves who attend them as servants; but on returning to this country they are treated again as slaves, and sold from one to another as before."

Mr. James Graberg, formerly the Swedish and Sardinian Consul in Tangier, has published an Italian work on Morocco, entitled, "A Geographical and Statistical View of the Empire of Morocco," Genoa, 1834; and has given some account, though very brief, of slaves and the slave-trade in this country. His character of negroes is well worth transcribing, as it places this most unfortunate portion of the human race in a very favourable light, and puts to the blush our transatlantic brethren, who seem to treat their slaves worse than any people of the world, not excepting the Spaniards and Portuguese. As to Mussulmans, it is a notorious but humiliating fact, that they treat their slaves better than Christians. Mr. Graberg says:—"The people of Sudan, or the negroes, the number of whom in the empire of Morocco is not great, are for the most part slaves, and, as in countries more civilized, are an object of traffic, though infinitely less so than in other parts of Barbary. The character of the negro is generally amiable and good; he supports patiently every kind of fatigue and labour, and he is naturally serene and gay in his manners, so different from the Moor, who is usually taciturn and gloomy. Some have acquired a certain importance, and also riches, after having obtained their liberty. Renowned for their fidelity, they compose the principal part of the imperial guard, which is the chief armed force in the empire, consisting of about 10,000 men. The negroes are imported from Senegambia, from Guinea, and from the territories of the Fellahs." Mr. Graberg also states, that, out of a population of about 8,500,000, which the empire of Morocco contains, the negroes do not exceed 120,000. This is a happy circumstance, and makes the abolition of slavery in this country less difficult. The same writer also states that four thousand slaves are annually introduced into Morocco, but that only a few more than half the number remain in this country, the remaining being exported into Algiers and Tunis. Mr. Graberg's statistics were drawn up some ten years ago, before the Bey of Tunis took the noble resolution of abolishing slavery. I have not been able to find anything else interesting in these statistics about the negroes.

SLAVERY IN SURINAM.

(From a Correspondent of the *Guiana Times*.)

The present Governor-General, Mr. Elias, is the first who has ever attempted to mitigate the severities used towards the slaves of Surinam, in which humane course, however, as you may well suppose, he is not only altogether unsupported, but he receives on all hands the greatest obloquy and insult. Not content with attacking him in his public capacity, they descend to private matters regarding his wife and family; and a petition is at this moment in active circulation among the administrators and proprietors, and in course of signature, in which, I am credibly informed, it is stated by the ruffian or ruffians who drew it up, in allusion to certain differences which are alleged to have occurred in the governor's domestic circle, that a man who cannot regulate his own household is not a fit person to govern a colony. They show the badness of their cause by the charges they are trying to substantiate against the representative of their Sovereign. If he only allowed them to maul and starve their slaves as they pleased, they would let him be anything in private life. I need not tell you their own morality is a non-existence, and they exhibit even more than the national coarseness of manners. I am certain that the course which they are now pursuing has only to be mentioned, to be execrated by every one who is not a Dutch slaveholder or administrator, in other words, every one who has the sentiments or feelings of a man.

The colonial *raad*, or council, is composed of the Governor-General

and eight members. Two of these sit *ex officio*; the other six are appointed by the Governor, subject to the approval of the Crown. The Governor's powers are of that arbitrary cast which an infant and lawless community requires, and he is entirely untrammelled by his council with respect to any regulations which he may think fit to order. He merely asks their opinion, and follows it or not, just as he judges best. It is a proof alike of his independence of them and of his humanity, that he has already had the courage to dismiss from his council two of the members, (Roperhoff and Freudenburg, who were only too intimate with all former rulers, one being a large proprietor, the other an administrator,) for cruelties exercised by them towards their slaves, which cruelties were brought before his notice by Mr. Schenley, the British commissioner.

I am happy to inform you that the hostilities between the Governor and the leading colonists, or rather, the inhabitants at large, are not unobserved by the negroes, nor do they fail to take advantage of it. Their complaints to the procureur-général, or public prosecutor, who is their official protector, of the cruelties which they suffer at their masters' hands, increase daily in number and boldness; a pretty plain proof that redress is no longer quite hopeless of attainment, although the public prosecutor himself is just as much opposed to the execution of the Governor's benevolent designs as any other of the subordinate officials.

But the Governor's best intentions towards the unhappy slaves are most woefully foiled by the court of criminal justice, improperly so termed, composed of a president and seven members, over whose decisions he has no control, beyond that which may arise from representations to the government at the Hague. This precious tribunal, the members of which are bound up, in interest and prejudice, with the colony, and in whose sight no white man can do wrong, and no black man is credible, have, in every instance, when cases of the most atrocious cruelty have been brought before them, as practised by some proprietor, administrator, or manager of an estate, towards his negro, either declared the charge "not proven," or decided (according to their views of the colonial laws) that no ground existed for the accusation brought before them. As yet, the authors of these iniquitous acquittals have triumphed; but, as some of their unjust judgments have been reported to the proper quarter at home, it remains to be seen whether or not a day of reckoning will dawn, as most assuredly it will, if the King of Holland and his ministers be not lost to every sense of justice and mercy.

I cannot conceal the circumstance, that the exaction by the negroes of a revenge not unaccompanied with the shedding of blood, as well as the spoliation of property, is a possibility—would that I were unable to write, a probability! Since the colony was first cultivated, seldom, if ever, had there been an instance of a negro daring to disobey the orders of a manager or overseer. Only a few days ago, on Susannasdaal, close to town, a white overseer was knocked down and beaten by a slave. I cannot doubt but, if the truth were known, this assault was the effect of insufferable oppression, which must have been bad enough before it filled the bondsman with the spirit to resent. That the slave, in this instance, will be punished severely, I doubt not, and the planters will send their memorials to the Hague if one of their torments be dispensed with; but the friends of liberty in this part of the world hope that the Governor will have the firmness to rescue the poor wretch from the hands of his persecutors, and punish him only as in a case between equal and equal, man and man, creature of God and creature of God. It is idle for the tyrants to think to stifle negro liberty with any punishments that they can invent. Indeed, the grosser their cruelties, the nearer must the day of deliverance be. With a more kindly feeling for them than their inhumanities merit, I wish that the negroes, who are aware that their brethren with you are at length free, may not take matters into their own hand. If they ever do, the consummation will be owing, in a great measure, to the blind conduct of the bulk of the owners and administrators of plantations, who are opposing by every means in their power the attempts of our Governor to ameliorate the condition, and conciliate the minds, of the negroes, and to prepare them for that emancipation which must, sooner or later, by fair means or by foul, inevitably take place, as well in this colony as in every other where slavery prevails.

Should the King of Holland be so infatuated as to visit his representative with marks of disapproval, all Europe will understand that it is only because he is too upright and too merciful. On the other hand, the negroes, if they see it is the wish of the Governor to do them justice, while he is unequal to the task of redressing their grievances, will take the law into their own hands, and have recourse to remedies which I warn the planters to beware of, but which I will not particularize.

Were I to attempt to give you a sketch of the devilish cruelties that have taken place, nay, are even now of frequent occurrence, in this benighted colony, I should have to swell this letter into a volume, and still fall short of conveying to your mind anything like a true picture of their atrocity. But, when I state that, to my knowledge, torture of the most barbarous description, mutilation, rape, murder, have failed to meet with anything like a suitable punishment, and that many crimes of an inferior dye have failed to meet with any punishment whatever, even on being brought before the self-styled court of justice, you will coincide with me in thinking that this court, although it cannot, with propriety, be termed a court of justice, must be admitted to be a supremely criminal tribunal.

An overseer (a white man, of course) confessed in my hearing, that, during a bush patrol, he had shot dead a negress with child—a legal act here, done by command of a superior officer. You may judge what sort of things the illegal acts of such people must be.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(From the *Morning Advertiser*.)

DURING the sittings of the Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in June last, we repeatedly took occasion to direct the attention of the public to its proceedings. The objects contemplated by that body were not confined to any given country or clime: they embraced the whole world. The Convention included within the circle of its humane aspirations every individual under heaven in whom some fellow-man might claim a right of property. The meeting was called the World's Conven-

tion; and never was designation better deserved, for delegates attended it from all parts of the civilized globe.

A report of the proceedings of the Convention has just been published. It is a large, closely-printed, octavo volume, and contains an account, taken in shorthand, of every speech of any importance that was delivered on the occasion. In this volume will be found a greater amount of information on the general question of slavery than was ever, we believe, before submitted to the world. One remarkable feature in the speeches, which must strike every person who reads them, is the thorough acquaintance with the subject which the various speakers display. Scarcely less observable is the practical tendency of their speeches. The speakers did not aim at clap-trap effect. They sought not to display their own attainments as speakers: it was their subject, not themselves, that they endeavoured to keep before their audience.

The proceedings of the Convention, even as briefly reported in the public journals at the time, excited no inconsiderable interest in the public mind in England. In America, where slaveholders every where abound, the proceedings of the Convention not only excited the deepest interest, but created the utmost alarm. The very fact of such a Convention having met, seemed to them the handwriting on the wall against the horrible system which they seek to uphold, because from it many of them chiefly derive the means of their subsistence. The feeling thus created by the cursory reports of the proceedings of the Convention will be deepened and extended by their publication in the volume before us. The system of slavery throughout the world is here exposed in all its hideousness. And, as mirrored in the pages of this work, it is of so

"hideous mien,
That to be hated needs but to be seen."

The publication of a report of the proceedings of the first Convention, held in 1840, was productive of the most beneficial results. The most conclusive testimony on that point has been received by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society from all parts of the world. Not less happy will, we feel assured, be the consequences which will accrue from the present publication.

Colonial Intelligence.

DOMINICA.—In reporting upon the agricultural state of the island, we do so with pleasure, as at this moment we find the labourers steady and willing to work. Some months ago a falling off from continuous labour was experienced by the planters, occasioned by a decrease in wages, and an attempt, unfortunately misunderstood by them, to settle the labourers more independently on the estates on which they had located themselves. This caused a smaller quantity of land to be opened for the crop of 1844 than we understand was cultivated this time last year; but the managers seem sanguine that this will not cause any material decrease in that crop, unless some extraordinary weather prevents the taking off the present one, which will soon begin generally throughout the island.

TRINIDAD.—The Senator transport left Sierra Leone on the 22nd of November, with 130 emigrants for Trinidad.

MAURITIUS—The *Cerneen* states that, from the 23rd of January to the 26th of September, inclusively, 16,062 men, 1,535 women, and 404 children have arrived from India. "Taking into account the 1,130 Coolies not yet landed, and the 550 in quarantine, together, 1,680, and adding these to the number above given, since the raising of the prohibition 19,681 Indians, men, women, and children, have arrived in Mauritius."

INDIA.—COOLY EMIGRATION.—The following Act was passed by the Governor-General of India in Council, on the 11th November, the rule requiring a previous publication of three months being specially suspended:—

"Whereas it has been represented that the demands of the island of Mauritius for agricultural labour will, by the end of this year, be greatly diminished, and it is desirable that effectual measures should be adopted for providing a larger proportion of female emigrants to that island than has been procured under the present system of emigration; it is therefore enacted, that, from and after the first day of January next ensuing, emigration to Mauritius shall only lawfully take place under the provisions of the Act No. 15, of 1842, from the port of Calcutta; and that it shall be competent to the Governor-General in Council to nominate a proper person to act as protector of emigrants at Calcutta, and that no emigrant shall be permitted to embark without a certificate from the agent appointed by the government of Mauritius, countersigned by the protector, to the effect that such person has been engaged by him as an emigrant to that island on the part of the said government."

The *Star* states that Mr. Caird, deputy collector at Allahabad, is to be appointed agent for the emigration on the part of the Mauritius government. Mr. Anderson, the protector of Coolies, and the Secretary of the Governor of the Mauritius, had arrived on a special mission to the Governor-General, supposed to be for the purpose of establishing a government agent at Calcutta, and of concerting, in communication with the government, any reform that may seem to be requisite in the system of emigration. Two duffadars have been convicted and fined by the magistrate. There were three charged with decoying away thirty-six individuals from Gyah, by the practice of the usual deceit upon them. These men recounted the story of having been brought down on false pretences, falsely imprisoned, and ill-treated. On the evidence produced, two of the three duffadars were convicted of the charge against them, and fined in Rs. 50 each. The money was ordered to be distributed among the complainants, by way of compensation, and to enable them to go back to their villages. As they were leaving the police-office, the third defendant, who had been acquitted and released, waylaid some of them, and used intimidation to make them give up the compensation-money they had received. Information of this circumstance being received at the police-office, the duffadar was ordered to be detained.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES.—According to the six official decennial enumerations of the United States, the following appear to be the number of slaves:—In 1790, 627,897; in 1800, 893,941; in 1810, 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,538,094; in 1830, 2,009,031; and in 1840, 2,487,255 slaves. So that upwards of one-seventh of the entire population of the United States are slaves. In the last ten years (1830-40) the southern states have increased in slave population, 22 4-10 per cent.; and the western states, 31 6-10 per cent. In Virginia alone there are 450,000 slaves, in a population of 1,240,000.—*Patriot*.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—Besides the passage relating to Texas, which we have given elsewhere, this document contains the following:—"I am happy to inform you that the cases which have arisen, from time to time, of the detention of American vessels by British cruisers on the coast of Africa, under pretence of being engaged in the slave-trade, have been placed in a fair train of adjustment. In the case of the *William and Francis*, full satisfaction will be allowed. In the case of the *Tybris and Seamew*, the British Government admits that satisfaction is due. In the case of the *Jones*, the sum accruing from the sale of that vessel and cargo will be paid to the owners; while I cannot but flatter myself that full indemnification will be allowed for all damages sustained by the detention of the vessel. And in the case of the *Douglas*, Her Majesty's Government has expressed its determination to make indemnification. Strong hopes are therefore entertained, that most, if not all of these cases, will be speedily adjusted. No new cases have arisen since the ratification of the Treaty of Washington; and it is confidently anticipated that the slave-trade, under the operation of the eighth article of that treaty, will be altogether suppressed."

THE GAG RESOLUTION.—In the House of Representatives, Mr. Adams's motion, that the resolution forbidding the presentation of petitions on the subject of slavery should not be renewed, was negatived by the small majority of 4 only. The votes were, 91 to 95.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.—Theophile Bochero shot himself lately at New Orleans, because it had been discovered that he was a quadroon. He had always passed for a white man.—*Liberator*.

PETER DENT.—In February last, Peter Dent, a free coloured man, by trade a blacksmith, and a licensed preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was demanded of the Governor of Ohio by the executive of Kentucky, as a fugitive from justice, charged with having feloniously stolen and carried away from Mason county "one mulatto slave named Fanny, of the value of 500 dollars; one mulatto slave, named Moses, eight years of age, of the value of 200 dollars; one mulatto girl slave, named Mary, four years of age, of the value of 200 dollars; one mulatto child slave, named Caroline, of the value of 100 dollars; of the property, goods, and chattels, of one William Beckley," of Mason county. Governor Shannon thereupon issued his warrant for the arrest of Peter Dent as a criminal, to be delivered over to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for an offence the penalty of which is twenty years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. What had Peter Dent done? This only. He had assisted the wife of his bosom, and the children she had borne him, to flee the pollutions and tortures of slavery!—*Christian Freeman*.

SLAVERY.—A few days since, while on a steam-boat, noticing an intelligent appearing coloured man, I commenced conversation with him. Remarking that he was from Maryland, I inquired about the state of slavery there. He spoke of it with abhorrence, and named that only a few days ago a caravan of twenty-four coaches, all filled with slaves brought up to send to the south-west, moved off altogether to the ship that was to take them to the place of their future destination.—*Emancipator*.

TRIAL OF TWO SLAVES.—Wesley and Smith, two slaves, were yesterday tried for robbery, agreeably to the provision of the black code, by a tribunal composed of Recorder Baldwin and two citizens. They were charged with robbing Mr. James Raney of 635 dollars. Wesley was acquitted; Smith was found guilty, and sentenced to seventy-five lashes—twenty-five a day, well laid on—and to wear a three-pronged iron collar for six months.—*New Orleans Picayune*.

PREPARING TO ESCAPE.—A correspondent in the *Baltimore Sun*, dated Washington, D. C., 25th inst., mentions the fact that no less than ten coloured persons were apprehended on the premises of a coloured man, named John Bush, residing east of the City Hall, all of whom were about being decoyed away from their masters, and intended going to Canada. The letter names two males and three females belonging to Robert Beall, Esq.; one male slave of Henry N. Young, Esq.; one female slave of widow Young; and a woman and two children belonging to Mr. McDonald, on Capitol Hill. Three others were to have completed the party, as follows: woman belonging to D. A. Hall, Esq.; woman owned by Mr. Allison Nailor; and a woman living with Mr. James; these did not arrive in time to be arrested; their baggage was in the wagon. A wagon had been all prepared to carry the slaves off. Bush was arrested, and gave bail in the sum of 500 dollars to appear at court. The absconding negroes were put in prison for safe keeping.—*Liberator*.

ESCAPE OR DEATH.—(From the *Liberator*.)—Mr. Editor,—In conversation with a gentleman from Petersburg, Virginia, he gave me the following account, with a request that his name should be withheld:—

A Mr. Minitree, master mason, of Petersburg, had in his employ a slave man belonging to Mr. Hainburg. The poor slave had been in the habit of running off: he was told by Minitree, that, if he ever ran away from him, he would kill him. It was not long before the slave took it into his head to run off, and, if possible, get to the free states; he was, however, overtaken by the man-hyena, and returned to his employer. Minitree tied him down in his barn, provided himself with three new cowhides, and gave him about eight hundred lashes! He washed the suffering victim in salt and water, afterwards gave the poor fellow a

syringe of cayenne pepper, and released him!! Soon after his release, he went to a pond of water, such was his thirst from the effects of the cayenne pepper, and drank nearly half a gallon of water. Minitree, not satisfied with the tortures already inflicted upon his victim, secured him again, and flogged him till the poor fellow became senseless. He died in about two hours after. Minitree threw the dead body in the yard that night, and in the morning put it in a box, and buried it. Mr. Hainburg, having heard of the ignominious death of his slave, had the cruel monster arrested. The civil authorities had the body disinterred, and held an inquest, assisted by several physicians, who held a post mortem examination over the body. Verdict of the jury, that the slave came to his death by the hands of Minitree, his employer. He is now being tried for wilful murder. This awful event took place about the last of June. I am informed by the gentleman that none of the papers in Petersburg published or noticed the affair.

Wm. P. POWELL.

Boston, July 14, 1843.

LYNCHING A SPY IN OHIO.—A coloured man named M'Donald, employed by some Kentucky slaveholders at 2 dollars per day to ascertain the station and route of those who make it their business to run slaves to Canada, was lynched a short time since by the coloured people of Springfield, Ohio. Their sable honours formed a lynch court, and with much gravity tried and sentenced the fellow to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, and immediately executed the sentence. The whole matter has been brought before the grand jury.—*Liberator*.

A NEGRO DOCTOR.—Two petitions from citizens and ladies of Fayette county, Tennessee, were lately presented to the legislature of that state, praying that a certain negro slave, named Doctor Jack, might be exempted from the operation of the law prohibiting slaves from practising medicine. Dr. Jack is represented as a skilful physician, of long practice, who has rendered essential service to suffering humanity.—*Liberty Press*.

CUBA.—NEGRO INSURRECTION.—A letter from Havana, dated November 8, published in the *Journal of Commerce*, says:—"Yesterday, at 4 A.M., an express arrived from Mantanzas which brought the news of the rising of the slaves on several of the plantations. They were, however, immediately put down, and fifty of them killed, and sixty-seven taken prisoners, while others hung themselves rather than be captured by the authorities. I did not learn the number of whites that were killed, if any."—*Liberty Press*.

BRAZIL.—The emperor has issued a decree, enjoining the active employment of his fleet on the extensive coast of Brazil. One of the objects said to be contemplated by this measure is the prevention of "the illicit traffic in slaves." An English paper thinks this shows the Brazilians to be "in earnest" about getting rid of the slave-trade! *When will they abolish slavery?*

FRANCE.—The Royal Court of Paris decided on Wednesday that an East Indian slave, as well as all other slaves, recovered their liberty the moment they set their foot on the territory of France.—*Times*.

SLAVE MANUMISSION.—A question whether a slave having once touched the soil of France becomes free or not, has been successively carried through the Tribunal de Première Instance and the Cour Royale of the Island of Bourbon, the Court of Cassation in Paris, and ultimately the Cour Royale of Paris. The circumstances of the case were these:—A female slave, named Madeleine, after passing through the hands of several masters, was, in 1768, sold to a single lady named Dispense, who became much attached to her, and, in 1771, brought her as an attendant to France. Some time afterwards, Mademoiselle Dispense entered a monastery, having previously given Madeleine to a friend, named Routier, who was about to take her departure for the Island of Bourbon; but on the express condition that the poor girl should be emancipated. This condition was complied with, but not till after Madeleine had had two children; one of whom, named Furcy, continued to live in the family of Madame Routier, whose daughter had become the wife of M. Lorry, who in these proceedings was the adversary of Furcy, the demandant of the declaration of his freedom. To the lot of M. Lorry, in the division of the property of Madame Routier, at her death, Furcy fell, being set down at the value of 3,700f.; for the young slave had been well brought up, and formed into an excellent *maitre-d'hôtel*. Furcy, having acquired a knowledge of his rights, resorted to the Tribunal de Première Instance in the Island of Bourbon, which, by a judgment as far back as 1817, rejected his claim, and this judgment was confirmed by the Cour Royale of Bourbon, on the 18th of February, 1818. Another appeal against both these decisions was laid before the Court of Cassation of Paris, which supreme tribunal, after a delay which we do not find anywhere accounted for, delivered its decree on the 6th of May, 1840, quashing the two former judgments, on the ground that it was an ancient and fundamental maxim of the law of France, proclaimed by edicts as remote as the years 1315, 1318, and 1553, that every slave was free from the moment he put his foot on the soil of France, and consequently ordered a new trial before the Cour Royale of Paris. The new trial occupied this last court on the 9th, 16th, and 23rd inst. On the part of M. Lorry it was argued, that by the edicts of 1716-1738, owners of slaves bringing them into France were allowed to retain them in slavery on performing certain formalities. It belonged to Furcy to prove that Mademoiselle Dispense had not complied with this condition. The counsel for Furcy, on the contrary, maintained that the *onus probandi* laid upon M. Lorry, and that, as he had not proved the affirmative, the conclusion must be that no such formalities were observed. To this question the Procureur-General, in his requisitory, reduced the whole matter in litigation, and insisted, that as M. Lorry had not shown that the formalities required by the edicts of 1716-1738 had been performed by Mademoiselle Dispense, Madeleine, the mother of Furcy, became a free woman in 1771, and consequently, that her son Furcy was born free, and could never be made a slave. This conclusion the Cour Royale of Paris adopted, and, by its judgment, declared Furcy to have been a free man from his birth.—*Galignani's Messenger*.

IONIAN ISLANDS.—THE MEDITERRANEAN SLAVE TRADE.—The *Gazette delle Isole Ioni* contains the following article:—"A ship, under Turkish colours, coming from Bengasi, and bound to Candia, arrived on the 14th of November in the harbour of Zante. On board there were three Mahometan merchants, who, having purchased slaves in the market of Bengasi, intended to convey them to other places, in hopes of great profit by this inhuman traffic. The government being informed of this fact, has, by virtue of the power given it by Act 11 of the second Parliament, declared the slaves to be free, and has given up the ship to the Turkish Vice-Consul."

MOZAMBIQUE.—Prospectus of the Company named the "Em- presa dos Concidadaos" of Oporto, established at Mozambique, the 18th February, 1841.

Article 1. The Company named the Empress dos Concidadaos of Oporto will employ all its efforts to put an end at once to the horrible and barbarous traffic in human flesh which has depopulated this province, and reduced it to the misery in which it now is. This is the first essential and necessary step to be taken, in order that the province of Mozambique may possess sufficient hands, so as to be raised to that degree of opulence of which it is susceptible.

2. The Company will as much as possible promote the colonization of the country, by Portuguese Europeans of good moral character, and not vagabonds; since it is impossible to develope the riches which the province of Mozambique contains, unless there be a sufficient number of resident Europeans in each of the six military districts, as well for the purpose of commanding the respect of the Caffres, as of directing them in their labours. It is only thus that the Portuguese will be able to penetrate into the interior of the country, and to derive all the advantages which such fertile districts are capable of yielding.

3. The Company proposes to forward to Portugal such a quantity as shall not overstock the market of the best quality, of elephants' teeth, sea-horse teeth, rhinoceros' tusks, amber, tortoiseshell, sugar, coffee, mandioca, rice, calamba-wood, gum-copal, as well as other kinds of wood, and all those plants that are known and used in medicine, and for dyeing, and those that may hereafter be discovered, and of which the use and the purposes to which they may be applicable shall be brought to light.

4. It will supply the museums and botanical gardens of Lisbon, and those of the University of Coimbra and of the city of Oporto, with all the varieties of the three kingdoms of nature.

5. The Company will cause the gold mines to be explored at Quitene, Manica, and Inhaoco; and the copper mines in the district of Inhambarane, the iron mines, coal mines, and those of saltpetre, in the district of Quilimane; as also those that may hereafter be discovered, or are already discovered, in the various districts of the province.

6. It will employ all the means necessary for prosecuting the whale fishery in the bay of Mocambo, on the coast of Mozambique, as well as the pearl fishery off the Bazaranta Islands, near Sofala, and the seed-pearl fishery off the islands of Cape Delegado.

7. The Company will use all the means for attaining the objects which it proposes, without ever interfering or taking part in any question, or with any of the parties, which unfortunately have distracted Portugal.

8. It will, finally, take every measure to develope the riches which this province contains, in the three kingdoms of nature.

(Signed) Antonio Julio de Castro Pinto Magalhaes, President.
Jaques Nicolao de Salis de Cesarina, Fiscal.
Jozé Bernardo de Carvalho, Treasurer.
Jozé Simplicio d'Azevedo Pegado, First Secretary.
Joaquim Antonio de Sa e Castro, Second Secretary.

The above is in conformity with the original.

Joao de Souza Calda,

First Secretary of the Company.

Mozambique, 5th March, 1841.

Miscellanea.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Jamaica Baptist Herald* gives the following as from the *Augsburg Gazette*, and as an extract of a letter from Cairo, dated April 21:—"The English have just captured, in the Red Sea, near Sanakerg, two slavers, with large cargoes of slaves on board. The captains of these slavers were hung up to the mainyard at once. The two ships were carried into port with the captains still hanging on to the main-yard. The slaves were landed, and immediately set at liberty. This example will intimidate some of the large slave-dealers; but if the English would take the trouble to come here, they would find their hands full of work, and from time to time they might catch a European engaged in this vile traffic." [Can this be true?—Ed. A. S. Reporter.]

The following is given by the *Liberator* (U.S.), as from a foreign paper:—"No person who has not actually seen it, could form, it is credibly affirmed, any conception of the infernal state of the *Progresso*, when fallen in with on the 12th of April last, in lat. 17 25 S., long. 38 42 E., having been out one week. She was miserably rigged, not having sufficient canvas to show in a strong breeze, a sail borrowed from the *Cleopatra* being the means of her coming to port in safety. The foulness of the air, and the diseased and wretched state of the slaves, were productive of much mortality. On her being boarded and taken possession of, the slaves rushed up the hatchways, and made for the galley, seizing upon every thing in the shape of food or drink they could lay their hands upon, and their skeleton-looking frames passing blood as they crawled along the deck. During the nights these wretched creatures cried and screeched, it having been common for the older ones to bite and crush the younger ones, while closeness, stench, and disease, were productive of unquenchable thirst, and of extraordinary, incessant, and painful, though vain efforts to procure water. The *Progresso* is schooner-rigged, supposed not to exceed 170 tons, and of the following dimensions between decks; length of slave deck, 37 feet; breadth, 23 feet 6 inches; height, 3 feet 9 inches. In this confined space, actually not capable of stowing away more than 300, were found wedged

in 447 human beings. The first night after being taken, (which is always the worst,) for fear that their excitement might cause them to rise, necessity obliged the captors to put them under hatches; on these being opened on the following morning, 65 were found to have expired during the night from over excess, disease, and the too crowded state of the vessel, notwithstanding the utmost care, and the previous removal of 50 negroes on board H.M.S. *Cleopatra*. From that time until her arrival, and landing them in Simon's Bay, June 1st, 110 more perished, leaving only 222 alive, all more or less in a sickly, emaciated state; thus reducing their number one half during their confinement on board."

The *Arrow* ketch, Lieut. William Robinson, arrived at St. Helena on the 20th September, with two fine prizes, which she captured under the following circumstances:—On the 9th August, at 8.30 a.m., a suspicious vessel was seen under the land at anchor, near Calembe River, on the coast of Benguela. Two gigs immediately shov'd off, with the commander and Mr. J. Brodie, the second master, the vessel being about five or six miles off. On the boats approaching the crew set her on fire, ran her on the beach, fired two shots through her bottom, and, placing themselves in ambush in the thickets, fired on the boats as they landed. The boats' crews soon succeeded in extinguishing the fire, and, fortunately, before it communicated with a train of gunpowder intended to blow them up. Anchors were then laid out, the leaks partially stopped, and after great exertion she was got afloat, and stood out to join the *Arrow*, then four or five miles to leeward, without having a man hurt. She is a smart man-of-war-like looking brig; had her cargo of slaves on board (the last were seen disembarking when the boats were within gun shot), and was only waiting for the sea breeze to be off. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. James Brodie, on detached service, chased another large brig, which the crew deserted, leaving on board their vessel 340 slaves, which he took quiet possession of.—*Hants Telegraph*.

SIERRA LEONE.—(Extract of a letter, dated Sierra Leone, Sept. 23.)—The Brazilian brig *Furia*, a prize to the *Spy*, arrived on Sunday week with 530 slaves on board. She is a very fine vessel.—November 27.—Two prizes have come up—the *Independencia*, taken by Her Majesty's ship the *Madagascar*, 199 tons, Brazilian brigantine, and since condemned; and the *Tenerario*, taken by the *Rapid*, which is a very fine Brazilian brigantine, built at Bermuda, with 290 slaves. The *Conceitas Flora*, another Brazilian prize, was restored without damages, as her equipment for the slave-trade was not considered sufficient. There was a schooner coming up, taken by the *Madagascar*.

PORTRUSH, Dec. 23.—The *Lily*, 16, Commander George Baker, arrived on Wednesday from the Cape of Good Hope, having been nearly five years in commission. A slaver, having on board 249 Africans, the original number having been 337, had been brought into Table Bay in charge of W. Brodie, R.N., and captured by H.M. brig *Arrow*. Her crew deserted her upon chase being given. The *Sociedad*, of 300 tons, had also been brought into Simon's Bay by H.M.S. *Sappho*, on suspicion of being a slaver.—*Hants Telegraph*.

BRAZIL.—Extract of a letter from Bahia, dated October 19:—“This accursed traffic is again extending at a fearful rate here and on other points of the coast. There are now lying in this port, waiting for the first opportunity to give the slip to the British cruisers, three schooners belonging to one man alone, a Frenchman, who but five or six years ago had no property whatsoever, but is now a rich and honoured man here. Let me interrupt this by citing a fact I have from an acquaintance who has lately been over to the island of Itaparica, to receive his share of three blacks, out of a venture of some 60 partners. He is a young man of very poor parents, his aged mother only being alive, but blind, and for the purpose of being better able to assist her he ventured a small sum (about 40*l.*) on this speculation. The rich merchant, who chartered the vessel to these young men, had previously bought the vessel and fitted her out, altogether at a cost of about 1,600*l.*; the freight realized 53 contos! for she brought in some 560 negroes, and took 100 dollars freight for each; they were mostly skeletons, many blind, and most in a very diseased state. When the young man came back with his living skeletons, he told me, that not to save father or mother from starvation would he again lend his assistance to such horrors as he had just witnessed. Two of the above schooners have been bought from Americans, who sell here annually at least twelve to fifteen crack vessels for that purpose. A more infamously hypocritical and lying government than this is with regard to the suppression of the slave-trade cannot be imagined; all the authorities are secretly enjoined to favour it by every means in their power. A dozen small, but most powerful steamers, might get it under. The planters, as a senator said the other day, are giddy for slaves. Until now the Emperor of Brazil, or the constitution, never personally acknowledged the existence of slavery; and what do you think of a legislature and ministry obliging their young Emperor (now eighteen years old) to ratify a decree, annexed to the budget, ordering the sale of a number of slaves belonging to the Crown for purposes of revenue! There are now, I am credibly informed, some forty slaves belonging to the very palace of the Emperor, crossing barefooted its saloons every day.”—*Morning Herald*.

Extract of a letter from on board the U. S. ship *St. Louis*, dated Rio de Janeiro, September 13:—“Yesterday a slave prize arrived from Africa in charge of two English midshipmen, who captured her in a small boat with a crew of ten men, and brought her safe into port. The captain of the slaver was shot while in the act of repelling the English boat, and his body falling overboard, could not be recovered; the seamen of the vessel, however, surrendered without firing a shot, and they are now safely deposited on board of an English man-of-war. After the slaves are rescued by the humane endeavours of the English government, they are resuscitated on board of vessels provided for the purpose; and as I have just returned from visiting the late arrival on board of the *Crescent*, I shall attempt to give you some idea of the state in which I found them. The slaver is scarcely larger than one of our coasting schooners, and yet she sailed from Africa with *four hundred and fifty* negroes on board, out of which but *three hundred and fifteen* arrived in port, the balance having died of confinement, starvation, and disease, during the voyage. On board of the C—, I saw some of the *three hundred and fifteen* who have escaped the horrors of slavery, for many have died since their arrival

from the effects of bad diet and confinement; and I must confess I never saw a more interesting, and yet a more touching scene, in the whole course of my life. I happened to get on board when the poor creatures were all on deck, dancing and singing their native songs, and breathing the pure air of heaven, which had been denied them so long: and the happy faces and cheerful voices plainly indicated that they were aware of their being at liberty again. But such emaciated beings I never saw before; scarcely one of the men had a limb larger than a boy's arm, and the little children—for two-thirds of them are very young—were nothing but skin and bones; while the women, with the exception of those who had been favourites of the crew, were in no better condition. Through the kindness of the officers, we were allowed to visit the sick; and during our stay in the apartment, I saw five sable skeletons carried out for burial, while several, in which the spark of life was scarcely visible, met my eye in every corner of the room. On one bed I saw a little fellow reclining upon the lifeless body of his companion, and so entirely exhausted and emaciated was he, that he was unable to quit his icy pillow; indeed, he was almost unconscious of everything. Near by was a group of some half dozen others, who were fearfully watching the almost lifeless form of a little brother, perhaps, or following the humane doctor with wistful eyes, as if he possessed the power of restoring their dying associate. In another part of the room, the wasted figure of a tall, well-made man, was stretched upon a mat; and his piteous moans, his unintelligible words, and continual pointing to his breast, evidently proved that he had been confined in a stooping position for the greater part of the voyage; indeed, they all complained of pains in the breast, as well as of starvation, and the medical officers informed me that in dissecting them, the most loathsome sights are presented. One of the subjects that I saw was so much diseased, that large and disgusting worms made their appearance through his nose; an occurrence not rare, I am told, for it seems that the intestines are often filled with them, in consequence of the bad diet and water they get on board. The villainous crew of the slaver are confined as prisoners on board of the same vessel which offers an asylum to the poor creatures whom they have stolen from their homes, and would have condemned to a life of bondage, had not the timely appearance of the brave Englishmen prevented it.”—*New York Tribune*.

AFRICA.—DOMESTIC SLAVERY.—(From the Journal of the Rev. J. L. Wilson, American missionary at the Gaboon river.)—“Domestic slavery, in a form somewhat peculiar, exists to an almost unlimited extent. Every man of importance is the owner of twenty slaves or more; a few own more than one hundred. So far as hard labour is concerned, it is not an oppressive system. In general, the slave performs very little labour, and in most cases just what he pleases. Almost the only means a master has of getting work out of a slave, is by coaxing. He knows if he resorts to harsh or severe measures, his slave will run away. The master is further restrained from severity by the fear of witchcraft. Most of the slaves are brought from the interior, and their owners seem to think that their power of conjuration and mischief is somehow or other proportioned to the distance which they have come. The slaves are generally purchased when very young, and from that period to manhood, they are kept very strictly, and it is the only period in which they can be said to be serviceable. After they attain to manhood, they sometimes stay with their masters from attachment, residing on the plantation and rendering such occasional service as may be required; sometimes they run away and go back to their own country. Occasionally they engage in business and become respectable members of society. The children of slaves are always considered free, and the master of the parent can exercise no authority over them. A master may scourge his slave; but he has not, or does not exercise the power of life and death over him. If he is accused of a capital crime, the case is brought before the head men, and undergoes a thorough examination before any sentence is passed. The prejudices of the people are against the slave; and it is not uncommon for him to be accused of witchcraft, and without any very substantial evidence of guilt, to be condemned and put to death. For very trivial offences, they are chained and thrust into the stocks, and subjected to every species of abuse and insult. As a general thing, they have very little self-respect, and are exceedingly depraved. Many of them seem to be but little removed from idiocy. Sometimes they form large companies and carry off as much of the property of their masters as they can lay their hands on; and when armed, as is usually the case, it is not safe or practicable to capture them.”

FOREIGNERS KNOW IT!—It is unfortunately too true that British capital is largely invested in slave-dealing transactions. The names of some parties have been brought forward before the Parliament Committee in such a conspicuous manner, that it would be absurd to shut our eyes to the fact, that men of large commercial influence, one of whom is even in Parliament, are engaged in traffic which disgraces humanity. The way in which their villainy is conducted is, to ship cargoes of British manufactures fit for slave-dealing, but fit for nothing else, in vessels capable of being transformed into slave-ships at a few hours' notice. These vessels clear out from Liverpool for the coast of Africa, with no papers on board calculated to raise suspicion; a convenient gale of wind wafts them, in fortunate distress, to Cadiz; there they repair, and become, by *merest chance*, acquainted with some honourable merchants that have been waiting to send their despatches to the African coast! These despatches relate, of course, to *some other vessel*, and *some other* adventure. If these vessels are captured on their way to the coast, nothing is found to expose their true character, except these slave-trading despatches, with instructions for a different ship; if they reach their destination without capture, they there find instructions for *themselves*, conveyed by some other vessel in the like circuitous manner.—*New York Observer*.

THE TRIAL OF THOMAS JENNINGS is postponed until August next. The court has released him on a very moderate bail.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER and CHARLES REED, of No. 5, Bolt Court, in the Parish of St. Dunstan, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine-street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERETT, 6, Fench-lane, Cornhill. January 10th, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CVIII. VOL. V.—No. 2.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE LATE WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ.

We intimated in our last number an intention to procure, as soon as we might be able, an account of the anti-slavery career of this distinguished philanthropist. Our wish has been, in part, accomplished, by a letter with which we have been kindly favoured from the venerable Thomas Clarkson; and we present the following extract from it to our readers without delay:—

"You know, I suppose, that he was a member of our first committee, under Granville Sharp, for the abolition of the Slave-trade. He was not among its first members, for he was then a young man; but he came in afterwards at his own request, his feeling heart not allowing him to see such a committee in existence without sharing in its labours.

"After the slave-trade was abolished by the British Parliament, the African Institution was formed in the same year, under the patronage of the Duke of Gloucester, consisting of the flower of the Houses of Lords and Commons, with a few plain individuals, such as myself, Zachary Macaulay, and others. William Allen was not among these at first; but his heart panted to be among them, and to share their labours in so glorious a cause; and, signifying his wishes, he was proposed soon afterwards, I think by Mr. Wilberforce, and accepted as a member. Whenever I came to London to attend the board, I used always to take up my abode at his house; and we always set out together to attend it, and came home together. Thus he was of the first Committee that was formed for the abolition of the trade, and of the second, which was instituted to watch over that great event, and prevent its violation.

"But his noble heart was not contented with having been a member of these two committees. He had seen the slave-trade abolished by the British Parliament; but he knew that a deplorable evil still remained to be cured, namely, slavery in our West India Islands. He had the boldness to think that this crying evil might be done away with, by the same means which had worked out the abolition of the slave-trade, namely, the voice of the people. And he actually set about this Herculean task. The first step he took was to speak to Zachary Macaulay on the subject; and Zachary Macaulay, highly applauding his views, boldly consented to join him, though the West India Interest was much more powerful than the African. These two spoke to their respective friends, particularly to those who had been members of the first or old abolition committee, and of the African Institution. Some of these, thinking the measure too bold to take with any chance of success, and others that we had pledged ourselves, in case the slave-trade should be abolished, that we would not meddle with slavery, declined joining him. But William Allen was not to be damped by this refusal; and he, with Zachary Macaulay, pursuing the subject, found that they could number nine or ten persons of abolition character, and known to have been hard workers in the cause, who would undertake to be the committee. All these, at length, met together at William Allen's house, and formed themselves into a committee, then the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee.

"So that, as slavery has been now abolished, he was not only a member of the first committee which began the great work of the abolition of the slave-trade, but he was a member also of a third committee, which saw, and brought about, the death of the monster, Slavery.

"I may say, when the committee now mentioned to have been formed at William Allen's house met there, they resolved that their meetings, for the future, should be held at the King's Head Tavern, Poultry. They had several meetings there, when they took chambers, I forget where, but in the neighbourhood of Cateaton-street, below the Guildhall. They first announced themselves to the public in January, 1823.

"I may observe of this committee, and of course of the good that has been done, that the author of it was William Allen. Yet Zachary Macaulay is not to be overlooked. I do not know, to a certainty, which of the two spoke to the other first about forming it, but I think William Allen. However, the merit rests between the two. This fact is not generally known. People may suppose that Wilberforce, or Buxton, or Sturge, (who was not then known,) or myself, was the founder; but no such thing. The truth is as I have now told. At the end of a letter now sent you, written by William to me, directly after he attended the Congress of Sovereigns at Verona for the Abolition of the Foreign Slave-Trade, (our own having been long before that abolished,) he tells me that he had put down my name as one of the committee. But, though I had no hand in founding the committee, I worked as hard in its behalf as if I had had that honour."

EFFECT OF ZULUETA'S TRIAL IN SPAIN.

AMONG the gratifying indications that the prosecution of Pedro de Zulueta has not been in vain, are two articles which have just appeared in a Madrid paper, *El Corresponsal*. We are glad to learn from such an authority that the trial "has excited the attention of all Europe," and that its influence is especially felt in Spain.

Our contemporary is highly delighted with the appearance on this occasion of "the most eminent persons in the city of London for their rank, character, and wealth," to "give their testimony in favour of the accused;" and mentions with due honour the names of Rothschild, Huth, Gibbs, Halifax, and Murrietta. These gentlemen are, perhaps, at the present moment less pleased with their late exhibition than the *Corresponsal*. The jury also are highly lauded, as "governed solely by the convictions of their conscience;" and even the very "emphasis" with which they delivered their verdict is gravely noted. As for the cheers which followed it, the editor is quite in raptures with them. Magnifying so flattering a circumstance by a not unusual editorial license, he informs the Spanish public that "a great concourse filled the court," that "hurrahs greeted his countryman within and without the building," that they were "produced by the enthusiasm of the people, who saw innocence triumphant," and that they "confounded the persecutors" of Pedro de Zulueta!

But, alas! for those who did not sympathize in this laudable enthusiasm. "The judge, Mr. Maule, famous in England as the cause of burning three houses in a nocturnal revel, the intimate friend of Lord Brougham, and humble executor of his mandates," "addressed the jury, asking them, in an artful manner, to find Zulueta guilty of having assisted indirectly in the slave-trade." And the Anti-slavery Society, to whose account (notwithstanding all declarations to the contrary) the whole transaction is laid, are still worse than the judge. "English philanthropy?" Bah! It "is nothing else than the question of sugar and coffee." It is the "constant habit" of the English nation "to commence with deceit, and to finish with treason;" and the English Government, in its "Machiavelism," has nourished the "philanthropy" aforesaid, for no earthly purpose but "to destroy foreign colonies, and monopolize the supply of sugar and coffee." That this representation must be true, is evident at once to the mind of our contemporary from the state and treatment of the English poor. "At least half the people of England," he insists, "live in the most abject slavery." The "inhabitants of Ireland are in a worse condition than the negroes of Cuba. Yes! (we quote his exact phraseology) the peasants of Ireland would change their enjoyments for those of the Cuban slave!" As to the necessitous poor, "the parish officials, with more cruelty in general than the overseers of sugar plantations, kill them with hunger." Of the English poor-house system he says, that "the whole family is to be shut up in those charitable prisons, and that the husband is separated from the wife, and the daughter from the mother." And he cites the "English newspapers," as recording "the most barbarous treatment possible of elderly invalids, of wretched women, and of young persons without protection."

We are glad to see that the editor of the *Corresponsal* is so well acquainted with the state of things in England, although his sketch is not exactly *couleur de rose*, and we beg hard-hearted overseers and "parish officials" to observe the notice taken, and the use made, of their misdeeds, in distant and unexpected quarters. What might be in the Spanish newspapers, if every occurrence in Cuba and Puerto Rico were as promptly and minutely related in them as affairs here are in the English, it is not for us to divine. With respect to the separation of husband and wife, indeed, the Spanish planters would have the advantage of us, as we believe the relation is hardly known among persons so happy as their slaves; but, parents and children are divided, we believe, not exactly into different apartments of the same "charitable prison," but by a process which goes somewhat deeper into the heart. No doubt, as he intimates, the overseers of sugar estates in Cuba are far more tender-hearted than the overseers of parishes, and do not so rapidly kill the people "with hunger." What effects they produce by hard labour and the lash, the editor of the *Corresponsal* does not inform us; but it may be not obscurely gathered from the fact, that the labouring population on those estates wastes away at the rate of ten in every hundred annually. In Great Britain and Ireland population increases at such a rate as to demand a constant emigration. We are sorry for the Irish peasantry, we confess, that they are so unfortunate as to have no opportunity of carrying out their *penchant* (of which, however, the *Corresponsal* gives us the first information) for the condition of a Cuban slave; but, if it be in reality so preferable to that of a freeman, why should our contemporary fear to recommend that the slaves should have their choice whether they would continue in it or not?

We have read with peculiar pleasure the following passage in our contemporary's remarks:—"We ourselves have never held slaves, and have never participated in the slave-trade. We abhor as much as any one all slavery, whether of blacks or whites." He adds something to this about an especial hatred of "hypocrisy;" but we will take no notice of this, lest we should think of a nation that makes solemn treaties, and can never be induced to fulfil them. We are most happy to find our contemporary at one with us in his hatred of slavery. His hands have never been polluted with it, his heart abhors it. This is noble, and we admire him for it. May we not reckon upon him hereafter as a coadjutor? Surely he will assist in exterminating that which he so cordially abhors. If English abolitionists are hypocritical, he, at all events, may be sincere, and by his obvious sincerity he may exert a more beneficial influence. No corrupt motive could be imputed to him. His philanthropy could not even be resolved into the love of sugar and coffee.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SLAVE-TRADE.

EVERY now and then our English ears are startled by the arrival of intelligence, that, in distant parts of the world, English vessels lend themselves to the transport of slaves—that is, engage themselves in the slave-trade. But lately we had to communicate a fact of this class respecting the East, and now we have to speak of one nearer home. It is well known, that, by some means or other, an extensive and continual traffic in slaves is carried on in the Mediterranean Sea, and there are a thousand suspicions afloat that the ships of nations who profess to wash their hands of this odious traffic have much to do with it. In our last paper, indeed, was a case in which the Government of the Ionian Islands nobly declared the freedom of some slaves found on board a vessel which had touched at Corfu; but all things are not so honest as this. Gibraltar is British ground, and every thing ought to be done there as it would be done in England. Yet slaves who land at Gibraltar are *not free on touching its soil!* They are landed as slaves, held as slaves, exported as slaves, and exported in a British ship! But to our proofs. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have at the present moment a correspondent in Morocco, and the following extract from one of his letters will explain the case:—

"Tangier, December 23, 1843.

"I was much surprised to hear yesterday evening that the English packet, or *Correo Ingles*, (the master of which is Matteo Attalya,) had brought from Gibraltar **TWELVE SLAVES**, African youths. The rumour in town is, that they are a present from Mehemet Ali to the Emperor of Morocco; but this I am unable to authenticate at present. The master of the packet states that they were brought direct from Alexandria to Malta, where they performed quarantine. From Malta they were brought by a French vessel to Gibraltar, where they landed, and spent a fortnight. From Gibraltar they were brought yesterday by the *ENGLISH PACKET*, a vessel carrying the British flag, and the weekly bearer of English letters and despatches to and from Gibraltar. But what is very remarkable is, that these twelve slaves were not entered in the bill of health, thus infringing the maritime laws of the port of Gibraltar, as well as those of the English Consulate in Tangier! Indeed, the Consul in this country was not aware of their arrival until I told the Vice-Consul; and I question whether he would have known of this infamous prostitution of the British flag, and evasion of the port laws of Gibraltar, had I not communicated the fact to him through the Vice-Consul. This morning I saw all the slaves in the streets, walking about the town as strangers to look at it.

Even the foreign captains of the small vessels in the port of Tangier could not help remarking, that 'we English, who made so much to-do about the slave-trade, actually permitted it to be carried on under protection of our own flag,' citing triumphantly the case of yesterday. But this is by no means a single instance; *hundreds of slaves are carried through the Mediterranean in this way annually*. They attend the Moors and Arabs in their pilgrimages to Mecca. These people are commonly called *hagée*, and they usually perform their quarantine at British ports. The masters of the little vessels of this port relate, that, not long ago, a Moor flogged or bastinadoed his slave at Gibraltar so cruelly, that, when the slave embarked from that port to Tangier, he was obliged to be carried—he could not walk. *This was done in that glorious fortress of British power and freedom, Gibraltar!*"

In a subsequent letter this gentleman writes that the negroes (whose number was variously stated at from twelve to twenty-four) were eunuchs, and that they were brought from Malta to Gibraltar, not (as was first rumoured) by a French ship, but by an English one, and this no less than Her Majesty's ship *Prometheus*, Lieut. Commander Sparks. He adds:—

"Tangier, December 30, 1843.

"The affair, even in Barbary, and the most despotic country of Barbary, has created a great scandal. The European Consuls very properly reprobate the inconsistency of the British Government, in aiding the slave-trade of the Mediterranean by their own flag. The Consul, and every man of common sense, know, that to assert that these poor unfortunate beings—these most miserable of men—these eunuchs! are free, and have papers about them proving their liberty, is the greatest piece of insolence and imposture. But I am told by persons resident all their lives in this part of the world, that there are now many slaves living with their Moorish masters in Gibraltar. Indeed, not many weeks ago a negro boy took it into his head to turn Christian in Gibraltar. The boy was immediately sent back by his master to Tangier, and sold, to prevent him becoming a Christian. Things of this sort happen every day in the intercourse between this country and Gibraltar. Our Consul-General, I am glad to inform you, has investigated the case, and deprived the captain of the English correia of the privilege of carrying his letters and despatches."

We sincerely rejoice in this activity of the British Consul at Tangier, and we have no doubt he will be well supported by his Government in any measures he may take for the vindication and purity of the British flag. We have further to state that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society lost no time in communicating to the Earl of Aberdeen the information they had received, with the view of soliciting inquiry. They find, by his lordship's reply, that a report of the affair had reached the Foreign Office, and that "a strict inquiry" has been ordered. This will, of course, extend, not merely to the English packet, but to Her Majesty's ship *Prometheus*. We trust, also, that the anomalous, and all but incredible, state of things alleged to exist in Gibraltar will engage his lordship's attention.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c.; &c.

27, New Broad-street, January 15, 1844.

MY LORD,—A representation of so grave and serious a nature has just been made to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society by their correspondent at Tangier, that they feel it their duty respectfully to lay it before you.

The statement which the Committee have received is to the following effect:—That, on the 22nd of December last, an English packet (Matteo Attalya, master) brought from Gibraltar to Tangier twelve slaves; that these slaves were African youths, reported to be a present from Mehemet Ali to the Emperor of Morocco; that they were brought direct from Alexandria to Malta, where they performed quarantine; that from Malta they were brought by a French vessel to Gibraltar, where they staid a fortnight; that from Gibraltar they were taken by the regular weekly English packet to Tangier; and that they were not entered on the bill of health, so that the British Consul at Tangier did not know of their arrival, unless by an accidental mention of it to the Vice-Consul. On the morning of the 23rd of December the correspondent of the Committee states himself to have seen the slaves walking about the town. He states, also, that many of the preceding particulars were derived from the master of the packet.

To this representation the correspondent of the Committee adds an expression of his belief that this is not an isolated instance of slave-trading under the British flag, but that hundreds of slaves are carried through the Mediterranean annually in a similar manner.

The Committee are sure your lordship will see how important these facts are, if truly alleged, and what energetic action they require on the part of the British Government. Of course, they do not expect the truth of them to be assumed on the report of their correspondent; they can desire nothing more than what they are confident your lordship will immediately direct—a strict and searching investigation.

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, January 17, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst., respecting twelve negro slaves said to have been conveyed to Tangier on board a British vessel.

I am to inform you that a report to that effect had already reached this office; and I am to request that you will state to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that Her Majesty's Government have given orders that a strict investigation shall be made into the facts of the case.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CANNING.

To John Scoble, Esq.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c.

27, New Broad-street, January 20, 1844.

MY LORD,—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to express their entire satisfaction in the measure taken by your lordship, in ordering "a strict inquiry" to be made into the alleged transport of slaves by a British vessel from Gibraltar to Tangier.

In his first letter their correspondent stated that, according to report, the slaves had been brought from Malta to Gibraltar by a French ship. In a second letter, however, he names an English ship—Her Majesty's ship *Prometheus*, Lieutenant-commander Sparks—as having performed this service. He states also that Moors living at Gibraltar hold negroes in slavery there, and, at their pleasure, send them to Barbary to be sold. The Committee trust you will allow them the liberty of stating the representations thus made to them. They submit them merely as fit matters for inquiry, and have the most perfect confidence in the proceedings which your lordship may adopt thereon.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Our last number contained an unusual quantity of information—painful and deeply affecting information—respecting the slave-trade. Through the pressure of other matter, it had been for some time accumulating on our hands; and its insertion in so considerable a mass creates an opportunity, which we are unwilling to pass by, of saying a few words on the general subject.

It is undoubtedly a most afflictive consideration that, after the employment of so much diplomacy, the expenditure of so many millions of money, and the sacrifice of so many lives—all of them through so long a course of years—the African slave-trade should still exist. To this general proposition the aggravating circumstances are to be added, that this odious traffic has not suffered any material diminution, and that it is not in any apparent progress towards extinction. On the contrary, all the sources which supply it with energy,—the demand, the capital, the profit, are in unexhausted fulness. Were this all, the conclusion might be justly

drawn that the entire system of diplomatic and armed intervention can have effected nothing in the way of benefit, but the prevention of whatever increase might have taken place in the slave-trade without its operation.

To set against this hypothetical result, which, at all events, leaves the whole matter in a state far from satisfactory, there is the aggravated amount of cruelty and misery produced by the preventive system in the mode of conducting the traffic. The difficulty of embarking negroes when brought down to the coast causes the destruction of many there. The ships employed are, for the purpose of being made quick sailers, made less roomy, both for persons and provisions; while, to derive the greater advantage from a fortunate escape, they are more crowded with victims. Let the reader but imagine a slave-deck only twenty-two inches in height, so that a person cannot sit upright in the space! And besides this, the numbers put on board are generally more than even this horrible accommodation is provided for. To increase the probability of escaping the cruisers, very small vessels have come to be employed, thus increasing beyond calculation, not only the sufferings, but the actual hazards of the voyage. The indescribable state of emaciation and disease, in which these wretched victims are found when the vessels arrive without interruption, is a demonstration beyond all need of argument, and beyond all power of eloquence, of the frightful agonies through which they have passed. The mortality of the middle passage is always large; but, when a slaver with a full cargo is chased by a British cruiser, the slaughter often becomes horrible beyond conception, in order to facilitate her escape. In these, and many other ways which we will not now specify, the system of armed suppression of the slave-trade has obviously aggravated to an incalculable extent the horrors of the traffic. Whether the hypothetical benefit of this system overbalances its actual mischief, is a question, we think, of no doubtful character.

Views of this kind are at the foundation of a conviction which we have never hesitated to express, that diplomatic and armed intervention will never put down the slave-trade. We could wish to see the entire system abandoned, and the efforts of the friends of humanity directed to the abolition of slavery. Slavery being abolished, there would be no question of abolishing the slave-trade. It would then die of itself.

TO BRITISH SHAREHOLDERS IN FOREIGN MINING COMPANIES.

It is, of course, known to you, that the Labour of Slaves is extensively employed in the mines which are worked by British capital in Cuba and Brazil, and that several British Companies have become actual purchasers and proprietors of slaves.

As the directors of such companies act on behalf of the shareholders, all that is done by them attaches to the shareholders also. *They* are the persons who, both morally and legally, buy and sell, hold and employ, slaves. It is fit that every shareholder in such a Company should entertain this consideration with the utmost gravity, and ask himself the question whether he approves of such a course of action, and whether he really means to be implicated in it. What is done by the directors is, unless he expresses his dissent from it, done by himself. He chooses them, and he can instruct, and even control them. What he would not do with his own hands, he ought not to effect through theirs.

It is known that some persons holding shares in foreign mining companies have felt their position as slaveholders very severely. With much truth it has been said, on their behalf, that they are involuntary slaveholders, and that they acquired the property which has made them such without being aware of its consequences. To this, however, it must be added, that they are not thus freed from the obligation of a suitable course of action. In their present circumstances, they are competent to adopt proceedings directly adapted to remove, both from themselves and others, the burden under which they lie. As shareholders of a public company, each of them has a voice in its concerns, and, at the yearly or half-yearly meetings of the company, an opportunity of making his voice heard. Ought not this opportunity to be improved? Should not every shareholder who deplores, and wishes to terminate, his career of slaveholding, make a point of being present at these meetings, and expressing his sentiments? Some sympathy such a person would be almost sure to meet with; and who can tell how much? If not at once, yet in time it might be enough to fix the attention of the Directors, and to induce a change on the part of the company. Those who feel together on this subject might communicate with each other, and endeavour to act in concert. At all events, the attention of the shareholders at large, and that of the public, would be kept alive to the facts of the case, and individual shareholders would, by protesting against the course adopted by the company, do what the circumstances permit to free themselves from blame. To lament it privately, or even to refuse the profit which might accrue from such an investment, can scarcely be deemed enough to afford satisfaction to an honourable mind.

It is no doubt true, that a shareholder, in coming forward in the manner which has been described, might encounter considerable difficulty, and might expose himself to a species of observation and remark which every one would naturally avoid. But this cannot be thought a sufficient reason for shrinking from a duty so imperative and so important. The claims of justice, benevolence, and humanity concur to enforce it; and the faithful discharge of it, amidst whatever

difficulties, will surely be connected with far greater tranquillity of mind, than a tame and cowardly acquiescence in a state of things, which makes you individually an accomplice in a course of injustice and wrong which your own heart condemns, and which the whole civilized world is concurring to denounce and to destroy.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel it their duty to submit to the shareholders these remarks, and they trust a kind and serious attention will be given to them.

(Signed, by direction of the Committee,) J. SCOBLE, Secretary.

London, January 15, 1844.

A WORD TO THE WISE.

OUR eye has been caught by a letter in the *Manchester Times*, having relation to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and intended to discourage the support of it on certain grounds therein alleged. It is our duty to make on these allegations a few remarks.

It seems that the writer (who signs himself 'A LEAGUER,' and dates from Rochdale) has been applied to by some active friends of the Society for a subscription; and he thence takes occasion to counsel all parties to whom a similar request may be made, "to consider well the principle on which it is based, and to ask themselves whether there is the least probability of any advance being made in the cause by any operations which it is likely to put in practice." This advice is excellent, and we most heartily commend it to the adoption of all who are disposed to listen to the claims of the Society on their liberality. The writer then proceeds to lay sundry heavy charges against the Society, as reasons why no support should be given to it; and, for the full information of our readers on so interesting a matter, we quote the whole of them.

"The members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are the greatest abettors of the West Indian monopoly; they style themselves peaceable men, and yet apply to a war government to withhold the sugar which Heaven's bounty intended to supply the wants of their suffering fellow-countrymen; they know not that the great work in which they pretend to be honestly engaged must be carried out by moral means alone; nor do they see that the reformation for which so many devoted men have long been toiling (though disowned by them) in America, Dublin, Glasgow, and elsewhere, must be effected by the force of an enlightened public opinion; and that that public opinion can never attain to its legitimate might, and be employed with success against the strongholds of slavery, until all the barriers which intercept the communication between man and man are thrown down, and until trade, the grand civilizer of the whole human family, be free as the winds of heaven."

The items in this bill of indictment are these:—

1. "The members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" are knaves. They "pretend to be honestly engaged" in the great cause of humanity; but it is mere pretence.

2. "The members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" are fools. "They know not that the great work . . . must be carried out by moral means alone; nor do they see that" it "must be effected by the force of an enlightened public opinion;" or "that public opinion can . . . never be employed with success against the strongholds of slavery . . . until trade, the grand civilizer of the whole human family, be free as the winds of heaven."

3. "The members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" are inconsistent. "They style themselves peaceable men, and yet apply to a war government."

4. "The members of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society" are mischievous. They "are abettors—the greatest abettors!—of the West India monopoly."

To begin our defence of "the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" with taking up the last of these charges, we observe, that, even if it were in any measure true in fact, it is, extravagant in expression. If "abettors of the West India monopoly" at all, to say that the Society are "*the greatest abettors*" of it is a pure exaggeration. But it is not in any measure true. One plain proof of which is, that no West India monopoly now exists. This phrase, now so freely used as a bugbear, never meant any thing but that sugars, rum, and molasses, from the West Indies and Mauritius, were admitted into England on more favourable terms than the same produce from the East Indies. The equalization of the sugar duties as between the East and West Indies, which was effected some years ago, put an end to the West India monopoly at once and for ever. Either the writer of the letter does not know this—in which case he is ignorant; or he does—in which case he is artful. On neither supposition is he trustworthy. What is true is, that the British colonies and possessions abroad have a monopoly of the English sugar market, as against the rest of the world. But even of this monopoly the Society are not abettors, but the contrary, since they have repeatedly adopted measures for obtaining the admission into England of produce of all kinds, raised by free labour, from all parts of the world, on the same terms as similar produce from the British possessions. That they have objected to the further introduction of produce raised by slaves, is true; but, if they were abettors of monopoly, they would object to the further introduction of any other produce than British. The charge, therefore, is absolutely erroneous and unfounded.

Equally baseless is the accusation of inconsistency. The Society profess to pursue pacific measures; and yet "apply to a war government." Truly; but not to adopt warlike measures. An

application to "a war government" might even be directed to obtain the abandonment of such measures entirely.

The Society, however, are ignorant. They do not know the very alphabet of their proper science. One thing of which they are thus lamentably ignorant is, that the abolition of slavery "must be carried out by moral means alone." Now it happens to be the fundamental principle of the Society, that it shall adopt none but religious, moral, and other pacific means; so that, as to the importance of moral means, its members cannot be assumed to be absolutely uninformed. And were they unaware that their object "must be effected by the force of an enlightened public opinion," it would be hard to account for the earnest and incessant assiduity with which they have endeavoured to enlighten the public mind, wherever it has been accessible to them. Whether the members of the Society are all satisfied "that public opinion can never be employed with success against the strongholds of slavery until trade be free as the winds of heaven," may not be quite so certain. This writer, indeed, delivers himself of the oracular dictum, that "trade is the grand civilizer of the whole human family." But if this were true, it is nothing to the purpose; since slavery has been, and is to this day, maintained by some of the most highly civilized and polished nations in the world. That trade is not the great exterminator of slavery is evident, we think, by decisive and glaring proofs; and that free trade would create in Brazil or Cuba a tone of public opinion tending to the abolition of slavery, appears to us to be an assumption wholly gratuitous, and unwarranted by a single fact. The weight of probability is, in our view, overwhelming on the other side. At all events, the matter is not so perfectly clear and axiomatic, that it can claim to be laid at the foundation of anti-slavery science or activity.

As to the remaining charge, that the members of the Society are nothing more than *pretenders* to honest devotedness, we leave it without an answer.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

DEDICATED BY COMMAND TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT.

GEORGE BAXTER has the honour to announce that he has commenced his OIL COLOURED PICTURE, by the patent process, from Haydon's celebrated Painting of the great Meeting of Delegates held in London in June, 1840, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

At this meeting, over which the venerable Thomas Clarkson, Esq., presided, the most illustrious and distinguished advocates of the freedom of the slave were present, and assisted at the solemn and animated proceedings. This noble band of true patriots, thus assembled together in the cause of liberty, deserve to be handed down to posterity, and it will be his delightful task to assist, however humbly, in the accomplishment of this great and good object.

The undertaking is a very onerous one, and will cost nearly 2,000*l.*, before any return can be expected; but this outlay G. B. is prepared to make, in the confident hope that the great body of philanthropists—foes to slavery—will encourage and honour him by immediately enrolling their names amongst the number of royal and noble personages already on the list of subscribers to this magnificent picture.

Upwards of 200 portraits of philanthropic noblemen, statesmen, clergymen, &c., distinguished for their steady and untiring ardour in the cause of freedom, will be presented at one glance to the eye; while each countenance and figure will be most faithfully executed. In a word, no expense will be spared to render this Picture a worthy memorial of the most important meeting ever held in behalf of the despised slave.

Price to Subscribers—Proofs, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Prints, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Size, 21*½* inches by 17. No money to be paid until completed and delivered.

Subscribers' names received by George Baxter, the patentee, 3, Charter-house-square, London; at the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street; by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street within; and by the Treasurer or Secretary of every Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom, whose names have been already announced.

With a Map, foolscap 8vo,

FIFTY DAYS ON BOARD A SLAVE SHIP. By Rev. PASCOE GREENFELL HILL, M.A. London: John Murray, Albemarle-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome volume, price 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ZULUETA'S TRIAL.—Advertisements have appeared in several papers, announcing the publication of Zulueta's trial on Saturday last. We have now to state that the publication has been delayed for a few days, in order to allow the annexation of an additional sheet of important matter to the Appendix. It will very shortly appear.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 24, 1844.

WE direct attention to the notice we are enabled to take this week of our late honoured coadjutor, WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.; and to the important communication relating to the slave-trade in the Mediterranean.

THE notice which we took in our last number of the *Colonial Gazette* has elicited the following reply, which appears as a postscript in that journal of the 13th inst.:—

"The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of Wednesday last accuses us of misquoting the *Calcutta Star*: 'The editor of the *Star* has made the following assertion:—"No single case of cruelty, or oppression, or wrong of any kind to an emigrant, has ever been proved since the act came into operation; I mean, of course, after he has tendered himself as an emigrant." The *Colonial Gazette*, in quoting this sentence, omits the last clause, and so leaves the assertion to apply to all that takes place, whether before or after the tender. For what reason has this paper taken no notice of the case of the two convicted duffadars?

"This is a deliberate lie. If the reader will turn to our summary of January 6, where the *Calcutta Star* is quoted, he will there find, *with the rest*, the line marked in italics, and said to be omitted.

"We will venture to predict what the *Reporter* will do on this occasion: make no allusion to this contradiction, in the hope that its devotees, who read it and nothing else, will continue to believe the falsehood.

"We have not alluded to the alleged conviction of the duffadars, because we were not aware of any such case. But if any one will send us a report of the proceedings in a credible publication, it shall be noticed. The alleged fact of their having been convicted, if true, proves that the law is enforced."

Our contemporary is undoubtedly among the shrewdest of men, and his guesses, we dare say, are generally right. On this occasion, however, he is mistaken. He "ventures to predict" that we shall "make no allusion to this contradiction" of our statement; when, behold! we give it entire in our pages, in order to instruct in the arts of veracity and courtesy the very rudest of our "devotees."

We have said that our contemporary is shrewd. We must now add that he is courteous—eminently so. Our error (if it be one) "is a deliberate lie"—the gentlest and most urbane phraseology, of course, that an editor's pen—we beg pardon; we mean the pen of *some* editors—could alight upon. Nothing can be more satisfactory and convincing than this sweetness of temper.

But how stands the fact? In his summary of the 6th of January, the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* inserted a long passage, (occupying about one-third of a column,) as "from the pen of the editor of the *Calcutta Star*," and closing with the sentence which we have quoted—which we quoted, in fact, from the *Colonial Gazette*, not having seen that extract from the *Calcutta Star* anywhere else. The editor of the *Colonial Gazette* introduces this passage "from the pen of the editor of the *Calcutta Star*" by some remarks of his own; and these he closes by quoting, and incorporating with his own composition, the last sentence of it, excepting the specified clause. He writes thus:—"He [the editor of the *Calcutta Star*], upon the testimony of the pilot and preventive officer on board the *Faiz Robani*, (both Coolie protectors under the Emigration act,) and other respectable witnesses, declares himself satisfied 'that no single case of cruelty, or oppression, or wrong of any kind to any emigrant, has been proved since the act came into practice.'" Here the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* (as we stated) quotes the favourable assertion of the *Star* without its limiting clause; and, by omitting this clause, he leaves it to a much wider bearing, in the mind of every reader who does not peruse the whole extract, so as to find out the difference, than the editor of the *Star* intended. We have, therefore, neither told any "lie," nor even committed a mistake. Our contemporary, possibly, may have committed the small error of confounding the entire extract from the *Star*, with that quotation of a particular sentence to which we referred.

For the rest, we are glad to see that our contemporary thinks misquotation so serious an offence against editorial morals. As to the manner of his retort, if we wished him evil we should beg him to repeat it. Such methods can hurt no one but himself. For the case of the convicted duffadars, it is his business, we presume, to know what is in the public papers, without our sending them to him. If either this account is not in them, or if there is ground for discrediting it, he would be only labouring in his vocation if he were to address himself to the demonstration. The punishment of the duffadars shows, beyond question, that the laws are enforced; but it directly contradicts the assertion that "no single case of cruelty, or oppression, or wrong of any kind to any emigrant, has been proved since the act came into operation."

As we make no pretensions to prophecy, we shall not "venture to predict" what our contemporary will do with this rejoinder.

ANOTHER West India mail has arrived, but without bringing any matter worthy of particular remark. Mr. Lefroy will observe the notice taken of his letter. The good people of St. Kitts also, who,

of course, stand in fear of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, will take notice that our eyes are upon their doings. Nor must the importers of Chinese immigrants to Demerara, among whom we notice the name of Messrs. Gladstone, (we thought they had done with the colony,) for five hundred, imagine that we overlook them.

We have given at much length to-day the proceedings of the House of Representatives in the United States, so far as they relate to the abolition of slavery. They are of extraordinary interest, and as amusing as they are interesting. Our readers are aware that an attempt was made some years ago by the Southern gentlemen to exclude anti-slavery discussion, by passing a rule to prohibit the reception of anti-slavery petitions. This, which is known as the 21st rule, or the "gag" resolution, has been steadily combated by Mr. Adams as an infringement of the right of petition; and endeavours have been made to nullify it by framing petitions so ingeniously as not to violate the terms of it. At the commencement of the present session the rule was renewed by the small majority of four; and Mr. Adams has kept the house in continual excitement, by presenting petitions so nearly violating it that the question has perpetually arisen, in most perplexing forms, whether they are admissible or not. Poor Mr. Speaker Jones has repeatedly been at his wits' end (they are said to be none of the sharpest) in this business, and twice has he been constrained to reconsider and cancel his own decisions. Mr. Adams has fought this battle with an ingenuity, perseverance, and fearlessness altogether beyond praise, and entitling him to the warmest thanks of his country; while the meanness and virulence of the slaveholders have been most conspicuously manifested. Even with the House in a tumult he has played, like a giant with a host of pygmies; and he has gained his point. He has succeeded in obtaining the reception of so many petitions which must raise debates on slavery, that the Southerners find their gag to be of no use, and are willing to relinquish it. Mr. Wise, the Magnus Apollo of this party, has declared that he will contest the point no more, but choose a different ground for the theatre of battle. Mr. Adams quietly says that "this is the wisest thing he ever did in his life." That the floor of Congress should be thus opened to the discussion of the question of slavery, cannot but be deemed a great practical advance for the cause of abolition, and results of the utmost importance cannot fail to follow from it. Already the proposition of the state of Massachusetts, that the representation shall be formed on the basis of freedom only—a severe blow at the slave states—is referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Adams is likely to be chairman. We shall watch the proceedings with the liveliest interest.

UNITED STATES. *

The proceedings in Congress are of great interest to the friends of the anti-slavery cause. From the Washington correspondence of the *Emancipator* we glean the following particulars:—

Wednesday, December 20.

Mr. Adams presented a petition signed by 500 or 600 citizens of the state of New York, praying that their state may be relieved of all obligation to support slavery. It was couched, I believe, in the very words of the great Latimer petition, which was signed by upwards of 50,000 citizens of Massachusetts, and which, as appears from the journals of the last session, was received and referred to the Committee on judiciary, but not acted on by that committee, through the refusal of its members to form a quorum at any time after the petition had been referred. Speaker Jones very promptly decided that this petition came within the provisions of the 21st rule, (old edition,) which prohibits the reception of petitions of a certain character; and Mr. Adams submitted that petitions of similar import had been ruled, during the administration of Mr. Speaker White, not to fall within those provisions.

The Speaker, at the request of Mr. Adams, recurred to the journal for the purpose of ascertaining the fact; pending which operation, and with a view to give time to the Speaker to investigate the case, Mr. Gilmer moved that the House adjourn.

The motion to adjourn was most seasonable to relieve the Speaker from a dilemma. As soon as he had decided that a petition to relieve New York from the support of slavery is a petition to abolish slavery, Mr. Adams begged to call his attention to the precedents on the journal. The Speaker said he had decided, and asked Mr. Adams if he would appeal. Mr. Adams said he knew very well, by experience, of how little avail it was for him to appeal from the chair to that House; he only wished the Speaker to look at the precedents, and re-consider his own decision. The Speaker said he had decided, according to his own understanding of the rule. Mr. Adams then said he was constrained to take an appeal. This put Mr. Speaker to a nonplus, and he was then willing to look at the precedents. The clerk turned him to the entry on the journal, which is all as plain as a pikestaff, and while the Speaker was pondering, apparently, to see if he could conjure up some Virginia abstraction to be fog what was absolutely clear, his considerate colleague came to his relief by the motion to adjourn.

Thursday, December 21.

Mr. Adams's appeal came up in order. The Speaker said that the delay had allowed him the opportunity to look into the precedents, and he found that such petitions were received by the last Congress and referred; that, on looking at the terms of the rule, and comparing the petition therewith, it was plain that it did not come within the letter of the rule; and, as the rule itself was restrictive, the Chair was not at liberty to extend it by construction. He must, therefore, decide that the petition was not excluded by the rule.

Mr. Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, then said he should object to the reception of the petition. He could never consent to the receiving of

such a paper by the House. The Speaker said the question would then be, shall the petition be received? Another slaveholder moved that this question be laid on the table. After an anxious inquiry by Mr. E. J. Black, of Georgia, whether the vote to lay the question of reception on the table would not involve a virtual reception of the petition, to which the Speaker responded in the negative, the question was put by yeas and nays, and carried—yeas, 97; nays, 80. So the House have determined to carry out the gag, by the senatorial process, where the gag itself fails to defeat the right of petition. After presenting some petitions that came within the rule, Mr. A. presented a petition that no new State be admitted to the Union that tolerates slavery. The Speaker decided that this came within the rule! He said there was a territory (Florida) now applying for admission in which slavery existed, and therefore the prayer of the petition involved, virtually, the abolition of slavery in that territory. Mr. Adams explained, briefly, the distinction between this petition and the rule, and appealed from the decision; and was proceeding to debate the appeal, when Mr. Hopkins, of Virginia, objected, that whenever a petition gave rise to debate, the debate was to lie over. The chair so decided, and that the debate on the appeal must lie over. Mr. Wise then inquired where the petition would be, and whether it did not receive and carry the petition. He said the proper subject matter now in debate was on the question of order, not the petition, and therefore it was not within the rule which requires petitions that give rise to debate shall lie over. The Speaker said, that to allow a debate on this collateral question would render the rule itself a nullity. Mr. Wise then took an appeal, but finally dropped it, and the case went by. Petitions against the annexation of Texas were then presented, and referred to the Committee on foreign affairs, Mr. A. pleasantly observing that the House must consider them safe enough in the care of the chairman of that Committee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (C. J. Ingersoll.) Next came a petition which he hoped the House would consent to receive, at least, and hear it read, whatever other disposal they might make of it. It was a petition praying that Congress would restore and secure to all the people of the United States those rights which the Declaration of Independence declares, as a self-evident truth, to be inalienable—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The reading was called for, but was strenuously resisted by Mr. Wise. The chair then decided that the petition did not come within the rule. Mr. Haralson, of Georgia, then objected to the reception of the petition, as disrespectful to the American Congress. The Speaker decided that this question of reception was debatable, and as there was debate arising, it would go over. Mr. Wise again appealed, and insisted that it was not the petition that goes over.

In this dilemma, a motion was made, a quarter before three o'clock, that the House adjourn, which was carried. So that it was staved off till another day. The Speaker, whose wits are never of the quickest, is evidently getting perplexed with these ingeniously drawn petitions. I wish the variety and ingenuity of forms to be multiplied as much as possible; always keeping within the legal bounds of decent respect to the House, and, as far as possible, avoiding a direct infringement of the gag. Petitions against the incidentals of slavery might escape the gag—such as for the repeal of the law in this district, by which slaves guilty of murder are to be cut in quarters, and exposed in the most public places of the county—or to prohibit the national goad from enforcing slave laws.

Friday, December 22.

VICTORY! VICTORY!

The Speaker again retracted his decision in regard to petitions. Yesterday he ruled that a petition against the admission of any new slave state, or of Texas, was within the rule. Mr. Adams, of course, appealed from the decision. This morning he said he had examined the journal of the last Congress, and found that such had not been the construction of the rule, and he should therefore rule for the admission of those petitions. They go, in course, to the Committee on foreign affairs, so far as Texas is concerned; and for the new states, to the Committee on territories, or the judiciary.

The Massachusetts resolves then came up, on a motion to refer them to the Committee on the judiciary. As several members had been indulged with permission to speak, by general consent, (the motion itself not being debateable,) Mr. Adams expected the same courtesy, but objection was made by the slaveholders, and it was finally necessary to take the vote of the House by yeas and nays before he could be heard. The motion was carried, in a way that could not but be admonitory to the slaveholders—yeas, 146; nays, 39. Mr. Adams made a powerful speech, almost annihilating Weller, Holmes, Charles Ingersoll, and Judge French, of Kentucky, and seemingly carrying the sense of the House with him—i.e., to have the resolves referred and reported on. An attempt was made to lay the question on the table, and that failed—yeas, 64; nays, 104! Where are we? The Resolves of Massachusetts, demanding the abolition of the slave representation—19 members—is referred to a select Committee, of which Mr. Adams will undoubtedly be chairman, and make the report. This is a great advance.

Let petitions from every town, and every class of persons, be poured into Congress, to strengthen the hands of that Committee. We have found the spot for an escalade. Let the bulwarks of slavery now be battered down. Amend the Constitution, by striking from it the loathsome words "three-fifths of all other persons."

I have learned another important fact. The Select Committee of nine appointed to revise the rules of the House, have made so much progress in their work, that they have agreed, five to four, to report in favour of abolishing the gag. Let us persevere in our impartial course. We are driving the Democratic 28th Congress just as far ahead of their Whig predecessors, as we drove the Whig 27th Congress ahead of their Democratic predecessors. It is not our party, or the other, but Congress that moves. Compare this result of independent and impartial political action, with what would have been our position had we yielded to the delusions of party spirit in 1840, and linked the Abolition cause with the destinies of the Whig party.

By an upright course we have secured the respect of both parties, because we have deserved it, and because both parties know that their party organization cannot withstand us, if they continue openly to op-

pose all our just demands. They have both, therefore, adopted the policy of yielding something, each in its turn, as they come into power, in hopes thereby to stave off the day when the direct issue must come between liberty and slavery.

The *New York Herald* gives the following spirited and characteristic detail of the proceedings of the 22nd of December :—

Perhaps there never has been, and never will be, or at least for some time to come, so intensely interesting a scene as that which occurred to-day in the House of Representatives, on the question of disposing of the resolutions from the Legislature of Massachusetts (offered by Adams yesterday), praying for an amendment to the constitution.

The resolutions, it will be recollect, asked that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to the number of free persons and untaxed Indians in them, to take effect in two years—that is, in the next Congress. This, it will be perceived, is a direct blow at the South, and allows free coloured persons to vote in any state; and it was upon this subject that Messrs. Wise and Holmes took such strong ground, and evinced so much warmth and bitterness in the debate of yesterday.

The speakers yesterday were allowed to reply to Mr. Adams, through courtesy; and the only question before the house to-day was, whether these resolutions should be laid on the table, or referred to a select committee. But Mr. Adams was allowed to reply; and the scene that ensued can never be forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to witness it. After the journal was read,

MR. ADAMS rose: Sir, the journal says I was called to order for offensive remarks; Sir, I was called to order for irrelevancy. I wish that corrected.

SAUNDERS: The gentleman was so called to order.

ADAMS (sarcastically): Then, Sir, if I was called to order for offensive remarks, I wish the journal to state what the offensive words were. [This produced great laughter and excitement, because they referred to the skull of the Speaker sympathising with the skulls of some of the members.]

SPEAKER: The journal will be corrected.

A MEMBER: Isn't he a great old horse?

ANOTHER: He's a bitter old scorpion, and I wish the chaplain would put up a daily prayer that he may speedily be taken to Abraham's bosom.

[Here there were twenty or thirty members on the floor, crying out "Mr. Speaker," and all wanting to make motions, and some of them did make very grotesque motions.]

PRESTON KING (a short, fat, good-natured man): Mr. Speaker, what is the business before the house? (Great laughter.)

SPEAKER: The disposal of the Massachusetts resolutions.

KING: Is that debateable?

SPEAKER: No, sir.

KING: Then I object. (Roars of laughter.)

MR. ADAMS: Yesterday, sir, gentlemen consumed two hours in a most interesting manner debating this. I wish to say a few words to those gentlemen. (Laughter; cries of "Oh yes," "Let him go on," "Hear him," "No, no.")

KING: I object, sir. (Laughter, and great noise and confusion.)

CAVE JOHNSON: Several gentlemen wish to debate it.

KING: I object, sir. (Increased laughter.)

DAVIS (of New York): I wish to say something on this subject.

KING: You do? Very well; I object. (Laughter, and many members rose to the floor at once, and all tried to speak; and, for two or three minutes, there was something approximating the confusion at the tower of Babel.)

SPEAKER: If it gives rise to debate, it must lie over.

ADAMS: Sir, it has lain over me one day already. (Laughter.) Now, if it is to lie over every time it gives rise to debate, it will lie over, and over, and over, to the end of time—if this house lasts as long. (Screams of laughter, and cries of "Oh! for Heaven's sake let the old man go on, he'll worry us out.")

CLINGHAM: I move the gentleman from Massachusetts have leave to speak.

ADAMS (in a peculiar tone of voice): Thank you, sir—(much laughter.)

BELSER: I move to lay the resolutions on the table.

C. J. INGERSOLL: What! lay the resolutions of a sovereign State on the table? (cries of "Oh, no, no!" "Go on," "Question," and at least thirty members up, all talking at the top pitch of their tongues.)

HUDSON: Why, sir, yesterday four or five of the majority here were allowed to debate this; and now are none of the minority to be allowed to reply? (cries of "Oh no, that won't do;" and great excitement.)

SPEAKER: The chair so decides—(considerable sensation.)

BELSER: I withdraw the motion, so as to allow the gentleman from Massachusetts to speak. (Cries of "Good.")

SPEAKER: The House must suspend the rules before he can be allowed to proceed.

WINTHROP: I call for a suspension of the rules then, sir.

GIDDINGS: And I demand the ayes and noes on that motion.

A VOICE: Good! go it! It will never do to give it up so, Mr. Brown. (Laughter.)

The ayes and noes were called. Ayes, 123; noes, 46.

So two-thirds voting in the affirmative, the rules were suspended to allow Mr. Adams to proceed.

Upon this the eloquent old man rose in his might, calm, but most imposing in his manner, his venerable form dilating with honest pride, and his lightning-like eye, grey hair, and bold forehead, presenting a most picturesque appearance, whilst the members of the House, young and old, crowded into the arena in front to listen to him.

SPEAKER: Gentlemen will please to take their seats.

ADAMS: Sir, as to what committee it pleases the House to send these resolutions to, I care not; to the judiciary, or to a select committee. I have done my duty in presenting them, and urging their reference. That's all I have to say on that subject, Sir. (Laughter.) But I haven't done, Mr. Speaker. (Increased laughter.) I have a word or two to say to the gentlemen who replied to me yesterday. (Almost breathless silence.) The gentleman from Virginia (Wise) said that, from this day forth for ever, he

should cease the war, which he and his friends have carried on for seven or eight years, against these petitions, and he called the attention of all the reporters to the declaration of war which he meant to make in another place, before his constituents. And this called up the gentleman from South Carolina (Holmes), who, with all the high and lofty feelings of southern chivalry, for which he and his friends are so celebrated—(laughter)—said that he would renew the war in this House—he would sound the tocsin, buckle on his armour, sling on his sword, and, for aught I know, gird up his loins like the giant of old—(great laughter—for Holmes, though a noble, high-spirited, brave man, is a very small one in stature)—to carry on the war, Sir. The war? With whom? The citizens of our common country! Our own brethren and sisters! Bound together by one holy bond of interest, affection, and the sacred ties of kindred! (Immense sensation all over the House.) Sir, the gentleman from Virginia (Wise) said what was true, and what was very proper. This is not the place for the battle. Sir, this is not the place for a battle of any kind. It is a place for solemn deliberation—for the interchange of thought and mind, in harmony, between friends and brothers; for we are all brothers of one blessed family, having no interests at heart, no desires to attain, no objects to achieve, but the common good of our common country. (Great sensation, and the members noiselessly drew up around the old man.) And although the gentleman from Virginia (Wise) will no longer occupy the post—the military post—(laughter)—which he has so long occupied—ay, commanded—in this house; yet, in resigning it, he never did any thing so wise in his life. (Roars of laughter.) Sir, the position is not tenable. The country will no longer support it; and, therefore, the gentleman has at last held out the wise signal of surrender. (Increased laughter.) And to God Almighty be all glory! (Tremendous sensation.) The people never will sustain those who kick their petitions out of doors. (Laughter.) And, Sir, a word to the gentleman from South Carolina. Though he is now armed *cap-a-pie*—(much laughter)—I hope, Sir, that he'll come to his senses, take off his redoubtable armour—(laughter)—and even take off his renowned sword. (Laughter.) Yes, Sir, even though his sword be as celebrated as that famous sword of Durindarano, that achieved so many wonderful things in fable—(roars of laughter)—though it may be capable of performing as many wonders as that of Orlando Inamorato, or Furioso—(here the members literally screamed with laughter, and Mr. Holmes, and even the Speaker, joined)—that we read of in ancient times. Because this is not the place for it; and because they who use the sword shall perish by the sword. And because they said that they would stand by the constitution. Sir, they hold out a threat of battle to the north—and yet they said, in the same breath, that they would stand by the Union. Now, Sir, I believe that I understand and love the constitution of my country, and I yield to no man in my pure, deep, and abiding love for this great Union. Sir, I am no incendiary, no factionist, no Abolitionist! Nor do I belong to, nor am I in any way connected with, any society of Abolitionists, as that term is usually understood. In one sense of the word I am an Abolitionist. I am one in the same way that Thomas Jefferson was an abolitionist, when, in his 77th year, he deliberately put on paper that, "Sooner or later the abolition of slavery in this country must come—and the sooner the better." These were Thomas Jefferson's opinions in his 77th year; and these are mine now. I believe that the abolition of slavery in this country will come—but not in my time. Still I hope the day will come when slavery shall be a word without meaning in the English language: when there shall be no such thing as a slave in the world. (Great sensation.) Then will be the time when the lion shall lie down with the lamb; and one man shall say unto another, "Thou art my brother;" the time declared by Jesus Christ when on earth, when man shall rise to an elevation akin to the Divine nature, and peace and happiness, and truth and love, shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the great deep. [It is impossible to describe the effect of this on the House—the tears actually stood in the eyes of many of the members, and all were intensely silent.] In no other sense am I an abolitionist. I depend on none of them; I hold communication with but few of them. But, Sir, I have as warm and ardent patriotism as any man, and as deep and abiding love of country as any man in this hall, though I wear no sword. (Laughter.) I receive my opinions from no man. I hold my opinions from God and my own judgment; I hold my opinions from the Declaration of Independence, which I believe still hangs in this hall (looking round to the spot where it hung immediately behind him), although some gentlemen, in their wisdom and ardent patriotism, yesterday, wanted to kick out of this hall a request for the security of its first principles. (Laughter.) I do not agree with these abolition petitioners in the course they pursue, for I believe they thereby retard the period of universal emancipation. Sir, I wish this Union to last for ever, firm, bright, and unsullied by a cloud. And, as one of the means to secure that blessing, I wish for the abolition of slavery—peaceably and quietly—and by the will of the slaveholders themselves. I wish to make no idle and insignificant declarations here, Sir, or elsewhere. I wish not to interfere with the rights and interests of the South; and the resolutions of the State of Massachusetts do not claim or ask that right. Sir, when I presented a petition for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, I was arraigned as a culprit—a degraded criminal—charged with constructive treason—perjury—subornation of perjury, and I know not what else. And for what? For presenting a petition to this House, which one of your rules says shall not be received! Sir, if you had abolished that odious rule at the commencement of this session, you would have done more to preserve this Union than anything else you could do. Sir, the gentleman from Ohio (Weller) said he would fight in this war against the abolitionists; and also said he represented the feelings of his constituents in so doing. Will he say, Sir, that he presents the views of the people of Ohio on that subject? No, Sir, no. He will say no such thing. For he does not. He cannot. But, when I moved the other day to abolish that odious rule, thirteen out of the eighteen members from Ohio voted with me: and they were fresh from the people! Twenty-seven out of thirty-two from New York voted with me. (A Voice cried out, "Thirty-four.") Yes, Sir, thirty-four, but two were conveniently absent. (Laughter.) And twelve out of twenty members from Pennsylvania voted with me, although the peace-maker was not one of them. (Roars of laughter at this sarcastic allusion to Mr. C. J. Ingersoll's remark of yesterday.) Twelve out of twenty from Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania, whose motto is in the days of her virtue—(bitterly

sarcastic)—was virtue, truth, and independence. Sir, the people of the State of Ohio detest that odious rule. I have been among them lately, and, when I was coming away to my duties here, they took leave of me as of a child going to the home of his fathers—because they said I was the champion, upon this floor, of the right of petition. Sir, it is the ground on which I have stood in this House, and upon which I will ever stand, for the few short days or months which it may please the Almighty to allow me to exert the poor abilities and faculties which he has bestowed upon me—it is the ground upon which I desire to stand on this earth after my death, upon the page of my country's history; and I will stand upon that ground hereafter before the judgment-seat of the God of mercy, for any sins I may have committed in the flesh.

Language fails to describe the extraordinary effect which this speech had upon the members. All listened with intense admiration, the House was as still (except his voice) as the grave, and the tears trickled down the cheeks of many an old and young member; and one southern man, worked up to a pitch of enthusiasm when Mr. Adams closed as above, cried out, "By G—d, he's a noble old scoundrel, after all!"

The remainder of his remarks were almost of an entirely colloquial character, with Mr. Holmes and Mr. French, of Kentucky. He called Mr. Holmes's attention to the state law of South Carolina, which imprisons all free-coloured persons that arrive there in vessels, &c.; and to the fact, that Great Britain had held out a threat in consequence; and that the late Mr. Legare had said, that, if a war grew out of it, still the State would stick to that law; and that members from South Carolina had farther said, that, if that state law led to a dissolution of the Union, South Carolina would still stand by the law. And yet they charged him with trying to dissolve the union by presenting petitions. He also said, that many of those members who were eternally talking about a violation of the constitution, were like General Jackson—they construed the constitution as they understood it; and among these he said was Mr. French, whose explanation left the case in what Judge Chase called a *non sequitur*.

Mr. ADAMS concluded thus:—Sir, I'll not indulge in any idle professions of love to this Union; because all my life has been devoted to the support of this Union, and of the constitution. All the remainder of my life, with the poor faculties that Almighty God has given me, shall be sacredly devoted to sustain that Union—to support that constitution.

Here several members rose at once and cried out, "Mr. Speaker!"

HOLMES (laughing): Sir, I wish to say one word about that sword—(roars of laughter)—that sword of Orlando Furioso. (Screams of laughter.)

SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the house to suspend the rules, to allow the gentleman from South Carolina to say one word about—(laughter)—about—(more laughter).

Several MEMBERS: That sword. (Peals of laughter.)

HOLMES: No, Sir; I don't want to trouble the house to suspend any thing. I merely wish to say one word about that sword—(shout on shout of laughter)—of Orlando Furioso.

SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure—(here the laughter and confusion was at its height, and Mr. Adams joined with the rest.)

HOLMES: Sir, will the house allow me to put in a word edgeways about that sword—(the rest was drowned by enthusiastic laughter).

Mr. BELSER renewed his motion to lay the resolutions on the table.

This was lost. Ayes, 64; Noes, 104. They were then referred to a select committee of nine members.

Mr. ADAMS: I now present a petition from New York, that Congress will remove the Over-slaugh. I hope that's constitutional. (Laughter.)

A MEMBER: What, in the name of God, is the Over-slaugh? (Laughter.)

It was referred.

Mr. ADAMS (laughing wickedly): Now, Sir, I have another and a last petition—(laughter)—which is of a delicate nature. (Cries of "What is it?") I hope the House will treat it with proper respect—I think it is constitutional! (Laughter.) I hope it won't be put under any harsh rule, for there's a lady in the case. (Laughter, and cries of "Bring her out.") It is, Sir—it is—(sensation)—the petition of—of Mrs. Anne Royal—(the shouts of laughter drowned the rest, and Mr. Adams sat down.)

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The weather continued dry in some parts of the island, and in them the canes had been so much injured that no future rains could save them. The weather had been more favourable in other districts, and there a favourable crop was looked for.

ANTIGUA.—Extract of a letter addressed to Joseph Sturge, Esq. dated December 8th, 1843:—

"I turn now to a more pleasing subject—the advancement of the labouring classes in civilization and the attainment of property. In consequence of the supply not being equal to the demand, the rate of wages has increased, it is said, four-fold. The job system is almost general even with those under contract, many of whom earn from two to three dollars per week (five days). The prospect of the crop, 1844, is cheering. We have been bountifully favoured with abundant rains. Some of the present year's crop is yet on the ground, not taken off in consequence of the injuries sustained by shoots, &c., from the calamitous earthquake of the 8th of February. The village system progresses, and a new and extensive one has this year commenced on the south side of St. John's harbour. Mr. L. Hodge, the owner of the tract of land, sells allotments of 40 by 30 feet, for thirty dollars. It is pleasing to see their increasing prosperity."

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—An Act passed the legislature of St. Kitt's on the 20th of October, the sole object of which was to throw obstacles in the way of the emigration of labourers from that colony to Trinidad. The regulations are ostensibly intended to prevent the absconding of debtors, or persons burdened by large and helpless families; but they are far more stringent than required for that purpose. They are, moreover, enacted and intended to be enforced merely in the case of labourers (i.e. the black peasantry), though there are other classes in the island more liable to the suspicions insinuated by them. And they are to be enforced by the class which has (or thinks it has) a pecuniary

interest in preventing the negroes from emigrating. The language, too, of the legislators and journalists who advocate the act shows its real *animus*. They speak of the receivers of emigrants in Trinidad who "commit depredations" on their property. This is the language of men who still think the black peasants their property, and who pass restrictive laws to prevent that property from escaping to a more profitable field for his labour. When the West Indian negro was emancipated, it was not meant that he should become *adscriptus glebae*, imprisoned in one colony; it was meant that he should carry his industry wherever he pleased. If this attempt to restrict his rights on the part of the legislature of St. Kitt's be sanctioned by the Colonial Office, it is clear (from the language uttered in these colonies) that St. Vincent's and the other small islands will follow the example, and the negroes throughout a great part of the West Indies will be deprived in a great measure of their freedom.—*Morning Herald*.

TRINIDAD.—By a private communication we learn that the emigrant transport, *Senator*, arrived at Trinidad from Sierra Leone (in twenty-six days) after the close of the mail. The emigrants were all healthy, and consisted of 115 adults, 1 infant, and 13 delegates, who had returned.—*Morning Herald*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—MR. COMMISSIONER LEFROY.—(From the *Guiana Times*.)—"Under the head of Correspondence, in another column, will be found a letter relative to the practice of kidnapping in Surinam. The writer, Mr. Lefroy, manifests virtuous indignation at the idea, which he thinks was implied in some of our articles on that subject, that he had criminally neglected his duty as British Commissary Judge at Paramaribo. It gives us unmingled pleasure, we own, to observe, that the gentleman, at this distance of time, and when questioned by an obscure West Indian journalist, has not thought it unnecessary, or unworthy of him, to offer a vindication of his conduct. Not less pure satisfaction do we feel in corroborating his defence, to a certain extent, with the testimony of a well-informed writer, who had not, when he volunteered it, seen his communication to the Anti-Slavery paper, but whose version of the matter exhibits a remarkably close coincidence of averment:—'Mr. Lefroy was removed for espousing the cause of the negroes, and pensioned. He was removed. He was not allowed to serve out his time. So the pension accorded to him was a reduced pension.' But, this compliment paid to his integrity of purpose, let us request this gentleman, who is so frank and candid, to explain how the case of *The Snow*, which Mr. Schenley ferreted out in 1843, was not detected by Mr. Lefroy during any one of the earlier years (fitter for discoveries of the kind on account of the more recent freshness of the occurrence) between 1823 and 1828. Caring nothing how his 'remonstrances and exposures' violated his 'instructions of conciliation,' and determinately opposed the 'systematic humbug and evasions of duty of the local authorities,' pray, how happens it that the gentleman has now 'no very distinct recollection of the case of *The Snow*, and understands it aright only after referring to the Parliamentary papers?' If he answers that he was not then in Surinam, we rejoin, no more was Mr. Schenley; while, assuredly, an investigation was more easy before 1828, than it was in 1842 or 1843; for the gentleman needs not be told that, so to speak, the generations of witnesses and written testimony between the tropics are very short-lived, and are, moreover, liable to a thousand chances and changes. In a word, why was that exploit impracticable to Mr. Lefroy, which Mr. Schenley, labouring under many disadvantages unknown to his predecessor, has achieved? The significant allusion of Mr. Lefroy to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, is calculated to serve the cause of humanity, inasmuch as it may teach philanthropists in England how little is accomplished when anti-slavery treaties are concluded with foreign powers, if their execution be not vigilantly watched. Pressed by public opinion upon the score of humanity, a Foreign Minister will extort international stipulations that look well on paper. When these come to be enforced, a broil with a foreign court threatens him, and his predecessor in power, now a leading member of the opposition, taunts him with the infelicity of his foreign intercourse, and he passes the word to all his subordinates for conciliation; in other words, where Mixed Commissions are in the case, for quiet convenience at flagrant breaches of international agreements. If a too honest judge or commissioner is restive, he is soon taken out of harm's way. Such, very possibly, may be Mr. Schenley's fate."

PLANTATIONS Best and Waller's Delight were purchased yesterday at execution sale, for 41,000 dollars. Mr. Forte, the manager of Windsor Castle, was the purchaser.—*Berbice Gazette*.

SALE OF ESTATES.—There have been two execution sales within the past fortnight of sugar estates, at which the prices realised, considering the former value of the properties, was small. The names of these plantations are the Best and New Hope, situated, the first on the west, the latter on the east, bank of the Demerary river. Yet, in spite of the scarcity of capital in the country, which, was no doubt the chief cause of their being sold at the low amounts they fetched, one, and a powerful reason why these places did not bring higher prices was that the cultivation had, in both instances, been much deteriorated of late, and that its restoration would, if practicable at all at present, be attended with much delay and very heavy cost.—*Royal Gazette*.

THE CROP.—The greater part of the year's crop had been made, though part remained to be reaped. It was believed that the amount of produce would equal that of last year, perhaps slightly exceed it.

THE CROP.—Of the prospect of the crop it is dangerous to write positively. The weather, to such estates as have completed their year's harvest, is very favourable, the sunshine alternating with genial rains. We believe that all over the country the estates are in better order than they have been any year since 1839. This promises well for the future; but large arrears are to be made up. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there is not a single agricultural society. Some planters hope much from Singapore, forgetting that more used to be hoped from Sierra Leone. Others are sensible that, if the Chinese adhere to their indentures, only a few capitalists will be immediately benefitted; if they do not, then that the colony will have to pay an

enormous sum for the cost of their introduction. As an experiment, however, it may be well that the measure, strange although it is, should have a fair trial.—*Guiana Times*.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.—Many persons have predicted that Chinese emigration would be a failure, that it would never be undertaken at all, and that the Government, in proposing it, was merely playing with the deluded colonists. We are enabled, however, to communicate some intelligence, which happily subverts the truth of these gloomy forebodings. It will be recollectcd, that, in the documents we lately published relating to Chinese emigration, it was stated, that before parties could be allowed to embark emigrants from China, it would be incumbent upon them to obtain licences to that effect from the Colonial Secretary. This was devised as a salutary check on speculators, to operate beneficially by giving the Colonial Office timely notice in every instance of trans-shipment. The following persons, we are informed, have recently obtained these licenses from Lord Stanley; and have commenced, what we trust, may be the glorious work of emigration from China to the West Indies. The names of these persons, and the number for which they have taken out the necessary powers, are, respectively as follows:—Messrs. George Anderson, for 500; Messrs. Gladstones, for 500; Messrs. La Belinondere, for 500; Messrs. Cavans, for 500. These appear not to be mere idle preparations. We are rejoiced to say, that vessels have already been fitted out and despatched to China for emigrants. We can only say of this grand undertaking—*Felix faustumque sit!*—*Royal Gazette*.

INDIA.—A Liverpool price current, that of T. and H. Littledale and Co., contains the following interesting and important notice of East Indian cotton:—"It may be in the recollection of many of our correspondents, that, in the year 1840, the Hon. East India Company, taking an enlightened view of the great national importance of making a vigorous effort to raise the standard of the cotton received from our eastern possessions, resolved to send out to the three Presidencies a number of American planters, under the superintendence of officers in the Company's service, with all the requisite machinery and tools on the most improved plan in use in America, for the purpose of raising and cleaning cotton. Much difficulty was encountered during the first year of their experiments, in obtaining suitable locations for the experimental farms, and also in adjusting the machinery. Notwithstanding these difficulties, two parcels of cotton were got up and cleaned at the Broach Farm, under the charge of Dr. Burn, and the Coimbatore Farm, under charge of Dr. Wight. The cotton received from Dr. Burn was 71 bales, grown in the common native manner, and from native seed, and sold at 4*1/2*d., 4*1/2*d., and 4*1/2*d. per lb., according to quality. That from Dr. Wight, 48 bales, was raised from American seed, and brought 5d. per lb. Considering the difficulties always attending the introduction of new machinery, and the fact that the present cotton was cleaned by sawgins worked by hand instead of power, and that this year the gins will be driven by proper machinery, and under the superintendance of competent European engineers; considering also that much valuable experience has been gained in the effects of climate on the cultivation, it is to be expected that, in the course of time, a very great improvement will be made in the general produce of these districts; and, if the East India Company only proceed on the same liberal course which they have pursued with regard to these experiments, and prove to the manufacturers of this country that the bad qualities of East India cotton do not arise so much from the nature of the cotton itself, as from the very inefficient and improper manner taken to clean it and bring it to market; and that an improvement in staple, as well as that already arrived at in colour and cleanliness, can be accomplished, a most important object will have been gained; and thus, in time, render the extent of cultivation in America of much less importance to the interests of our manufactoryes than it is at the present moment."

COOLY EMIGRATION.—The *Friend of India* makes the following remarks on the recent act of the Governor in Council, in reference to the appointment of Emigration Agents:—"The only reason given for now carrying into effect that part of the original design which provided for the appointment of an emigration agent at the port of embarkation, and which was held out as a remedy for the abuses which had rendered the older trade intolerable, is that a sufficient number of women had not been sent with the men! The abuses which have grown out of the neglect of this appointment do not seem to have occasioned the smallest disquietude, and are not so much as hinted at. It would appear as though the Mauritius Government, suspecting that, if the emigration had been at once placed under the charge of a responsible agent, the wants of the island would not be supplied as rapidly as the planters desired, have been quite content to leave the provision of Coolies to individual cupidity, however revolting might be the abuses which it engendered. The Mauritius authorities appear to have waited till the island was sufficiently stocked with labourers collected under a system of private agency, before any check was placed on these proceedings. And its present interference has no respect to the interests of the Coolies; it is publicly declared to arise from an exclusive attention to those of the island. It was found that the supply of twenty thousand Coolies had cost the colony fourteen lakhs of rupees; and that, as the men had in general come without their families, and would claim their privilege of return at the end of five years, an annual expenditure of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* would be necessary to keep up the complement. It is on this ground that the Mauritius Government appears to have sent round an agent to make arrangements for stopping all further emigration, unless the men could be induced to take their families with them, and thus hold out a hope of their settling in the island. We will not affirm that such is the reasoning on which that Colonial Government has been induced to appoint an agent in Calcutta, and to call for an act restricting emigration to those who should obtain a passport from him; but such is the plain and obvious reading of the new law. It would have been far more discreet to have kept these selfish considerations out of view altogether, and simply to have stated that, Whereas the original plan of the Ministry made provision for the appointment of an Emigration Agent, and whereas the neglect of this provision had revived the old abuses, be it enacted, that no port shall be open to the export of Coolies but that of Calcutta, and that no labourer shall be exported from thence but under a certificate from the Emigration Agent

to be appointed by the Mauritius Government. That agent might then have quietly rejected the application of all those who were not willing to expatriate themselves for ever, with their wives and children. As the act now stands, the Legislative Council, which ought to have had the interests of this country primarily in view, appears to have closed its eyes upon the injury which has been inflicted on it, and to have based its legislative enactment only on the interests of the Crown colony, by proposing to pass an Act, the chief object of which is to part for ever with those who may embark for the Mauritius."

Foreign Intelligence.

TEXAS.—Extract of a letter to G. Stacey, Esq., dated Washington, December 13, 1843:—

" You will doubtless see the annual message of President Tyler, and will be surprised at the mildness of its tone, when compared with the war-like tenor of the press, on the subject of Texas. On close examination, however, you will see its insidiousness, in endeavouring to awaken a war-cry against Mexico, and in the obscure hint at a "policy" hereafter to be pursued, in which "the Executive," without the intervention of Congress, will throw itself upon "the people" for support. I suppose this is a warning of some desperate exercise of prerogative, beyond the recognized limits of the President's office, by which Mr. Tyler hopes to be able to place the nation where it cannot retreat without the annexation of Texas. The deplorable state of our national treasury is probably a guarantee for the feebleness of any such movement, saying nothing of the essential and inherent imbecility of the administration itself, and the utter reluctance of both parties in Congress to place any responsibility connected with the national interests on such incompetent shoulders, beyond what is absolutely necessary. If Tyler could command money, I presume he would employ our navy to carry out his plans, as darkly insinuated in the official paper of Monday. The Texan papers have published a rumour that a considerable American fleet is shortly to appear at Galveston, and the *Madisonian* intimates that the first opening of the discussion in Congress, proposing the annexation of Texas, will be followed by a declaration of war by Mexico. The correspondence of our Government with that of Mexico, which was published yesterday, shows Mr. Upshur's anxiety to goad and taunt Mexico to fight; while the *Madisonian* intimates that Mexico would not stand up so boldly, unless backed by "a powerful ally," meaning England. Under these circumstances, much depends on the incessant vigilance of the friends of liberty and of peace, to carry the four nations through the present crisis without bringing on the calamities of war. The President of the United States evidently shrank from the responsibility of directly proposing the annexation of Texas. But it is understood that an able and influential senator, (Walker, of Mississippi,) is publicly pledged to bring in a bill to Congress for that object. One object of the annexationists here is to couple the question of Texas with that of the Oregon territory, and in that way to exhibit the whole as a Northern and Western interest. I fear the limited views of some of our leading anti-Texians favour (unintentionally) this device, by opposing the wishes of their constituents in regard to Oregon. Then it will be sought to exacerbate the anti-British prejudice, which remains so deep in this country, to a state of frenzy. May God, in mercy to mankind, continue to turn their counsel into foolishness!"

CUBA.—General O'Donnell, the new Captain-General, was openly encouraging the revival of the slave-trade, a considerable impulse to which had actually been given. Three cargos of these miserable wretches had, by the last accounts, recently been landed there.

FRANCE.—Extract of a letter to G. W. Alexander, Esq., dated Frankfort, January 14th, 1844:—

" I have observed with great pain that the speech of Louis Philip, delivered on the opening of the Chambers, does not contain a single word relating to the emancipation of the slaves. A friend of mine, who has passed several weeks at Paris, has given me some details on the state of the Anti-slavery question in France, which also have deeply afflicted me. He fears lest emancipation should yet be obstructed; and this by two causes. The first consists in the apathy of the public mind. There have been so many changes, that people want rest more than any thing; and so many schemes have been brought forward, that every body has become sceptical. The religion of the so-called majority is rejected by the leading men, and without power to inspire energy in the masses. Further, the cause of the slave has but few advocates in France. The actual Government has by degrees ruined the finances, and made corruption, ambition, and cupidity, the order of the day. The taxes have risen to such an exorbitant amount, that no means are left for any generous action. Such is the state of the public. But it is yet more afflictive, that many persons are labouring to prevent emancipation. The foremost are the bankers and gentry at Bordeaux, at Marseilles, at Nantes, and other places, who are directly interested in maintaining slavery in the colonies; partly because they have embarked in them considerable sums, and partly because the colonists, to a great extent more or less ruined, have raised large loans in France. In order to hinder emancipation both have in their pay several journals, and they get their cause pleaded in pamphlets. It is feared that even some Deputies have been gained by subsidies from these capitalists.

" Such is the state of things which, according to the representation of my friend, who (I am persuaded) is well informed, prevents the progress of the holy cause of emancipation in France. How sad it is that cupidity should be able to obstruct the march of mind at the present moment! The French have hitherto boasted of being at the head of European civilization. Henceforth they must resign themselves to be led in the train of England, which has furnished the most noble and illustrious proof of her enthusiasm in the sacred cause of humanity. May these lines, which I authorize you to insert in the *Reporter*, re-awaken in France what she has heretofore manifested of generous feeling and noble sentiment, and induce her to make some effort to save the honour of the great nation!"

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CIX. VOL. V.—No. 3.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE SLAVE-TRADE—ARMED SUPPRESSION.

WHEN we wrote the brief remarks inserted in our last on the subject of the slave-trade, we little thought that there was issuing from the press at that very moment so affecting a confirmation of them as appears in the narrative of the Rev. Pascoe Grenfell Hill, entitled "Fifty Days on Board a Slave." In those remarks, indeed, we spoke of the system of armed intervention as aggravating the ferocity and destructiveness of the traffic as carried on by the slave-dealers; but Mr. Hill's pamphlet opens to us a new page in this bloody history, and shows us what calamities occur even after the wretched victims have been rescued by the arm of British mercy. We must let the facts speak for themselves.

Mr. Hill, being chaplain of her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra* when she captured a slave-vessel (the *Progresso*), in April last, in the Mozambique channel, volunteered on board of her in the capacity of interpreter, on her voyage, with a prize crew of British sailors, to the Cape of Good Hope. We say nothing of the contracted dimensions of the vessel (frightfully small as they were), or of any other circumstance as affecting the slave-traders. We only take the *Progresso* after she was in British hands, and when, of course, every thing would be done that could be done for the safety and comfort of the slaves. For promoting these objects the British crew had the greatest possible advantages, inasmuch as the ship had been laden but a few hours, and there had not been time for disease or other mischief to break out among the slaves. Let us now mark what took place on the very first night after the capture:—

"During the first watch our breeze was light and variable, the water smooth, the recently liberated negroes sleeping, or lying in quietness about the deck. Their slender supple limbs entwine in a surprisingly small compass; and they resembled, in the moonlight, confused piles of arms and legs, rather than distinct human forms. They were, however, apparently at ease, and all seemed going on as fairly as could be desired. But the scene was soon to undergo a great and terrible change. About one hour after midnight the sky began to gather clouds, and a haze overspread the horizon to windward. A squall approached, of which I and others, who had lain down on the deck, received warning by a few heavy drops of rain. Then ensued a scene, the horrors of which it is impossible to depict. The hands having to shorten sail suddenly, uncertain as to the force of the squall, found the poor helpless creatures lying about the deck an obstruction to getting at the ropes, and doing what was required. This caused the order to send them all below, which was immediately obeyed. The night, however, being intensely hot and close, 400 wretched beings thus crammed into a hold 12 yards in length, 7 in breadth, and only 3½ feet in height, speedily began to make an effort to re-issue to the open air. Being thrust back, and striving the more to get out, the after-hatch was forced down on them. Over the other hatchway, in the fore part of the vessel, a wooden grating was fastened. To this, the sole inlet for the air, the suffocating heat of the hold, and perhaps panic from the strangeness of their situation, made them press; and thus great part of the space below was rendered useless. They crowded to the grating, and, clinging to it for air, completely barred its entrance. They strove to force their way through apertures, in length 14 inches, and barely 6 inches in breadth, and, in some instances, succeeded. The cries, the heat,—I may say without exaggeration, 'the smoke of their torment,'—which ascended, can be compared to nothing earthly. One of the Spaniards gave warning that the consequence would be 'many deaths'—'Manana habra muchos muertos.'

Thursday, April 13th (Holy Thursday).—The Spaniard's prediction of last night, this morning was fearfully verified. Fifty-four crushed and mangled corpses, lifted up from the slave-deck, have been brought to the gangway and thrown overboard. Some were emaciated from disease; many bruised and bloody. Antonio tells me that some were found strangled, their hands still grasping each other's throats, and tongues protruding from their mouths. The bowels of one were crushed out. They had been trampled to death for the most part, the weaker under the feet of the stronger, in the madness and torment of suffocation from crowd and heat. It was a horrid sight, as they passed one by one, the stiff distorted limbs smeared with blood and filth, to be cast into the sea. Some, still quivering, were laid on the deck to die; salt water thrown on them to revive them, and a little fresh water poured into their mouths. Antonio reminded me of his last night's warning, 'Ya se lo dije anoche.' He actively employed himself, with his comrade Sebastian, in attendance on the wretched living beings now released from their confinement below; distributing to them their morning meal of 'farinha,' and their allowance of water (rather more than half a pint to each), which they grasped with inconceivable eagerness, some bending their knees to the deck, to avoid the risk of losing any of the liquid by unsteady footing, their throats, doubtless, parched to the utmost with crying and yelling through the night."

After some days of varied suffering we have the following statement:—

"A shed has been erected on deck to shelter the sick, and another for the women, whose berth below is used for a store-room. The sick are frequently intruded on by others who have no claim to be numbered

among them, regardless of the injuries they occasion to the weak, helpless creatures whom they crush; the misery of their own circumstances, it may be supposed, leaving no room for commiseration of their fellow-sufferers. The great physical suffering of all seems to be a raging, unquenchable thirst. They eagerly catch the drippings from the sails after a shower, apply their lips to the wet masts, and crawl to the coops, to share the supply placed there for the fowls. I have remarked one of the sick licking the deck, when washed with salt water."

Subsequently the dawn of day is thus described:—

"The first actor on the scene is Cato, our mulatto cook, bustling, in the imperfect light, among his pans and kettles, making a fire in the galley to prepare our breakfast. What comes next? The same dismal, oft-repeated tale; three bodies, a man and two boys, lifted from the hold. The man was one who had been savagely beaten by his fellows in misery three or four days ago. That the greater number of those who die have their deaths hastened by others overlying or otherwise injuring them below, is obvious from the fact that they are found dead in the morning; very rarely, at least, during the day-time. It not unfrequently happens that they are crushed between the loose planks of the slave-deck, [the planks] affording space for their limbs to slip down beyond their power to extricate."

At a still later period Mr. Hill writes as follows:—

"Disorder, I think, in every sense, is on the increase among the unhappy blacks. During the late fine weather they have spent the sunny hours of the day on deck; but, when below, their cries are incessant, day and night. Thinned as their numbers are by death, there is no longer narrowness of room, but increasing sickness and misery make the survivors more hard and unfeeling, and they fight and bruise one another more than formerly. Little Catula, the finest among them, who received a bite in the leg about six weeks since, getting continual blows and knocks, the wound has now become a deep and spreading ulcer. Another fine intelligent lad has been severely bitten in the head. Others have the heel, the great toe, the ankle-joint, nearly bitten through; and worse injuries than these, too savage to mention, have been inflicted. Madness, the distraction of despair, seems to possess them."

We finish this tragedy of British mercy (if we may so call it) by quoting Mr. Hill's account of what occurred on the vessel's reaching the Cape:—

"As soon as the *Progresso* anchored we were visited by the health-officer, who immediately admitted us to pratique. My friend, Mr. Shea, superintendent of the naval hospital, also paid us a visit, and I descended with him, for the last time, to the slave-hold. Long accustomed as he has been to scenes of suffering, he was unable to endure a sight, 'surpassing,' he said, 'all he could have conceived of human misery,' and made a hasty retreat. One little girl, crying bitterly, was entangled between the planks, wanting strength to extricate her wasted limbs, till assistance was given her."

Friday, June 2.—Previously to setting out for the village of Wynberg, where I promised myself some repose of body and mind, I paid a visit to Sir John Marshall, on board the *Iris*, who welcomed me with his usual kindness; and, on my passage back to the shore, I once more called on board the *Progresso*. Fourteen corpses, six having been added to the eight who died yesterday, lay piled on deck, to be interred this afternoon on the beach."

TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS DURING THE VOYAGE.

			Brought up		100
April 13	.	.	54	May 13	3
14	.	.	2	14	3
16	.	.	1	15	3
17	.	.	3	16	2
18	.	.	1	17	3
20	.	.	1	18	3
22	.	.	2	19	2
24	.	.	4	20	2
25	.	.	2	21	4
26	.	.	1	22	1
28	.	.	1	23	1
29	.	.	1	24	2
30	.	.	2	25	4
May 1	.	.	1	26	4
2	.	.	3	27	5
3	.	.	7	28	5
4	.	.	3	29	4
7	.	.	3	30	4
8	.	.	3	June 1	8
9	.	.	4	In fifty days	163
10	.	.	1	Carried up	

On reading these appalling details, not for a moment can a thought be entertained of blaming the British officer in charge of the *Progresso*, or the crew under his command. On the contrary, the highest praise is due to them for the kindly discharge of a duty, not only most responsible, but most perilous. In some sense, indeed, the capture of the vessel may be said to have been beneficial

to the wretched victims on board of her, since it prevented their intended voyage to Brazil, and gave them only the much shorter voyage to the Cape. But the facts set in a striking light, we think, the uselessness of the system of armed intervention. When a slaver is taken with slaves on board, however beneficial may be the change, the frightful fact remains that the crowd of human beings are still on board the slaver, and that, in this condition, they must plough the deep for periods of variable but dreadful length. There is no help for this, and no mercy can arrest the slaughter consequent upon it. Does not humanity repine at the use of a method which makes her most costly efforts produce no better fruits, and dictate the adoption of more efficient exertions?

From a recent number of the *Morning Herald* it appears that the rapid increase of the slave-trade, of which there is now too much evidence both in Cuba and Brazil, "has made a deep impression on her Majesty's Government, and that the Admiralty has determined to employ a stronger force on the African and Brazilian stations." Doing full justice to the intentions of the Government, we cannot say that we receive this announcement with any satisfaction. A traffic which has maintained itself against so many treaties and cannon as have already been brought to bear upon this, will continue to thrive although the whole British navy were arrayed against it. There may be more murders, but there will not be less traffic in men.

But what, then, is to be done? Is the slave-trading demon to be let loose in his fury, without any effort to exorcise him? Undoubtedly not. "Make the slave-trade unprofitable," says our contemporary whom we have already quoted. And we agree with him. An unprofitable trade will be sure to expire. But we cannot agree with him when he tells us that this will be effected by a multitudinous immigration of labourers into the British West Indies. Even if this were practicable without injustice, (which it is not,) we do not think it would answer the purpose. We have no belief whatever that any amount of labour in our West India colonies would enable them to undersell, in the markets of the world, (where alone they are sold,) the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. That the British market should be opened to all the produce of free labour throughout the world, on the same terms as to that of our own colonies, would, in our judgment, be a measure more conducive to the end, and one which we should rejoice to see adopted.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE.

THE information we have to communicate respecting the cause of abolition in France, is more cheering than any which has hitherto come into our possession.

On the one hand we look to the Chambers. Although no notice of colonial slavery was taken in the King's speech, early attention has been paid to it by some of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The reference in the Royal speech to the right of search has enabled M. Gasparin, and after him the Count de Sade, to call up the Minister of Marine and the Colonies on the question of abolition, by interrogations pointedly addressed to him. The minister's reply, indeed, was more prompt than satisfactory. On the part of the Government, he said, he was prepared within a few days to explain their intentions to the Chamber, and he added that he hoped to please both the colonists and the mother country. What a plan possessing such remarkable qualities may be is not yet known, although we gather from our private correspondent that it was not expected to be satisfactory to abolitionists of any grade. There will, however, be created an occasion for a debate; and we hope the friends of humanity in the Chamber will avail themselves of it, not only to enter fully into the discussion of the subject, but to apply the most powerful stimulants they can command to a Government evidently but too well disposed to postpone the question altogether. The following report of the proceedings in the Chamber is given by the *Journal des Débats* of the 24th ult. :—

"M. DE GASPARIN.—I know that, in order to be thought highly of in the present day, one must treat with sovereign contempt the questions which are stigmatized as philanthropic. (No, no.) But I have long since resigned myself to be one of those little-minded men of whom Montesquieu spoke, when, foreseeing the right of search, he wrote these remarkable words:—' Little-minded men exaggerate, without doubt, the injustice done to the Africans; for, if it were as they describe it, would it not have entered into the heads of the princes of Europe, who make so many useless agreements one with another, to make a general one in favour of mercy and compassion?' (Confused sensation.)

"Admiral MACKAU, Minister of Marine, (in his place.)—I have but one word to say. I did not expect that, in connexion with the question now under discussion, (the right of search,) M. de Gasparin would have introduced the question of the abolition of slavery. When a matter so grave, so important for our colonies, and not less important for the mother country, shall come before the Chamber, we shall be ready to afford all necessary explanations. I am sure they will be sufficiently ample to evince our sincerity, to show that our acts perfectly harmonize, both with the situation of our ultra-marine possessions, and with the enlightened views of the mother country, and to secure for us the sanction of the Chambers.

"M. DE SADE.—I beg permission to interrupt for one instant the discussion which is begun. But the words of M. de Gasparin, and the reply of the Minister of Marine, make it my duty to put to him a question which, sooner or later, would have been asked, either by myself or by some one else. I avail myself of this opportunity to put one question concerning the Commission which was appointed to consider the question of the abolition of slavery. I wish to know whether what has been prepared on this important and urgent subject is in progress. The labours

of the Commission have been submitted to the Government. I ask the Minister to say at what time he will think it his duty to submit a proposition to the Chambers, as the consequence of that report. I do not deem it imprudent to ask this question. The views of the Government must be matured, and there has been time to examine the Report of the Commission, of which I had the honour of being a member, together with the Minister of Marine.

"The MINISTER OF MARINE.—My reply is very simple. In the course of a few weeks the Government will be prepared to explain to the Chamber what it has to propose, a measure favourable alike to the interests of the colonies and the wish of the mother country."

What has taken place without the Chambers, however, encourages us more than what has occurred within them. The operatives of Paris, who are organized into an association denominated the *Union*, have drawn up a petition to the Chamber of Deputies for the total abolition of slavery in the French colonies during the present session. This petition is to lie for signature at the various committee-rooms (*bureaux*) of the *Union*, and not less than 10,000 names are likely to be appended to it. This is a spirited and admirable movement, and does infinite credit to the working classes of Paris. It is in our judgment of especial value because it is a popular movement, and brings into action that very element which we have long deemed most useful, and most wanting, to the advancement of the cause of abolition in France. We are delighted, also, with the enlightened and noble sentiments which we find expressed by the petitioners, and with the direct bearing of their petition on the great object of entire and immediate abolition. Most fervently do we wish them success—they will scarcely need that we should encourage them to perseverance—in this admirable effort.

We find the petition in the January number of a monthly publication called *The Union*, and announced as edited and published by the operatives themselves. We give it with the excellent observations by which it is introduced:—

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"The Committee of the *Union* call upon all the journeymen to sign, at their Committee-rooms, the following petition, addressed to the Chamber of Deputies, for the abolition of slavery.

"It is for the people at length to take this sacred cause into their own hands. It is our turn now to become its advocates, and to lift up our voice against the slavery of the negroes—against that man-debasement which still subsists in the colonies of the most civilized nation in the world, eighteen hundred years after the Divine Founder of Christianity shed his blood to break the chains of the captive!

"We hope all the literary and religious writers for the press, whatever may be their opinions, will earnestly support this holy crusade. We call for the aid of all the feeling and intelligent journeymen, against the remnants of ancient tyranny.

"Paris, January 22, 1844.

"To the Chamber of Deputies.

"The undersigned, journeymen of the capital, have the honour, by virtue of the 45th article of the constitutional charter, to come before you, to ask the total abolition of slavery during the present session. This leprosy, which does not belong to our age, still exists in some possessions of France. Slavery degrades alike the possessor and the possessed. It is in obedience to the great and religious principle of human brotherhood that we utter our voice in favour of our unfortunate brethren, the slaves. We desire also loudly to protest, in the name of the working classes, against the language of the supporters of slavery, who dare to insinuate—they, who act with a full knowledge of the case—that the condition of French labourers is more deplorable than that of the slaves. By the *Code Noir*, (edit. 1685, art. 22 and 25,) the holders are bound to feed and clothe their human cattle. It appears from official publications of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, (Execution of the royal ordinance of January, 1840, Public Papers of 1841, pp. 30, 37, 46, 48, 51, 61, 92, 102, &c.,) that they get rid of this obligation by giving the Saturday in each week to the slaves, (those of French Guiana, however, having only one *nigro Saturday* in a fortnight,) contrary to the provisions of art. 24, *Code Noir*, and to the penalties of art. 26. Whatever may be the existing evils of the labourer's condition in France, he is free—in one point of view more free than the salaried advocates of the possessors of the thinking property. The labourer belongs to himself; no one has a right to flog him, to sell him, or to separate him forcibly from his wife, his children, and his friends. However well the slaves were fed and clothed by their possessors, they could not be called happy; since, as has been well said by the Duke de Broglie, (Report made to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, 1843, p. 5,) 'it must in that case be said that the condition of a beast is preferable to that of a man, and that it is better to be a brute than a rational creature.'

"Brave in the sacred and generous beginning which we have made, we are sure that our petition will be responded to by our noble country, and we confide in the justice of the Deputies of France."

Before taking leave for the present of this interesting subject, we cannot help asking why this kind of activity should be confined to the operative classes. Are the Paris journeymen the only people in that vast metropolis who are aware of the existence of slavery in the possessions of France, or who desire its extinction? Why are the middle and higher classes going to appear indifferent to a great measure of benevolence and justice, which kindles the zeal of their poorer neighbours? What might not be the effect, if, instead of a petition from some ten thousand journeymen, petitions signed by several hundred thousand persons, of all classes, should be presented to the Chambers? Most earnestly do we hope that the friends of abolition will neither lose sight of the importance of the instrumentality which seems to be springing up so spontaneously around them, nor fail of the resolution which may be necessary to introduce its more extensive adoption.

GERMANY.

We shall lay before our readers presently an interesting communication, which has been addressed by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, of the United States, to the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on the advantages which would result to the cause of abolition in the Union, if some appeal were made to the German part of its population by their kindred in Germany. We particularly call the attention of our readers in that country to this letter. We are happy to know that a distinguished person, Dr. Carové, of Frankfort-on-Maine (the writer of a letter an extract from which was inserted in our last) is preparing a work on the subject of abolition, of the publication of which we may expect shortly to be informed; and we have thought it a coincidence worthy of observation, that he should be so employed at the very moment when the suggestion from Washington has reached us. Copies of his work will, of course, find their way to the German population of the United States. But (to go beyond this) the respected author will, perhaps, permit us to suggest to him, whether he might not advantageously employ his pen on an address directed more particularly to these descendants of a common ancestry. The following is an extract from Mr. Leavitt's letter:—

"Washington City, December 11, 1843.

"The tone of public feeling in this country is decidedly changing for the better, and with increasing rapidity. The day is evidently drawing nigh for some important movements. It has occurred to me of late that there was one important source of influence in favour of our cause, which was quite overlooked at the Convention, and which may come directly within the scope of your chosen methods of labour. I refer to the German population of our western states, and to the probability of engaging their co-operation through an influence set on foot in Germany itself. O'Connell's letters are exerting an influence upon the Irish here, not very visible, but silent and resistless. Now, why can we not have a similar influence from Germany? The Germans, like the Irish, are all republicans, and all strongly prejudiced against abolition. They are the more inaccessible because of the difference of language. The only way to reach either is from the mother country, and we must therefore hold the mother country responsible for their course. Now, would not a visit to the principal sources of literary and religious influence in Germany, to engage the co-operation of the newspapers and magazines, the writers and professors of Germany, be worth the trouble? The state of Pennsylvania and several of the western states are almost controlled by Germans. The state of Missouri, a slave state, is filling up with a German population, who own no slaves, and who might, if properly directed, very soon abolish slavery there. The abolition of slavery in one state here would break the charmed circle. We ought to leave no stone unturned, no effort untried, to reach our end, 'not knowing which shall prosper.' The number of native Germans in this country is supposed to be not less than a million, and two millions more are of German descent, and use the German language. Vast numbers of their preachers, and editors, and teachers come from Germany. Their literature, both religious and secular, is German. All this ought to be so impregnated with anti-slavery fact and principles, as to exert a controlling influence upon the German mind in this country.

"G. W. Alexander, Esq."

CHINESE EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY, ETC., ETC.

27, New Broad-street, January 16, 1844.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to submit to you a few remarks on the emigration of Chinese labourers from the British dependencies of Malacca, Singapore, and Penang, to the West Indies; a measure which, as appears by Mr. Hope's letter to the Chairman of the West India Committee, dated September 4, 1843, has received your lordship's sanction.

They have observed with much pleasure, the stress laid in that letter by your lordship on the objections to a general emigration from Africa, arising out of "the difficulties which the social system prevalent in all the independent countries on the coast of Africa must oppose to any supply of labourers not in the condition of slaves; and from the consideration that, if slaves in their own country, they can only be obtained by purchase from, or agreement with, their chiefs or headmen;" your lordship justly remarking "that such transactions, if permitted, would necessarily lead, if not to the actual evils of slave-trading, at least to no unreasonable jealousy and suspicion on the part of foreign states, against the proceedings of whose subjects, in attempts to obtain negroes, this country has directed, and still directs, the most stringent and forcible measures."

The Committee see with gratification, also, that your lordship awaits the result of the experiment, which, during the past year, has been conducted with so much vigour in Mauritius, before giving any sanction to the further emigration of labourers from India to the West Indies. Upon this point the Committee beg to submit to your lordship two considerations. First, Whether the abuses now proved beyond question in the east do not furnish reason to believe that the method of collecting emigrants (so called), as practised in India, must be deemed incurably vicious. Secondly, Whether a full and authentic account of the state of the 20,000 who have landed at Mauritius within the year, and of the state of the island itself (especially in relation to morals) in consequence of their importation, ought not to be laid before Parliament, before any conclusion shall be formed as to the result of the experiment there.

To turn, however, from these passing remarks, to the principal

object of this communication, the emigration from the British settlements of Chinese labourers to the West Indies.

Even if there were no exceptions to be taken to the plan proposed by your lordship on this head, the Committee would view such a systematic emigration with the deepest anxiety, on account of the great length of the voyage to be undertaken.

More especially, however, is this feeling awakened in their minds by the fact—which, as appears from the letter of Mr. Hope, your lordship has felt in common with them—that such emigrants will be totally unaccompanied by women. The strong peculiarity and perfect distinctness of the Chinese, as compared with Africans or persons of African descent, into the midst of whom they would be thrown in the West Indies, separate their case broadly from that of the Kroomen (with which your lordship compares it), and constitute an opening for highly aggravated mischief.

If, however, the Committee could reconcile themselves to an extended emigration of Chinese labourers to the British West Indies, they would find in the plan which your lordship has sanctioned serious ground of exception.

Your lordship, they find, has been "led to believe," that, "from their peculiar habits," the Chinese "will not be induced to emigrate at all, except under such previous stipulations as shall ensure them employment and remuneration according to a certain scale;" and accordingly you propose a contract, binding the importer to provide employment, and to supply remuneration at a specified rate, for five years, with a free voyage home (if desired) at the end of the term.

Now, had the tenor of the proposed contract been, that the importer would have remunerated labour *after the rate current in the colony*, some fairness towards the emigrant might have been discerned in it. It is evident, however, from the whole development of the plan, that this is not intended. The meaning is, that the remuneration specified shall be so much lower than the actual (and even the probable) rate of wages in the colony, that the importer shall make the difference reimburse him the expense of taking the immigrant both out and home. In other words, it is a plan for making the Chinese labourer pay the whole cost of his transportation and return—and the latter, whether he returns or not. How far this may be deemed equitable towards the emigrant the Committee do not know; but it seems plain to them that it ought at all events to be explained to him in the first instance, and that he ought not to learn for the first time on his arrival at a sugar-estate in Demerara, that he is then to work out the payment of his passage-money by receiving always less wages than his companions. From all that has been said in relation to them, it seems doubtful whether, *with such an explanation*, any of the Chinese would emigrate at all. Without it, there is practised on them an evident fraud.

Both from the tenor of Mr. Hope's letter, and from the prevailing impression in the West Indies, it seems to be fully anticipated that the obligations of the proposed contract will be far from agreeable to the Chinese immigrant, and that he will promptly prefer the chances of labour at full wages. Your lordship's plan accordingly provides for this, by allowing the immigrant Chinese to repudiate at his pleasure the contract he has entered into; embarrassing his emancipation, however, by very objectionable restrictions, which were not contemplated in the first instance, and were conceded only to the importunity of the West India Committee. But, when an immigrant contemplates the repudiation of his contract, he finds himself threatened with a new injury; for by this act he incurs the forfeiture of the right, which that contract secures to him, of a free passage home at the end of his term. A marked contrast is to be found here between the treatment intended for the emigrant and the importer. Your lordship imposes on the colony the payment to the importer of such a sum (under the name of bounty) as shall reimburse to him the cost he has incurred; but you have not imposed on the colony the duty of sending the emigrant home, should he desire it, at the expiration of the term for which his contract was to endure. He is thus denied a boon to which he is well entitled from the colony, after five years' labour in it; and he is artfully held to the obligation of his contract, in the face of a plausible declaration that he may terminate it at his pleasure.

The Committee might offer other remarks; but they have already, perhaps, trespassed far enough on your lordship's patience. Their views are shortly these. They see, in the plan which you have seen it fit to sanction, (what they think inseparable from all artificial systems of emigration,) a source of serious evil to the parties on whom it bears; and they are confirmed in their earnest desire that the movements of the Chinese, as of all other persons, should be left to the ordinary influences which affect mankind, and should not be exposed to an unnatural and unhealthy stimulus.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

REPLY.

Downing-street, January 23, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, submitting, on the part of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the views sustained by them on the subject of the immigration of Chinese labourers to the West India colonies.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

To John Scoble, Esq.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

DEDICATED BY COMMAND TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT.

GEORGE BAXTER has the honour to announce that he has commenced his OIL COLOURED PICTURE, by the patent process, from Haydon's celebrated Painting of the great Meeting of Delegates held in London in June, 1840, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

At this meeting, over which the venerable Thomas Clarkson, Esq., presided, the most illustrious and distinguished advocates of the freedom of the slave were present, and assisted at the solemn and animated proceedings. This noble band of true patriots, thus assembled together in the cause of liberty, deserve to be handed down to posterity, and it will be his delightful task to assist, however humbly, in the accomplishment of this great and good object.

The undertaking is a very onerous one, and will cost nearly 2,000*l.*, before any return can be expected; but this outlay G. B. is prepared to make, in the confident hope that the great body of philanthropists—foes to slavery—will encourage and honour him by immediately enrolling their names amongst the number of royal and noble personages already on the list of subscribers to this magnificent picture.

Upwards of 200 portraits of philanthropic noblemen, statesmen, clergymen, &c., distinguished for their steady and untiring ardour in the cause of freedom, will be presented at one glance to the eye; while each countenance and figure will be most faithfully executed. In a word, no expense will be spared to render this Picture a worthy memorial of the most important meeting ever held in behalf of the despised slave.

Price to Subscribers—Proofs, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Prints, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Size, 21*½* inches by 17. No money to be paid until completed and delivered.

Subscribers' names received by George Baxter, the patentee, 3, Charter-house-square, London; at the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street; by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street within; and by the Treasurer or Secretary of every Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom, whose names have been already announced.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome volume, price 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

This day is published, price One Shilling,

THE TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA, Jun., at the Central Criminal Court of the city of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th days of October, 1843, on a charge of Slave-trading. Reported by J. F. JOHNSON, Shorthand Writer. With Introductory and Concluding Remarks, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

London : Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are content to let our controversy with "A LEAGUE" stand where it does. The *Manchester Times* has not, we think, done us the courtesy to insert our notice of his first letter.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 7, 1844.

THE Trial of Pedro de Zulueta, as it is now before the public, is certainly a document of no small interest and importance. In particular, nothing can be more instructive than the matter contained in the Appendix. Here are extracts from the log of the *Augusta*, demonstrating that, instead of being driven to Cadiz by stress of weather, she struggled desperately to get there in the teeth of the storm. Here, also, are no less than twelve letters, which were put on board at Cadiz, and reluctantly delivered to Captain Hill on her capture, unfolding the whole process by which the slave traffic is carried on, and containing specific instructions respecting the *Augusta* herself. All these documents are taken from the proceedings before the Privy Council on the appeal from the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, and are, consequently, of unquestionable authenticity. This publication is adapted to excite great interest among the shipping and commercial classes; but its influence will be nowhere greater, perhaps, than in the House of Commons. Measures are taken by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to supply every member of the Houses of Lords and Commons with a copy, so that full information will be in their

hands in a compact and accessible form. No doubt can exist that highly important proceedings will shortly be heard of in the Commons. The *Patriot* announces as certain the re-appointment of the West of Africa Committee, and a pamphlet from Mr. Zulueta! This will do wonders.

A FILE of Mauritius papers has reached us, bringing intelligence to the 26th of October last. A long extract which we have given from the *Mauritius Watchman*, of that date, will be read with interest, as throwing light on the present state of the immigration question. It appears that the decision the Council (which was arrived at only through the resoluteness of the Government secretary) to reduce the bounty on male emigrants leaving India after the 31st of December from 7*l.* to 4*l.*, except in cases of special license from the Governor, had created much dissatisfaction. The *Cervéen* grumbies loudly, and affirms that "the large proprietors are not yet provided for," and so forth. The *Watchman*, however, (a much more trustworthy witness) uses the following language:—"We unhesitatingly declare that the colony is already abundantly supplied, and will be superabundantly by the end of the year. Who thinks, at present, of offering higher wages to a newly arrived immigrant than five rupees, or ten shillings, per month? Yet not one Indian arrives who is content with that sum, or who will admit, either that he should ever have emigrated had he expected no more, or that he will ever return for such wages. Of the thousands who are constrained to accept this remuneration, how few are actually paid in good honest sterling! Is there the slightest competition at the Protector's Office for their services? So far from it, many of those on whom the bounty of 7*l.* is paid remain for days disengaged; and, when any arrive on whom the bounty is refused to be paid, it is difficult—almost impossible—to find an employer willing to advance the 8*l.* or 10*l.* required for their passage and expenses, although he may thereby secure their services on his own terms. As to their freedom to choose their own masters, and bargain for wages, it is a monstrous imposition to pretend that anything of the kind exists with regard to the newly arrived, and scarcely does it exist with regard to those whose first year has expired." These are grave statements, and clearly indicate a general condition in Mauritius demanding the closest attention.

A singular episode to the eagerness of the Mauritians for the immigration of Coolies, is to be found in their dissatisfaction with that of Chinese. It appears that the Chinese have already found their way to Mauritius in considerable numbers, *without a bounty*. They came as labourers, but they have preferred becoming shopkeepers; and they have shown themselves so skilful in this department, and have got into their hands so large a part of the trade of Port Louis, that the island papers are gravely advocating their expulsion! In connexion with Lord Stanley's plan for comforting the West Indians, this is not a little amusing.

No mail from the West Indies has arrived since our last; nor any intelligence of importance from the United States. We have important accounts, however, from nearer home; and we think our readers will learn with pleasure what is going on among our neighbours in France.

WE are obliged to the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* for giving currency to our sentiments respecting the slave-trade. We wish to believe that his identification of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with what he terms "the anti-slavery party" of former periods arises from want of information. The constitution of this Society divides it by a marked line of distinction from all its precursors, excepting only the Central Negro Emancipation Committee, which was formed on a similar basis. If our contemporary will be just enough to judge us by what has been either done or said since the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and by its sanction, we will abide the issue; but we cannot with any fairness be held responsible for measures or sentiments of earlier date. Our recent language is consistent with what was from the first the principle of the Society, and (we hope) with all that has been said or done by it. To the fault—for such we perceive it is in the eyes of our contemporaries—not of believing that immigration into the West Indies from either Africa, or China, or both, will do away with slavery, we plead guilty. Will the *Colonial Gazette* co-operate with us, in endeavouring to open the British market to free labour produce from all parts of the world?

MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

(From the *Mauritius Watchman*, October 28, 1843.)

On the 26th of August last, his Excellency the Governor addressed a Minute to the Council, recommending that, since the number of Indian Immigrants was likely soon to equal the wants of the colony, some restriction should be imposed upon the introduction of male immigrants, after the end of the year. The question was referred to the Committee of Immigration, who, in their Report discussed in Council on Monday last, starting upon the grand and often repeated doctrine that the prosperity of the colony depends on an abundant immigration, recommend that, for all males embarking at Calcutta or elsewhere after the end of this year, a bounty of 4*l.* only, instead of 7*l.* each, should be paid out of the Treasury, and for females the latter sum; but for male immigrants also the Governor should have a discretionary authority to pay 7*l.*, upon all whose introduction might be solicited by parties engaging to find them employment.

In the discussions of Council upon these propositions the utmost diversity of opinion prevailed; some honourable members alleging that the colony is already sufficiently supplied, others that it is almost so, but the majority altogether denying that a total of 30,000 Coolies by the end of this year will be a sufficient supply. Mr. Hunter stated that, a bounty of 3*l.* would suffice to ensure the continued introduction of Indians; yet the Council opposed the reduction of the bounty to less than 6*l.*, and were only finally influenced by the firmness of the Colonial Secretary, to decide upon the reduction to 4*l.*, as recommended by the Committee. Mr. Pitot, under the apprehension that the Governor might refuse the higher bounty of 7*l.* to some applicants, paid his Excellency the compliment of proposing that his discretionary power of granting the higher bounty should be turned over to the Immigration Committee.

Such are the general views expressed: we shall now endeavour to find a clue to lead us out of the labyrinth of contradictions in which the subject is involved. The real point is, not how many Immigrants might by possibility occupy themselves in the cane-fields of Mauritius, but for how many can we, at this time, pay? And the fundamental truth for us to bear in mind is, that the prosperity of the colony depends much more upon the punctual payment of the wages of labour, and of all other just demands, than upon the absolute numbers of our labouring population. The circulating capital which would support in comfort 30,000 men, might leave 100,000 in destitution. For a very long time past, the *Cerneen*, whilst reiterating to satiate our want of labourers, has adroitly blinked the question on which that want, if real, must depend—our colonial capital. Putting, then, the subject in its true light, we unhesitatingly declare that the colony is already abundantly supplied, and will be superabundantly by the end of the year. Who thinks, at present, of offering higher wages to a newly arrived immigrant than five rupees, or ten shillings, per month? Yet not one Indian arrives who is content with that sum, or will admit that he should ever have emigrated, had he expected no more, or that he will ever return for those wages. Of the thousands who are constrained to accept this remuneration, how few are actually paid in good honest sterling! Is there the slightest competition at the Protector's Office for their services? So far from it, many of those on whom the bounty of 7*l.* is paid remain for many days disengaged; and, when any arrive on whom the bounty is refused to be paid, it is difficult—almost impossible—to find an employer willing to advance the 8*l.* or 10*l.* required for their passage and expenses, although he may thereby secure their services on his own terms. As to their freedom to choose their own masters, and bargain for wages, it is a monstrous imposition of the *Cerneen* to pretend that any thing of the kind exists in regard to the newly arrived; and scarcely does it exist in regard to those whose first year has expired, as we shall show when we come to handle the question of the Bagne. The first part of our assertion is proved by the proposal of the Immigration Committee itself, that, after this year, his Excellency should continue to pay the full bounty of 7*l.* upon all for whom individual planters will pledge themselves to find labour: which proposal also demonstrates incidentally the uncertainty of labour being found for others who may arrive on the lower bounty of 4*l.* Now this uncertainty, coupled with the greater uncertainty of their being punctually paid their wages, which we know does exist in spite of the law giving them precedence to all other debtors, ought to make the Government pause; for it would be no very agreeable or creditable affair to have some 10 or 20,000 Coolies to support at the public expense. These gentlemen of the Immigration Committee, with Mr. D. Epinay at their head, will readily, as Mr. Pitot so respectfully suggested, take upon themselves the Governor's discretionary power; but they cannot take his responsibility—they have no inclination to be recalled for him, in the event of an administrative error. Moreover, if the high bounty of 7*l.* for the introduction of Immigrants continue to be granted to all whom his Excellency or the Committee think proper to favour with a license to that effect, whilst others are left to introduce them on a bounty of 4*l.*, we humbly conceive the privilege will be liable to abuse, unless the favoured few, like the lordly dogs under the Hydrophobia law, are supposed to become harmless in virtue of a collar (otherwise a license) hung about their necks by authority. We should be most happy to see the Government pay out of the Treasury funds another, 200,000*l.* in addition to about that sum already expended, if such a measure would in the end re-establish the colony's prosperity: but "est modus in rebus"—there is moderation in all things. There is a point in commercial, and not less in government speculations, beyond which it is not safe to proceed; and as a merchant, so an administration is not justified in making an outlay of 400,000*l.* in any speculation, unless they are fully prepared to advance a further equal sum in case of loss. For who, in this particular case, can guarantee the seasons, freedom from disease, the sufficient productiveness of the labour if realized, and the thousand other contingencies of time and providence? The government now pays a bounty upon the labourers—another upon the rice for their consumption, the next bounty will be upon their labour, to render it of any value to the too involved planter. In the mean time, are there any symptoms of returning prosperity? Usurious rates of interest upon money advances have risen to still higher amounts. The Bank paper is yet at a heavy discount of 12 per cent. The three Banks continue insolvent, and their convertible paper continues nevertheless in circulation. His Excellency has admitted the evil of this state of the Banks, yet do they not continue *in statu quo*? Is there any acting upon that admission? We regret to see the Government apparently not aware that the incessant endeavour of a powerful party in this island is, and has been, to involve the local authorities in their own monetary dilemma, in order to have the administration at their own disposal. Let not our administrators be deluded with the *Cerneen*'s magnificent promises of so many hundred thousand dollars of revenue for 1844, forgetting that a paper revenue may prove to be no revenue at all; and should such a revenue ever be established, the first and loudest to blame the government will be those who are now endeavouring to plunge it into so fatal a delusion. All succeeding Governors of Mauritius should remember the latter part of Sir Charles Colville's history; and should make themselves acquainted with the past deeds of a yet influential party, and be warned.

Surely it would be altogether reasonable and just in the local government, to say to the planters and merchants of Mauritius:—"Gentlemen, here are 30,000 free labourers at your service, at 250 dollars per month each, with rations, &c. If these can enable you by economy and diligence

to extricate yourselves out of your embarrassments, and you treat them kindly—well!—they will be continued to you; possibly augmented. If these are insufficient, her Majesty's Government fears that 50,000 would be so, or 100,000. They consent to let you have 30,000, lending you the funds free of interest, and at more than the ordinary risk of lenders: but beyond this they cannot go, until a satisfactory result of the present trial appears, in the solvability of your paper, the payment of a portion of your debts, and the contentment and freedom of your labourers. To act otherwise, would be to encourage the most dangerous speculations; to jeopardize the entire benefits of Immigration for ever, and to compromise, by a return to virtual slavery, the honour and dignity of the British name."

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Westham, Basingstoke, January 26, 1844.

SIR,—I thank you for the copy of the *Guiana Times*, which contains the reply of the editor to a letter of mine which you were so good as to insert in your Number for the 1st of last November. This reply, as far as I am concerned, is quite satisfactory, and removes from me all necessity of continuing the correspondence, inasmuch as it completely changes the question from one of criminal demerit to one of comparative merit, in which I have not the slightest wish or intention to contest the palm of superiority with Mr. Schenley, or any other British officer engaged in the same service. On the contrary, I sincerely hope that they will none of them be deterred by the reward of my exertions from acting up to the full spirit of their commissions, for which they will find ample justification in Lord Palmerston's noble exculpation to the Spanish Government of Mr. Turnbull's conduct at the Havana, which appeared in your Number of the 7th September, 1842. In the ministry of my day I found no such generous defender. I will only add, that, to a candid mind, many reasons will occur why an "exploit," which I rejoice to find has been practicable to Mr. Schenley, might have been perfectly impracticable to me. Mr. Schenley may have been better supported by his Government. And, however strong my suspicions, and even moral convictions, may have been of the systematic evasions of the Slave-trade Suppression treaties by the authorities of Surinam when I was there, the difficulties of procuring evidence of any particular case sufficiently decisive to bear me through triumphantly in making an official report of it—in a colony where not only the Government, but almost every planter, manager, and merchant was opposed to the object of my employment, and when the tone of England and Europe, and I may perhaps say the Christian world, upon the subject, was much lower than it has since been, and is at present—were often insurmountable. Shall I be trespassing too much upon your indulgence in requesting your insertion of this short letter in your next number? This will much oblige, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

CHRISTOPHER EDWARD LEFROY.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Monday, February 5.

SLAVE-TRADE—RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Lord BROUGHAM was desirous of taking that opportunity of putting a question to his noble friend opposite on a subject upon which great public anxiety was felt, with respect to certain negotiations which were said to be going on with the French Government as to the abolition of slavery, with respect to the treaties of 1838 and 1839. Supposing, however, that negotiations were now going on, and that it would be attended with inconvenience if his noble friend should give him an answer, he in that case should not expect one. Perhaps, however, his noble friend might be able to say a few words which would have the effect of allaying the great anxiety which prevailed in this country on the subject.

The Earl of ABERDEEN.—My Lords, no doubt very great interest is felt upon this subject, for it is one of the greatest importance. For the part which my noble and learned friend has taken, it is perfectly natural for him, and, perhaps, I may say it was his duty, to put the question which I am now about to answer. It is perfectly true that the French Government have desired that some modification may be introduced into the treaties establishing the right of search, which, without impairing their efficiency, might render them more conformable to the views of the French public and of the French naval service. It is not for me to say what may be the result of these propositions; but my noble and learned friend and the House may be assured, that nothing will be done which can in any degree impair or cripple our exertions in the cause of humanity, or interfere with the good effect of those treaties. (Hear, hear.) I must do the French Government the justice to believe that their object was the same as ours. (Hear, hear.) I know that the French ministers are as desirous of seeing the total abolition of the Slave-trade as my noble and learned friend himself is; and with this belief and this knowledge, any propositions coming from them were at least entitled to receive the most ample and the most candid consideration. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the question which my noble and learned friend has asked, I must observe that I had heard the same report; but at the same time I must add, in a manner tending to confirm and countenance the unfounded (Hear, hear) and the calumnious representations that have been made on the other side of the water. (Hear, hear.) It had been the habit of those persons, as their lordships know, to maintain that we cared very little for the abolition of the slave-trade, and that our real object was the right of search; and that, by that right, we wished to disgrace and insult the French marine, and also to acquire certain information respecting French commerce, which would afterwards turn to our own advantage. Incredible as this appeared, it was both asserted and believed in France. (Hear, hear.) Why, the fact was, that we submitted five times as many vessels to the right of search as the French did; and we should have very useless persons indeed as our consuls abroad, if we did not obtain from them better information respecting the commerce of France than we could expect to gain from the exercise of this right of search by our cruisers. (Hear,

hear.) In this country it certainly seemed that the right of search was spoken of as a great good and a great advantage. No doubt it was most valuable as one of the means of promoting the abolition of the slave-trade; but, for myself, I must say, that, so far from considering it as a good, I must look upon it as an evil—an evil only to be justified by the great object for which it had been established. (Hear, hear.) Nothing else could justify the sacrifice which was made on the part of this country in submitting to the right of search—a right to which, from the nature of our mercantile marine, we submitted in a much greater degree than France or any other country. I am not disposed, on the present occasion, to say further what may be the result of our communications with France, to which my noble and learned friend has alluded; and, perhaps, the few words which I have now uttered would prove satisfactory, both to him and to the House generally. (Hear, hear.)

Lord BROUGHAM said, it would be very unreasonable in him if he did not receive as satisfactory the answer of his noble friend. He was convinced that the French Government felt as much anxiety to put down that detestable traffic as his noble friend himself did. There certainly was a feeling abroad in France, that the mode of putting that infamous traffic down was not consistent with their feelings of national honour and dignity. His noble friend had, however, given an unanswerable reply to this, by reminding our French neighbours that we equally conceded the right on our parts; and, as we gave up the right of search in the ratio of five or six of our ships for one of theirs, we certainly gave up more than they did. Yet we did not in the slightest degree consider ourselves disengaged by so doing. He entirely agreed with his noble friend in thinking, that, instead of the right of search being a desirable arrangement, or a good *per se*, some mode should be devised for repressing the slave-trade without it. In dealing with this question, one of his propositions was, that, when England had entirely abolished her own slave-trade, she had done nine parts in ten of what was her own duty, and that, strictly speaking, whatever she did beyond that was in the nature of a work of supererogation. God forbid, however, that, having washed their own hands of the stain, they should not, for the sake of humanity and of Africa, seek to induce other nations to do the same. They must, however, never forget, that, though they were philanthropists and statesmen legislating for the welfare of Africa, they were also European and English statesmen, and that their primary object must now be the preservation of peace among the nations of Europe. (Hear, hear.) They must not risk that first and greatest blessing for the sake of any work of supererogation. (Hear, hear.) To do so, would be the most preposterous attempt that any great nation could lend itself to. (Hear, hear.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Thursday, February 1, 1844.

THE BRAZIL TREATY.

In the debate on the Address, Lord PALMERSTON said: We had heard of a negotiation having been going on in Brazil, and that the point at which it went off was that the British Government declared to the Government of Brazil that they were prepared to admit sugar the growth of free labour, but not that of slave labour; and that, therefore, unless Brazil abolished or considerably modified slavery, Brazilian sugar could not be admitted. That proposition might have been made in perfect good faith and good feeling by the British Government, but it seemed to him that they had shown very little knowledge of the feelings, habits, and prejudices of the Brazilian people; for you might as well ask the country gentlemen of England to abolish the corn-laws as the Brazilians to abolish slavery. (Hear.) He (Lord Palmerston) was bound to suppose that proposition was made sincerely; but, assuredly, if it had been intended to attach to the negotiation a condition which would make it fail, he did not think that the ingenuity of man could have devised a method more certain to accomplish the object in view.

Home Intelligence.

BRITISH SLAVE-TRADERS.—We understand that Sir George Stephen has been for some time occupied in the task of dissecting the evidence taken by the West of Africa Committee, with a view to the expected discussion in Parliament. There seems much probability of the case assuming a more serious form against at least one individual of commercial eminence, than was generally expected.—*Patriot*.

RE-APPOINTMENT OF THE WEST OF AFRICA COMMITTEE.—There is no doubt that the West of Africa Committee will be re-appointed, and will speedily resume its inquiry into British slave-trading under better auspices. Zulueta himself has announced his intention to publish. We are overjoyed to hear it; he will furnish rich materials for his further examination by the Africa Committee, and we can assure him that he will find some less gullible gentlemen upon it on the next occasion. Bickley will, of course, be one of the first witnesses!—*Patriot*.

THE SLAVE TRAFFIC.—The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty appear determined to afford every assistance and co-operation in suppressing the slave-dealing on the coast of Africa. Such measures have been taken, that, in a few months, the whole southern coast of Africa will be so surrounded and closely watched, that not a slaver will be able to escape the vigilance of the cruisers. Instructions have been sent to Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam to dispatch certain vessels of his squadron to that quarter.—*Morning Herald*.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—By the last mail from Jamaica, we find that an Immigration Bill had passed through nearly all, if not all, its stages in the House of Assembly, its promoter being Mr. Jordan, principal conductor of the *Jamaica Morning Journal*. The sum to be raised for the purpose of importing labourers is fixed at 30,000*l.*, but we have not seen a copy of the bill to enable us to judge of the details. The meagre reports, however, furnished by the island press show that the House of Assembly was by no means unanimous on the question. Mr. Geddes, member for St. Mary's, stated emphatically "that he had given the subject much

consideration, and was obliged to declare it was his firm opinion that there was sufficient labour in the country to carry on all the estates that were productive. It was only the poor soils that could not be carried on. They might think immigration was the only remedy for all their ills. He thought otherwise, and he was sure it would end in disappointment." Mr. Geddes was examined at great length before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on West Indian Immigration, in 1842, and speaks from the experience of 22 years' residence in Jamaica. The stipendiary magistrates almost unanimously gave in their reports to the effect that there was a sufficient supply of labourers; and we have the concurring testimony of the missionaries, Messrs. Kuibb and Phillipo, to the same effect.—*Morning Chronicle*.

TRINIDAD.—The editor of the *Standard*, after extracting our notice of the work of the Rev. J. M. Phillipo on Jamaica, adds:—"We have much pleasure in confirming the above statement, having had personal and intimate acquaintance with the peasantry of Jamaica for a sufficient period to form a pretty accurate opinion. The reverend and respected author of the work above mentioned stands very high in the estimation of all parties in that island, as a mild, sensible, and judicious man. Perhaps the peasantry of Jamaica are as much indebted to him as to any individual, or class of individuals, for the diffusion of education and the attainment of the high standard which he has so glowingly described. His testimony, therefore, is worthy of every credence, and, though we have not seen the work, we are prepared to receive it as a faithful account, and a valuable addition to colonial literature."

MAURITIUS.—THE CHINESE.—When, in our last number, founding our observations upon the first principles of our constitution, we blamed the local government for the privileges which, by indulgence, they extended to French aliens, we had by no means overlooked other aliens (the Chinese) less protected by the partisans of Mauritius, and in whose favour not one single voice will come forward; a race of people who already invade the small and great commerce of the island, who are to be met with in every street, and who, very soon, will not leave us a commercial footing, if the authorities do not interfere, and deprive them of their licenses. Our small commerce is in alarm and apprehension, and never with greater reason. The increase of Chinese shops in Port Louis and the country has, for some months past, been so rapid that no one would believe it, did not his own eyes convince him of the fact, and that in situations the most public and the best calculated for business. Formerly, or at least a few years ago, a small number of Chinese occupied themselves in colportage, or had shops in the most retired places, confining themselves to the retail of provisions and Chinese merchandise. At the present day they rival in power and in number the whole of our commercial body, occupying themselves as well in general commerce, and dealing *en demi gros*, as in the labour of artisans. They possess themselves by degrees of the most favourable situations, and exhibit to the public eye every species of goods. They already hold in their hands the fate of the English and Creole shopkeepers; and they have, moreover, the secret of making a fortune and of prospering, whilst the English, Creole, French, and other European traders are groaning under the weight of one of the most severe monetary crises which has ever afflicted our colony. One naturally demands how it is that they thus succeed, and what means they employ; whether their prosperity is the fruit of wise calculation, or of a more judicious application than other people of their opportunities? It is nothing of the kind. The first Chinese who arrived at the Mauritius came hither with slender means, with commercial views; they belonged, almost exclusively, to the trading class of their country—a class to which all Chinese may be said to belong, with this limitation, however, that all those are considered mercantile men who are capable of embarking in any branch whatsoever of commerce; whilst all the rest, employed subordinately, and subjected to surveillance at every moment (a surveillance so rigid and untrustworthy servants, who have no idea of) are treated as hired and untrustworthy servants, who are comparatively undeserving of consideration. Others again, although very capable, cannot find, in their miserable and despotic country, even the most moderate employment, and have no other resource than to abandon themselves to beggary or theft. The Chinese more recently arrived at Mauritius almost all belong to this class. Engaged as labourers some eighteen or twenty months since, they have not renewed their engagements, they no longer employ themselves in the cultivation of our soil, but they are spread over the most populous districts of the island, profiting by whatever may turn up to their advantage, or, where they have not the means of honest occupation, every one knows to what they betake themselves. The complaints which inundate the police department, the facts many times brought to public notice by our journal, speak for themselves. It is from such sources that they obtain wherever with to open a shop, small at first, but which they increase in proportion to the quantity of articles received during the slumbers of our police, in the silence and darkness of night, and often even aided by "un beau clair de lune." The paramount duty of a wise government is to protect its own subjects, and to satisfy itself of the morality of those who seek to pursue any profession or occupation. Our police, or rather our local government, has shown itself very strict in granting licenses, even to British subjects: for instance, those who have been "caught tripping" more than once—aud, in the country, those who have not been approved of or named by the notables, and cannot produce certificates of good behaviour, cannot obtain them. Whence, then, comes the indulgence shown to the Chinese? Many of them have licenses in their own name, and those who have been refused do not the less attain their end, through the medium and in the name of the women (emancipated by Act of Parliament) with whom they cohabit. This is not the only glaring feature which the case presents. No shopkeeper of any other country can enter into competition with these Chinamen, without being compelled to yield. These men have habits of frugality amounting to parsimony, which we can never think of imitating, much less of adopting. Require from an Englishman, or Creole, or other ordinary member of the population of Mauritius, that he should subsist upon merely rice and salt meat, should never use wine, should have no more than two or three changes of linen per year, and that he should be his own cook and washerman; require

this, and you need not expect other than a flat refusal. The mere difference of habits, then, renders the chances of fair competition unequal, and manifestly preponderating in favour of the Chinese; on the one side exists the facility of saving, on the other the utter impossibility of economising. And if we consider, as we have hinted above, that the Chinese avail themselves of unlawful means, as is known to every body, it must be admitted that, if the Government desires that we should be attached to, and should continue to support it in the administration of affairs, it should give birth to measures to put a stop to the encroachments, we may say the monopoly, enjoyed by these foreigners in our trading community.

To show the injustice which reigns as to the admission of these people amongst us, we need only state that they obtain permission of residence upon finding security in 60 dollars, whilst French aliens are compelled to furnish security to the extent of 1,500 dollars! Why is this distinction made? Why is such favour shown to people who but yesterday bore arms against us, and are, after all, the mere refuse of society, and of unbridled immoral habits? Let the local government be "up and at them;" then let it, in accordance with the principle of that admirable constitution of which we are the children, put an end at once to this anomalous and deplorable state of affairs. Let firmness and energy govern its counsels; and, if it really has at heart the welfare of Mauritius, and desires to save us from this unjust monopoly, let it rid us of the many hundreds of these fellows, who, after coming hither to assist us in agricultural labour, and having been discharged from our estates for insubordination and misconduct, are at the present moment disputing with us, inch by inch, the very soil which gave us birth—nay, even the liberty which, from the locality of such birth, we are privileged exclusively to enjoy. We have by no means overlooked the fact, that the Chinese thus engaged in commerce contribute materially to the public treasury. But is not the true object of all fiscal impositions to promote the public weal? And is not this object wilfully lost sight of by any government, the result of whose administration is to deprive of even the means of subsistence those whom it is their bounden duty to protect?—*Mauritius Watchman.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES.—"The coloured people have the privilege of going to meeting, provided there be some whites to keep order, as they say. I will give thee an account of one of these meetings in this neighbourhood. A few weeks since there was notice given out of a funeral to be preached on first-day. Accordingly the meeting assembled, with several whites in attendance. Soon after the preaching commenced, there came in a white man with a large club in one hand, and a knife in the other about a foot long. He shut the door after him, walked up near where the man was speaking, and commenced beating a man; and in a short time the blood was flowing rapidly. One man stepped forward, and prevailed upon him to take him out of the house. His crime was, he had left his work to attend meeting. Such cases pass without producing any disturbance here."—*Correspondent of the Free Labour Advocate.*

A HARD CASE IF IT BE LAW.—We are informed that there lived, a number of years since, in North Carolina, a free coloured man who became attached to a female slave, but before he could marry her, he was forced to purchase her, and accordingly he paid a fair and valuable consideration for her. By the law of the State she then became his slave, but was not so regarded by him. They were married, and raised a family of children, all of whom they supposed would be free. But a few years since this black man died, and a brother, being the next of kin who was free, became his heir, for slaves, we believe, cannot inherit property. This brother claimed the children of his brother as his slaves, and actually sold them as such. Some philanthropic friends endeavoured to set the claim aside, but it could not be done, and those children are now held slaves, made by such an inhuman uncle.—*Richmond (Indiana) Palladium.*

TEXAS.—The following are extracts from President Houston's message to the Congress of Texas:—

"The uniformly active and friendly offices which her Britannic Majesty's Government has, at the earnest request of this, interposed between Texas and Mexico, cannot fail to be regarded as highly gratifying evidence of its generous and friendly disposition, and of a disinterested desire to produce results, as far as may be compatible with the relations subsisting between Great Britain and Mexico, in complete accordance with the assurances which have been given. Nor has the executive any distrust that all professions on the part of her Britannic Majesty's Government will not be efficiently fulfilled."

"The President complains of the capture of Snively's men by United States troops, within the limits of Texas, as an unwarrantable aggression; he declares that Snively had all the official sanctions of the Government necessary to protect him from outrage. He doubts not, however, that redress will be afforded on a proper representation of the facts. He further mentions certain infractions of the revenue laws by traders on the Red River, and the maltreatment of the officers while in the performance of their duties."

CUBA.—INSURRECTION v. EMANCIPATION.—In November last a formidable insurrection of the slaves occurred in Cuba, on an estate about thirty miles from Matanzas, which resulted in the massacre of the overseer's wife and three daughters. The alarm was given, and the military turned out; and after a fierce struggle, in which the slaves showed desperate bravery, they were subdued, sixty or more having been shot. It is safe to say that all the cases of manumission which have occurred in modern times have not cost so much blood as this one insurrection.—*New York Evangelist.*

MORE SLAVE REVOLTS.—(From the Philadelphia correspondence of the *Morning Chronicle*.)—Before I say another word on United States affairs, I must beg permission to tell you all I can learn respecting two slave revolts, one of them of a very terrific character, in Cuba. The chief public source from which the details are gleaned is the *New Orleans*

Tropic, a very respectable journal; but most of the items are from private letters from Havana and Matanzas. I mention these points, because in Cuba revolts, or other events of a political character, never appear in the newspapers. The facts are, there have been two insurrections of negroes, and both of them near Matanzas. The first was suppressed without much difficulty, but some eighteen or twenty persons were killed. The second insurrection was, however, of an extended and fearful character. The number of planters, their overseers, and other white persons killed by the slaves, is not stated, but no doubt it was considerable; for (I speak from a personal knowledge of that part of Cuba) many plantations have from 200 to 500 negroes on them, with only a white overseer and his wife, and perhaps one or two other white persons. It is to be feared, then, that many white persons must have been sacrificed before the troops could have reached the scene of slaughter. I must not forget to add that a majority of the negroes are native Africans, brought to Cuba by the slave-trade, and not negroes born in the island. When the troops arrived, "500 negroes" (such is the *Tropic's* report) were slain, and many taken prisoners. But the most dangerous feature (politically speaking) remains to be told. It seems that some white men on the estate of Don Aldama "ordered the negroes to rise, burn, and murder all they could find." Don Aldama and his relatives, the Messrs. Alfonso, are said to be abolitionists. Such may or may not be the case; but there is a shrewd suspicion here that some of these movements are not unconnected with old Spain;—that some Spanish party or other, for their name is Legion, has an eye to Cuba—perhaps as a separate nation, perhaps Carlist, perhaps Christino; and perhaps, again, there might be merely a scheme on foot to establish a similar negro republic to Hayti. One thing is clear, if our accounts be true, namely, that the insurrection originated with whites and Spaniards. One letter in the *Tropic*, dated Matanzas, Dec. 23, says, "Things here get worse and worse, and it strikes me that a change must come very soon." Another writer says, that the Americans living at or near Matanzas have memorialized the United States government to send a vessel of war, lest they should be suddenly compelled to fly for their lives.

FRENCH GUIANA.—A Cayenne journal states:—"Monsieur Fourier, native of the department of the Lower Seine, ex-director of the plantation La Marianne, has been accused of extremely serious offences. The order for his dismissal, pronounced the 28th of last October by our Royal Court, will explain them sufficiently. The document is to this effect:—Firstly: the cruelty and ill-usage imputed to Fourier towards the slaves, Pouponne and Appa. Forasmuch as they are not sufficiently proved, as the circumstances in which they might have been exercised are as uncertain as the results. Secondly: the introduction of some substance of a nature to cause death into the nostrils of the slave, Abadia. Forasmuch as, if it be proved that Fourier, in order to revive the said Abadia out of a swoon in which he found him, let fall in his haste some drops of ammonia, which could penetrate into his nostrils; this involuntary accident, which, according to the report of the medical man appointed to examine this slave, has not produced any of the sufferings mentioned in his report, cannot be laid to the charge of the accused: the court has no reason to proceed against him on those two heads of the accusation. But, inasmuch as there follow informations and charges sufficient against Fourier, for having exercised barbarous and inhuman treatment—firstly, upon the negro Henri, called Gros-Bibi, arrested when absconding, making him be spit upon, and struck on the cheeks with a shoe bound round with iron, through the workshop of the plantation of La Marianne; at the end of a flogging, and when this man was yet tied to the ladder, kicking him on the face in this position, and breaking then, or afterwards, one or several teeth; then making him be chained, when ill, to a chain 25 kilograms in weight, during a month at the least, and in this state furnishing him with insufficient food; subjecting him to work more than he was able to do, and to a daily flogging of 25 lashes, during a week at least, besides frequently striking him himself with a stick—deeds which, voluntarily perpetrated, and with premeditation, caused, on the 18th of September, 1841, the death of Henri, called Gros-Bibi, without intention of causing death. Secondly: upon the negro Abadia, in breaking upon his head and upon his body a scourge, with which he gave him voluntarily, and with premeditation, blows which brought upon the said Abadia an illness and a personal inability to work for more than twenty days. Thirdly: upon the negress Theresa, in voluntarily and with premeditation beating her, first with a rope, and afterwards kicking her in the lower part of the belly, which immediately caused a violent haemorrhage, and caused an illness of more than twenty days. Fourthly: upon the negro Antonio, called Occotia, when he was handcuffed, and giving him, voluntarily and with premeditation, three blows with a sabre violently snatched from the commander, and giving him two wounds, which disabled him for working for more than twenty days. Fifthly: upon the negro Cesar, when attacked by the illness of which he died, striking him voluntarily and with premeditation, besides kicking him several times a few moments before his death. Sixthly: upon the negro Bastien, called Aoussa, when ill, striking him, and making him be struck several times, voluntarily and with premeditation. Seventhly: upon the negro Adolphus, in voluntarily and with premeditation striking him with a stick, at a time not certain, under which he fell. Eighthly: upon the negro Crispin, in giving him, towards the end of the year 1841, voluntarily and with premeditation, a wound in the right eye with a burning brand. Besides, the blows and wounds inflicted upon the said Cesar, Bastien (called Aoussa), Adolphus, and Crispin have caused an inability to work, or an illness of more than twenty days, to the above-named persons.—Ordered the imprisonment of the Sieur Fourier, and to send him before the Court of Assizes, which will sit at Cayenne; rejects the concession of the request tending to his provisional liberty under bail; gives orders for the arrest of the said Fourier, and decrees upon the exclusion of the request relating to the means of prescription proposed by Fourier. Forasmuch as, regarding the crimes of which he is accused—that, in the case where their date or perpetration is uncertain, they cannot be later than the 1st of September, 1838, the time of his entrance upon the plantation of La Marianne in quality of director; that, if any uncertainty exist as to the exact time when the blows were given to Adolphus, it is not proved that they were given more than three years since—the Court rejects the plea of prescription."—The cause will be tried at the assizes of the month of November."—*Gazette des Tribunaux.*

GUADELOUPE.—By a colonial ordinance of the Governor of Guadeloupe of the 17th of July, a slave of the name of Felix has been emancipated as a reward for his generous conduct on the awful day of the 8th of February: 2,000 francs have been voted for that purpose by the colonial council, 1,500 francs being paid to Felix's master, and 500 francs to Felix himself as a gift. This is the story as contained in the report to the council. "On the 8th February two brothers were covered with the ruins around them; one of them fortunately succeeded in extricating himself unhurt, but the other was wounded and dying, and his more fortunate brother was for some time trying, with his precious load, to find his way out; but the obstacles were insurmountable, his strength was exhausted, and the flames of conflagration were rapidly approaching. At that distressing hour he finds Felix by his side. 'My friend,' he says, 'if you have a kind heart, help me to save my brother, and I will give you a ducat.' 'To-day nothing for money, all for the love of God,' replied the noble and generous slave; and, collecting all his strength and energy, he surmounts all obstacles, and arrives on the wharf, where he lays the dying man in a boat." It is with the utmost difficulty that Felix has been discovered, so anxious was he to conceal his noble conduct.—*Gazette Officielle, August 25th.*

RUSSIA.—THE SLAVE TRADE.—December 16th.—The following notice has been issued by the Finance Department:—"Conformably to the first article of the treaty concluded and signed at London on the 8th (20th) of December, 1841, between Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, for the total suppression of the slave-trade, the Russian Government has delivered the first license to English cruisers, by which those cruisers are authorized, in the seas where the reciprocal right of search may be exercised, to search, and detain, according to the said treaty, merchantmen sailing under Russian colours which are suspected of being concerned in that trade, or of being fitted out for that purpose, or of having carried on that trade during the voyage on which they were stopped by the English cruisers. These licenses, signed and sealed by the Russian Board of Admiralty, are drawn up in the Russian, English, German, and Swedish languages. The cruisers authorized to exercise the right of search are to use a particular signal, which has been agreed upon by the contracting parties who signed the treaty of the 8th (20th) of December."—*Times.*

TURKEY.—During the month of January last, the Pasha of Trebisond forwarded to Constantinople a cargo, consisting of 230 Circassian slaves, mostly young women, intended for the Sultan's harem. This traffic is a direct violation of the treaty of Adrianople. It is expected that the Russian ambassador will protest against this act, particularly as there are several Russian subjects among those slaves.—*National.*

ABYSSINIA.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. C. W. Isenberg to Mr. Richardson, of Malta, dated on the Nile, off Sint, October 7, 1843:—"I have reason to think that between 6,000 and 8,000 slaves are annually exported from Tadjurra, Zeyla, and Berbera, the greater part of them passing through Shoa. They are carried thither from Zindjero, Guraque, Enarea, from the Jallas, the Negroes, and several other nations and parts of the interior. The king of Shoa takes as duty one slave out of ten, and has, of course, the choice. Himself is immediate proprietor of at least 2,000 slaves, who serve him in his household, as carriers of water, carriers of wood, cooks, millers, spinners, &c. Besides these, a large number of people have, either for debts, or for some offences committed by themselves or by their ancestors, lost their liberty, a punishment which in the first degree is confined to the guilty person, and ends with his death in the highest degree; when it is inflicted for capital offences, it extends to the children and children's children of the offender, lasting to 'the seventh generation,' an expression which signifies perhaps 'for ever.' You may imagine this sort of slaves must be very numerous; and so it is. The King of Shoa, therefore, will not likely be thought a friend to the anti-slavery cause, nor seems his communication with Europeans any way to have favourably disposed him; for the exports of slaves are as numerous now as they were formerly. Large masses of slaves, about 500 or 600, were exported during our stay at Zeyla; nor could even the embassy, one of whose chief objects was undoubtedly the gradual suppression of the slave-trade, avoid returning to the coast in company with a caravan, which carried an enormous number of slaves; Even Shermarke, a native Somali, who acts as agent for the English at Zeyla and Berbera, has a considerable share in the slave-trade on this coast. At Massowa I found it impossible to obtain any exact information as to the number of exported slaves; but I should think, judging from the numbers which I formerly saw passing through Adoa, that the annual average may be about 2,000. The number of those that come from Goadai, *viz.* Sennaar, to Egypt, must be considerably larger. I am sorry to say that even the Aboon, of whom so many hopes were entertained, and who promised to abolish the slave-trade in Abyssinia, himself rather encouraged it by sending from time to time slaves as presents to Egypt; but it is still more inexcusable, that even Europeans in those quarters do not keep their hands clean from that abominable traffic."

Miscellanea.

PRO-SLAVERY ALLIANCE.—The *Friend of the African* gives the following as from a Kingston (Jamaica) paper:—"We briefly alluded, on a late occasion, to the proposed alliance of French, Spanish, and American slaveholders, and promised to lay the article from the *New York Aurora*, which furnished the information respecting it, before our readers. We do so now. It will be perceived that the suggestion has come from France, and that delegates from Martinique and Guadeloupe are to visit the southern states of America and the Spanish islands. The inquiry which naturally suggests itself is—what are the means of resistance intended to be used by this alliance, supposing it formed? The projector, M. Jollivet, says, the colonial authorities have just rejected unanimously the projects of emancipation which the French Government had submitted to their deliberation. Their resistance would

be more efficacious, their means of resistance more powerful, if the southern states of the American Union, the Spanish islands, and Brazil, were to make common cause with them. The proposition, then, is to enter into a treaty for mutual defence against the attacks of the anti-slavery party, and the respective Governments. Thus the slaveholders of America, the Spanish islands, and Brazil, are to furnish Martinique and Guadeloupe with men, money, and arms, to enable them to resist the attempt of the French Government to emancipate the slaves in those colonies. If this be the intention of the alliance, it is about the most absurd scheme that ever entered into the head of any individual or body of men. But perhaps it is a peaceful alliance which is sought, and the aid required is not of a physical kind. We are at a loss, however, to ascertain how the southern states of America, the Spanish islands, or Brazil, can interfere between France and her colonies. The southern states are only a part of the American Union, or Government, and could make no representation such as would be required to the Government of France. The Spanish islands are the dependencies of Spain, and could also make no representation to France. The Brazilian Government would be prevented by the principle of non-intervention, from interfering with a matter which does not in any way concern them. There may be some mode, however, known to M. Jollivet, by which his object may be attained; and, as there is to be a meeting at New Orleans in the month of September or October, perhaps we shall then learn what that mode is. We rather think the 'Colonial authorities' will find it a much easier matter to reject the projects of emancipation submitted to them by the French Government, than to prevent their being carried into execution, when that Government has determined that they shall be. France, we anticipate, has been already conquered by abolitionism, and the slave system has already lost its last rampart. The proposed alliance will not tend to mend the matter, or in any manner to retrieve the unhappy cause."

CAN ARMS SUPPRESS THE SLAVE-TRADE?—"Sebastian gave me his opinion that, in Brazil, where many secluded creeks afforded facility for contraband adventure, there would be great difficulty in suppressing the trade, though the authority of the government, if hearty in the cause, might do much. At Quillimane, by his account, 8 or 9 vessels take in their cargo yearly, averaging at the lowest 500 in each. 'But now,' he added, 'none escape':—'es una carrera de hombres perdidos':—it is a service of desperate men." Two vessels, as before mentioned, having been taken, and another driven ashore by the *Lily*, the *Progresso* makes the fourth capture this year. One, however, they say, escaped a few weeks since from that coast; and it may be doubted whether its profits will not compensate for the loss of the other four. On the east coast of Africa negroes are usually paid for in money, sometimes in 'fazendas,' coarse cottons, at a cost of about 18 dollars for men, 12 for boys. At Rio Janeiro, their value may be estimated at 500 milreis, or 52l. for men; 400 milreis, or 41l. 10s. for women; 300 milreis, or 31l. for boys. Thus, on a cargo of 500, at the mean price, the profit will exceed 19,000l.

Cost price of 500 at 15 dollars, or 37. 5s. each 1,625l.

Selling price at Rio of 500, at 41l. 10s. each 20,750l."

—*Fifty Days on Board a Slave.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
Tottenham—Forster, Josiah	3 3 0	
Kendal—Crewdon, W. D.	5 0 0	
Birmingham—C. M.	10 0 0	
London—J. L.	0 10 6	
Winchester—Knight, Ann	1 0 0	
Grundisburgh, near Woodbridge—Webster, Rev. G. E.	0 10 0	
Woodbridge—Taylor, Rev. Henry	0 10 0	
London, &c., per the Collector:—		
Sterry, Henry, Borough	3 3 0	
Sterry, Jos. ph., ditto	2 2 0	
Sterry, Joseph, Jun., ditto	1 1 0	
Sterry, Richard, Croydon	1 1 0	
Allen, the late William, Plough-court	2 0 0	
Cooper, Joseph, Stoke Newington	2 2 0	
Barrett, Richard, Croydon	2 2 0	
Stacey, George, Holborn	2 2 0	
Neathy, Joseph, Kennington	2 2 0	
Palmer, Edward, Southwark	1 1 0	
Burchett, John, Doctors'-commons	1 1 0	
Burchett, John, Jun., ditto	0 10 0	
Robinson, J. P., Leadenhall-street	1 1 0	
Jeffrey, Russell, Peckham	2 2 0	
Eaton, Mary, Plaistow	3 3 0	
Taylor, William, New Ormond-street	2 2 0	
Lushington, Charles, Westminster	1 1 0	
Morland, John, Eastcheap	2 2 0	
Price, Dr. Thomas, Highbury	1 1 0	
Warner, John, Jewin-street	2 0 0	
Bell, John, Wandsworth	2 2 0	
Cash, William, Peckham	1 1 0	
Savory, Joseph, Cornhill	1 1 0	
Harvey, Robert, Gracechurch-street	0 10 0	
Norton, William, Borough	1 1 0	
Belfast—An enemy to oppression	1 0 0	0 5 0
Darlington—Pease, Edward	10 0 0	10 0 0
Bromfield—Christy, Thomas (for 1844)		
London—E. R.	0 10 6	
Cheltenham—Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	7 14 0	
Less expenses applied locally	1 11 10	

	Amount received	6 2 2
Aldridge, Miss	0 5 0	
Agnew, Miss	1 1 0	
Ball, Mrs.	1 0 0	
Capper, Mrs.	1 1 0	
Clutterbuck, Miss	1 0 0	
Owen, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Wallace, Mrs.	1 1 0	
Yerbury, Miss.	0 15 0	
Product of work sold	7 0 0	
Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	0 10 0	
West, Joseph Hager, per the Treasurer	13 0 0	
Exeter—Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	13 0 0	

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER and CHARLES REED, of No. 5, Bolt Court, in the Parish of St. Dunstan, and City of London: and Published by LANCELLOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine-street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Martin-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERETT, 6, Finch-lane, Cornhill. February 7th, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CX. VOL. V.—No. 4.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE FLORIDA FUGITIVES.

By our valued friend and correspondent, the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, we have been put in possession of further information concerning the seven slaves who recently effected their escape from Florida to Nassau. It appears that legal proceedings had been adopted in regard to them in Florida, as stated in the following extract from the correspondence of the *New York Courier and Enquirer* :—

"Key West, November 16, 1843.

"At the November term of the Superior Court for the southern district of Florida, eight negroes were indicted for murder and robbery. They are the same who fled from St. Augustine some time past, with a sail boat. They went to Biscayne, cape Florida, where they remained some time, during which they entered the house of one Geeren, and, in the presence of two children, the one ten and the other six years old, took whatever they found and wanted, and then went away. Mr. Geeren, on his return, learning what had transpired, took his gun and pursued the negroes, and soon after the children heard the reports of guns. Mr. Geeren was afterwards found dead, having been shot. But the negroes have arrived safely at Nassau. It is the intention of the authorities here to have them demanded of the British Government, as fugitives from justice. The above detailed facts, I believe, are the substance of what was disclosed before the grand jury."

We learn, also, that measures have been taken by some parties in the United States to obtain the surrender of these fugitives from the British authorities at Nassau. The *Baltimore American* of January 11th, gives, on the authority of the captain of an American brig (the *Fairfield*) which was cast away on the 13th of December on the island of Samana, the following statement :—

"We learn from Captain Wilson, that, during his stay at Nassau, the United States revenue cutter *Nautilus* arrived there, to demand the slaves who fled from Florida some time since, committed a murder at Key Biscayne, and then took refuge at Nassau. The *Nautilus* was compelled, however, to sail again without accomplishing her object. The authorities at Nassau refused to give up the fugitives from justice, on the plea that the proofs were not sufficient."

We are happy to be made acquainted with the fact (which, we suppose, there is no reason to doubt) that the British authorities in the Bahamas have refused to surrender these fortunate fugitives, not "from justice," but from oppression. The proceedings are scarcely open to remark, unless we knew all the particulars; but, as at present stated, it does not appear that the demand was made by the Government of the United States, which the act of Parliament sanctioning the treaty makes essential. Whether this, however, or defective proof of identity, or some other deficiency, was the ground on which the authorities at Nassau acted, we have no means at present of ascertaining.

The Americans are as yet remarkably quiet in reference to this matter. Our correspondent says, "No notice has yet been taken of the subject in Congress, except a passing allusion by Mr. Giddings, and a response by Mr. Lay, of Florida; but I shall be surprised if the return of the *Nautilus* does not produce some agitation." The refusal to surrender will naturally render the affair one of communication between the two Governments, and we trust Parliament will have its eyes on the proceedings. Mr. Hawes, we observe, has already moved for papers, and asked for information.

Since the preceding statement has been in type, we have received another communication from Mr. Leavitt, under date of the 2nd inst., and enclosing the following extract from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* :—

"THE ESCAPED NEGROES.—By a slip from the *Savannah Republican* office, we hear, by way of St. Augustine and Tampa, from Key West, of the return of the U.S. revenue cutter, *Nautilus*, from Nassau, whither she went with the U.S. Marshal for the southern district of Florida, to demand the restitution for trial, under the treaty, of some negroes accused of a murder at Key Biscayne last September. It appears that the cause of the refusal of the Colonial courts to act in the matter, was the insufficiency of the evidence under the treaty, the Marshal having carried an indictment found by the Grand Jury, instead of copies of the depositions on which it was found. In the meantime the slaves are at large, and have sufficient warning to take care of themselves."

To this our correspondent adds the following valuable information and remarks :—

"The American agents took the indictment, (as I understand,) and witnesses to identify the negroes as the persons who escaped from St. Augustine, but not witnesses to identify them as the persons who killed the man down the coast, or to prove that the killing was not in necessary self-defence. This shows that they were intent on getting them back only as slaves, not as criminals, and that they expected the authorities at Nassau to be as ready as themselves to employ the terms of the treaty as a colourable pretext for the return of those men to slavery. They were disappointed there, and will doubtless find themselves equally disappointed in the only remaining hope they can have, which is to make the

refusal the means of awakening feelings of indignation against England. You remember that, in the case of the *Creole*, the subject was introduced into Congress instantly, as soon as news arrived. But, in the present case, not a single call has been made on the President for information, not a single indignation-speech has been made by the slaveholders, not a single allusion has been made to the affair by any of them, nor has it been named except by Giddings, to complain that the United States navy should be employed in hunting runaway slaves. The slaveholders are afraid to bring it up, so greatly has the temper of Congress altered in two years.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND FREE IMMIGRATION.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Paris, Feb. 16th, 1844.

By the *Journal des Débats* of this morning, I learn that the French colony of Bourbon is in a state of great prosperity; at least, the speech of the governor of that colony says so. The late measure of the French Government in relation to beet-root sugar appears to have given them fresh spirits, inasmuch as it will enable colonial sugars to find a larger and better market in France than they have done for several years past. I am informed, however, that the beet-root sugar can be raised, on a large scale, as cheaply as colonial sugar; and therefore we may hope that it will still compete in the French market with the slave produce of the colonies.

The governor of Bourbon, in the speech referred to, advertises to some plan for recruiting the population with labourers from abroad. What is the nature of that plan, or whence the labourers are to be obtained, does not appear. He alludes to it in connexion with other measures (and as preparatory to them) contemplated by the government—I presume the abolition of slavery.

In looking over the *Procès Verbaux* which accompany the report of the Duke of Broglie, I find an *Exposé des motifs* of the Procureur General of the island of Bourbon on the subject of immigration into that colony, which, I think, will be found to throw light on some parts of the governor's speech. This functionary, after having referred to the decrease of the slave population in Bourbon, and the consequent increase in the price of slaves, which he represents to be equal to one-fifth of their former value, says—"Under the influence of such circumstances, it is impossible not to look with hope to the introduction into the colony of free labourers under contract (*engagés*)."
He then informs us of the fact that a large number of Coulies had already been introduced from India, and of their fate. This will be found particularly instructive at the present time, and on that account I particularly direct your attention to it. The Procureur General says—"The island of Bourbon adopted a long time ago, but in a faulty manner, the system of indentures. So long ago as 1828, it recruited free labourers in India only. But every one knows the repugnance which Indians of high caste feel to expatriate themselves, so that none but vagabonds could be induced to come to us. Hence arose a great disappointment as to the results which had been originally hoped for. The financial disasters of 1831 and 1832 followed in such force as to annul the contracts, and throw into the streets, without home and without resource, a multitude of these unfortunate people. No legislation respecting the services of indentured free labourers coming to the aid of the government, it had no resource but to open forthwith some places of refuge, and, in the end, to carry back a large number of these Indians. There now remain scarcely more than a thousand of them scattered through the colony, almost all of them having betaken themselves to smuggling, and being much more adapted to create disorder among the blacks than to set them an example of industry; while, nevertheless, those who remain are the least turbulent and the most industrious of the number." The Procureur General then adds:—"These people can be made use of only for light work. We must look out for other resources." He then goes on to observe:—"But the hope of finding elsewhere the labourers which our cultivation so rapidly demands should not blind us to the external inconveniences which will arise, if we do not proceed on a better footing, and if we do not take care of consequences." This will prepare you for what follows:—"In order not to fall a second time into the faults already committed, and in order not to entail mischievous results, it is necessary to enter on this operation on different principles. No government exists among the tribes to whom we should probably be permitted to go to seek for free labourers; and, if serious precautions be not taken, we shall become liable to be charged with slave-trading. We might, indeed, obtain of the barbarous chiefs of Madagascar, or of the coast of Africa, the unfortunate persons whom they have taken in war, whom they would sell to slave-dealers, and whom they would thus part with to a great profit. But these men, victims of violence, and born to an idle life, would bring with them vice, indolence, and misery; they would never settle in our

country, and you would not know how or where to restore them to their own, at the end of their fixed contract. It is necessary then to found the contract on other ideas."

Now for the plan:—"We are owners of several districts of Madagascar, but we are not masters. Nevertheless, it requires but little to establish our dominion there among the native tribes, who would afford us all possible facilities for recruiting. This is not the place for going at length into this suggestion, which ought to be the subject of a special and extended memoir; but I reason on the very probable hypothesis that we shall be authorized to treat with a friendly nation, in order to draw labourers thence. In this case, it will be necessary that these labourers should be annually introduced in numbers sufficiently small to enable us to regulate their classification; that a return should be open to them after some years; that, if they prefer remaining among us, they should, after a certain period, acquire civil rights. Thus the problem, perhaps, will be solved. In a word, the closest bond which can unite us and them is, that, after a sufficient time of trial, they may adopt in their turn the country which will have taught them to labour. By this means the recruiting may be permanent; the periodical return of many of the indentured to their native soil will give rise to the diffusion of useful knowledge there; the privilege of residence among us granted to a certain number will constitute a common bond between the two countries; our articles of European merchandise will go to pay them one part of the cost of indenture; and, in making the products of our industry necessary there, we shall render our dominion more and more secure. These are old ideas with us all."

This course is justified by the proceedings of the British Government, in the following terms:—"Admitting the impossibility of obtaining voluntary labour from the former slaves, it (the British Government) has at length determined to allow the introduction into all the colonies of freed slaves, of free labourers taken from the coast of Africa." In further developing his plan, the Procureur General says—"The free labourers are not to be treated as slaves on the one hand, or as freemen on the other. Whatever may be their caste, their tribe, their country, or the particular terms of their engagement, they cannot be admitted without insisting on the obligation of labour." In short, it is proposed that, "after ten years of sojourn in the colony as indentured persons, they may claim the privilege of permanent residence. From that moment they shall no longer be subjected to the discipline of indentured persons, and they shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of other citizens." To which it is added, "On the termination of their first engagement, or of their successive engagements, indentured persons who can show that they have means of subsistence may be released from any new engagement, and admitted to residence."

Such is the outline of the French scheme for obtaining free labourers from Madagascar. It is based on the original purchase of the labourers—French merchandise to pay one part of the cost; and it is to be supported by coercion, called "the discipline of indentured persons." It is, in short, slavery for ten years, or longer, if the labourers cannot show that they have the means of subsistence.

NEWS FROM CUBA.

IMPORTANT advices have reached us from Cuba.

Our readers are aware of the reported leaning of the new Captain-General (O'Donnell) towards the slave-traders. They may now judge further of him by the following circumstance, which occurred in the beginning of January. Fifty bozal (that is, newly imported) negroes arrived, from the neighbourhood of Havana, at Bataino, on their way to Trinidad de Cuba, under consignment to Count Brunet. The captain of department at Bataino stopped the negroes, and on the following day he was dismissed from his office, by order of the Captain-General! As to this gentleman, he is stated to be notoriously on the best terms with the slave-traders. It was a current fact in Havana that twenty vessels were preparing for Africa, and that two American vessels had been taken up to carry thither the goods required in barter for the slaves. In harmony with this statement was the fact, that, in less than a week, rum had risen from 8 dollars to 20 dollars a pipe, the out-sitting slaves having bought up nearly the whole supply.

The only drawback to this frightful representation is to be found in the statement, that, even in Cuba, slave-trading is the employment of a mere gang of desperate men, not only unsupported by, but contrary to, the feelings of the inhabitants at large. This adverse sentiment is said to be extending, and to be diffusing itself through some influential channels. In particular it has been reinforced within the last six months, owing chiefly to the uneasiness produced by the last two revolts of negroes near Matanzas, accounts of which had reached us through the American papers. The government, it appears, has done its utmost to hush up these revolts, even the last of them, which occurred only in November, being spoken of in December as though it had happened many years ago. The people in the district of Matanzas, however, seem to have been thoroughly startled. On both occasions they were most seriously alarmed; and, under the instigation of those cruel councillors, fear and a bad conscience, they made dreadful havoc among the negroes. Ninety were butchered, and above 100 are said to be now in prison. As one consequence of these revolts, and especially of the loss of property and life of white persons, several planters of the district, including some owners of the estates on which the negroes revolted, got up a petition to the Captain-General, begging him to put a final stop to the slave-trade. So many planters signed this petition that it at length infringed a law, which forbids the collecting of numerous

signatures to any petition. It was then determined to present it with only three or four names appended to it; but even this intention, after meeting with much obstruction from a subordinate functionary, was finally abandoned, on account of the known determination of the Captain-General to encourage the traffic.

The uneasiness arising from the recent insurrections is aggravated by commercial embarrassments. Agriculture in Cuba is labouring under great difficulties, and the prospect is gloomy. A yoke of oxen, which, a twelvemonth ago, was thought cheap at 102 dollars, is now thought dear at 51. Corn, the farrega (or 1000 ears), was worth 3 dollars, now it is at 15, and it is difficult to find a purchaser. So it is with hogs, sheep, &c. This is attributed to the depression of sugar and coffee. Sugar, at present prices, in some parts of the island, barely pays expences. The greater number of sugar plantations in the districts of Batabano, Melina, Guara, Guivres, &c., hire bands for the crop time (say five months) at from 11 dollars to 12 dollars a month, fed. These wages were higher last year, and in the year previous as high as 14 dollars.

We are unwilling to abandon the hope that something beneficial may arise out of the present uneasiness in Cuba. In a meeting of planters held at Matanzas by Governor Garcia Ona, it was proposed by the planters that battalions of rural militia should be formed, into which natives and Spaniards should enter indiscriminately; but Ona rebuked this proposal, as savouring of a spirit of insurrection! It appears, also, that a junta of planters and merchants has been appointed by the Government for the purpose of inquiring into the present state of the island, and preparing an *exposé* of it.

We learn, finally, that a French planter, a Mons. Hume, from Martinique, is at Havana. He is collecting money to be sent to France, in order to salary the pro-slavery writers for the public press. This is a "a favourite enterprise," our correspondent tells us, "with the rich people in Cuba."

THE FRENCH COMMISSION ON SLAVERY.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Paris, February 10, 1844.

I HAVE had an opportunity of reading a considerable portion of the third part of the *Procès-Verbaux*, which contains the discussions which took place in the Commission* on the different plans of emancipation laid before it, and records the votes given by its members in relation to each of those which were seriously entertained. The first and most important of the discussions turned upon the expediency of the immediate and general abolition of slavery. In this debate it is painful to perceive how few of the members of the Commission were governed in their decisions by sound principles of morals, which are never inconsistent with sound policy, or by a proper regard for the claims of deeply-injured humanity. Only Victor de Tracy and Count Rossi, to whom the friends of abolition and the slaves are deeply indebted for their able advocacy of the views which they entertained, and for the course which they adopted, voted for this measure. The Duke de Broglie, President of the Commission, declared himself to be opposed to it; whilst de Sade and de Tocqueville, two other members of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, who were on the Commission, expressed themselves as doubtful or adverse. Admiral Mackau, the present Minister of Marine, in many places discovers an almost implacable enmity to abolition, which is shared, as might be expected, by some other members of the Commission, especially Jubelin and St. Hilaire, d'Audiffrit and Wurtemburg. I should remark that Reynard appears to have approached most nearly to Victor de Tracy and Count Rossi, in what we believe to be just sentiments in reference to the abolition of slavery. It is painful to find that Burnley was introduced at one of the sittings of the Commission by De Tocqueville, to give evidence on the subject before the Commission, and evidence such as might have been expected from an able and ardent adversary, as he has always been, of the anti-slavery cause. I translate carefully the conclusion of the sitting of the 21st of February, 1842, in which the Commission recorded their opinion on the subject of the immediate and general abolition of slavery in the French colonies:—

"The PRESIDENT said that the moment appeared to him to have arrived for closing this first portion of the discussion; and he put the question on which he would collect their votes in this form:—

"Is there ground for proposing to the Government a plan of emancipation which should have for its basis a general and immediate abolition of slavery, without any intermediate system; and with the payment of an indemnity, as a deduction from which no regard should be had to a concession of time in favour of the holders of slaves?

"The votes collected by the President were as follows:—

"MM. Rossi and de TRACY vote for the affirmative, on condition that indemnity may be demanded, and shall be granted.

"M. REYNARD takes the same view, remarking, however, that the elements of the indemnity remain to be determined; and that, until this part of the question was settled, he could give only a conditional vote as to the period at which the measure should be consummated.

"M. PASSY could only give a vote *ad referendum*, that is to say, under a reserve for the consideration of other plans, and of the two accessory conditions which had been mentioned, namely, the passing of special laws for the freed persons, and a good selection of agents for their execution.

"M. de SADE must vote against the proposition, in the absolute terms in which it was conceived. In his judgment, the general abolition of slavery without an intermediate system, ought to be combined with the

* The Commission appointed by the French Government to report on the subject of colonial slavery.

allowance of a certain delay, which should enable the colonists to be made sharers in the sacrifice of the indemnity.

"MM. d'AUDIFFRIT, de MACKAU, JUBELIN, WURTEMBURG, and de ST. HILAIRE vote against the proposition.

"The Duke de BROGLIE also declared for the negative. His first reason was, that such an indemnity as the plan under consideration implied could neither be effected nor contemplated. He did not think that the Government would consent to ask for it, and, as a peer, he should refuse it. The second reason which led the President to vote against the proposition was, that he saw, in the impossibility that the colonists could give wages to the blacks, an insuperable obstacle to the immediate concession of freedom.

"The majority of the Commission is, consequently, of opinion that the general and immediate abolition of slavery ought not to be proposed."

Such is the cruel and unjust decision of those to whom the task was assigned of examining a question in which the happiness and rights of 250,000 human beings were most deeply involved. Can we believe such a decision to be consistent with that golden rule, which requires that whatsoever we would that men should do to us, we should ever do to them? Assuredly not. I cannot, however, but trust that, notwithstanding the disappointment which we must feel in reading the words of one distinguished as an early and eloquent advocate in France of the abolition of the slave-trade, there will be found not a few members of the French legislature who will refuse their concurrence to any measure by which their country shall continue to be stained with the guilt and the dishonour of upholding slavery.

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE EAST.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF RIPON, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL, &c., &c.

27, New Broad-street, Dec. 9, 1843.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to call your attention to a fact which has just been brought to their knowledge, and which, they have reason to fear, constitutes but a small part of an extensive and long-prevalent system of misdoing in the East.

A gentleman whose name and address are known to the Committee, and may be given to your lordship, in a narrative which he has presented to the Committee of Oriental Travels so late as last spring, makes the following statement:—

"At Aden I remained five weeks, and then, in company with the padre Antonio Foggart, a propaganda missionary, engaged a cabin in the ship *Saliman Shah*, belonging to Calcutta, navigated by native British subjects, and bound to Jeddah, to which place I was proceeding. The day after leaving Aden we anchored off Mocha, and received on board Mahomed, a Dankali slave-merchant, and seven slaves. I was vexed to see the British flag thus shamefully abused, and under the observation of rather a severe commentator (the padre Antonio) upon the policy of England as regards the slave-trade. Situated as I was, I could not say anything against the outrage, nor did I pretend to palliate it; but I made some inquiries, and such observations as I thought might be useful for the information of those at home, who would endeavour to prevent for the future the British flag from being stained with the charge of still encouraging and supporting slavery in the East. A few days after the vessel left Mocha we reached the port of Hodeidah, where the slave-dealer Mahomed disposed of a boy for (as he said) forty-five dollars. It appears that the remainder (six girls) were ultimately disposed of at Jeddah, two of the number having been previously landed at Coomfidah, but not sold."

The Committee deem it unquestionable that this was slave-trading on the part of British subjects, and was contrary to law; since an act was passed by the Imperial Legislature in 1842, to remove all doubts of the application of the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824 to the British territories in the East, and appointing courts of vice-admiralty for the trial of offences committed against it in any part of British India.

The Committee are sure that your lordship, in common with themselves, would deeply regret that this act should remain a dead letter; and they cannot doubt that you will take such measures under it as shall render it effectual to put down the traffic in slaves, now (the Committee believe) extensively carried on in the East, so far as the same shall be carried on in British vessels.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,
(Signed) J. H. HINTON.

REPLY.

India Board, December 23, 1843.

SIR,—The Commissioners for the Affairs of India have taken into consideration the letter which you, on the part of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, addressed to the President of this Board on the 9th inst.

In that communication you call attention to a statement which was made last spring to the Committee of Oriental Travels, to the effect that a vessel belonging to Calcutta, and sailing from Aden to Jeddah, having put into Mocha, took on board as passengers a man represented to be a slave-merchant, and a boy and six girls represented to be slaves; that the boy was landed and sold at Hodeida; and that the girls were ultimately disposed of at Jeddah.

The Committee, as you observe, deem it unquestionable that this was slave-trading on the part of British subjects, and was contrary to law; since an act was passed by the imperial legislature in 1842, to remove all doubts of the application of the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824 to the British territories in the East, and appointing courts of vice-admiralty for the trial of offences

committed against it in any part of British India. The Committee add, that they would deeply regret that this act should remain a dead letter.

The act to which the Committee allude is, it is presumed, 5 & 6 Vict., c. 101. But that act merely provides that the powers given by the 5th Geo. IV., c. 113, to the government of her Majesty's colonies, for the more effectual suppression of the importation of slaves into such colonies by sea, shall be vested in the governors, &c., of the several places within the territories under the government of the East India Company; and that the powers given by the said act of Geo. IV. to her Majesty's officers, civil and military, for the like purpose, are thereby given to the several officers of the East India Company.

It is also to be observed that the offence said to have been committed was not committed in any part of British India, and was not brought to the notice of any British officer. No doubt, however, can be entertained that any subject of her Majesty's, or any person residing within the territories under the government of the East India Company, who shall, upon the high seas, knowingly and wilfully convey any person as a slave, or for the purpose of his being imported as a slave into any place whatsoever, or for the purpose of his being used as a slave, is punishable under the ninth section of the Consolidation Act of 1824, the 5th Geo. IV., c. 113.

Anxious as the Indian government have ever been to give effect to this clause, they find their endeavours frustrated by the difficulty of obtaining evidence of its infraction in localities far distant from their own territories, seldom visited by Europeans, and inhabited by a people whose religious prejudices and worldly interests are concerned in the maintenance of the traffic.

It is much to be regretted, therefore, that the gentleman whose statement you bring to our notice could find no opportunity of giving his testimony where it might have been made available for the conviction and punishment of the offenders. If, however, the Committee can suggest any mode by which the facts of this case can be duly established, and the perpetrators of the alleged crime discovered and brought to justice, this Board will be most ready to co-operate in that object. In the mean time a communication upon the subject will be made to the Court of Directors.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
(Signed) W. B. BARING.

J. H. HINTON, Esq.

COOLIE EXPORTATION.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY, ETC., ETC.

27, New Broad-street, December 30, 1843.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel it their duty to make to you an earnest appeal, in relation to the facts which have recently been disclosed in connexion with the emigration from India to Mauritius.

It cannot be necessary for the Committee to call to your lordship's remembrance, either those fearful mischiefs which, on a former and not distant occasion, induced the Indian Government to arrest on the instant the entire course of emigration to Mauritius, as then in action, or the just and necessary jealousy with which that Government is known to have regarded the proposition for its renewal. It was only by force of assurances of the most solemn kind on the part of your lordship, that arrangements should be made perfectly efficient for the prevention of such mischiefs, that consent was given in any quarter for a second experiment. Already the result appears to have been most melancholy. If the statements in the public papers are to be believed (and there seems to be no ground for discrediting them) the very same evils which before existed have broken out again. Persons are inveigled from the interior under false pretences, held in a kind of imprisonment in Calcutta, and smuggled on board ship; the whole business being conducted by duffadars, or crimps, and being nothing short of systematic kidnapping.

The Committee are fully assured that this state of things must have immediately engaged the attention of the authorities in India; and, from the efficiency of the remedy applied on a former occasion, they are encouraged to anticipate from them the adoption of effective measures. Nor are the Committee without confidence that your lordship will pay early and due regard to a matter so important; yet they would have felt themselves wanting in their duty if they had not laid their sentiments on it before you, and expressed their fervent hope, that a system thus twice demonstrated to be incurably vicious, may be finally brought to an end.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J. SCOBLE, Secretary.

REPLY.

Downing-street, January 6, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ult., calling his attention to certain statements which have appeared in the public papers, of gross abuse having been practised by the persons engaged in conducting the emigration of the Coolies from India to Mauritius.

In reply, Lord Stanley desires me to observe, that, if the state of things be such as represented in certain public papers, (though he presumes the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are aware that one of the statements was immediately afterwards declared by the paper which had inserted it

to be wholly without foundation,) he agrees with the Committee in entertaining no doubt that the attention of the authorities in India will have been directed to it. His lordship has, however, referred your communication to the Governor-General.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,
(Signed) GEORGE HOPE.

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., &c.

A N Excellent LITHOGRAPHED PORTRAIT of this distinguished Philanthropist is in course of execution. It will be of a large size, and brought out in the first style of the art. Price to Subscribers:—India proofs, before letters, 30s.; ditto, after letters, 21s.; prints, 10s. 6d.

Subscribers' names received by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without, London.

As a limited number only of proofs will be issued, an early application will be necessary to secure the best impressions.

In a few days will be published, price One Shilling,

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c., &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

Now publishing,

A SCENE on the SLAVE COAST, with the PURCHASE and SALE of SLAVES. This celebrated Painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy some time since, and excited considerable attention. It is by MONSIEUR BIARD, of Paris, and is now Engraving in the highest style of Mezzotint by E. WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

Subscribers' names received by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without, where an Etching may be seen.

The Second Edition of the

TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA is now ready, price One Shilling.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome volume, price 7s. 6d. cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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.

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 21, 1844.

We thought, when our last number was issued, that Mr. Zulueta was about publishing a pamphlet on the subject of his trial. We were, however, mistaken. The work is not published, but only "printed for private circulation." We have not the honour of being among the parties selected for the reception of this benefit. Are any of our subscribers more fortunate? If a summary of the book in the city article of the *Times* is to be relied on, Mr. Zulueta's appeal to the merchants and traders of Great Britain is founded upon an entire misrepresentation of Judge Maule's charge. He certainly laid down no such doctrine as is there imputed to him. But it is useless fighting with a shadow.

While Mr. Zulueta retains his book in mysterious secrecy, and withholds it from the view of the public, he affords ground for suspicion that it contains statements which he knows will not bear examination; and he possesses no means of defence if this charge is directly brought against him. If this book will bear examination, why is it withheld? We repeat that, this very day, the book is not published, and cannot be procured.

We are enabled to give, from an authentic source, the following statement of the import and consumption of sugar in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 5th of January, 1843, to the 5th of January, 1844. The quantity imported from British possessions exceeds by 140lbs. that of the preceding year.

Sugar imported during the year ending 5th Jan., 1844.

	cwts.
From the British West Indies	2,503,577
" Maritius	477,124
" British possessions in India	1,101,751
" Foreign parts	939,896
Total importation	5,022,348

The consumption during the year was, in

West India Sugar	2,533,110
Mauritius	455,512
East India	1,056,483
Foreign	76
Total consumption	4,045,181
Molasses imported	616,656
Duty paid	£ 454,437

THE letters of our Paris correspondent will be read with a lively interest. As to present movements, it is rumoured that the Minister of Marine and the Colonies is engaged in preparing a bill to grant the colonies the privilege of sending representatives to the Chamber of Deputies. On this subject the *Constitutionnel* remarks as follows:—

" We think on this subject with Messrs. H. Passy and De Tracy, that, as long as slavery exists in the colonies, their deputies cannot be admitted to the Chambers. What, in fact, would their deputies be? Evidently the representatives of a single class; the organs of the interests of the masters; frequently opposed to that of the slaves, and therefore not the representatives of the entire population. What the Minister of the Marine should first propose is the abolition of slavery; and we understood that he intended preparing a bill on that question, after having heard his reply to M. de Sade at one of the late sittings of the Chamber."

We entirely concur in these views. The plan of the Minister can be nothing but a scheme for augmenting the power of slave-holders in the Chamber, under the disguise of extending the principle of representation to the colonies at large.

We are much indebted to Mr. Leavitt for the promptness with which he has forwarded to us the important information respecting the Florida fugitives. The remainder of his interesting letter will be found under the head of Foreign Intelligence. All our friends will derive great pleasure from learning that the temper of the House of Representatives is changing so much for the better. The gag, it seems, is likely to be repealed; Mr. Adams, as chairman of the Committee on the Massachusetts resolutions, is preparing materials for a valuable report; and, on the petition of a black man, imprisoned in Washington (without evidence) as a slave, and advertised to be sold in that city into perpetual slavery to pay his jail fees, a Committee is about to report a bill for repealing that infamous law. Our correspondent's feelings of congratulation respecting the House of Representatives, however, are checked by his fears in relation to the Senate. He is even suspicious that the prerogative of that body may be abused to effect by treaty the annexation of Texas, just at the moment when all the world thinks the plan is about to be relinquished.

THE American papers which have come to hand bring us no news so interesting as that which we have received from our private correspondent. We find several communications exhibiting the heart-rending sorrows of the internal slave-trade, but, at this late hour, we cannot make room for them. We must work them up into an article for our next. No pressure of matter, however, can induce us to delay the insertion of what we cannot but deem the most atrocious and revolting document we ever met with. It is the sentence of death passed by Judge O'Neill, at New Orleans, on a man named Brown, for aiding a slave to escape! Brown is actually to be executed in April. The address of the judge to him presents the most revolting combination of cold-blooded cruelty with an affectation of piety which ever came to our knowledge. This judicial outrage must reduce the state of Louisiana to the lowest pitch of public infamy. Hitherto, in all civilized states, the punishment of death has been annexed only to acts having at least some measure of criminality; it is annexed now to the fulfilling of a sacred duty, both to God and man. Hitherto, even in the United States, we have been accustomed to see the friends of the slave only mobbed and murdered by violence, like the martyred Lovejoy; but at length they are to be murdered by law, and slaughtered with the coolness and pomp of a legal execution. What a fearful element of society must the institution of slavery be, if its maintenance requires that assisting an escape from it shall be made punishable with DEATH! Or what can arrive but a universal combination of the human race for its overthrow, when the blood of the free and the just is thus to be poured out, in order to slake its diabolical thirst for revenge!

FROM the *Gazette des Tribunaux* we have extracted an account of the punishment (in the month of January last) of twenty-three

serfs in St. Petersburg, for an act of violence committed on their master. We know not in what terms to express our sense of the barbarity of this punishment. Irritated by an insolent rejection of a request, the serfs entered their master's bedroom during the night, and beat him with rods. For this they are handed over to a military tribunal, and sentenced—not to be shot, that would have been too merciful—but, *four times*, to encounter the switches of five hundred soldiers. What this was as inflicted *once*, our readers will see by the following description:—

"Five hundred infantry soldiers of the garrison of St. Petersburg, each armed with a long osier switch, were drawn up in double line on the parade. The twenty-three sentenced persons were brought out with fetters on their hands and feet; the executioner uncovered the upper part of their body as far as the haunches; he fixed a ball of lead in their mouths, to prevent their crying out; and in this condition they passed, one by one, slowly, conducted by two attendant soldiers, through the long double line of soldiers, receiving at every step two heavy blows on the back, which made their blood flow copiously, reddening the snow under their feet."

No wonder that, when they had "finished their long and melancholy walk," these poor wretches were "almost dying." But they were then taken, we are told, to a military hospital, "to be cured;" imperial clemency, of course, intending to apply balm at length to these frightful lacerations. Far from it. "As soon as they are a little recovered, their punishment is to be inflicted a second time;" then, if they survive the second, a third time; and, if they survive the third, a fourth time! This is the most savage endeavour to invent a punishment worse than death that we ever heard of. It is an example of barbarity aided by refinement; of unprecedented skill in making the human frame endure a greater amount of agony than that under which its benevolent Creator intended it should expire. The only pretext for this ferocity is, that the city of St. Petersburg contains 65,000 serfs, and that it was necessary to strike terror into them, lest the example of the twenty-three should be imitated! If this had been said on any other authority, it would have been denounced as a libel on the empire of the Czar. But henceforth it is unquestionable that the Russian serfs are slaves in the most frightful sense; and that they are subject to a despotism the most terrific which can be conceived, because it has both the skill and the resolution to carry human suffering to the utmost possible extremity. Flogging slaves to death has hitherto been regarded with an execration almost boundless; but this is nothing to the treatment of Russian serfs. In what a frightful state of menacing discontent must this vast empire be, if even a momentary safety must be purchased at such a dreadful cost! Can the few lords of these many millions of serfs expect such a yoke of blood to be borne for ever?

Two West India mails have at length arrived, supplying a few extracts which we have given in their proper place. By the Jamaica papers we perceive that some very just complaints are made of the scandalous Solicitors' Fee Bill of the last session.

We have read the article in the *Patriot* of the 8th instant. So far as we are concerned, the sum is, that, while we deprecate armed interference with the slave-trade, our contemporary pleads for it. In the new style in which he expresses his sentiments towards his friends, our contemporary is not, perhaps, peculiarly happy. We think the courteous might have been better done.

This letter of our friend, Colonel Nicolls, is very long for our columns, but we have made an effort to insert it, in order to show our sincere respect for him. His reasonings on the point on which he has entered into controversy with us have not altered our views; but we freely give our readers the opportunity of estimating them, as well as ourselves.

Literary Notice.

Antigua and the Antiguans: a full Account of the Colony and its Inhabitants from the time of the Caribs to the present day. Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends. Also, an impartial View of Slavery and the Free Labour Systems; the Statistics of the Island, and Biographical Notices of the principal Families. 2 vols. London: 1844.

So ample and comprehensive a title at once precludes the necessity of any explanation from us as to the contents of the book, and renders it evident that a small part of them only come within the sphere of our critical observation. This part, however, though comparatively small, is not without its value, relating as it does to so interesting a subject as the slave and free labour systems in the island of Antigua. This island, it will be recollect, was the first to abolish slavery, and had the wisdom to overleap entirely the period of the apprenticeship. How this change has wrought is a question of considerable moment, and in the volumes before us we have the testimony of a person entitled to speak on it with some confidence. The author, indeed, is neither a magistrate, nor a planter, nor by position personally acquainted with agricultural or public affairs. She was—for, in truth, this work is the production of a lady—however, resident in the island both before and after emancipation, and she can, consequently, say much from her own observation; while, for the rest, she will speak, of course, the sentiment current in the society in which she mingled. We call,

then, as large a portion as our limits will allow of her description of this change and its results:—

"It must be allowed that, for a few years previous to emancipation, the Antiguan planters were in a state of great perturbation. They plainly perceived, from the state of affairs, that the thralldom of slavery must be broken—that Britain would no longer allow her children to traffic openly in flesh and blood; and, finally, that they must, whether with a good grace or sullen deportment, give up their right to slaves. Still the change from slavery to freedom was a great revolution, a mighty crisis; and, urgent and inevitable as it was, who could tell what would be its results? From this cause property in Antigua diminished, for some few years, greatly in value; and many estates might have been then purchased for a comparative trifle.

"But this depression did not continue long, for no sooner was the deed done, and the chain which bound the negro to his fellow-man irrecoverably snapped asunder, than it was found, even by the most sceptical, that free labour was decidedly more advantageous to the planter than the old system of slavery; that, in fact, an estate could be worked for less by free labour than it could when so many slaves—including old and young, weak and strong—were obliged to be maintained by the proprietors. Indeed, the truth of this assertion was discovered even before the negroes were free; for, no sooner did the planters feel that no effort of theirs could prevent emancipation from taking place, than they commenced to calculate seriously the probable result of the change, and, to their surprise, found, upon mature deliberation, that their expenses would be diminished, and their comforts increased, by the abolition of slavery.

"The lapse of eight years has proved this to be true; and there is now scarcely one person, if any, in the island of Antigua, who would wish to become again a slaveholder.

"Since the period of emancipation (1834) Antigua has suffered from many casualties. There were the severe hurricane, and the long and harassing droughts, of 1835. In 1836, and part of the following year, the drought returned with increased severity, and blasted in great measure the crops. In 1840, the planters had again to contend with a season of dry weather; and yet, under all these disastrous circumstances, the free system has gloriously worked its way; and by producing larger average crops, (as well as other advantages, both as regards exports and imports,) has claimed from all a tribute of praise.

"Although there are some few persons who deny that free labour is less expensive than slavery, yet the general voice pronounces it to be a system beneficial to the country. It has been proved to demonstration that estates which, under the old system, were clogged with debts they never could have paid off, have, since emancipation, not only cleared themselves, but put a handsome income into the pockets of the proprietors. Land has also increased greatly in value. Sugar plantations that would scarcely find a purchaser before emancipation, will now command from 10,000/- sterling; while many estates that were abandoned in days of slavery are now once more in a state of cultivation, and the sugar-cane flourishes in verdant beauty, where for so many years nothing was to be seen but rank and tangled weeds, or scanty herbage." pp. 155—157.

After going into several particulars, which greatly strengthen the case as she puts it, the author advertises to the negroes' present habits of labour in the following terms:—

"It is a general opinion that they work better, and in a more cheerful manner, than they did in days of slavery, when a driver stood over them with his long and heavy whip, to chastise their least cessation from labour. It cannot be supposed that I am perfectly cognizant of the real truth of this statement. I must, therefore, along with my own observations, take the opinions and arguments of planters, and other persons connected with agricultural employments, as the basis of my remarks.

"The facts brought forward in support of this affirmation are these:—That, upon some estates, the extent of acres in a state of cultivation is greater than before the abolition of slavery—other properties make a larger annual crop with one-third the number of labourers—and that, although many efficient negroes have emigrated to other islands, estates that were dismantled have been re-cultivated. In *job-work*, as it is termed, the negroes accomplish twice as much work as when employed by the day; the simple reason of which is, that they gain a larger sum of money by such arrangements. It is a fact that has fallen under my own observation, that, when a piece of land is hoed by *task-work*, the negroes will rise by one or two o'clock during moonlight, go to the field, and accomplish the usual day's work (300 cane-holes) by five or six in the morning; and after resting for a short time, are prepared to take another task, which they also complete, and have some hours left, in which to till their own little spot of provision-ground. When the excessive heat of the climate is taken into consideration, as well as the labour it requires to dig one cane-hole, the work of a negro who can open six hundred in one day can be better estimated by those who are more acquainted with such matters than myself." pp. 160, 161.

With such a testimony we, of course, cannot but express ourselves highly gratified, and the more so because it comes to us from an absolute stranger.

In so extended an account of Antigua and the Antiguans, we should have been glad to find something on the present character and administration of the laws; but this was a subject on which a lady may well be excused offering an opinion. For ourselves, however, we are yet anxious to know whether, when slavery expired, its usages expired also. We will go further, and confess our fears that the usages and maxims of slavery continue in force in Antigua, to a great extent, under the name of freedom. The instantaneous passage from slavery to freedom, without the intervening period of the apprenticeship, during which (with all its troubles) the negroes in the other British colonies were ardently working out their practical liberty, may not unnaturally have occasioned such a result. Managers, planters, and magistrates can hardly have passed in a moment from the spirit of slavery to the spirit of freedom; and we have, in truth, received some painful intimations that they did not do so. Perhaps before long we shall be at liberty to say more on this important subject.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Shoaler's Hill, Feb. 8, 1844.

SIR.—I have by this post the pleasure of receiving, as usual, my *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. I perceive in its leading article your notice of Mr. Hill's "Fifty Days on board a Slave," which I am glad to see; not that it is anything new to me, for it does not amount to one tenth part of the misery I have seen, felt, and heard, on the coast of Africa. I have known fifty persons to be suffocated in twelve hours after they were put on board a slave ship, and that even before they have got out of the river into the ocean; and I have also known 300 out of 700 poor Africans die on the voyage to Sierra Leone, from the close neighbourhood of Fernando Po, where she was captured. Now, had they been landed there, which they could have been twelve hours after capture, not a soul of them would have died. Many more such facts I was cognizant of during my ten years' sojourn in that unhappy region.

Now, Sir, a few words on a subject I have already written many pages about, as is well known to yourself and all the friends of Africa, and that is, the *remedy for all those evils*; which, unhappily, the friends of Africa, and the Anti-Slavery Society in particular, are not agreed upon, but which, from long experience, I presume I am a competent judge of. In quoting from a recent number of the *Morning Herald*, where it is said the Admiralty are about to send a more efficient force to the coast of Africa, you observe, "A traffic which has maintained itself against so many treaties and cannon as have already been brought to bear upon this, will continue to thrive although the whole British navy were arrayed against it." Here, Sir, we are at issue. I have simply to say, that, if we point our force as we have hitherto done, if we suffer our treaties to be broken as has lately and for a long time been the case, then I quite agree with you that the slave-trade may linger on for an indefinite period. But, Sir, if we act by the rules of common sense and prudence, then I boldly assert that the present force employed, *and now about to be employed*, on the coast of Africa, is fully and entirely competent to put down the evil in about ten or twelve months, and that it is totally impossible to put it down without a naval force. *I presume that orders will now be sent out to our ships of war, ordering them to go into the different rivers and storing stations, to destroy and burn the barracoons, and to release the slaves; carrying away, trying, and convicting, all white persons found breaking the laws of their country, and plainly telling all the native chiefs that they will not be suffered to sell slaves or entertain slaves.* If we do not act thus, then we are spending life and treasure in vain. If our officers are to have actions brought against them in our own tribunals, for doing the duty they are supposed to be sent to perform, by a set of ruffianly outlawed slave-dealers, aided and abetted by a few of the most dishonest and disreputable of the scoundrelly part of the creation in this land, then we would do better to drop the suppression of the slave-trade altogether. But, after all the millions we have spent, to do so, would be either beneficial to our honest traders, or honourable to us as a christian people? I say no! We must, and we can, put it down.

It seems to me a strange thing that no law has hitherto been enforced against the *crews of slavers, that resist, wound, and kill our people in the execution of their duty*. They fire into, and at, our men of war, and kill and wound our people in trying to escape; and, when we close with the cowardly ruffians, they run below, and shelter themselves among the poor slaves. The capture is made; the deck of our gallant ship is washed from the blood of some of its gallant crew; the funeral service for the dead is performed over the innocent victims; while the murderers are suffered to go about their business, or to another slaver made ready for their reception, when the same tragedy is repeated. Is there either reason, or common sense, or the shadow of justice, in this part of the abomination? Now, Sir, my remedy for this moiety of the slavers' iniquity is simply this: let a law be made, that, at the moment a slaver is captured, the commander of the ship be authorized to hold a court-martial on those enemies of the human race; and, if they have committed murder, let him have the power to hang up to the yard arm *instanter* the commander of the slaver, and the person or persons who fired the guns, or, to transport them for life to a penal settlement; and then, as to the rest of the crew, I would also transport them in like manner, either for life, or for a long period. This would do more to put down the slave-trade than all the talking that has taken place upon the subject.

Neither the Spanish, the Portuguese, nor the Brazilian governments have the power, even if they had the inclination, to prevent slave-trading in their dominions. What, then, is the use of having treaties with such imbeciles, without we enforce them? It may be said, are we to go to war with these nations? No! But we have a right, in every sense of the word, to declare a war of extermination against slavers, as against pirates. We seldom hear of a pirate now a days, unless his trade be coupled with that of a slaver. I have seen and known many such, and have been the means of bringing two of the most atrocious of them to condign punishment. All honest Portuguese and Spaniards would rejoice at such laws being passed. These nations would see the necessity of freeing their slaves, in order to cease from their infamous traffic. If we were to go to war with them, every slave colony would be in our possession in the first six months.

Allow me, Sir, to trespass a little longer on your time and patience, whilst I dilate a little on the subject of my friends the African chiefs, who have been, and are now, supplying the European merchants with slaves. I call them my friends, notwithstanding their aiding the iniquitous practice of slave dealing, for I never failed in any one instance to convince them of their iniquity and pecuniary loss by selling their people. They always listened to me with respect and attention; and I perfectly succeeded with all of them that I had a fair opportunity of reasoning with, in showing them that their people were more profitable at home, and that their interest was to deal legally with our merchants, in preference to selling their people to the miscreant slave-dealers. I admit, that with some of the chiefs, it was necessary to let them know that *I possessed the power of enforcing my advice*. I derived this from two sources; first and greatest, from their own peoples' good-will towards myself, and their own

welfare; secondly, from their own common sense and reason, which showed that they could resist neither their own people nor mine. I am fully persuaded that this plan can be successfully adopted all over Africa, *without war or violence*.

But some of our slave-aiders in London, as well as *our false friends*, say we have no right to meddle with independent chiefs on their own territory, or to dictate to them; that they have "a right to do what they like with their own" subjects—to sell them, kill them, and contaminate their morals. I have not so learned my duty. Most of the maritime African chiefs have obtained their power by being the corrupted creatures of slave-dealers. Shall a Christian subject of a free constitutional state acknowledge the power of a drunken misguided tyrant? I, for one, never will. But I would ever recommend, that, if, after reasonable precaution to such men, they do not reform, an appeal be made to their people to take away their power, and elect others in their stead. This is a plan that can never fail of success. I have tried it, and know its value.

If these means be resorted to, you will soon put an end to slavery in Africa, and you will soon reap a rich reward in a large and beneficial commerce, and have the glorious satisfaction of seeing a hitherto enslaved land christianized, civilized, and free; your merchants of the right and honourable sort, and your missionaries following, as they have ever done, the christian-directed seaman and soldier. We have always been the first messengers of glad tidings to the heathen; none of the others ever preceded us. I never saw either a merchant or missionary in any part of the world, before he had been preceded by the united services. Had my excellent friends, the Baptist missionaries, been with me in 1825 at Fernando Po, we should have done a vast deal more good than they have been able to perform since their arrival seven years afterwards. I have now the satisfaction of being able to say they are doing wonders in the way of civilization, by the preaching of the gospel, by the establishment of schools (where the children and adults are apt and willing to be taught), by teaching them to cultivate their lands, build comfortable houses and places of worship, make roads, &c.; and thus by their industry, frugality, and sobriety, enforce the utility of their very excellent mode of training these poor savage men. I would to God that all our Christian friends would go and do likewise. I have been in the receipt of letters from my old friends on the island of Fernando Po and the adjacent coasts, blessing the day when the missionaries came amongst them. There is a person now here who has resided for seventeen years on that island. He is an intelligent, frugal, sober man, and he can confirm all I have asserted respecting the good that the Baptist missionaries have been, and are now, doing in the neighbourhood referred to. He will also tell you, that there is not a slave taken away from any of the ports in the Bights, and that our navy have been the means of producing this great reformation. I can also prove that, if the same plan were generally pursued, which Captain Meredith, of the *Pelorus*, and myself adopted at Cameroons, seventeen years since, there would not now be any slavedealing along the coast of Africa. Destroy the barracoons, the places of the accursed traffic. *I say, destroy the nests, and the birds cannot breed.* This is the way to stop them at once. You may continue to cruise with the whole British force; but you never will put down slavery by this method. Be assured that, if our officers had the right sort of orders given them, no slavery could possibly exist. I gave the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat on the affairs of Africa last session, all the particulars of my plan. Your *Reporter* quite cheered me by saying, that the West Africa Committee is about to be revived this session. Should that be the case, I hope the surreptitious removal of the paper I gave in to that Committee will be accounted for. The Chairman of that Committee *ordered it to be printed, but it was not done*, while all the other papers given in were printed. Was it because I had more general experience on the coast than any other man that mine was slighted, while theirs were inserted? Or was it that I told some disagreeable truths, that were not at all relished by some persons on that Committee? My firm belief is that that paper was stolen, in order to prevent its publication. I, however, have a copy of it at the service of the renewed Committee, and shall be at my post there, if I be allowed to give evidence, as I was permitted by the last honourable Committee.

I was glad to see the excellent article of the 31st ult. in the *Morning Herald*, respecting Africa. It gives me good hope for too long neglected Africa, and does honour to the editor of that renovated journal; while I am as truly sorry to see the *Colonial Gazette* of the 3rd inst., whose motto is *Ships, Colonies, and Commerce*, take so narrow a view of their interests as it has done—of which, more anon. I had rather he had joined you in your excellent plan of admitting free-labour tropical productions from all parts of the world, on the same terms as we admit those of our own free colonies. I must also say, I am very sorry to see a prospect of admitting Chinese labourers into our West India islands. I tried them at Fernando Po. They will not do; rely on it, they will not be good labourers, but they will become very troublesome pedlars and thieves. They cannot stand the climate well either. It appears to me to be a useless, troublesome, expensive plan, and after all not needed. They will tend to damage a thriving and increasing peasantry of the right sort, who are now improving vastly in religion and morals, and who can, I am persuaded, afford good and sufficient labour, if it be properly applied and paid for; I mean by working by the job or piece, and not by so much for the day. I am quite elated at the order for the increase of steamers and the contract for coals for the coast, which is part of the plan I so strenuously implored Government to adopt in 1830 and 1831. You will find it attended by economy and mercy, and there will be no more fifty days' misery in a slaver to write about in future.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient humble servant,
(Signed) EDWARD NICOLLS, Colonel, R.M.

THE BLACK CIRCULAR.—"We have private information, which leaves no doubt that the British Government has dispatched a circular to its different Consuls in the Southern States, calling on them for full and minute information respecting the slaves in those States, their number, treatment, condition," &c., &c.—*Post.* Well, Colonel Greene, what would you advise to do about it?—*Columbia South Carolinian.*

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Tuesday, February 6.*

CRUISERS ON THE AFRICAN COAST.

Sir C. NAPIER wished to know of the right hon. baronet, whether he was prepared to lay upon the table of the house the instructions which the Government had given to the commanders of cruisers on the coast of Africa.

Sir R. PEEL said, that the whole question connected with the instructions to be given to the commanders of cruisers for the detection of slave-ships had been referred to a commission, of which Dr. Lushington and Captain Bayne formed a part. With regard to instructions occasioned by negotiations with the United States, he could only say, that they were consistent with the instructions formerly given, but he did not think that a due regard to the public service would allow him to give a more explicit answer.

Lord PALMERSTON wished to know whether the Government had come to any understanding with the United States as to the power given to the commanders of British vessels of visiting ships, for the purpose of ascertaining their nationality.

Sir R. PEEL replied, that the instructions referred to by the noble lord were the same as those which had been issued to the officers of her Majesty's navy in the first instance.

Lord PALMERSTON wished to have some precise information as to the specific instructions which had been given.

Sir R. PEEL trusted that the noble lord would not press his question. The instructions he could state generally were in conformity with those upon which they had previously acted.

Wednesday, Feb. 7.

SLAVE-TRADE.

Viscount PALMERSTON said, that, in consequence of the very unsatisfactory statement on the part of the Government in another place a few nights ago, with regard to the negotiations between this country and France on the slave-trade treaties, he wished to give notice that he should move, on Monday, the 19th instant,* if no other business of importance intervened, that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, representing that this house, sharing the deep abhorrence with which the people of this country regard the slave-trade, beseech her Majesty not to consent to any alteration or modification of any of the treaties now in force between her Majesty and foreign states for the suppression of the slave-trade, which, by weakening the means which these treaties now afford for the prevention of that piratical offence, might tend to render more easy the perpetration of so detestable a crime. (Hear).

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE CROP.—Dry weather and short crops is still the prevailing cry of at least three-fourths of our correspondents; and three, we may safely say, represent the great proportion of the agricultural interests of the island. In Vere and Clarendon in St. Mary's, Metcalfe, and St. George's; in St. Ann's, Trelawny, and St. James's; and even in those usually seasonable parishes of Hanover and Westmoreland, one universal complaint exists of a most extended and destructive drought, which cannot fail, despite every effort and improvement in cultivation by the planter, to produce one of the worst crops which has yet been made since the termination of slavery.—*Jamaica Times*.

A FACT FOR EMIGRATION SCHEMERS.—Last year a number of persons arrived in this country from Canada, in search of work. They were induced to take this step from the representations of certain individuals, to the effect "that the emancipated peasantry here would not engage to labour on estates, except at such high wages as no one could give—and that, if they would come, abundance of work might be procured at the rate of from 3s. to 4s. stg. per day." With this inducement they left their homes, and embarked for this colony. On their arrival at Kingston, some were engaged as porters at the stores—others for country work, but at wages which perfectly astonished them, and showed at once how completely they had been made the dupes of designing men. Six able-bodied men agreed for a year with the proprietor of a coffee property near Guy's Hill, at the following rates of wages: job work, 12s. per acre, for cleaning coffee—12s. ditto ditto, for billing heavy underwood—1s. per day when not at job-work. The proprietor, who is merchant in Kingston, agreeing also to find them for the first quarter ground provisions, or 4s. sterling per week each, to buy them. He agreed further to send salt provisions free of carriage to the property, they paying the current market price, and lastly, he promised them comfortable houses to live in.—With these prospects before them, bright and cheering as they would be to our own unemployed peasants, but gloomy to men who had come expecting greater things, they left Kingston for Top Hill. They worked cheerfully till the first pay-day came. What, think you, were their feelings when called together as they supposed to take their hard earnings, to hear Mr. Overseer say that he had instructions to pay them 9s. per acre, and no more; and that for the future there was to be no more day-labour—that for billing underwood, agreed at 12s., they were to be paid 4s. per acre—that provisions used must be paid for out of their wages. Up to this time they had lived in the great-house; orders too, had been received to put them into the old negro huts. Such injustice would have been sufficient to rouse the blood of Englishmen to demand the fulfilment of the agreement entered into: but these men had once been slaves—they were strangers in a strange land, and therefore submitted quietly, determining in their own minds, however, to be very careful in making agreements for the future. Their time was up two months ago, and I need hardly add they have all left—some to beg or work their passage back to America. In conclusion, I am happy to inform you that several others who were about to embark for this Island, hearing of the treatment received by

these men, have declined—preferring the frozen shores of Canada, with 1s. 6d. and 2s. per day, to the scorching Island of Jamaica, and 9d. or 1s. per day.—*Correspondent of Baptist Herald*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRANTS.—The *Arabian* transport had arrived at Demerara, with 103 immigrants. One had died on the voyage, with small-pox.—*Guiana Times*.

AGRICULTURE.—A circular has been addressed by the Governor to the stipendiary justices, directing them to recommend to the peasantry the metaric system.—*Guiana Times*.

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS.—From advices received by Messrs. Laing, Brothers, and Co., and kindly communicated to us, we derive the gratifying intelligence that warrants from the Colonial Office have been forwarded to Singapore, for the embarkation of 300 Chinese to Trinidad, 400 to Demerara, and 250 to Berbice; and that Mr. Henry, who had just reached London from the East, reported most favourably as to the disposition of those people to emigrate.—*Berbice Gazette*.

We have heard it stated, that the wages at which these people are likely to be engaged in China are four dollars per month; and that these are considered by them to be very liberal. When it is known, as in a short time it will, that the planters can afford to pay much more than this amount, instead of the 2,000 who may be shortly looked for, we have no doubt, if the accounts received be correct, that, before many months are over, as many as 20,000 may be induced to visit our shores.—*Guiana Times*.

INTENTIONS OF LORD STANLEY.—We are delighted to notice the progress, which the cause of the West Indies makes at home, and we are determined, at any sacrifice, to do everything in our poor power to strengthen Lord Stanley's hands against the time when Parliament meets. The Cabinet will not make Coolie Immigration a question upon which, if Parliament be against them, they will resign. But there is reason to believe, that, if we but be humane and prudent, and but study to guarantee the proper safeguards to the liberty and rights of the immigrant, we shall, in the ensuing spring, be blessed with immigration from India, and, indirectly, from China, with full parliamentary sanction.—*Guiana Times*.

TRINIDAD.—The Trinidad papers give the relative exports of their staple articles for the seven consecutive years from 1836. The sugar shipped last year was 22,615 hogsheads, 1327 trs., and 4863 brls., against 19,176 hogsheads, 1401 trs., and 3783 brls. in 1842. The produce of last year was the highest in the series, with the exception of 1837, which exceeded it in a very small degree.

IMMIGRANTS.—The *Brig Earl Grey*, from Rio Janeiro, arrived here Jan. 7, with 216 immigrants on board. They are chiefly young persons. A further and larger supply, we have heard, may be daily expected from the same place, in consequence of recent captures of slavers.—*Standard*.

MAURITIUS.—WANT OF FOOD.—Up to the latest date received, the distress in the Mauritius appears to have been unalleviated, and, to add to other difficulties, during the two previous months a total want of rice, a most necessary article of food in the colony, was anticipated, and it was determined to give a premium on cargoes of rice arriving from India between 15th of June and 1st of October. If sufficient supplies did not then arrive, it was determined to seek them from Bourbon and Madagascar.—*Indian Mail*.

CALCUTTA.—A "batch" of Coolies had returned from Demerara. The *Star* states that, of 222, thirty-seven died on the passage. Of the thirty-seven, eight left from 150 to 215 dollars each; eight, from 99 to 149 each; and ten, from 30 to 89 each.—*Indian Mail*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, dated Washington, Jan. 12, 1844.—"One of the items of news this morning is the removal of Mr. Slocomb, our consul at Rio Janeiro, who is said to have been sincere and efficient in his efforts to prevent the prostitution of the American flag and paper to the uses of the slave-trade. He was fool enough to suppose that our rulers meant as they said, when they professed to oppose the slave-trade.

"Mr. Profir, appointed by the President to be minister at Rio, has been deservedly rejected. He is a mere rowdy, and was appointed as a mercenary of Mr. Tyler: Yet it is possible that a more adroit, and therefore a more dangerous man may take his place. General Duff Green has been rewarded, in part, for his labours and sufferings, by having his son appointed Secretary of Legation to Mexico. As General Thompson, our minister, is on his return, this young sprig will be acting minister. Green, the father, who is a bitter enemy of the Roman Catholics, and a devoted—perhaps paid—agent of Texas, once interceded with General Almonte, the Mexican minister here, to procure from the Roman Catholic bishops such passes or certificates as would enable him to pass with security and secrecy through Mexico. The pretext was, to facilitate the construction of a railroad from Missouri to California!"

"Mr. Adams has succeeded in getting a resolution of inquiry passed, calling on the President to communicate the instructions given to our African squadron under the Ashburton treaty; and also the instructions of the British Government to their cruisers. The President has not yet responded. You will recollect the statement made in Parliament last August, by Mr. Duncombe, that our cruisers were instructed that their principal business was to protect our commerce against British aggressions."

"You will learn from the papers what encouraging progress we are making in Congress. The committee on the rules of the House reported a new code, which leaves abolition petitions to take the ordinary course of business; and the House shows a determination quite favourable to the

* Subsequently postponed to the 29th.

adoption of the report. A resolution of the legislature of Massachusetts, in favour of amending the United States Constitution so as to abolish the representation in Congress now allowed to the states for three-fifths of their slaves, has been received, after a severe struggle, and referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Adams is chairman. That committee are now collecting materials for a report, and will take time for making a most important document. A poor negro was taken up in this city on suspicion of being a fugitive slave, imprisoned for a month, and, as no one claimed him, advertised to be sold as a slave for life, to pay the fees and expenses of his imprisonment. He was aided to prepare a petition to Congress, and its presentation created a strong sensation indeed. After a short, but desperate resistance by the slaveholders, his petition was referred to one of the regular committees, and that committee is about to report a bill for a repeal of the horrid law. The fact that the liberty party, which in 1840 numbered only one vote in 490, now numbers one in 40, is one which Congress men can feel the force of, however insensible they may be to the motives of humanity and justice. In this change of the current, you will easily see that the slaveholders have more than they can do to maintain their present ground, and have no time to rally for the annexation of Texas. I hope we shall now keep them on the retreat. I fear the Senate, however, more than I have done heretofore. They are so far removed from the people by the tenure of their office, there are so many of the northern members who have, politically, nothing to lose, and two or three whom the President has it now, probably, in his power to compensate for the loss of their integrity, beyond anything they could look for politically in the paths of uprightness, that I tremble. Then, the Triumvir, Tyler, Upsher, and Wise, have now nothing to hope for at present, and nothing to lose at present, and may therefore well be more desperate in trying to secure some future claim upon the south. We fear there is a treaty now in progress, and that Houston has pulled the cotton over the eyes of the British Government, so that the treaty will be made and ratified which annexes Texas to the United States, at the very moment that the managers on the part of Great Britain think they are just about to succeed in all their designs. A most insidious pamphlet is just published here, from a member of the Texican Congress, addressed to J. Q. Adams. If the slaveholders can be kept off until the 4th of March, 1845, I think we shall be safe on that score."

SENTENCE OF DEATH FOR AIDING A SLAVE TO ESCAPE.—The following murderous and revolting sentence of "the Honourable (?) J. B. O'Neill," is quoted by the *Liberator* from a New Orleans paper:

"John L. Brown,—It is my duty to announce to you the consequences of the conviction which you heard at Winnsboro', and of the opinion you have just heard read refusing your two-fold-motion in arrest of judgment for a new trial. You are to die!—die a shameful, ignominious death, the death upon the gallows. This annunciation is to you, I know, most appalling. Little did you dream of it, when you stepped into the bar, with an air as if you thought it was a fine frolic. But the consequences of crime are just such as you are realizing: punishment often comes when it is least expected. Let me intreat you to take the present opportunity to commence the work of reformation. Time will be afforded to you to prepare for the great change, which may be just before you. Of your past life I know nothing, except that which your trial furnished. It told me that the crime for which you are now to suffer, was the consequence of a want of attention on your part to the duties of life. The 'strange woman' snared you: she 'flattered with her words,' and you became her victim. The consequence was, that, led on by a desire to serve her, you committed the offence of aiding a slave to run away, and depart from her master's service; and you are now to die for it. You are a young man, and I fear have been an idle as well as a dissolute one. If so, these kindred vices have contributed a full measure to your ruin. Reflect upon your past life, and make the only useful devotion of the remnant of your days in preparing for death. 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' is the language of inspired wisdom. This comes home appropriately to you at this trying moment. You are young, quite too young to be where you are, and, if you had remembered your Creator in your past days, you would not now be in the felon's place to receive a felon's judgment. Still, it is not too late to remember your Creator: he calls early, and he calls late; he stretches out the arms of a father's love to you, to the vilest sinner, and says, 'Come unto me, and be saved.' You can perhaps read; if you can, read the Scriptures; read them without note, and without comment, and pray to God for assistance, and you will be able to say, when you pass from prison to execution, as a poor slave said, under similar circumstances, 'I am glad my Friday has at last come.' If you cannot read the Scriptures, the ministers of our holy religion will be ready to aid you; they will read and explain to you, until you will be able to understand, and understanding, to call upon the only One who can help and save you, Jesus Christ, 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.' To Him I command you: and through Him may you have that opening of the day-spring of mercy from on high, which shall bless you here, and crown you in an everlasting world as a saint for ever and ever. The sentence of the law is, that you be taken hence to the place from whence you last came, thence to the gaol of Fairfield District, and that there you be closely and securely confined until Friday, the 26th day of April next, on which day, between the hours of ten in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon, you will be taken to the place of public execution, and there be hanged by the neck till your body be dead: and may God have mercy on your soul."

GOT SAFE OFF!—The Rev. J. Cross writes from Lamoille, October 13th, to the *Chicago Citizen*:—"I wish also to say to the Missouri bloodhounds, said to be infesting your city, and scenting along the banks of the Short river, for three chattels which had strayed from the enclosure of the patriarchs, that a strange, though not unusual metamorphosis took place as they crossed the Father of Waters. When about the middle of the steam-boat channel, two of them were suddenly transformed to men, and the third as quickly found herself a woman; and having heard of Canada, they started by the readiest conveyance, and are doubtless now far beyond the reach of pursuit. The curs may, therefore, as well return to their kennels; and, unless their employers can send some dogs of keener scent or more sagacity, it will be the wiser course of domestic economy to keep them altogether on the West side of the Mississippi."

BRAZIL.—By the barque *Caledonia*, fifty-one days from Bahia, we had last evening advices several days later. We learn by her that the slave-trade from the coast of Africa is very actively and successfully prosecuted in the Brazilian ports, especially Bahia, where several cargoes of human flesh have been successfully landed notwithstanding the vigilance of the English, and even while English men-of-war lay at anchor in the harbour.—*New York Tribune, January 10.*

RUSSIA.—BARBAROUS PUNISHMENT OF TWENTY-THREE SERFS. *St. Petersburg, Jan. 11, 1844.*—Last Friday some male domestic serfs, to the number of twenty-three, belonging to Count Podciwitsch of this capital, presented themselves before him, and said they should require him thenceforward to pay them wages equal to those received by free servants in Petersburg, because (they added) they were entitled to be regarded as *serfs-paysans*, in favour of whom an imperial ukase, of the month of April, 1842, enacts that the *courées* and other services performed by them for their masters should be paid for according to a scale, either agreed on by mutual consent, or fixed by arbitrators named by both parties.

Count Podciwitsch harshly rejected this demand, reminding his serfs that they had been born in servitude, and that the laws kept them there; and he threatened them with corporal punishment if ever they dared to speak to him again about improving or changing their condition, or if they allowed themselves to discover the least discontent.

The serfs, without saying a single word, quietly withdrew; but they planned a mode of revenge which will not soon be forgotten. During the night of Saturday they armed themselves with rods, entered in a mass the bed-chamber of the Count, drew him from his bed, and (after stripping him naked) beat him with the rods, in a manner so severe that he would have died under their hands, unless the neighbours, awaked by the piercing cries of this man, had not hastened to rescue him.

The soldiers were then called. They surrounded the house, arrested the three and twenty serfs, and conducted them, bound hand and foot, to prison.

The next day (Sunday) the military governor of St. Petersburg, on the statement which he had received of the occurrence, issued an order of the following tenor,—"That, considering that our capital contains 65,000 serfs, who form more than a sixth part of its entire population; and that, in consequence, it is of the last necessity to the public safety of this city that the authors of the attempt made against Count Podciwitsch should be exemplarily and promptly punished, they shall be sent before the permanent Council of War of St. Petersburg, who shall try them immediately according to the military code, without appeal."

In conformity with this determination, the twenty-three culprits appeared the same day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, before the Council of War, who pronounced at two o'clock a sentence which condemned them all to pass four times between the switches of 500 soldiers.

On the morrow, (Monday,) early in the morning, 500 infantry soldiers of the garrison of St. Petersburg, each armed with a long osier switch, were drawn up in a double line on the parade. The twenty-three sentenced persons were brought out, with fetters on their hands and feet; the executioner uncovered the upper part of their body as far as the haunches; he fixed a ball of lead in their mouths to hinder them from crying out; and in this condition they passed, one by one, slowly, each conducted by two attendant soldiers, through the long double line of soldiers, receiving at every step they made two heavy blows with the switches on the back, which made their blood flow copiously, reddening the snow under their feet.

After having finished their long and melancholy walk, they were placed, almost dying, on handbarrows, and taken to one of the military hospitals of St. Petersburg, in order to be cured; but, as soon as they are a little recovered, their punishment is to be inflicted a second time, until they shall have gone through it four times, according to the sentence.

This punishment brings with it, according to law, that of twenty-five years' hard labour in the mines of Siberia; but, as the condemned parties are serfs, their master has the right of dispensing with this supplementary punishment, if he wishes to keep them in his service.—*Gazette des Tribunaux, Jan. 30, 1844.*

Miscellanea.

PIRATES CRUISING NEAR GIBRALTAR.—Her Majesty's steamer *Locust* sailed from Gibraltar in all haste, on the 8th Dec., for the adjacent coast of Malaga, in search of a piratical vessel, of the presence of which certain intelligence has just been received. That a pirate is cruising near Gibraltar, in the very track of vessels bound up and down the Spanish coast, within the Straits, there is not the slightest doubt; the only difference of opinion is as to the balance of probability in her being a slaver doing a little extra business as a corsair, in consequence of being driven off the slaving coast by British cruisers, or the probability of her being the *Santa Trinita*, under Greek colours, which a month since made several captures in the Levant, and whose captain, Theodoraki Spano, then murdered six men, two women, and a girl, among his other atrocities.—*Correspondent of the Globe.*

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The Government has resolved to adopt the most active measures to put an end to the traffic in slaves on the African coast, and the French Government has also determined on the same course. The smaller steamers will go up the rivers, and examine every inlet and creek where it is possible for any slaver to be concealed, and the search along the coast will be so minute that it will be impossible for any vessel to escape the vigilance of the squadron. Three French steamers are being equipped for similar service on the African coast, and there will be the most cordial co-operation between the French and English cruisers in every plan resorted to for the effectual suppression of the slave-trade.—*Post.*

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER and CHARLES REED, of No. 5, Bolt Court, in the Parish of St. Dunstan, and City of London: and Published by LANCELLOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine-street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERETT, 6, Finch-lane, Cornhill. February 21st, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXI. VOL. V.—No. 5.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

RELEASE OF SLAVES HELD BY THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES.

TO THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN, FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR FRIENDS,—With sincere feelings of kindness, we desire to express to you the sentiments with which we regard the fact (which has been long known to us) that the United Brethren hold in slavery a considerable number of their fellow creatures, some in the Danish island of St. Thomas, others in the Dutch colony of Surinam.

We are well aware that, in times gone by, various religious bodies were implicated in the same practice, and that it was not, at one period, considered to be sinful, or even improper. But of late years so much light has been thrown, both upon the frightful evils of slavery, and upon its essential injustice, that men of humane principles, to say nothing of religion, have hastened to wash their hands of it entirely. It affects us with unfeigned sorrow to see that the United Brethren, who might have been expected to be among the foremost, have not even kept equal pace with their fellow Christians in this advance of truth and righteousness.

Far are we from imputing to the Brethren the practice of severity towards the slaves held by them. We affirm, however, on the one hand, that no kindness of treatment can cancel the primary wrong of holding in slavery human beings, who are in every sense entitled to their freedom; and, on the other, that the gentleness of the Moravian slave-masters is but an atom, compared with the mass of oppression and cruelty which characterized the system they uphold.

It is, of course, not unknown to us, that the liberation of the slaves held by the Brethren would be attended with some difficulty—let us rather say, would require some resolution. It would be offensive to the planters, whom the Brethren naturally desire to conciliate. It is deprecated by the colonial governments, who also wish to gratify the planters, and to avoid the sensation produced by social changes. But *how much* is due to these considerations? Ought we, to please either our neighbours or our rulers, to perpetuate an act of essential injustice, and to uphold a system of inevitable suffering? To ask this, we think, is asking too much. Incomparably stronger obligations bind you to break every yoke, and to set the captive free.

You have no reason whatever to believe that the release of those you hold in slavery would be productive of either private or public mischief. Apart from the benefits it would confer on the parties themselves, its effect would be simply that of a just and admirable example. It would become a stimulus, both to the planters and to the government, in relation to the performance of an act which is already their duty, and to which they manifest a criminal reluctance. Most forcibly does it strike us, that the Brethren are thus placed in a situation at once of high privilege and serious responsibility; of privilege, inasmuch as the fulfilment of their own duty might lead to the entire abolition of slavery in the Dutch and Danish colonies—of responsibility, inasmuch as the sanction derived from their continued practice of slave-holding may be the principal means of perpetuating that dreadful system of oppression and wrong.

We submit these our sentiments to you in Christian simplicity, but with much earnestness. We plead with you by the fear of God, and by the love of man; and we fervently entreat you to delay no longer a step so righteous, so beneficent, so imperative, as the release of those held by the United Brethren in slavery.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

London, Nov. 24, 1843.

REPLY.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Dear Friends,—The letter of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, bearing date the 24th Nov., 1843, has been duly received by the Elders' Conference of the Brethren's Unity, and considered with the respectful attention due to the importance of the subject of which it treats. Before it reached our hands, we had been convinced by the tenor of our conversations with Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, who visited us in the autumn of last year, as a deputation from your Society, that it would not be in our power to come to an entire agreement of principle with you, on a subject concerning which differences of opinion are known to prevail among the followers of Christ, and in reference to which the synods of our church have hitherto pronounced no judgment; nevertheless, we ventured to indulge the hope that we might be able at least to satisfy you, that we have at all times held slavery to be a great evil, and that, if we had been prevented by weighty considerations from giving immediate freedom to the slaves attached to our missionary stations in the Danish West Indies, and in Suri-

nam, we had been not the less earnestly intent on the removal of those hindrances at the earliest period possible. For this purpose we had already taken important steps, which have since been attended with the happiest results, so far as regards the first mentioned colony.

We beg leave, before proceeding further, to draw your attention to a public declaration, made many years ago on behalf of our church (see letter of R. P. Latrobe to M. Leach, Esq., on the slavery question, printed in 1832), that slavery, whether in principle or in practice, finds no apologists among the great body of the Moravian Brethren. We consider it as a system which has been productive of a large measure of moral and social evil; and, while we earnestly desire its utter extinction, we heartily rejoice in the success of every effort made in the spirit of Christian charity and wisdom, for the attainment of so great and blessed an object. At the same time we must remark, that the well-known principle of our church, which forbids us to intermeddle in the civil and political concerns of countries or colonies into which our missionaries have found entrance, presents an obstacle to our taking any direct or prominent part in this good work.

Yet, though the emancipation of the West Indian slave has not been the immediate object of the missionary labours to which the Brethren's church has been permitted to devote no small portion of her little strength for upwards of a hundred years, we are thankful to know that these labours have contributed, in a variety of ways, to the advancement of the cause which the Anti-Slavery Society has so much at heart. They have tended, not only to the conversion of many negroes to the faith of Christ, but also to the increase of their personal and domestic happiness; while the useful knowledge imparted, and the scriptural principles of honesty, sobriety, and subordination inculcated by the missionaries, have procured for this once despised race a degree of respect which would not otherwise have been conceded, and which proved a powerful argument in favour of the negro while the question of emancipation was still pending.

If, at an early period, the Brethren's Church, like most other Christian communities, suffered itself to be involved, by scarcely avoidable temporal and domestic relations, in the practice of slaveholding, it is right to add, that, ever since the year 1832, the attention of its servants has been earnestly, and not vainly, directed to the discontinuance of that practice. In the year just mentioned, the elders of the church gave directions for the immediate manumission of the negroes attached to our several stations in the British West Indies, and this measure was carried into effect, fully and unconditionally, before the year reached its close. When the general Emancipation Act (1834) was passed by the British legislature, the Brethren had, consequently, no slaves to enfranchise at any of these stations, nor any compensation to receive, nor indeed would they have accepted any. We cannot forbear giving the above particulars, in correction of the statement made by Mr. Alexander, in the speech which he delivered at the Anti-Slavery Convention of June, 1843, to the effect that we had received the compensation awarded by the act. At the synod of our church held in 1836, a resolution was unanimously adopted to use every effort, consistent with our general principles, for the enfranchisement of the negroes attached to our settlements in the Danish islands, and in Surinam; and further, that, if any measure of emancipation should be hereafter carried into effect by the governments of those colonies containing a compensation clause, no remuneration of the kind should be accepted by our church. For, though our negroes were bondsmen in the eye of the law, they were not so considered by us, nor did we claim the exercise of any right that might attach to proprietorship.

The principles thus laid down and professed we have never lost sight of. In your opinion, we have not carried them out as promptly and vigorously as we ought to have done; but we beg to assure you, that our failure in this respect, in as far as we may have failed, has not resulted from any want of either sincerity or good will. You would do us injustice by concluding, that we have been influenced in our conduct, either by the fear of incurring the displeasure, or by the desire of securing the favour, of man. We have felt it to be our conscientious duty to submit, in matters civil and temporal, to the authority of those who are appointed to rule over us, and whose co-operation has never been refused us when we have found it needful to apply for it. We owed them deference and respect, and felt grateful to them for the protection and encouragement granted to the earliest of our missions, during a lengthened period of time.

We considered ourselves bound to seek the peace of the places where we were permitted to dwell and labour, and to avoid any hasty or violent procedures, whereby the tranquillity and good order generally prevailing might be disturbed, the very existence of a missionary work endangered, which provides in the Danish islands alone for the spiritual instruction of above 10,000 negroes,

and a system of education utterly deranged, which promises, at no very distant period, to extend the blessing of elementary instruction to the whole of the rising generation of those islands, without distinction of creed or colour.

We have reason to believe, that the blessing of God has rested on the application of the principles to which we have thus far adhered, and we doubt not that you will be disposed to rejoice with us over the evidence hereof which we are enabled to lay before you. Most thankful are we to have it in our power to inform your Committee, that the good work which you have urged us to undertake, by considerations to the value and importance of which we are by no means insensible, is already in progress in the Danish islands, and that, by the help of God, there is every reason to hope that it will be brought to a happy completion before many months have elapsed. On the 21st of November, a few days before the date of your letter to our board, our brethren in those islands received from the Governor-General, Von Scholten a favourable answer to the memorial which they had addressed to him, once again intreating his Excellency's co-operation in carrying out the object they had so long had at heart, and professing their willingness to consent to any sacrifice for its attainment, which the good of the negroes themselves and the well-being of the colony might appear to demand. In granting their petition, his Excellency merely required that they should not manumit their negroes all at one time, and that they should make due provision for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, the support of young children, and the prevention of vagrancy; conditions with which the missionaries cheerfully complied. Before the close of the same month (November) a commencement was made of the good work, by the manumission of a number of whole families belonging to the several settlements, many individuals of whom intreated, even with tears, that they might be allowed to remain in the service of their former masters.

"Hitherto, then, hath the Lord helped us;" and we are enabled to cherish the hope, that similar efforts for the enfranchisement of the negroes attached to the mission in Surinam, where yet greater difficulties have to be encountered, will ere long be crowned with a similar measure of the Divine blessing.

Meanwhile, we beg to assure you that no means will be neglected on our part, to ensure the early attainment of an object so important and so deeply interesting to us; and we beg you to accept, in conclusion, the assurance of our unfeigned respect and esteem.

Signed in the name of the Elders' Conference of the Brethren's Unity,

P. FREDERICK CURIE, President.

Betheldorf, near Herrnhut, February 10, 1844.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

This important measure which has been adopted by the Government in relation to slavery in British India has been, to all appearance, summarily disposed of by laying on the table of Parliament the following official paper. We are happy thus to learn that the measure has the "entire approbation" of the Court of Directors, and we hope its operation will be as effectual as it seems to have been tranquil.

SLAVERY (EAST INDIES).

Copy of a Legislative Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 31st January, 1844 (No. 4).

(Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th February, 1844.)

In your letter of 21st June, 1843 (No. 13), you report your proceedings with regard to passing Act V. of 1843, "for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company."

Those proceedings have our entire approbation, and we shall be happy to learn that the Act has been carried into effect without dissatisfaction or difficulty.

J. EMERSON TENNENT.

India Board, 5th February, 1844.

UNITED STATES: THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.

We mentioned in our last that several interesting articles in reference to the internal slave-trade of the United States had presented themselves to our notice in the late American papers.

As an evidence that the traffic is continually going on, we call the following advertisements, just as they stand, from the *National Intelligencer*, the senatorial government paper. The reader will observe the "Religious Notice," so characteristically placed in the midst.

"NEGROES FOR SALE.—One blacksmith, a woman and two children, two negro men, a woman and four children (four girls, eight to ten years of age), all likely and valuable negroes. They are not sold for any fault, but for the want of money.—For further particulars inquire of Thomas Williams, 8th street; or Mr. R. Butt, at the Washington poor-house.

December 22.

"RELIGIOUS NOTICE.—The Rev. I. S. Tinsley, Chaplain in the House of Representatives, will preach in the Capitol on Sabbath next, at eleven o'clock.

December 22.

"NEGROES WANTED.—The subscriber wishes to purchase any number of negroes for the New Orleans market, and the highest market price will at all times be given for likely negroes. Himself or agent can be

seen at the corner of 7th street and Maryland avenue. All communications promptly attended to.

"THOMAS WILLIAMS."

The next extract we shall present to our readers is taken from the *Liberty Press*, and is the communication of a clergyman recently travelling in the southern states.

"As I went on board the steamboat, I noticed eight coloured men, handcuffed and chained together in pairs, four women, and eight or ten children, of the apparent ages of from four to ten years, all standing together in the bow of the boat, in charge of a man standing near them. Of the men, one was sixty, one was fifty-two, three of them about thirty, two of them twenty-five, and one about twenty years of age, as I subsequently learned from them. The first two had children, the next three had wives and children, and the other three were single, but had parents living from them. Coming near them, I perceived that they were all greatly agitated; and on inquiry, I found that they were all slaves who had been born and raised in North Carolina, and had just been sold to a speculator, who was now taking them to Charleston market.

"Upon the shore there was a number of coloured persons, men, women, and children, waiting the departure of the boat; and my attention was particularly attracted by two coloured females, of uncommonly respectable appearance, neatly attired, who stood together a little distance from the crowd, and upon whose countenance was depicted the keenest sorrow. As the last bell was tolling, I saw the tears gushing from their eyes, and they raised their neat cotton aprons, and wiped their faces under the cutting anguish of severed affections. They were the wives of two of the men in chains. There, too, were mothers and sisters, weeping at the departure of their sons and brothers; and there, too, were fathers, taking the last look of their wives and children. My whole attention was directed to those on the shore, and they seemed to stand in solemn submissive silence, occasionally giving utterance to the intensity of their feelings by a sigh or a stifled groan. As the boat was loosed from her moorings, they cast a distressed lingering look toward those on board, and turned away in silence. My eye now turned to those in the boat; and, although I had tried to control my feelings amidst my sympathies for those on shore, I could conceal them no longer, and I found myself literally 'weeping with those that weep.' I stood near them. When one of the husbands saw his wife upon the shore wave her hand for the last time, in token of her affection, his manly efforts to restrain his feelings gave way, and fixing his watery eyes, he exclaimed, 'This is the most distressing thing of all! My dear wife and children, farewell!'—The husband of the other wife stood weeping in silence, with his manacled hands raised to his face, as he looked upon her for the last time.

"Of the poor women on board, three of them had husbands whom they left behind. One of them had three children, another had two, and the third had none. These husbands and fathers were among the throng upon the shore, witnessing the departure of their wives and children; and, as they took their leave of them, they were sitting together upon the floor of the boat sobbing in silence, but giving utterance to no complaint. But the distressing scene was not yet ended. Sailing down the Cape Fear river twenty-five miles, we touched at the little village of Smithport, on the south side of the river. It was at this place that one of these slaves had lived, and here were his wife and five children; while at work on Monday last, his purchaser took him away from his family, carried him in chains to Wilmington, where he had since remained in jail. As we approached the wharf a flood of tears gushed from his eyes, and anguish seemed to have pierced his heart. The boat stopped but a moment, and as she left he bid farewell to some of his acquaintances whom he saw upon the shore, exclaiming, 'Boys, I wish you well! tell Molly (meaning his wife) and the children I wish them well, and hope God will bless them.' At that moment, he espied his wife on the stoop of a house some rods from the shore, and with one hand, which was not in the handcuffs, he pulled off his old hat, and waving it toward her exclaimed, 'Farewell.' As he saw by the waving of her apron, that she recognised him, he leaned back upon the railing, and in a faltering voice repeated, 'Farewell for ever!' After a moment's silence, conflicting passions seemed to tear open his heart, and he exclaimed, 'What have I done that I should suffer this doom? O my wife and children, I want to live no longer!' And then the big tear rolled down his cheek, which he wiped away with the palm of his unchained hand, looked once more at the mother of his five children, and the turning of the boat hid her face from him for ever. As I looked around, I saw that mine was not the only heart that had been affected by the scene, but that the tears standing in the eyes of many of my fellow passengers bore testimony to the influence of human sympathy; and I could not, as an American citizen, standing within the limits of one of the old thirteen states, but repeat the language of Mr. Jefferson, in relation to the general subject, 'I tremble when I think that God is just.' After we left Smithport I conversed freely with all these persons; and, in intelligence and respectability of appearance, the three men who have thus been torn from their families would compare favourably with the respectable portion of our coloured men at the north. This is a specimen of what almost daily occurs in the business of the slave-trade."

Our next citation shall be from the *Emancipator*. The correspondent of this paper writes from Louisville, and from the estate of Henry Clay, as follows:—

"While standing on the wharf to see the town on the opposite side of the river, we heard a great clanking of chains behind us, and, turning our heads, saw a coffin of slaves. They wound their way down the wharf to the steamer *Bourbon*, their chains rattling as they went—procession of twenty-eight young men; twelve women and two children were not chained. The men were handcuffed in pairs—several pairs chained together by a large chain passing between the lines, from handcuff to handcuff, and several individuals wearing an ankle chain, also connected with the handcuffed arm. They were clad in coarse clothing, not very clean, and each carried a small bundle of clothes on his arm. The expression of their faces was that of mingled stupidity and sullenness. The splendid steamers even failed to change this expression into one of

wonder. They lifted their eyes, indeed, for a moment, to look; but, so dull were these windows of the inner man that I started, 'for soul was wanting there.' They then passed on with their eyes fixed on the ground. I never before felt what it was to chattelize man, to embrute the image of God, to fling conscience and revelation from the helm of the mind, and substitute the arbitrary will of a fallible and passionate mortal. God commands men to govern their lives by his perfect rule of conduct, but men, for filthy lucre, have reversed his command, and enacted the blasphemy into law.

"There was one face in the procession that was the picture of utter and hopeless despair. It was the face of a middle-aged woman walking between her two children. In her left hand she carried her little bundle of clothes, and clasped with her right the hand of a little boy of four years old, who trotted on by her side. A little girl of six walked at her left, holding on to her mother's dress. The mother's eyes were red and swollen with weeping, and she bore on her cheek the unhealed cut of a whip. She did not look once at the boat, but followed in the procession with downcast eyes. Three men with large canes drove them on. I must confess that the hot tears found their way to my eyes as I gazed. My throat was full so that I could not speak, and I am sure that my heart was. Some of the bystanders said it was a drove for the New Orleans market.

"After walking up and down the wharf for a time, I stepped on the *Bourbon*, and went aft on the lower deck to see the coffin once more. They had seated themselves on their little bundles, as conveniently as their chains would permit them. The mother who had so excited my interest was giving a cup of water to a fine-looking negro man, one of those most heavily manacled, whom I took to be her husband, for the little boy was seated in his lap asleep, with his head resting on his father's bosom. I stood near for some time looking on the sad scene, but no one of them raised his eyes to meet mine. While I stood, the boat bell rang; I made the best of my way to the *Herschel*, and the *Bourbon* was soon ploughing her foaming path to the great slave-mart of the south."

We follow these touching sketches with an extract of a letter from our well-known friend, J. G. Whittier, dated Amesbury, October 30th, 1843:—

"In the summer of 1840, when in Washington, I took occasion, in company with two friends, to visit the principal slave-trading establishments of the district. In Alexandria, at a great slave prison, formerly known as Franklin and Armfield's, there were about fifty slaves. They were enclosed by high, strong walls, with a grated iron door. Among them was a poor woman who had escaped, twelve years before, from slavery, and who had married a free man. She had been hunted out by some of those human bloodhounds who are in the detestable occupation of slave-catchers, separated from her husband, and, with her child, she had been sold to the speculators for the New Orleans market. Another woman, whose looks and manners were expressive of deep anguish, had, with her nine children, been sold away from her husband—an everlasting separation. But her sorrows had just begun. Long ere this, she and her children have probably been re-sold, scattered, and divided, and are now toiling in hopeless bereavement, or buried like brutes, without a tear or Christian rite, on the banks of the Mississippi.

"From this horrible market-house of human flesh, we were informed that from 1,500 to 2,000 slaves are sometimes sent to the south in a single year.

"At the Alexandria public jail was a poor lad who had come to the city in a vessel, and had been seized and imprisoned on suspicion of being a slave. As he happened to have no document to prove his freedom, after having been kept in close confinement in a prison cell for six months, he was in a few days to be sold as a slave, to pay the fees of the jailor.

"We visited the next day a slaveholder's establishment in the city of Washington. It stood somewhat apart from the dense part of the city, yet in full view of the capitol. Its dark strong wall rose in dim contrast with the green beauty of early summer, a horror and abomination, a blot upon the fair and pleasant landscape. We looked in upon a group of human beings herded together like cattle for the market. The young man in attendance informed us that there were five or six other regular slave-dealers in the city, who, having no prison of their own, kept their slaves in this establishment, or in the city prison. The following advertisement of this infernal market-house I have copied from the *Washington Globe* and the *Intelligencer*:—

"CASH FOR NEGROES.

"The subscriber wishes to purchase a number of Negroes for the Louisiana and Mississippi markets. He will pay the highest price which the market will justify. Himself or agent, at all times, can be found at his jail on Seventh-street, the first house south of the main bridge, on the west side. Letters addressed to him will receive the earliest attention.

"W.M. H. WILLIAMS."

"In the same papers, four other regular dealers in human beings advertise themselves. In addition, George Kephart, of Alexandria, advertised the 'copper-fastened brig *Isaac Franklin*.' It was nearly ready to sail with slaves for New Orleans.

"On the wall of the slave-dealer's office were suspended some low and disgraceful pictures and caricatures, in which the abolitionists and blacks were represented, and in which Daniel O'Connell and J. Q. Adams held a prominent position, as objects for the obscene jokes and witticisms of the scoundrel traffickers. For me, I regarded it as an honourable testimony to the faithfulness and heroism of these great and good men, in their advocacy of human freedom. The time is, I trust, not far distant, when these very pictures shall cause the knees of the base pirates who congregate in this den of iniquity to smite together.

"Known to God only is the dreadful amount of human agony and suffering, which from this slave jail has sent its cry, unheard or unheeded of man, up to his ear. The mother weeping for her child—the wife separated from her husband, breaking the night silence with the shriek of breaking hearts! Now and then an appalling fact sheds light upon the secont horrors of the prison-house. In the winter of 1843, a poor coloured man, overcome with horror at being sold to the south, put an end to his life by cutting his throat.

"From the private establishment, we next proceeded to the old city prison, built by the people of the United States, the common property of the nation. It is a damp, dark, loathsome building. We passed between two ranges of small stone cells, filled with blacks. We noticed five or six in a single cell, which seemed scarcely large enough for a solitary tenant. The heat was suffocating. In rainy weather the keeper told us that the prison was uncomfortably wet. In the winter there could be no fire in these cells. The keeper, with some reluctance, admitted that he received slaves from the traders, and kept them until they were sold, at thirty-four cents a-day.

"I left that prison with mingled feelings of shame, sorrow, and indignation. Before me was the great dome of the capitol; our national representatives were passing and re-passing on the marble stairs; over all, the stripes and stars fluttered in the breeze which swept down the Potowmac. I was thus compelled to realize the fact, that the abominations I had looked upon, were, in the District of Columbia—the chosen home of our republic—the hearthstone of the national honour—that the representatives of the nations of Europe here looked, at one and the same glance, upon the capitol and the slave gaol.

"JOHN G. WHITTIER."

VALUE OF SLAVES IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

THE French colonies are generally in a state of great depression, notwithstanding the high price of sugar in this country, which has, we believe, of late experienced some small advance. It does not appear likely that the quantity of beet-root sugar will, for the present, at least, be greatly lessened by the operation of the recent alteration of the duty on this article, as the principal manufacturers can realize a good profit at the prices which they now obtain.

The quantity of sugar exported from the French colonies is nearly stationary, if it does not retrograde, with the exception of Bourbon, in which the increase is considerable. The increase at Bourbon is a fact which deserves particular attention, as in this colony there is a large annual decrease of the slave population, arising from the excess of deaths over births.

The result of the table of births and deaths is, as we are informed on highly respectable authority, very unsatisfactory in all the French colonies. On this vitally important subject, we insert a few interesting and important extracts from the *Procès Verbaux* of the French Commission on slavery. The first relates to the value of slaves in the French colonies, as stated by M. Jubelin, formerly governor of Guadeloupe, himself a member of the Commission:—

TABLE SHOWING THE SELLING PRICE OF SLAVES IN THE FRENCH COLONIES DURING THREE SUCCESSIVE PERIODS.

	1825 to 1829.		1830 to 1834.		1835 to 1839.		Average Price.
	f.	c.	f.	c.	f.	c.	
Martinique	1294	96	1038	48	658	29	1043 66
Guadeloupe	*1295	53	1104	86	871	91	1102 43
	+1264	91	1168	50	955	52	1102 43
Cayenne	1419	80	1193	29	1444	55	1348 41

On this table the following observations occur:—

"Thus, at Martinique and Guadeloupe, the selling price was regularly reduced to a remarkable degree during the fifteen years of which the analysis is given. In Cayenne there was an equal decrease from the first to the second period, but the price appears to have risen again between 1835 and 1839. Local circumstances alone can have led to this result, so contrary to what occurred in the other two colonies.

"It is needless to point out here the causes which, during the later years, must have occasioned the diminution in the price of slaves. It is more especially since 1835, after the abolition of slavery by England, that this effect has been produced in our Antilles."

Notwithstanding the great decrease in the price of slaves, M. Jubelin, who may be regarded as one of the representatives in the Commission of the interests of the planters, proposed that the value of the slaves in the French colonies generally should be estimated at 1200 francs, and that this sum should be more than paid, in the following manner: one half by securing to the slave-owner the unpaid labour of the slave for ten years, estimated at 600 francs; and 600 francs in addition, to be at once placed in deposit for the benefit of the slaveholder, at 4 per cent. interest, the principal and interest to be paid at the end of ten years, when the slave is to receive a modified freedom, being then compelled, however, to enter into a contract or contracts for labour for five years, on such terms as the governors of the respective colonies, with their councils, shall deem proper. Thus it will be seen that the sum to be actually paid to the slaveholder, when he shall have partially quitted his grasp upon his victim, would greatly exceed the price now borne by the slaves in one of the principal French colonies, Martinique; and would be nearly equal to that which can be obtained in the other principal colony, Guadeloupe, besides securing their forced labour for ten years, estimated at 600 francs in value. The Commission gave their assent to this proposition; not, however, without remonstrance on the part of Victor de Tracy, who expressed his sentiments as follows:—

"M. de TRACY declares that his opinion on the question of indemnity does not allow him to accept this arrangement, or any other which shall

* According to the returns made at Paris.

† According to the returns made in the colony.

involve the principle that the state, while agreeing to pay indemnity to the colonists at the expiration of ten years, shall be bound at the same time to pay interest for the amount during the interval. M. de Tracy is opposed even to a payment of any amount, given under the name of indemnity for possession. In his opinion, no indemnification will be legitimately due to the colonial proprietors, except in proportion to the injury which may result to them from the substitution of free for forced labour. Much less could he admit that right to indemnity for possession should be acquired ten years in advance, whatever might be the reasons by which this arrangement could be defended."

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., &c.

AN Excellent LITHOGRAPHED PORTRAIT of this distinguished Philanthropist is in course of execution. It will be of a large size, and brought out in the first style of the art. Price to Subscribers:—India proofs, before letters, 30s.; ditto, after letters, 21s.; prints, 10s. 6d.

Subscribers' names received by Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without, London.

As a limited number only of proofs will be issued, an early application will be necessary to secure the best impressions.

In a few days will be published, price One Shilling,

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c., &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

The Second Edition of the

TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA is now ready, price One Shilling.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome volume, price 7s. 6d. cloth,

AFULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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.

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 6, 1844.

To those who have seen—we at length *have seen*—Mr. Pedro de Zulueta's account of his trial, it must be obvious at a glance why he has given to it a *private* and carefully guarded circulation. In the first place, he is naturally reluctant, no doubt, to give further publicity to the facts, as they appear against him in the very volume which he has prepared. Secondly, and more particularly, he must be conscious that the work is not what *the public* would either have expected from him, or would be satisfied with. Its omissions are far more striking and instructive than its contents. Besides the Trial itself, the book (which is a closely-printed octavo of more than four hundred pages) consists principally of extracts from Parliamentary Papers already familiar to every body—the opinions of Sir W. Follett and Mr. Wightman, for example; part of Dr. Madden's Report; the whole of the Report of the Commons' Committee on the West Coast of Africa; and the whole of the evidence before that Committee of Mr. Macaulay, Lieut. Hill, Captain Denman, and himself. The reason for reprinting all this we cannot see, unless it be to assume an engaging air of candour, and of telling every thing, whether for or against him. We would have conceded this to him, if he had printed also (from the proceedings before the Privy Council on the appeal) the log of the *Augusta*, by which his friends might judge of the truth of his representation that she was driven to Cadiz by stress of weather; and the letters (containing detailed slave-trading instructions) to receive which her well-taught commander braved the terrors both

of tempest and mutiny. Not a line of these documents, however, is to be found in his book! This is tantamount to a confession that even the ship's log contains his condemnation.

The original matter consists of an "Address to the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Traders of Great Britain;" exclusively on the alleged bearings of his prosecution on mercantile pursuits. We think the fact of Mr. Zulueta's confining his remarks to this subject is again equivalent to a confession of his guilt. Was there, then, nothing else of which it behoved him to speak? If, before the Criminal Court, his counsel refused to attempt an answer to the case exhibited against him (which Mr. Justice Maule stated to be at once so necessary and so easy—easy, at least, if he was innocent), yet surely, since he thinks it proper to speak when the trial is over, and when the appeal is to the current good sense of the community, he will now furnish a straight-forward narrative of the facts, such as may clear away every suspicion. Nothing of the kind, however, is attempted. Or, if Mr. Zulueta is content with the vindication of a verdict, so far as the evidence taken on the trial is concerned, yet the log and the slave-trading instructions, although the Court would not receive them, have nevertheless produced a moral impression of his criminality which an honourable man might have deemed it necessary to combat; but no reference whatever is made to these documents. Further, Mr. Zulueta knows that he has been publicly charged with uttering a premeditated and deliberate falsehood, with a view to deceive the Committee of the House of Commons as to the payment of the insurance on the *Augusta* by the underwriters; and surely he will take this opportunity of vindicating his veracity. No! Not a word on the subject! But we forget ourselves. One word there is on this subject, and one which, for Mr. Zulueta's sake, we deeply regret. He designates this transaction "a verbal slip." This expression only covers him with deeper disgrace. "A verbal slip!" To have said that the underwriters had paid the insurance on the *Augusta* when they had not, and when he knew he had never applied for it, would have been rather a large "verbal slip," even in the merest gossip; but Mr. Zulueta stated this in his second appearance before the Parliamentary Committee, as a circumstance which he had recollects since his former examination, and which he then pointedly adduced to prove that the *Augusta* could not unwarrantably have deviated from her course. No, Mr. Zulueta; this was no "verbal slip." It was a contrived deception; and the manner in which you speak of it at once admits the fact, and demonstrates that you have not to this hour any sense of its criminality.

On the whole, we think Mr. Zulueta's volume the severest condemnation of himself which he could possibly have printed; and we wish nothing but that he had also published it, that an opportunity might have been given for the expression of public opinion on its contents. It is a confession that he has not a word to say for himself. With endless flummery about the "rank and station" of himself and his family (which are small abatements from the commission of felony, as we understand the matter), his Address—if his own it be—breathes no sentiment of justice or generosity. He utters not a single expression of regret—which innocence would naturally have rendered the more poignant—at the fact, which is beyond all question, that a house of such boasted purity as his father's and his own should have been made subservient practically to the odious wickedness of the slave-traders.

So much that might have been expected being omitted, what, then, is the tenor of his Address? It is an appeal to the mercantile *esprit du corps*—a cry for pity from the Exchange. Its meaning is, "I am hunted down as a merchant; let every merchant swear that I am honest, or my lot may be his own." The artifice is a natural one, but it is nothing more than an artifice. Mr. Zulueta was not prosecuted as a merchant, but as a person intending to aid and abet the slave-trade under cover of mercantile transactions. British merchants who do not mean to pursue such a course have nothing to fear from the law, or its application; nor would they have any thing to fear, if the law were rendered still more effectual for catching those who do—those few—those *very few*—"merchants, manufacturers, and traders," who possess no claim to the sympathy of their country, and whose sly and nefarious dealings ought not to be reckoned as a part of the commerce of mankind.

SLAVE-TRADING by British subjects is, it appears a system of wider ramifications than has been imagined. As with the aiding and abetting of it on the west coast of Africa we are become but too familiar, so we now find traces of its more direct pursuit at a still greater distance, at the island of Mauritius. An action for the recovery of an insurance on the brig *Formidable*, tried in the Court of Exchequer, on the 22d and 23d of February, has brought to light evidence enough to satisfy a jury that this vessel was engaged on a slave-trading voyage on the eastern coast of Africa. The facts are these. The *Formidable* was originally a slaver, and was bought by the plaintiffs after her capture and condemnation as such, upon the allegation of being well suited to "the bullock trade" between Madagascar and Mauritius. She was sent to the correspondents of the purchasers at the latter place, and there sold to Messrs. Audibert and Letord, under a time-policy of insurance effected by the vendors. The new owners having sent her, as is to be presumed, on a voyage to Madagascar in "the bullock trade," the brig was ultimately lost on the coast of Zanzibar. The spot where she was lost, however, was far out of the route of any fair and honest trader, and such as she could have fallen upon only on the supposition of her "hugging" the shore, as if to avoid English cruisers. Further, Zanzibar is a notorious slave-trading coast, al-

though tributary to the Imaum of Muscat, and in spite of the recent treaty with his Highness for the suppression of the traffic. Again, a large number of boilers, or "try-pans," a customary equipment for the slave-trade, were found on board of her after her loss; these boilers not composing a part of the cargo with which she left Port Louis, but having been shipped subsequently, probably at Bourbon. And, finally, the log, the protest, and the depositions of the crew, exhibited sundry very suspicious inconsistencies. All these circumstances satisfied the jury that Letord did contemplate a slave-trading voyage, although unknown to Messrs. Blyth and Forbes. Without all this elaborate proof, however, the very term under which the designation of the brig was expressed is enough to determine the case; since it appears, from the evidence collected in the parliamentary inquiry on Mauritius in 1826, that "the bullock-trade" is the slang name for the slave-trade in the Madagascar seas, just as "bulots" (*bales*) is at Havana and Cadiz. All this agrees but too well with the long established character of Mr. Letord, of whom we take the following brief sketch from the columns of the *Patriot*:—

"And now with respect to the character of Mr. Letord, the purchaser. Up to the year 1822, he was a notorious slave-trader; but in that year he received a pardon for his offences; and in 1828 he was examined by the Commissioners of Inquiry, Messrs. Colebrooke and Blair, who were appointed to investigate the slave-trading system at the Mauritius. It would appear from their report, that, notwithstanding his pardon, he had again engaged in the traffic, and with so little shame, that he frankly acknowledged the extent to which it was carried on and 'encouraged by the inhabitants at large.' (Vide Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, presented to the House in 1829, No. 292.)"

This case of actual slave-trading by a British subject, thus accidentally opened up by a legal proceeding of a commercial character, is a painful proof of the thirst for piratical gains which continues to be indulged, and of the necessity which still exists for the utmost vigilance on the part of the Government, and of all the friends of humanity.

We have the most sincere gratification in announcing that measures have been taken, and are in effective progress, for the emancipation of the slaves hitherto held by the Moravian Brethren in the Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix. It appears that the Society, having some time since presented a memorial to the Governor, Von Scholten, seeking his concurrence in such a step, received, on the 21st of November last, a favourable answer, making, however, two conditions; the one, that the slaves should not all be liberated at once; the other, that provision should be made for the support of the aged and infirm. Complying with these terms, the Brethren emancipated a portion of their slaves, and made arrangements by which the whole would acquire their freedom in a few months from that date.

Gratified as we are substantially with these proceedings, we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction of the totally unnecessary character of the restriction prescribed by the Governor. Under the circumstances it is even ridiculous, the whole number of slaves held by the Brethren in both islands being only about fifty. We still, also, recollect with pain that the Moravian missionaries continue to hold slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam. We take it as a matter of course that the Elders' Conference is taking active measures for their emancipation; and we trust it will not be long ere they will appear before the world altogether free from implication in what we must still call an unrighteous and oppressive system.

The correspondence which we have inserted in another column, will show the attention which has been paid to this important subject by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. While, on the one hand, we are sure that the letter sent by the Committee will be felt to convey the feelings of the British public at large, we must fully concur in what, we are equally sure, will be the general sentiment, as to the Christian kindness and courtesy with which it has been received and responded to. As the Conference have thought it needful to correct an erroneous statement made by Mr. G. W. Alexander at the late Anti-Slavery Convention, we have inserted the letter of that gentleman to the editor of the *Patriot* (in which a similar correction has appeared), making the *amende honorable* for his mistake.

We receive many proofs of the deep and extraordinary sensation produced in all quarters by the sentence of death passed on John L. Brown, at New Orleans, for aiding a slave to escape. This is not to be regarded as a matter of either pro-slavery or anti-slavery conflict, but as a question of absolute humanity; and we cannot but hope that the Executive of Louisiana will interfere to prevent the perpetration of a deed at which the feelings of all Europe will revolt, and by which the best friends of the United States throughout the world will be inexpressibly afflicted.

The matter was thus referred to by Lord Brougham, on Monday evening, in the House of Lords:—

"Lord BROUGHAM said, he begged leave to make a few remarks upon a very painful subject, in respect to which he had within the last few days received many applications with a view to his presenting a petition. Nothing could be more improper than any interference whatever in either house of Parliament with any matter or thing purely of domestic policy in any foreign country, and purely belonging to the administration of the municipal law of that country; although it might be ever so revolting a law to our feelings, that would be no reason for our interference, because we had nothing to do except with ourselves and our own

law; we had no claim, no mission to interfere with any foreign country in any respect whatsoever, while that country confined itself to its own laws and its own subjects. That was the reason why he had refused to take any step whatever to bring the subject before their lordships' house. But he admitted that it was a serious matter—a case that greatly and gravely interested him. A man had been condemned to death in a criminal court of the American state of Louisiana, having sentence passed upon him by a learned judge as if he had committed murder, with the most appropriate language to so solemn a sentence, with the most serious warning to make use of the time yet spared to the condemned person, and with the most accustomed reference to the sacred truths of religion, as if he had actually, and purposely, and wilfully committed murder. That was the case which had attracted his notice, in consequence of the applications which had been made to him. To all of which applications his answer was, that he would give no opinion upon it; for neither the Parliament, nor the nation, nor the Government, could interfere with the municipal laws of any other country. He was bound to suppose that the American law—the Louisianian law, he meant—was justly administered, and that, by the law of his country, the unfortunate person had forfeited his life; because he had no right to accuse any judge in Louisiana of mal-administration of the law, or of perversion of the law; but, by the law, he had condemned that man to die for aiding the escape of a slave. (Hear, hear.) That was the law of Louisiana; it was not our law; God forbid it should be! (Hear, hear.) The Americans might think our laws very bad, and we might think theirs bad; but he had no right, of duty, or claim whatever to say one word either against their law or those who administered that law. Yet he might humbly and respectfully to the Legislature and Executive Government of Louisiana express his fervent hope, that advantage might be taken of the long interval which must elapse before the 26th of April, the day on which the unfortunate man was condemned to die, for the purpose of extending mercy to that criminal. He (Lord Brougham) spoke of him as a criminal, because the laws of his country had so dealt with him; but he trusted that the humane and merciful consideration of the Louisianian Government might yet be extended to the condemned man. He hoped he had said enough to vindicate the course he had taken upon this occasion.

We need add nothing to the heart-rending details contained in our article on the "Internal Slave-trade of the United States." Each single case is enough to make the heart burst with indignation; but, when we think of the enormous and continual multiplication of these soul-thrilling agonies, which must be involved in a traffic which has been estimated at 70,000 *per annum*, words utterly fail us, and we sicken into a mortal faintness until we can forget it. We have seen it lately stated on good authority, that eleven out of every hundred of these wretched victims die in the course of their journey to the south! But these are far happier than their fellows.

We have inserted, in the shape of the trial of M. Fourier, the late overseer of an estate in French Guiana, a convincing proof that the condition of the slaves in the French colonies is of the most frightful kind, and that the temper of the colonists will suffer no amelioration of it. Even the trial by jury becomes an instrument of oppression to them. Will not a "scandalous acquittal" (we use the language of the procureur-general) like this effectually destroy the influence of the colonial party with French statesmen and philanthropists?

FRENCH GUIANA.

TRIAL OF AN EX-MANAGER FOR THE MURDER OF SLAVES.

For several years a frightful mortality has decimated the plantation Marianne. The strongest and most robust negroes have disappeared, under the influence of a disease with which poison might seem to have had something to do. In consequence one of the proprietors of the plantation, M. Quinton Dupin, went from France to Cayenne, and used every effort to discover the cause of these frequent deaths. He found reason to suspect one of his negroes, named Adrian, a bad character, reported to be a *piailleur* (a kind of sorcerer), and even a poisoner; and he gave him into custody. Proceedings commenced immediately. Every person on the estate was interrogated (several bodies were exhumed, and submitted to the examination of medical men), to ascertain whether poison had not been employed, and whether there was not a quantity of the vegetable poisons, which are so common in the colonies, and do not leave behind them any discernible traces. Still, upon these points, nothing resulted but a declaration that there was no proof.

In the course of this investigation grave suspicions sprang up against M. Fourier, ex-manager of Marianne. Many witnesses deposed that several of the deceased might well have died in consequence of the bad treatment inflicted by Fourier. Inquiry was then directed into these allegations. It was first asked what interest Fourier could have in thus ill-treating the negroes; and this was quickly discovered. This manager, besides his fixed salary, had a remuneration proportioned to the profits of the estate. He was, consequently, interested in securing a large crop, and he employed accordingly every possible means for accelerating labour. Hence the plantation, which ordinarily produced only seventy-five cases of sugar, yielded two hundred and twenty-five in the first year of his administration. In order to effect this, he refused to allow the negroes the time allowed for the cultivation of their provision-grounds; he would never believe them to be ill, or permit them to rest after any flogging! But what of all this, provided he obtained a large crop?

The chamber of indictments sent Fourier before our court of assize, to answer to this charge.

The indictment set forth, among other allegations, that the negro Hero, called Gros Bibi, went off marooning; that, having been retaken, and brought back to the plantation, Fourier ordered him to be fastened to the ladder, and to be flogged, right and left, by two drivers; that, while he was receiving this punishment, he gave him several kicks about

the body, and knocked out several of his teeth; that, at length, he ordered all the negroes of the gang to spit in his face, and to strike him on the two cheeks with an iron-heeled shoe; that, during at least a month, this negro being ill, he had forced him to beat mortar, having on his feet an iron chain weighing twenty-five kilogrammes, being allowed for his whole nourishment only three bananas a day, lying down on a *courbari* (a kind of field-bed on which the negro, when he is laid down, has his feet enclosed in shackles of courbari wood so that he cannot stir), and receiving every morning, for at least a week, twenty-five lashes with the whip.

All the witnesses substantiated this charge. A new fact also transpired on the trial. It was proved that the negress Nannette, having refused to spit in the face of Gros Bibi, and to strike him on the cheeks with the iron-heeled shoe, was condemned, for this offence alone, to receive twenty-nine lashes with the whip, and that her husband, the negro Zephyrin, was forced to inflict this punishment. The accused corroborated the testimony of the witnesses by some partial admissions. Thus he said that he had not, on the day when the flogging took place, given any kicks on the body of Gros Bibi; and in this respect he agrees with one witness, who affirms that it was on a different day that he knocked out his teeth. He stated, further, that he ordered spitting in the face, not by the whole gang, but by a dozen of the negroes; and that he ordered him to be struck, not with an iron-heeled shoe, but with an old shoe, not upon the cheeks, but upon the breech. He admitted the iron chain of twenty-five kilogrammes weight, the courbari, the daily flogging; only that, in relation to the last item, while the witnesses said it lasted an entire month, and while he had admitted during the preliminary inquiry that it had continued a week, he limited it now to three or four days. In fine, he affirmed that it was not these cruelties that occasioned the death of Gros Bibi, who died of the disease called in the colonies *mal d'estomac*.

The negro Cæsar had been for a long time ill with an affection of the chest. Fourier would not believe that he was ill, and harassed him to resume his work. However, the complaint of this slave was made worse by incautiously leaving the hospital, and crossing a canal of stagnant water to get at some oranges.

Thenceforth he became the subject of the incessant ill-treatment of the accused. One day, among others, Cæsar, overpowered by disease, was lying on his left side, motionless. Fourier shook him, and then said, kicking him on the right shoulder, "Die, then, you dog, if you will die." Then he went away. It was in great agony, said all the negroes who were in the hospital, that Cæsar expired.

The accused denied these allegations more vehemently than all the rest. It seemed as if, at length, he was conscious of a little shame at having struck a man stretched on his death-bed; but seven or eight witnesses made him hold his tongue. One witness, however, who left the hospital the evening of the day of Cæsar's death, spoke of having seen him struck by Fourier three or four days previously; and M. Sénez, the defender of the accused, endeavoured from this to infer that the witnesses who fixed the scene to the day of his death had spoken falsely. The procureur-general, M. Vinal de Lingendes, showed, on the other hand, that this only proved Cæsar to have been beaten several times, and did not set aside the testimony of the other witnesses.

On another occasion, the accused having a burning firebrand in his right hand, was lighting his cigar. He saw the negro Crispin laughing. Supposing he was mocking him, he called Crispin; and, when he was come near, he struck him in the eye with the firebrand, and caused a burn, which rendered him unable to work for at least twenty days. To all the depositions of the witnesses, Fourier replied, that it was not with the firebrand, but with his lighted cigar, that he burnt—not the eye, but the cheek, of Crispin.

The depositions of witnesses, on both sides, were too often distorted by the feelings which actuated them. Some of the negroes deposed against their old manager with so much animosity, that the Procureur-General was obliged to permit the arrest of a negress for having borne false witness. One witness, on the contrary, represented Fourier as a model of humanity and gentleness; but he did not happen to recollect that he had himself formerly accused Fourier, then manager of another estate, of having broken the arm of a negro.

M. Vidal de Lingendes, Procureur-General, spoke with calmness and moderation, but, at the same time, with signal firmness and talent. He passed in review the different counts of the indictment, and showed that they were clearly established by the evidence, and that they were very grave and reprehensible. He warned the Court of the objection that would be made, on behalf of the defence, against the depositions of the negro witnesses. The public minister had declared that it is with great caution, and even with mistrust, that we should regard the word of slaves deposing against a manager, who had subjected them both to labour and punishment, and towards whom they could scarcely help cherishing feelings of animosity. But, when all these depositions agreed together, when they exhibited no discrepancies among themselves, (the slight differences existing serving only to show that there had been no conspiracy,) when they are corroborated by facts, and even by the admissions (although partial) of the accused, why should not credit be given them? Above all, when this remarkable circumstance appears, that, without any evidence whatever, what the accused has acknowledged is sufficient to prove him guilty.

M. Sénez began by discussing, *seriatim*, the counts of the indictment. He then affirmed, not only that no great confidence should be placed in the depositions of slaves, but that they ought not to be believed at all. Rather, said he, they ought not to be heard; for Art. 322 of the "Colonial Code of Criminal Process" declares, imperatively, that the depositions of slaves shall not be received, either for or against their masters. And under this word *masters*, the managers must necessarily be included, since they are the representatives of the master, they act for him, they punish in his name, and are the practical masters of the plantations.

Again referring to the charges, he remarked that they were indefinite, that they extended for the most part over two or three years, that they had not been confirmed by a single free person, that, on the contrary, everything had been stated by slaves, who were thus avenging themselves for having been made to bow their heads under the rod of

the accused. "To pronounce a sentence upon such evidence, and in the circumstances of the case, would be to assist those who wished to sap the foundations of the colonies," cried M. Sénez; "and you, gentlemen of the jury, and children of the colonies, you will not do it. The destiny of the colonies is about to be decided shortly, and we shall be obliged to submit to it, whatever it may be; but, in the mean time, let us not work for the enemies of the colonies. Let us not commit suicide."

The Procureur-General rejoined. He was surprised that any one had imagined in this affair a question of colonial interest. "It is scandalous acquittals," said he, "which do injury to the colonies. But an isolated fact, when it has received its just punishment, has never been dangerous to the colonial interest." He recited again the principal facts, and urgently demanded a conviction.

M. Sénez asserted a second time that a conviction could be of no service, but to the enemies of the colonies. And he again invoked the colonial interest, with the more urgency, because he knew that he was speaking before a Court composed of four gentlemen, all proprietors of slaves, and of three judges, of whom one also has a plantation, and is the owner of slaves; while the rest (as was evident from the murmurs of approbation of all the inhabitants) were sympathizing with the bulk of the audience.

The President, M. Baradat, asked the accused if he wished to add anything to his defence.

Fourier raised himself with manifest difficulty, and said, "All I can say is, that I do not think I deserve hard labour."

The jury withdrew into the council-chamber for the consideration of the counts, which were very numerous. After the customary formalities, they returned with their verdict. They found the prisoner Not Guilty upon all the counts. The President of the Court of Assize accordingly pronounced a sentence of acquittal. — *Gazette des Tribunaux.*

MR. G. W. ALEXANDER AND THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES.

(To the Editor of the *Patriot*.)

SIR,—The *Patriot* of the 22nd inst. has reached me by this day's post. I find in it some observations on the statement made by me at the Anti-Slavery Convention of last year, in reference to the conduct of the Moravian Missionary Society in holding slaves. I am sorry that I fell into a mistake, in stating that this body received compensation (so termed) for the slaves formerly held by them in the British colonies. I could mention the authority on which the statement was erroneously made, which would be sufficient to excuse me from a charge of credulity in this particular, and still more, were it needful, from any intentional misstatement. I rejoice, however, that the fact was not as I had been informed, and wish that the mistake should be corrected as extensively as possible. I cannot, however, plead guilty to the general charge of not having done justice to the views and conduct of the Moravian Missionary Society, in connexion with the subject of slave-holding. It appears to me that it was no less a duty on their part to have liberated their slaves in foreign colonies, than in those belonging to England, in the year 1832, now more than eleven years since; and I have not yet heard any reasons which appear to me to justify an opposite conduct. I am glad to believe that some of the slaves lately held by the Moravian Missionary Society in the Danish West India Islands have been put into possession of their freedom, and shall learn with still more satisfaction that they have given liberty to all their slaves, both in those colonies and in Surinam. It is assuredly of the highest importance that those who occupy the situation of teachers of the Christian faith, should not by their conduct countenance a system which is opposed to the most sacred rights of man, and which is no less opposed to his intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. In the present day, in which the dreadful consequences of slavery are more generally known and acknowledged than at any former period, as well as the fearful extent of the system, it is difficult, and even impossible, to estimate the importance of an open renunciation of the crime, by those who not only occupy a conspicuous station as Christian professors, but who stand forward before the world as ambassadors of our Divine Master. Requesting thy insertion of this letter in thy pages,

I remain thy friend,
GEO. W. ALEXANDER.

Paris, 2nd Mo. 26th, 1844.

Correspondence.

THE TRIAL OF FOURIER.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Paris, 22nd February, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Not knowing whether the English newspapers will contain a copy of the trial of Fourier, recently manager of the estate Marianne, in Cayenne (French Guiana), I have copied the account of the proceedings. They will be found to be an interesting and painful supplement to the intelligence respecting this case in its earlier stage, already given in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. I am not aware that an account of the trial is given in any of the French newspapers except the *Journal des Débats* and the *Journal des Tribunaux*, in the latter of which it appears to have been first inserted. In the *Journal des Débats* it is not accompanied by any remarks. It is stated, I know not how correctly, that the silence of the editors of the French newspapers generally on such topics is purchased by colonial gold. If this be not so, it is difficult to account for the circumstance that crimes of so revolting a character as those proved in the trial of Fourier should be passed over without comment; and still more, when the original crimes are aggravated by the perjury of a jury (composed principally of slave-owners), and the consequent acquittal of the guilty party. English readers will recollect how frequently, during the existence of slavery in our own colonies, a similar conduct was then adopted by juries, and the indignant rebuke which it called forth at the hands of the Government, and of the friends of the negro in our land. I cannot but hope that there will be some proper expression of feeling on

the part of the French Government, and of the Society in Paris for the Abolition of Slavery, in the present atrocious case. There are one or two circumstances connected with this trial, in addition to its general enormity and the flagrant denial of justice, which are, I think, worthy of special notice. A proprietor of slaves resident in France is interested in an estate at Cayenne, which produced ordinarily seventy-five hhds. of sugar. A new manager is appointed to this estate, and, in the first year of his administration, the amount was increased to 225 hhds., being three times as great as it had previously been. This fact should have awakened the strong suspicions of the slave-owner, but no evidence of this having been the case is apparent. It is only when intelligence reaches him that some of his most valuable slaves have died, that we learn his determination to visit the estate, and to investigate the causes of this fearful mortality. This mortality is not confined to one estate. The number of deaths, as compared with that of births, in the colony at large, is extremely unsatisfactory. The average of births which took place annually, during the seven years ending with 1840, (the latest of which official information is given), was 343, and the average annual mortality 510. In how many instances is the excessive amount of labour extorted from slaves by cruel managers or proprietors an occasion of the numerous deaths which take place among the wretched bondsmen? This is a question which cannot be answered; but, with a knowledge of the facts recorded on this trial, the conduct of the jury, and the murmurs of approbation which greeted the pleading for the murderer, no doubt can be reasonably entertained that the number is very considerable. This fresh proof of the terrible consequences which naturally arise from the power placed in the hands of the slave-owner or his representative—these victims which have been recently offered up to the Moloch of colonial slavery—will, I cannot but hope, have some beneficial effect in stimulating the zeal of the friends of the slave, not only in France, but in every country in which the system of slavery exists.

G. W. ALEXANDER.

Home Intelligence.

SLAVE-TRADING AT MAURITIUS.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.—THURSDAY, FEB. 22.

(Sittings at Nisi Prius, at Guildhall, before Lord Abinger and a Special Jury.)

BLYTH AND ANOTHER v. FORBES AND ANOTHER.

Mr. Kelly, Mr. Crowder, Mr. R. V. Richards, and Mr. Peterson, were counsel for the plaintiffs; and the Solicitor-General, Sir T. Wilde, Mr. Butt, and Mr. James Wilde appeared for the defendants.

This was an action brought by the plaintiffs to recover from the defendants, who were sued as Directors of the Marine Assurance Company, the sum of £2,391, being the balance claimed to be due on a policy of assurance for £2,500, effected by them on a brig named the *Formidable*, which was lost off the island of Zanzibar, on the eastern coast of Africa, on January 25, 1840, while under the command of one Charles Letord, the part owner. To this the defendants pleaded several matters, denying the loss of the vessel in question *modo et formā*, and alleging that the policy had been effected by fraud and covin, and also that the *Formidable*, on the voyage on which the loss took place, was engaged in prosecuting the slave-trade, by reason of which the policy was frustrated, and also that the loss was intentional. From the evidence of the plaintiffs and the defendants, it appeared that the vessel in question, having been engaged and captured in the slave-trade, was bought by the plaintiffs on her condemnation, and sent out by them to the Mauritius, where they had a corresponding firm, for the purpose of being run between that place and Madagascar in the bullock-trade. Being well calculated for that purpose, she attracted the attention of two parties at the Mauritius, named Audibert and Letord, by whom she was purchased, and instructions forwarded to the plaintiffs, as their agents, to effect an extension of the original policy for another year. At that time one of the plaintiffs was a director of the defendants' company, and a policy was accordingly effected on the *Formidable*, as the property of Audibert and Letord, for a year, for £2,500, at the rate of eight guineas per cent. It further appeared that the brig quitted Port Louis on the voyage in question on the 12th of December, 1839, with a crew of nearly twenty men, consisting chiefly of French creoles, her cargo being chiefly salt, which was put on board in casks. According to the law of the Mauritius, the vessel was duly overhauled by the proper officer, and allowed to take her departure on her contemplated voyage to Madagascar. The loss having taken place as above-mentioned, application for payment was made to the defendants; but rumours having reached them to the effect that Captain Letord had been notoriously engaged nearly all his life in the prosecution of the slave-trade, in which he had commanded two vessels called the *Courier* and the *Saucy Jack*, inquiries were set on foot, the result of which induced them to set up the defences alluded to in their pleas to the action.

Lord ABINGER having, however, intimated in the progress of the cause that the policy was for the fair value of the ship, and that there did not appear to be any foundation for the plea which charged the loss to have been wilful,

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL abandoned that part of his case, but relied most strenuously on that plea which alleged the illegality of the voyage. In support of this defence, various discrepancies in the log, the protest, and the statements of the captain and crew, were referred to, and the peculiar position of the rock or bank on which the brig was lost, which showed that, so far from being engaged in a fair and open voyage, the *Formidable* must have been "hugging" the coast of Zanzibar, with the view of avoiding and evading the English cruisers; while the fact that numerous boilers, or "try-pans," were found on board her after the loss, was proof that she had been equipped by Letord, at Bourbon or elsewhere, with the view of carrying on the slave-trade; the authorities of Zanzibar, which is tributary to the Imam of Muscat, being addicted to that atrocious and revolting traffic, in spite of the recent treaty for its suppression between her Majesty and his Highness. In order to substantiate this point, a vast body of depositions was read, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say, that, at the close of a long day, the further progress of the cause was adjourned to the following day.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

Mr. CROWDER commenced his reply in this case, which was partly heard yesterday, on behalf of the plaintiffs, and strongly contended that his clients were entitled, as the agents of the owners of the *Formidable*, to a verdict on all the issues which had been raised by the defendants' pleas. Indeed, it had almost been admitted, in the course of yesterday, that those pleas which charged the wilful loss of the ship and the fraud of the plaintiffs were untenable, so that the only substantial question for the jury arose on the plea alleging that the owner and captain, Letord, contemplated a slaving speculation on the voyage upon which the loss occurred. Of this there was no direct proof at all, but the defendants contented themselves with asking a verdict at the hands of a jury which would be tantamount to a conviction for a transportable felony, on facts and surmises amounting only to vague suspicions. The ship was well known to have been built for a slaver, and it was not wonderful that she should present such an appearance to those who were conversant with that odious traffic. The learned gentleman then having minutely dissected and analyzed the depositions, and the log-book of the vessel, submitted to the jury that they were bound to find in favour of the plaintiffs.

Lord ABINGER then summed up the case to the jury, for whom there were three questions, the most important of which, undoubtedly, was that to which the learned counsel had chiefly applied his observations. If the jury should be of opinion, from all the circumstances of the case, that Letord contemplated embarking, or had embarked, in a slave-trade speculation on the voyage which terminated in the loss of his vessel, then the voyage was illegal, and the underwriters could not be made responsible on their contract. This was a case which was peculiarly for the consideration of the jury, and they would take it into their hands, and deal with it according to their judgment.

The jury, having retired at 1 o'clock to consider their verdict, returned after an hour's absence into the court, with a verdict in favour of the defendants on the important issue, to the effect that Letord did contemplate a slaving voyage; but they, by unanimous exclamation, exonerated the plaintiffs from all knowledge of such intention, and fraud in procuring the assurance to be effected.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ASPECT OF THE TEXAS QUESTION.—(From a letter of Mr. Lewis Tappan, dated New York, January 30, 1844.)—It is evident that a large part of the politicians in the slaveholding states are in favour of the annexation of this territory to the United States, and that the most desperate among them (including several members of Congress) would do it at the risk of plunging this country into a war with England. These men have been very industrious in exciting the people to a belief that your country was insidiously attempting to obtain an undue and dangerous influence in Texas, and that it was for the interest and welfare of the whole people of this country that Texas should speedily become an integral part of our Union. Mr. Tyler, the acting President, undoubtedly lent himself to this faction, and conveyed to Congress, in his annual message, intimations calculated to persuade that body, and their constituents, that sound policy required prompt action to baffle the designs of England, and secure to the United States the acquisition of Texas. But Providence so ordered it, that a contradiction was soon given to the report of secret negotiations between England and Texas, from Texian authority. This was most timely and beneficial, and cooled the ardent feelings that were rising on behalf of the measure so desirable to holders of slaves in both countries, and all who aim to profit by extending and perpetuating the miseries of mankind. Still the friends of freedom are on the alert, lest, during the present session of Congress, the fiery spirits there, who know that upon the annexation of Texas depends the success of their speculations in Texian lands and in the bodies of their fellowmen, should by some stratagem bring about the event so much feared by the enemies of oppression. On a former occasion, Texas was recognized by our Government just at the close of a session of Congress, to the astonishment of a majority of the people; and thousands and tens of thousands of our citizens are now watching lest Texas should, in a similar manner, be annexed to this country during the session of the present Congress. Mr. Adams, now in his 76th year, is in his seat in Congress every day, vigilant as a sentinel, and is associated with a few other members who sympathise with him fully, and with a large number who will never consent to the extension of slavery on this continent. Under God, the friends of freedom repose great confidence in the watchfulness, wisdom, and fidelity of these men, and endeavour to stay up their hands in this moral conflict.

Several leading newspapers, in different parts of the country, papers, too, that have never expressed approbation of anti-slavery measures, are discharging their duty in this matter and nobly contending for the integrity of the union. Even in the slave states, and among the slaveholders, we have coadjutors. Cassius M. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, a young man of wealth and influence, is exerting a wide-spread influence, not only against the admission of Texas, but against the system of slavery in the United States. His essays and speeches are characterized by fervid eloquence, forcible illustration, and powerful argument. In his last speech, Col. Johnson, ex-vice-president of the United States, presiding. Mr. Clay boldly asserted that the annexation of Texas would ensure the dissolution of the Union, and that in the event of a dissolution he would be found with the North! He also spoke of the great body of the abolitionists in this country with great respect, and unhesitatingly avowed that their principles were his principles, and the principles of the founders of the Republic, both in the slave and free states. Thus you see that Divine Providence is awakening the patriotism of slave-holders themselves on behalf of the true interest of the nation, and of the poor slaves.

Gen. Houston has refused laying before the Texian Congress the present state of the negotiation between his government and yours, and evinces a becoming temper and spirit on the great subject of human rights.

I should have mentioned that a large part of the newspapers of the North, even, do not insert the speeches, &c., of Mr. C. M. Clay at length, nor such parts of them as mention with approbation the principles and measures of abolitionists. The time has not yet arrived for such editors to do justice to those they have for years libelled. Magnanimity, it

seems, is no part of their nature. And some of them are virtually advocating the admission of Texas. The *Journal of Commerce* of this very day has a short leader, in which it is absurdly stated that the South is not bent on the extension of slavery, that the question of the admission of Texas has nothing to do with slavery; that it is merely a question of the extension of the Union, "by which the chief benefits will always accrue to the commercial and manufacturing districts." The editor forgets, or affects to, that the annexation of Texas would increase the demand for slave labour, and thus tend to the increase of the number of slaves, and lead to the extraction of greater toils and sufferings from the slaves. Alas! that "commercial and manufacturing" interests should lead to the degradation and suffering of our fellow men! That it should induce men born in free states to become, unwittingly sometimes, the abettors of a cruel and hellish system, that grinds one portion of the human family to the earth to enrich their masters!

NUMBER OF SLAVES.—Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, lately stated in the House of Representatives, that there were in the United States 2,874,000 slaves, valued at about 1,000,000,000 dollars.—*Correspondent of Morning Chronicle.*

"**SAILING IN MASTER'S BOAT.**"—It will be recollected that, in an address to the slaves, issued some time since from a meeting at Peterborough, it was intimated that it would not be wrong to take what might be needful to effect an escape; for example, "Master's boat." "In North Carolina this advice is becoming popular. A number of slaves have lately practised it successfully. Four men, who have spent their lives as pilots at Ocracock, N. C., have just arrived in Boston. From them I learned that, within few months, sailors from the north have frequently told them that it would not be wrong to take a pilot boat, and escape; and the sentiment is becoming quite popular among the slaves, that 'it is not wrong to sail away in master's boat,' and many have tried it. These men, having become tired of working for nothing, and living on corn and fish, determined to try their fortune. Accordingly they met under an old house, and prayed to God to direct and guide them; they arose from their knees, and went into the house of their master, and took from thence an extra sail; amid the darkness of night, they loosed a small craft from the dock, and put out to sea, and when the morning dawned they were beyond the grasp of their oppressors. Certain sailors (God bless them!) had told them that such a point was in a free State: and, after four days and nights upon the deep, they ran their craft ashore, and found their way to New York, and from thence to Boston, and have hence been sent to a 'land of Liberty.' From all I could learn from these men, it appeared quite probable that the sailors who advised them to take the boat, received their principles from that Peterboro' Address." We think it far more likely the old sailors took the doctrine the natural way. There is not a true salt afloat who would not do the same.—*Emancipator.*

MOVEMENTS IN THE SENATE.—In the Senate, Mr. Benton has moved for "information as to whether fugitive slaves have not been sheltered in the British dominions since the treaty of 1842." This motion was adopted. He also offered a resolution to abrogate that article in the Ashburton treaty, which provides for the surrender of criminals; but he afterwards postponed it.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

REMOVAL OF MR. SLACUM, U.S., CONSUL AT RIO DE JANEIRO.—A correspondent of the *Baltimore Patriot* writes, that "an immense traffic in slaves brought directly from Africa is carried on in that port," in which citizens of the United States are largely implicated. They bring out vessels with the American flag and papers, which are "secretly sold to the Portuguese slave dealers, and yet nominally retain their United States' ownership and commander." Against this prostitution of our flag Mr. Slacum, it is said, has made vigorous and energetic opposition, his acquaintance with the habits of the country, and the tricks of the slave-dealers, enabling him to act with great efficiency.

NEGRO TOWN.—There is an independent negro town, it seems, in the Creek nation, containing two hundred persons, most of whom are negroes sent off with the Seminoles from Florida. The Missourians complain that it is impossible to get a runaway slave when he once reaches the nest.—*New York Evangelist.*

BRITISH CRUISERS AND AMERICAN SHIPS.—Some excitement has been created by the arrival at New Orleans of the *John M. Clayton*, the captain of which vessel reports having been brought to near the Isle of Pines, by an English man-of-war (believed to be the *Hornet*), having fired four shots, the last of which passed between the fore and main-masts of the *John M. Clayton*. She was then searched by a British officer and boat's crew, her papers overhauled, and at length permitted to proceed. No further particulars have transpired, but affidavits are said to have been forwarded to Washington, together with urgent complaints against this act of the British cruiser.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

SUBJECTS OF TAXATION.—Governor Tucker, of Mississippi, recommends in his message a tax upon "negro slaves under the age of five years." Possibly they may tax them by the pound.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald.*

TEXAS.—One would suppose that the temptation for men to be presidents, ministers of state, &c., would be strong enough to induce the Texans to desire their continuance as a separate and independent power. Not so, however; for resolutions for the annexation of Texas, as a state, to the United States, are now before the Texan Congress, supported, too, by a very strong party. The principal condition is, that the United States shall, in the event of annexation, assume the payment of the public debt or debts of Texas. This movement in the "Republic of the Lone Star" is said to have its origin in the United States.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

CUBA.—**TREATMENT OF SLAVES.**—We are credibly informed that, on some of the sugar plantations in Cuba, the negroes are in a most miserable condition, not less than the half of a gang being sickly, covered with sores, and even cripples; the whip supplying nerve and strength, health and members. Unable to "trot" to the field, they are placed on carts and carried to it, there to creep and toil by the help of the lash. No description can exhibit the neglect, cruelty, and inhumanity with which they are treated. In crop time they have no holiday, no Sunday, and no sleep.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.—Later dates from Cuba say but little about the slave insurrection near Matanzas, except that a considerable number of troops had been sent by the governor to the neighbourhood of the scene of revolt. The Havana papers are studiously silent upon the subject, and our only sources of information have been private letters and the *New Orleans Tropic*.—*New York Herald.*

BRAZIL.—**JUST RETRIBUTION.**—A correspondent furnishes us with the following. During the recent prevalence of scarlet fever at Rio de Janeiro, a notorious slave-dealer, his son, and his clerk, fell victims to it. The disease was supposed to have derived intensity from the filth and stench of his house, which he had converted into a depot of newly-imported negroes. He constantly kept about thirty there, cooped up in little holes and corners at the back of his premises, just as they were landed from the slavers.

TWO MORE ASSASSINATIONS OF WHITE PERSONS BY SLAVES.—The one of these was committed by the slave of a baker at Niicheroby (opposite the city of Rio de Janeiro, in the bay of that name), on a clerk, or book-keeper, in the establishment. The other took place on a coffee plantation belonging to a European, about twelve miles from the city. This murder was committed by two black boys, one a creole born on the estate, the other a boy apprenticed to the owner from among those taken in 1838, on board the *Flor de Loando* slaver. These two lads (instigated, it seems, by two ill-disposed slaves) fell upon the *fieiro*, or overseer, of the estate, and literally beat his head to pieces with a great stick. He was riding at the time, returning from town, and had in his pockets between 40/- and 50/- in bills and cash, which the boys did not touch. When the dead body was found, and the master summoned some blacks to remove it, the two lads (who were not then suspected) volunteered with others for the office. No motive was assigned for the act.

BARBARY.—(From our own Correspondent.)—It has often been pretended that the slaves in Turkey and Barbary did not wish for their freedom. I am happy to be able to contradict this by an interesting and surprising fact, related to me by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity. A man of Morocco, of great power and influence, of the name of Elhaj Mohammed Ben-el-Arab, on a remonstrance of his slaves that the English had set all their slaves free, who were a nation of infidels nevertheless, whilst he, a good Mohammedan, held them in slavery, actually took the humane and noble resolution of liberating every one of them, amounting to seventy-two in number. Before liberating them he harangued them upon the dangers of freedom, and then wrote out the certificates. A great number of them succeeded in getting a living, but some few returned to their master.

Miscellanea.

TABLE showing the quantities of Sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the British West Indies, Mauritius, and British India, for the years ending the 5th January, 1842, 1843, and 1844, respectively:—

YEARS.	B. WEST INDIES.	MAURITIUS.	B. INDIA.	TOTAL.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1841-2	2,145,500	716,112	1,239,738	4,101,350
1842-3	2,473,715	676,237	932,360	4,082,312
1843-4	2,503,577	477,124	1,101,751	4,082,452

SLAVERY IN OREGON.—A Methodist missionary in our far western territory, in a communication published, we think, in the "Western Christian Advocate," says, that slavery in that country has existed from time immemorial. The stronger tribes make war on the weaker, take prisoners and enslave them. And many of the settlers, both French and American, buy and sell slaves. By these most of the work of the farmer is done.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald.*

AN ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF COLOUR.—The Queen has been pleased to appoint John Grey Porter Attihill, Esq., to be her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Island of St. Lucia.—*London Gazette*, Feb. 23. [If we mistake not, Mr. Attihill is a gentleman of colour.—*Patriot.*]

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.—The following contributions have been received since our last list was published, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations. £ s. d.	Subs. £ s. d.
Houghton—Brown, Potto	2 0 0	
Goodman, Joseph	2 0 0	
Reading—Fardon, Joseph	1 0 0	
Huntley, Thomas	0 5 0	
Jacob, George	0 10 0	
Smith, John	0 5 0	
Smith, Henry	0 5 0	
Tutty, Richard	1 0 0	
Tutty, Henry	1 0 0	
Norwich—Gurney, Joseph John	50 0 0	0 10 0
Wotton Bassett—Mackness, J.	3 0 0	2 0 0
Kendal—Wilson, Isaac	3 0 0	2 0 0
Wilson, Hannah	2 2 0	
Crewdon, W. D., jun.	1 0 0	5 0 0
Plymouth Ladies' Anti-Slavery and Negro Friend Association	25 0 0	

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, March 6, 1844.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXII. VOL. V.—No. 6.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

ADMISSION OF FREE LABOUR PRODUCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., &c.

SIR,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society deem it their duty at the present moment, to lay before you their sentiments in relation to a subject intimately connected with the great object of their pursuit—the extinction of slavery, and the consequent cessation of the slave-trade, throughout the world.

Not to speak, on the present occasion, of the objections they entertain to the principle of armed intervention with the slave-trade, every year and every occurrence deepens their conviction, that it is by the extinction of slavery alone that the traffic can be brought to an end. No efforts of persuasion (which, in this case, are nothing more than appeals to the sense of interest) can arrest the trade, while there is a demand for slaves at so high a rate of profit; because no appeal to interest is so strong as that which is made by the inhuman traffic itself. As for armed intervention and treaty stipulations, all experience shows, that, without having effected, and without holding forth any promise of effecting, the abolition of the slave-trade, they have immeasurably aggravated the ferocity and destructiveness of it.

Most earnestly, therefore, do the Committee desire, that the efforts of the British Government should be directed towards the extinction of slavery in every part of the world, as the most effectual method for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Great Britain has a market of unequalled extent and value for the productions of every country and of every clime; and she has it in her power, by opening this market on favourable terms, to connect advantages of large amount with the use of free labour. The duties imposed by our tariff on produce so raised might in such manner be reduced, as to present a strong inducement to all parties desirous of having access to the British market to prefer the free labour system.

The advantages of such a course appear to the Committee to be great and many. The prompt and almost immediate success of it scarcely admits of a doubt. The happy result would be brought about by a process of which no party could justly complain; while the act effectuating it would be wholly spontaneous, and one of internal administration, not of dictation from without.

Under the influence of these considerations, the Committee present their definite and earnest request to you, Sir Robert, as the head of her Majesty's Government, that a measure may be prepared for admitting free-grown produce from all parts of the world into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions.

A collateral, but by no means an unimportant advantage of such a measure would be, that it would facilitate the settlement of a question by which the public mind has been greatly agitated, viz., the relaxation of duties on imports from countries where slavery exists. Should such a step as the Committee have suggested induce in these countries the abandonment of slavery, this question would find at once the happiest possible solution. If otherwise, Great Britain, by being rendered less dependent upon them, might find the solution of it less necessary. In any event, however, the Committee cannot but desire that no relaxation of existing duties on the produce of slave labour shall be allowed. It is enough—the Committee think it is far too much—that Great Britain now does, by her unparalleled commerce, to sustain and foster this gigantic evil, and it is time that her course was in the opposite direction; but, at all events, it may be hoped that this country will be spared the dishonour, and the world the misery, of any further aggravation of this horrible system by our means.

Entreat your serious consideration of these remarks, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society respectfully submit them to you.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Most respectfully yours,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

27, New Broad-street, Feb. 9th, 1844.

REPLY.

Whitehall, February 10th, 1844.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you have addressed to me on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

I will not fail to bring this communication under the notice of my colleagues in the service of her Majesty.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) ROBERT PEEL.

Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Thomas Clarkson.)

The anti-slavery cause is advancing in this country. "What real symptoms have you of its advancement?"

1. Several leading members of Congress, who have hitherto been otherwise minded, have strenuously opposed the rule (called the Gag law) prohibiting the reception of petitions on the subject of slavery, and the subject has been discussed nearly every day of the session. A friend of mine who has lately visited Washington, told me that, when he was there several years since, it was almost as much as a man's life was worth to open his lips against slavery, or to be seen talking familiarly with a man of colour; and now, said he, everybody there talks freely on the subject; a man may call himself an abolitionist, be seen with people of colour, &c., and no exception is taken.

2. An increasing interest on behalf of the slaves has been manifested by several legislatures in the free states, and has been expressed by resolutions and otherwise.

3. A large number of churches of different denominations have passed resolutions that slaveholders shall not be admitted to their communion, and the number is increasing rapidly.

4. The newspapers, religious and secular, are discussing the subject of slavery more than ever, and insert more anti-slavery intelligence.

5. The governors of states, in their communications to the legislatures, and in their proclamations for fast and thanksgiving days, notice the iniquity of slavery more freely than they used to do.

6. Coloured people are treated better. I give two instances. One of the leading Congregational ministers in Connecticut recently proposed an exchange with our friend Pennington, went to his house, accompanied his family to meeting all day on the sabbath, preached for him, &c.; and Mr. P. went to his house in a neighbouring town, passed the day in his family, preached for him, &c. A young coloured minister of the gospel, the Rev. Henry H. Garnett, of Troy, New York, has recently been elected a life member of the Young Men's Association in that city. It is one of the oldest and most effective literary societies in the country. Mr. Garnett was elected by a unanimous vote. He is a very black man, was once a slave, and has won the honour by his eloquence and moral worth.

7. Cassius M. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, the largest landholder, it is said, in the state, has come out boldly and strenuously against the admission of Texas, in favour of abolition, &c. He is about thirty-five years of age, an educated man, a slaveholder, a man of wealth, and nephew to Henry Clay, who will probably be the next President. He intends also to liberate his slaves.

8. A distinguished slaveholder in Kentucky has lately written to the editor of an anti-slavery newspaper:—"I am clearly of the opinion that it (the anti-slavery cause) has taken tenfold greater hold on southern feelings and southern interests within the last two years, than during the eight years of its previous progress." He attributes it in a great degree to the anti-slavery Liberty party.

9. The supreme court of Ohio has recently decided that children having in them negro, white, and Indian blood, but "of more than one half white blood," are entitled to the benefit of the common schools.

10. Two noted slave-dealers, who have kept large establishments for buying and selling negroes in Baltimore, have lately closed their business. A letter from Baltimore says that anti-slavery publications are constantly passing through the post-office there, and that the inhumanity of slavery, its unprofitableness, and the detestation in which it is held, must soon end in its complete overthrow.

11. The *Baltimore Visitor*, an independent journal in that slave city, exclaims loudly against a proposition before the legislature of Maryland to compel all free coloured persons in the state, between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, to be registered or taxed. This paper says that the policy of Maryland is anti-slavery, and refers to the manner in which the discussion of slavery in its columns has been received by the largest and firmest slaveholders in the state. This paper opens its columns freely for the discussion of the subject of slavery.

12. A resolution was recently introduced into the legislature of Kentucky, declaring it the policy of this government to admit Texas into the Union. The resolution was discussed, and finally laid on the table.

13. Two new newspapers have been recently established by the people of colour. They are edited by coloured men. One is entitled the *Elevator*. It is published at Philadelphia, and intelligent coloured men in this city contribute to its pages. The other is entitled the *Clarksonian*; it is published at Hartford, Connecticut, and the editor is the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, whom you know.

14. A Unitarian minister of this city, Dr. Davey, having lately, in a public literary lecture, said many disparaging things of the free people of colour, Dr. Smith, a young coloured physician, replied to him in the columns of one of our best daily papers, in a series of essays; and in the estimation of many persons won, not only the argument, but great credit to himself and his people, by the literary skill evinced in his and their defence.

15. Many distinguished persons in various parts of the free states, who have not hitherto identified themselves with the abolitionists, are joining them, and publicly advocating the cause. Among them I would mention Elihu Barritt, of Massachusetts, a man who is said to be versed in fifty languages, and who is both an able and popular lecturer. He has lately established a newspaper, and boldly advocates the cause of the oppressed. I would mention, also, that the Hon. W. H. Seward, late governor of this state, has volunteered to defend a poor man in Ohio before the supreme court of the United States, charged with affording aid to fugitive slaves.

16. My business leads me to keep up an extensive correspondence throughout the free states and territories, and especially with eminent lawyers; and the sentiments they frequently express on the subject of slavery, in an incidental way, satisfy me that anti-slavery principles are rapidly pervading the country.

17. Several missionaries of different denominations, who are in remote countries, and have been under the control of American missionary boards, have disconnected themselves with these boards because they solicited funds from slaveholders, and fellowshipped them as Christians; and we have reason to believe that a large number of missionaries will disconnect themselves from these associations, if they do not speedily take action, as the phrase is here, against slavery.

18. The progress of the Liberty party (composed of abolitionists, and those who have left the Democratic and Whig parties because of their pro-slavery character) affords a reasonable prospect that, at no distant day, the friends of human rights will exercise a powerful influence in Congress. Their votes have increased as follows:—In 1840 there were 6,865; in 1841 there were 20,636; in 1842 there were 34,716; and in 1843 there were 52,534.

19. Anti-slavery questions have been discussed this winter in lyceums and before other associations, in the hearing of citizens who have not been accustomed to read or hear discussions of such topics; and abolitionists have often been invited to lecture or debate upon subjects connected with slavery.

20. The mail from Washington last night brings the cheering intelligence that the gag rule, referred to under the first head, has virtually been abrogated by Congress by a vote of 105 to 85. For years, petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, where, as you know, Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, have not been received, or, if received, immediately been laid upon the table. It was proposed this session by the slaveholding members, and those from the North in alliance with them, that the rule should be continued. Opposition was unexpectedly made to this proposition by Northern members who had been accustomed to vote with the South. At length, the slaveholding members proposed a modification, allowing the petitions to be received, but directing that they should be forthwith laid upon the table without debate. This proposition was negatived by a decisive vote of 143 to 35. So this measure was not responded to by the Democrats of the North, or the Whigs of the South. The last vote, as above-mentioned, was for the adoption of a set of rules which excluded the prohibitory rule. The matter is not finally disposed of yet, but one of the leading pro-slavery papers says, "The probability is, that no rule excluding abolition petitions will be adopted in the new code"—referring to the rules of the House.

21. I have information that consultations have been recently held in the little state of Delaware, where there are between 2,000 and 3,000 slaves, which have resulted in a meeting of persons opposed to the continuance of slavery. It is thought that the time is very near when the system will be abolished in that state. Several respectable persons residing there have, as I am informed, offered to circulate anti-slavery publications.

22. There has been a report by a Committee of Congress in favour of free persons of colour; reversing the law that requires a coloured man to prove that he is a free man, and requiring a claimant to prove that he is a slave.

Without adding further to the number of facts showing a rapid progress of public opinion in favour of abolition throughout the free states, and remarkable changes in the slave states, I may say that we feel greatly encouraged. It is true that many facts of a discouraging nature might be mentioned—the most striking of which is the advance in the price of slaves owing to the increased price of cotton, and the consequent increased traffic in human flesh; but I will not trouble you with them. My object is to cheer you, in the decline of life, so far as I can, with a presentation of facts, and to give to you and to all the revered friends of the anti-slavery cause in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the assurance that slavery and the domestic slave-trade will not long continue in this country. The sentiment of the country—North and South—is increasing against the system. Texas cannot, we think, find admission into the Union, certainly not as a slave-state. Let us, then, unitedly rejoice, and give thanks to God. I hope you will be spared to see more important evidences that slavery in the United States is soon to terminate, and that the practice of the people here accords with the principles of our Declaration of Independence.

There are many in the United States who rejoice that Divine

Providence raised you up to devote so much of your life to the furtherance of the righteous cause, and that you have had so many able and faithful coadjutors. In this country we owe a great debt of gratitude for your writings and other efforts, and for the example your country has given to us and to the world.

New York, Feb. 28, 1844.

MAURITIUS.

SOME of the secrets of this den of wickedness are slowly transpiring, through the courage and fidelity of a contemporary of whom we cannot but speak in terms of high commendation. In our file of the *Mauritius Watchman* received by the last mail, we find, for example, the following astounding representation of what is technically termed the *Bagne system*. Let our readers ponder it:—

"When the term has expired for which a number of labourers have been engaged, and they wish, as they generally do, to change their employer, and obtain better wages if they can, the question arises, How are they to find another master? It is imagined that they ought not to be suffered to go about freely in search of labour. They are strangers and foreigners, and may take to a life of vagabondage. They must find security as a condition of residence, which none but an employer will give. In the mean time the police is made responsible for their appearance, which the police cannot be if they are allowed to go forth where they please: a place, therefore, is found for their temporary abode—that place is the Bagne. There the majority of them are detained, until they enter into a new contract with some one for a year's labour.

"Now, it is against this forcible, and (as we judge) illegal detention of free men, that we protest. We are not ignorant that they are left free to accept the highest terms offered; and that some, on giving satisfactory security for their return, are allowed occasional leave of absence. Neither are we ignorant that the Bagne is regarded by government as a place of refuge for the Indians against the impositions to which they might otherwise be exposed. We are aware, too, that many persons of our old Bourbon school of politics complain incessantly of the Indians being suffered to remain until they voluntarily engage in service, instead of being forced to accept a fair offer. Of all this we are aware; but we object to the principle of arbitrary imprisonment and restraint, under any pretext. It is opposed to the provisions of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and the whole spirit of British legislation. Suppose one of these Indians, being a British subject, were to address a letter to the chief judge, demanding that he may be called up for judgment, and that if no crime be laid to his charge, he may be forthwith discharged. Would his honour, the chief judge, have power to reject this petition? Is he not bound, under the severest penalties, to discharge all such falsely imprisoned persons within twenty days? What right, then, has the police to act in contravention of the most sacred duty of the highest judicial power? Such an appeal to the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which is an essential and irrevocable right of the British subject, would bring the Mauritius government into conflict with the supreme court of justice, and prove that the local authorities are acting illegally in this matter.

"But there are yet darker features in this case. The Bagne is at the same time a house of correction, for labourers who have been condemned to imprisonment and to breaking stones for various crimes and offences; here, therefore, all are promiscuously thrown together—the young and old, the innocent and guilty, the simple and corrupt. At night, all together are thrust into a spacious, but low, close, and dark room, from which there is no egress or chance of escape, whatever be the wants of freedom or of nature, until the morning dawn. We have been assured by many who have been there, that the stench and closeness render sleep almost a matter of impossibility.

"This is a horrible and inexcusable practice, thus to punish the innocent with the guilty, making no distinction where sound morals and the laws of freedom make all the difference; and thus to expose 400 or 500 men (and it may come to be 4,000 or 5,000), by a close confinement resembling that of the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta, to the fearful consequences of contagion, should ever any contagious disease manifest itself in those densely stocked regions of barbarity."

We are sure that our readers, like ourselves, will peruse this account with unqualified amazement. Is it possible, after all that has been so loudly said concerning free immigration to Mauritius, and the freedom of immigrants when they get there, that, even after having completed the term of one engagement, they are not "suffered to go about freely in search of labour"? Lest they should "betake themselves to a life of vagabondage," the police "is made responsible for their appearance;" a responsibility of which, of course, they can acquit themselves in no other mode than by keeping all the parties in prison! Fearful aggravations in fact as the concomitant circumstances of this confinement (so justly called by our contemporary the *Black Hole system*) must be, it is not upon these that our attention is chiefly fixed. We should denounce unjust imprisonment, although it were in a palace. Have these victims of avarice no friends in Mauritius who will bring this matter to the test by suing out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and trying whether, upon British territory and under the government of Queen Victoria, this arbitrary imprisonment of men accused of no crime can be maintained?

We have no wish to inundate the streets of Port Louis and the field-ways of Mauritius with vagrants; but we must protest against preventing this evil by unjust and illegal methods. The proper preventions of vagrancy are, the pressure of want on the one hand, and the recompense of labour on the other; and if the planters of Mauritius cannot accomplish the end by these natural methods, it is an unequivocal indication that they have already carried immigration too far. These gentlemen of the old school, it seems, "incessantly complain of the Indians being suffered to remain until they voluntarily engage again in service, instead of being forced to accept a fair offer"—that is, of course, as unfair an offer as they please to

make. So that even the imprisonment of the Coolies until they will work on such terms as may be offered them in jail, is not enough to satisfy these thorough-bred tyrants; they clamour for forced labour—in other words, for the whip. And this is **FREE** immigration! For this it is that so many thousands of Coolies are decoyed under false representations from the plains of India! And these are the men whom it pleases Lord Stanley to pamper with flesh to the full!

If we do not mistake, however, the time is not distant—if it have not already arrived—when the Mauritians will have to eat the bitter fruits of their wickedness. Another article, which also we extract from the *Watchman*, lets us a little into the secret of the “*alarm-ing aspect*” which Coolie immigration has assumed in the island. It is as follows:—

“The question of Cooly Immigration has begun to assume so very serious and alarming an aspect in Mauritius, that our readers will pardon the frequent recurrence to the subject of late in our columns. For a long time we purposely abstained even from passing remark, either upon immigration itself, or the manner of conducting it, though we felt far from satisfied at the reckless and abandoned mode in which ship after ship cast their cargoes of live stock ashore, in their haste to be gone for another batch, as by far the best freight that for many years had fallen to their lot. We were aware of the want of labour to render productive the soil of the colony, and, while that want remained unsupplied, were tempted to overlook much in the system itself that was faulty, in order that the resources of the island might be fully developed. We also trusted greatly in the English feeling of the Governor and in his good sense, to put a stop to reckless speculation in human beings when it should begin openly to declare itself; and in this respect our confidence has not been altogether disappointed, as the Draft of Ordinance of the 27th October proves.

“We may now safely assume that 25,000 able-bodied cultivators have entered the colony since the removal of the interdict on Indian immigration to Mauritius, at an expense to Government, for the bounty of 7*l.* each, of 175,000*l.*; and a further expense to individuals for incidentals in India, bonuses, &c. of 3*l.* per man, or 75,000*l.*; making in all 250,000*l.*

“Now how much of this sum has the introduction of these 25,000 coolies actually cost? We may safely say, not more than one-half, or 125,000*l.*; leaving an equal sum of 125,000*l.* to pass into the pockets of the various emigration agents, here and in India. Omitting various incidental expenses of management incurred by the Government, each man has cost, to the Government 7*l.*, to the planter 3*l.*, total 10*l.* Now we make the assertion that 5*l.* per man has covered the whole necessary expense, not at random, but on sufficient data, and by due information: so that Government has allowed itself to be robbed on the introduction of 25,000 men to the extent of 50,000*l.*, and individuals, to the extent of 75,000*l.*; giving to some dozen merchants engaged in this profitable trade 125,000*l.* profits among them in nine months, without outlay, without risk, without even pecuniary or personal responsibility.

“No wonder, then, that these agents should fill the columns of the *Citizen*, and rend the air with their cries for a continuance of 7*l.* per man upon all whom the Immigration Committee might be pleased to send for! Talk of a profitable fable! The most profitable fable in our days is the introduction of Coolies into the Mauritius.

“The Governor is an English gentleman, with the nice feeling of one; but let him be wide awake to what is going on around him, or he may soon find what it is to carry on the affairs of Government with an empty treasury, and perhaps to feed and clothe 10,000 Indian labourers introduced at the reckless expense of 10*l.* per man, without any assurance that the colony can profitably employ them, and reimburse out of their labour so vast an expenditure; with or without the interest, which, according to the money system of modern times, ought to be added to the charge, and also the return passage.

“The colony possesses at this time about 40,000 cultivators, viz. 25,000 Coolies introduced in the course of this year, 12,000 remaining of former years, and not less than 3,000 Malagasy, Chinamen, and Creoles, who still remain attached to the estates. Now the question is, can the colony afford profitable employment to a greater number of labourers than it ever before possessed, even at the present high price of sugar?

“The wages, food, and clothing of 40,000 men, at 1*l.* per month, is 480,000*l.* per annum. Take the average sugar crop at 60,000,000 lbs., at 1*l.* per 100 lbs., which will give an income of 600,000*l.*, just leaving a balance of 120,000*l.* to pay interest of borrowed capital, support and education of families, and the thousand and one incidental expenses of an estate. The gross amount of produce may be estimated too low, and so may the price of sugar, as it is at present; but we have also estimated wages and food below the probable cost. When it becomes less it will no longer hold out a sufficient inducement to immigrants, and to those who come here under false hopes of high wages corruptly held out to them by the interested, to remain in the colony; since, at the end of five years, the Government is bound to send them to India free of expense. And this apprehended fall of wages has already come to pass; for, of the lately arrived Madras Coolies, many are engaged at three rupees a month.

“We do not wish to be alarmists: but let us ask the question, in what manner are the wages of the lately imported Coolies paid? In answer, we refer to the reports of the special magistrates, which, we fear, are not of a nature to dissipate apprehension—not from want of the will to pay on the part of employers, but from positive want of the means. We fear the amount of wages due at the end of this year will not fall short of 100,000*l.* And if this is the case in the midst of the crop, and whilst all our paper-money remains in circulation, what will be the case by the first of next July, when the paper will be withdrawn, the sugar gone, and the funds put in circulation by the Immigration scheme will be a tale that is told? We dare not trust ourselves with an answer.

“We would, therefore, beg the Governor to reflect upon the present critical state of the colony. Owing to India and England little short of a million sterling—an addition of at least 30,000 souls to our population before immigration can possibly be arrested—a fast decreasing revenue, both in the customs and colony—the surplus revenue, set apart for public works, dissipated in immigration, and its reimbursement trusted to taxes

which may prove, as prospective taxes often do, not to be revenue—most of the estates in the island mortgaged beyond their intrinsic value—and almost every man in debt who had credit—if there be not enough in these things to make a wise man think, a prudent one hesitate, and a bold one fear, we will consent to resign all claim either to knowledge or foresight, and be content to take our place amongst the blind leaders of the blind.”

We seriously commend this extract to those editors and gentlemen who have boasted so loudly of the capital which has freely flowed into Mauritius since the revival of Indian immigration. How much of it will they ever see again? Could not some of our clever contemporaries now write an article under the title of “Madness of the Mauritian Planters?”

ON THE ILL TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES, ON ACCOUNT OF THE COLOUR OF THEIR SKIN.

A LETTER TO A FRIEND, BY THOMAS CLARKSON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I now sit down to answer your questions as well as I can, relative to the cruel usage of the free people of colour by the white inhabitants of the United States, which free people of colour are by birth and condition as much citizens, and therefore as much entitled to the rights and privileges of citizens, as themselves. These poor people, it appears, to the number of three or four hundred thousand, are subjected, without any reason whatever given, or without any good reason to be given, to the most hateful and galling distinctions, and this in a land which dares to boast of its free constitution beyond all other nations. Wherever they live, or sojourn, or go, within the boundaries of these states, they are the daily objects of persecution. If they travel by land in the public carriages, the white passengers will not mix with them, so that they are sometimes left behind, nor even speak to them but in a tone of derision, so that they are obliged to go into a separate part of the conveyance, there to be by themselves. If they travel by water, the same cruel distinction follows them. If some generous white man, suppose an Englishman or a Frenchman, a stranger to American customs, pitying their forlorn condition, should converse with them familiarly, or dare to shake hands with them, notice is almost always taken of the circumstance, and high and angry words sometimes pass in the way of censure, as if the stranger who addressed them had been guilty of a crime. Nay, this enmity is carried unblushingly into the house of God, where, though all men are equal in his sight, they are degraded again by being put into a separate pew by themselves, (built purposely for blacks only,) as if they were unclean, like lepers among the Jews, and not fit to mix with others, for fear of infection, in a holy place. They are also often otherwise ill-treated and abused. To this I must add, that black people entitled to be gentlemen by fortune, gentlemen by education, and gentlemen by their pleasing manners and conversation, are subjected to the same indignities, though often men of infinitely better moral and intellectual character than their white persecutors; and this scandalous distinction is observed even by people who make pretensions to religion, and who should know better things.

Strangers who should see this cruel treatment in operation would naturally think that men with black skins could do nothing but evil, or that the thoughts of their hearts were in a peculiar manner “only evil continually,” that they should be thus treated, and that therefore a mark had been set upon them, as upon Cain, by which they should be banished from society. But would this surmise have been true of them? No. What fault, then, have the white inhabitants of the United States to find with them, that they should heap such indignities upon their heads? Are they a dishonest or a riotous people, disturbing the public peace? Or do they conduct themselves honestly and peaceably towards one another, and towards the white population? Yes, though white mobs occasionally attack them, even to the loss of life; and then they stand in their own defence. Do they give a fair example in their families, as husbands, wives, and parents? Do they attend divine worship, though degraded in the house of God? From all the information I have collected from Americans themselves, they stand as fair as the whites themselves of the same class. The greatest charge I have heard against them is the sloth of many of them; and this arises probably because they, who have a bitter dislike against them, refuse to employ them; or because they have no little capital to stimulate them to labour. Let those, then, who treat them in this shameful manner know, if they call themselves Christians, that they themselves are so far from deserving that appellation, that they are not yet come up to the standard of heathen morality. It was the first law in the code of all nations, whether civilized or barbarous, and adopted both in the Greek and Roman courts of justice, as consonant with right reason, and as handed down to them from all antiquity, “that no man ought to do harm to another with impunity, unless he was first provoked or attacked himself.”

Now, of what provocation or aggression have these poor people been guilty towards the white inhabitants of the United States, but of the aggression only of having a black skin? And here I am tempted to say, with a Roman author, *O tempora! O mores!* “O the times! O the morals!” of America. Yes; the Americans are, so far as this ancient and universal law is concerned, below the heathen in their notions of right and wrong, and are not yet to be reckoned among the civilized nations of the earth. The civilized nations of the earth have their personal distinctions, as well as the natives of the United States. Indeed, men in civilized society

are reduced to the necessity of making personal distinctions, both on the principle of expediency and of duty, or men would have no right notions of justice, nor could the world be kept in order without them. Now, what have been, and what are, these personal distinctions at the present day? What entitles a man, where the world is at it should be, to respect among his fellow-citizens? I answer, his virtues only, his amiable qualities, his talents rightly directed, his usefulness in society. And what, on the other hand, subjects him to degradation and contempt? I answer, his black character, his black deeds, but not his black skin. The Americans, then, by making virtue and vice, and good and bad treatment, to depend upon the colour of the skin, show themselves, as I said before, not fit to be yet reckoned among the civilized nations of the world; for they set at naught, not only the laws of civilized society, by setting up a new principle of morality of their own, which never existed as a principle before, and by introducing into the world a new crime, which never existed as a crime before; but they fly in the face of the clearest declarations of the Scriptures, which tell us, for our guidance, that God made of one blood all the nations of men that dwell upon all the face of the earth, and that he is no respecter of persons.* And are these individuals in America such hardened infidels as to suppose that God will not notice distinctions so unjust, and at the same time so afflictive in their operation to hundreds of thousands of his creatures?

Let me now look at the subject in a different point of view. I presume it will be allowed that the black man does not differ from the white in his anatomy, in his bones, in his fleshly organs, as well as his organs of sense and feeling, and in his mind or intellect, (where cultivated by education, and not worn down and debased by slavery,) and that he differs only in the colour of his skin. And does this difference of colour furnish an argument for the whip and chain when he is a slave, or for his scandalous degradation when he is a freeman? I wonder that the defenders of slavery are not ashamed of themselves, when they submit to use such a shallow, such an imbecile argument. It is not clear to me whether such an argument does not amount to blasphemy, or a direct charge against God, for having created men with a skin so liable to change its colour with climate and other accidental causes, that, when it became black, the man who wore it should be a fit object for sport, ridicule, reproach, and even persecution. If God, then, made the bodies of the first man and woman of such materials, that the skins of some of their posterity should be liable to change their colour with accident, has any individual a right to avail himself of such fluctuating accidents as to make it a hallowed cause of his oppression? But I may go a little farther into this part of the subject. If God had designed such a difference of colour in the skins of men that persons with black complexions should be driven from society, so that no white person should speak to them, or speak to them familiarly, we should have been informed of this by the Scriptures. God, when he instructed Adam as to his rights, told him that he was to have dominion over all the animal world, the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, the fish of the sea, and the rest; but he never gave him or his posterity power over any individual man, to treat him otherwise than as a man, or over those of his descendants who, in the course of generations, should have contracted a coloured skin, so as to shut them out from society, or treat them as beasts of burden and as of a different race. God, no doubt, made man in his own moral and intellectual image, to distinguish him from the brute. Jesus Christ also, when he commanded his apostles "to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," made clearly, as appears by the words now quoted, no exception whatever as to their not going among the numerous black nations which were then on the face of the earth. If God, as I said before, had designed black persons to be outcasts of society, with whom there was to be no communion on the part of the whites, but who were to be held and treated as eternally infamous, why did the apostles dare to go, and to go first, to the black countries of Abyssinia and Ethiopia, to establish the first Christian churches there, (for that the first Christian churches were founded there is allowed to be an historical fact,) of which Christian churches some relics remain at the present day? And why did Paul elevate Simeon the black to be a deacon in his own church? The apostles were wholly ignorant of this design of God, or they would never have acted in disobedience to it. Surely an American may shake hands with a black man, when the apostles shook hands with so many thousands of the same colour.

As no one good reason has been hitherto given, or can be given, on the part of the white persecutor, why he has chosen to make a black skin a criterion for infamy, let us see how this hateful distinction had its origin, that we may judge of its validity, and of what might be the most likely remedy for the evil. From whence, then, did this distinction spring? It was the almost necessary and legitimate offspring of slavery. The negro being found better suited for labour in a tropical climate than the European, was first selected and seized by the Portuguese and others for this purpose; and thus a traffic began, and black people, and black people only, were bought and sold. They were henceforward considered as articles of merchandize. When put into comparison with animal nature, they were considered as brutes, and when put into comparison with inanimate things, they were considered as goods and chattels, as bales of cotton, blocks of mahogany, or as chairs or tables. Besides, the slave himself, as a slave, was considered as the vilest and the lowest being of his species. These two circumstances being taken into consideration, and the slave being of a black colour, the

black colour of a man became in the slaveholding countries synonymous (but nowhere else) with inferiority and degradation; and to such a degree, that he might be treated in any manner as it pleased the white man, or trodden under foot, as was the reptile on the earth or the snail. And that slavery, and nothing else, was the true cause of all the infamy attached to black men, appears from the consideration, that if the first slaves introduced into America had been blue, or yellow, or crimson, and if their present posterity were now of these same colours, namely, blue, yellow, or crimson, these colours would be as much a mark of reproach with the American citizens as black is now, and as much an occasion for ill treatment. See, then, my friend, on what a false, slippery, and changing ground this obloquy on a black skin rests; and, I may say, on what a base ground also, since it comes from slavery. As the poor man who has a black skin cannot help it, we ought to commiserate rather than aggravate his condition, and conduct ourselves tenderly towards him; and hold in detestation the evil principle which dares to change one said to be made in the image of God to the nature of a brute.

It appears, then, as far as we have yet considered the subject, that not even one reason, except that of custom, can be given for looking upon a black skin, or any other skin, as a constantly living mark of dishonour; but, on the other hand, it has appeared that this stigma so unjust, and, as I said before, so afflictive to hundreds of thousands, took its rise from the debasing establishment of slavery. But if so, there can be no cure for it but the total and immediate dissolution of slavery itself. This stigma must continue as it is while slavery lasts. All the nations of the world among whom the slavery of black people has been in use, have set the same mark of infamy upon their persons. It has been seen nowhere more in practice (to our shame be it spoken) than in our own West India islands; but, though slavery has been abolished there only between five and six years, it has shown symptoms of decline. The master does not look now upon the man with a black skin with the same malignant, but with a more appeased and a benevolent eye than formerly. He enters into more gentle and familiar conversation with him, and can enter into his merits more than he used to do. The change is such as to be visible to all in our islands who have been accustomed to observe men and manners. Yes, caste is by degrees wearing away, and exhibiting symptoms of a decline.

The American people, I am sure, have never reflected upon the dreadful effects of slavery upon the minds of the white population, which will lead one day or other to some awful crisis, or they would lose no time in effecting its voluntary abolition. Let us look for a moment at their present, and glance into their future state, if it should be continued among them. Slavery, then, exists in the southern states of America in full vigour, and over a prodigious extent of country. It exists there, in the eye of morality, as the greatest possible sin that a man can perpetrate, being a complication of crimes. It is, as I observed in a former pamphlet, a violation of no less than six out of the ten commandments of the moral law, and a trampling under foot and setting at defiance the gospel of Jesus Christ. Now, how is this unexampled sin looked upon by those who are interested in it, or by those who carry it into execution, or by those who have no hand in it, but yet live on the spot within its atmosphere, and witness daily the use of its horrid instruments of torture, its dungeons and its chains? Being established by law, they look upon this greatest of all crimes, "this greatest scourge of the human race," (as the Congress of sovereigns at Vienna characterized it,) as a legal and irreproachable custom, without the least feeling of remorse; and they defend it as such, forgetting that no human legislature can make good what God has pronounced to be evil. They see this iniquity before their eyes, and yet they pronounce it to be allowable. Now, is it possible for men to make such an estimate of one of the most mischievous and crying crimes, without the deepest injury to the moral sense? Hence a great laxity of morals, mixed with infidelity, cannot be otherwise than the character of the inhabitants of the southern states.

But the evil does not stop here. Unhappily, the contagion has spread to the northern states. The transfer has been easy. There are hundreds of individuals living there who have mortgages on slave estates, all of whom, being in fact proprietors of the same for a time, are themselves culprits, and cry out in defence of the system. Hundreds of other persons in the north, having alliances by marriage, or ties of relationship or friendship, and large dealings in trade with the people of the south, give way to solicitations rather than offend the latter, and are thus brought over by degrees to take the part of the planters and to defend the system. These people living in the north have no slaves, and are not therefore chargeable with the crime of holding them, and yet an inroad has been made upon their morals by what they have done in consequence of these connexions. They adopt, not universally, but more than generally, the galling practice of looking upon the man with a black skin as a being of an inferior race, and as an outcast of society, and treat him with contempt when they see him. They also defend slavery on the false principle that it has been established by law, as only a common custom not to be censured, though they are conscious all the while that it is replete with the most bitter sufferings to a helpless and unoffending people, and a violation of human right. Can, then, men who accustom themselves to such degrading thoughts, and who act in such a manner, escape without taint to their morals and injury to the finer feelings of their nature, any more than the man who sweeps a foul chimney can escape

* It is remarkable that the Greek word for persons is in its first meaning "faces." God is no respecter of "faces."

without soiling his clothes? Here, then, in the north as in the south, the same deleterious effect is produced, namely, a laxity of moral feeling, though not to so great an extent as in the former case. There are, however, I willingly own, unquestionably as upright, honourable, Christian men in this part of the United States as in any part of the world; but they are only a remnant, a small remnant, a few religious individuals, who are not tainted, when compared with the population of the country, and these are failing in numbers by death, and there is little hope from the rising generation while slavery is on the increase, and continues established by law.

As there are many millions of people in the United States, a large part of whom are actually slaveholders, and another part so far imbued with slaveholding notions as to treat men with black skins as inferior beings, and worthy only of contempt, there will no doubt be many who will say, that there has not yet been a sufficient inroad made upon the morals of the country, or a sufficient amount of demoralization to threaten any thing like an awful crisis.

What! not a sufficient departure from rectitude, when both the southern and the northern states contain a population of millions, almost all of whom defend slavery, and are thereby more or less tainted in their moral feelings? I beg leave to say that this crisis has in part already taken place. America is not the fair country it was in primitive times, in the days of the old Puritans, or of William Penn and his followers. It is not the country it was even thirty years ago; for since that time new lands to an immense extent have been opened, fresh slaves located upon them, and the demoralization of the whites spread in proportion as these changes have taken place.

To what other cause than to depraved feelings can it be attributed, that, only within the last year, whole states have been so lost to honour and justice as to have dared unblushingly, in the face of all Europe, to repudiate their public debt, to the breaking up of whole families in this country living before in comfort, and to the misery of hundreds of individuals for the want of their former means of subsistence? The people of these states must have been almost totally lost to the sense of right and wrong before they could have brought their minds to such a disgraceful determination. Look at this fact only, my friend, I mean the fact of this public repudiation, and tell me whether any man of common sense can deny that America has begun to lose her once fair name, and whether the sun of her glory may not be said to be now beginning to set. And this I foresee, that, if slavery should continue to spread, so that the land yet remaining in her possession should be opened to slave labour, and a new slave population raised upon it (seeing that wherever slavery exists a horrible demoralization follows), another part of the crisis will come on, that is, that the Americans will not only not be acknowledged any longer to be among the civilized nations of the earth, but be looked upon as civilized barbarians, with whom the people of other countries will have very little or no dealings. So sure am I of this, that, if I were now resident with a family there, I should think about leaving the country rather than subject my children to be brought up in such a polluted atmosphere. Was not the venerable Judge Jay of this opinion with respect to the future depreciation of the morals and character of his countrymen, when lately, in his letter to that indefatigable abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, he penned the following passages?—“My heart is heavy, and I cannot forbear pouring out its grief to you. Slavery may in time be extended from Maine to Panama. Rather than be in union with Texas, let the constitution be shivered. I have a large family of beloved children. I tremble at the misery to be brought upon them, and upon my fellow-citizens generally, by the horrible project.” But what does Mr. Jay mean by trembling at the misery to be brought upon his children? He does not here surely allude to their temporal concerns when he speaks thus (for no man can foresee the future temporal concerns of his children), but, as a moral and religious man, to their spiritual or best interests, having in view the depreciation of their religious integrity. Such a change, such an immense addition of slave population to that of the American republic, which such a vast territory as Texas, when cultivated, would produce, would bring with it such an overwhelming deluge of base and infidel opinions as would be likely to alienate his children from God, and expose them to eternal perdition.

There is a third and far more deplorable crisis which America may see, if slavery be continued and extended there. Can that great and merciful Being, who watches over and rules the destinies of men, look on and see his laws, designed for the happiness of mankind, trampled under foot, and himself so entirely forgotten and disregarded, that he may be said to have been driven from his own throne as the moral governor of the world? Is it nothing, that such an unjust and oppressive system as that of slavery, which demands the entire subjection of an unoffending people to whips and chains, and to laws written in blood, which subverts the order of nature itself by changing intellectual and responsible man into a brute, and which demoralizes both the master and the slave, and all within its atmosphere, should be allowed to pass as an ordinary and unobjectionable custom, and without either reproach or reproof? Is it nothing, that the same people should have determined upon wresting from their neighbours, the Indians, their own lawful country, and following them with fire and sword to their extermination, thus adding wholesale robbery and murder to the crime of slavery, in consequence of which determination whole tribes have been swept from the face of the earth, and are now ex-

tinct? Is it nothing, I say, that such a bloody project should have been executed, and no American voice, no petition to Congress, should have been raised against it? And is it nothing, again, that a part of the same people should have become so hardened, and so lost to shame, as to tell the whole world that they would make a precedent, by which it should be established that solemn engagements between man and man were to be no longer binding than while it was convenient to keep them? Now, are not these what we may call crying evils, crying national evils, sufficient to draw down the awful judgments of God upon the nation that has been guilty of them, and which, being of a national concern, God alone, who can command earthquakes, disease, pestilence, famine, drought, fire from heaven, and the earthly sword, God alone, I repeat, and not man, can punish? And will he be much longer deaf to the sighs and groans of the injured and oppressed, when he brought fire and sword and utter destruction upon those once powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, and for no other reason, as it is revealed to us by the prophet Joel, than that they were notorious slave traders? “They have given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink,” c. iii. v. 3. “The children also of Judah and of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians,” v. 6. “Behold I will return your recompense upon your own heads,” v. 7. But the Americans may say, we never thought of these calamities being the consequence of merely slave-trading. So might the Tyrians and Sidonians have said, and yet the evil came upon their heads. But the Americans have no excuse; they know better; for, to quiet their consciences, the southerners, as they are called, have forbidden the clergy in their pulpits to mention slavery as a crime, or to mention it all. They have acted more desperately still, for they have even prevailed upon them to defend slavery upon supposed scriptural grounds. Witness their ridiculous attempts, among other things, to make the faithful Abraham the author and the founder of slavery, forgetting that it is recorded in Genesis, as an historical fact, that hire for service for a limited time was not only known but practised in these times; and forgetting, also, that when God revealed himself to Abraham, relative to his future greatness, he intimated that one cause of conferring his favours upon that patriarch was, that “he knew him, that he would command his children and his household after him, and that they should keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.” Now is hire of labour for a limited time practised in South Carolina and the other slave states? and do the planters there assemble their children and their servants (their slaves) under one roof, themselves attending, to teach them the way of the Lord? And until both these customs or practices are established there, let us not hear of such egregious nonsense as that Abraham was the founder of slavery.

I have now answered your questions. You may, perhaps, think my animadversions on the American conduct and character, as it relates to slavery, too severe; but you must consider that I have stated above, or already, that there are, notwithstanding the contagion of bad example, as upright, honest, and Christian men among the inhabitants of the United States as in any country in the world, although they are few in number; yes, and I may add here, men, who have been for years, and are at this moment, engaged, much to their honour, in endeavouring to blot out the foul stain of slavery from their land. And I cannot doubt that there are many there also, who, having not yet considered the subject so seriously as they ought to have done, and having been therefore apparently lukewarm, if they were to read this letter, and really to believe that the present laxity of morals in the United States was produced by slavery, and that such laxity, if spread farther, would in process of time ruin their character as a civilized nation, would, no doubt from patriotic motives, join the noble bands now being formed for the eradication of such a monstrous evil from their country.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

Playford Hall, Suffolk,
February 15th, 1844.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the above I have learnt that sentence of death was lately passed upon an individual of the name of Browne, at New Orleans, for aiding the escape of a slave. I cannot allow this transaction to pass without opening my letter, and adding a postscript to it, because it corroborates what I have been endeavouring to prove, namely, that slavery produces a fearful laxity of morals, which imperceptibly leads to evil-doing, without remorse or shame. Witness first the condemnatory law now mentioned, by which J. L. Browne was adjudged to die. Who in his right senses could have thought that an act of pure compassion, of pure mercy, such as that of aiding a slave to escape from the horrors of slavery, could have been visited with the punishment of death? or who (to take a more solemn view of the matter) could have thought that a legislature, taking the sacred name of a legislature, could have been so lost to all moral feeling, or so depraved, as to promulgate to the world a law which is in direct opposition to a law of God on the very same subject, “Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee,” Deut. xxiii. 15. Thus the American legislature has awarded the punishment of death to the man who aids the escape of a slave, when God commands that no fugitive slave whatever shall be restored to his master. Now what are we to think of this sacrilegious law, or from whence did it spring? Certainly not from a spirit of justice or a spirit of mercy, which should reside in the breast of every legislator. It could have sprung only from depraved or infidel principles, mixed with a base expediency. And from whence did these

unhallowed principles come? They come from the effect which a legalized slavery had on the minds of those, where slavery was practised as a common custom and without reproach.

But were these effects confined only to those of the legislature who passed this condemnatory law? No: they have spread widely since, and are now to be seen prevalent throughout the greatest part of the population of the American land. Even the judge himself who tried the case of Browne seems to have caught this poisonous contagion of morals, if we may judge by the words which he made use of in passing sentence of death upon the prisoner. He exhorted him to make his peace with God, that is, to repent; and this in the very language which our English judges use when addressing the vilest malefactor, as if Browne had been guilty of a crime of the deepest dye; and he delayed his execution for three months, that he might the more effectually repent. What, *repent!* But I ask here, *repent of what?* Of a most merciful act,—of an act approved by God himself, nay, commanded to be done throughout all the land of Israel in the case of every fugitive slave. Here, then, is a man of superior education and intellect, who was unable to bear up or stand against the general infection; not that I condemn the judge for condemning Browne, because, as a judge, he must uphold the law while it exists, but because it appears, from the sentence passed, that he had caught imperceptibly the slaveholder's notions of right and wrong. We see, then, by these instances, what an inroad the practice of slavery has a tendency to make upon the moral principles of the population of the United States; and if it spares not the man of education, how can it be expected to spare the more ignorant? Be assured that this laxity of morals will spread as slavery spreads, and those consequences will be realised which I have anticipated. The Americans, then, have not a moment to lose in abolishing slavery. Let them do this, and they may recover their character, and take their place again among the civilized nations of the earth; nay, more, they may then boast, when this stain is once removed, that they have the purest and best constitution in the world.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers, THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome vol., price 7s. 6d. cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

"It is wholly the affair of Mr. Johnson, the short-hand writer; a very spirited affair, for which both the Committee and the public are much indebted to him."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"In this volume will be found a greater amount of information on the general question of slavery than was ever, we believe, before submitted to the world."—*Morning Advertiser*.

"The volume is a noble monument of an event which reflects the brightest honour, not only on our country, but on our common Christianity. Great, indeed, had been the loss to humanity, if this record had not been preserved. As the friends of the oppressed of every colour, in every clime, and as the inexorable, the immortal adversaries of slavery all over the world, we recommend, we urge the diffusion of this book among all classes of the community. We do trust that the reception of this momentous publication will be such as to speak fresh hope for the cause of the slave, and to proclaim that there is no decay in the philanthropy of England."—*Christian Witness*.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ZULUETA'S TRIAL.

AT A MEETING of the JAMAICA BAPTIST WESTERN UNION, held at Port Maria on the 23rd day of January, 1844, the following Resolutions were unanimously carried:

I. That the members of this Union have heard with the most profound regret and indignation that the African slave-trade, for the suppression of which the parent country has expended so many millions, is still carried on under the auspices of British merchants, and by the employment of British capital.

II. That this Union cannot but express its surprise that, in a case in connexion with this odious traffic which recently occurred—a case characterized by the presiding judge as "a very proper matter to be investigated," her Majesty's legal and responsible advisers should have refused to inquire into the charges, and to bring the accused parties to justice.

III. That the thanks of this Union are due, and are hereby presented, to Sir George Stephen, for his independent conduct in causing bills of indictment to be preferred against the said accused parties, and thus endeavouring to set at rest the question whether British merchants can in any way legally promote the traffic in human beings.

IV. That these resolutions be forwarded to Joseph Sturge, Esq., with a request that he will present them to Sir George Stephen at his earliest convenience; and that they be published in the *Baptist Herald*, the *Patriot*, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and the *Nonconformist* newspapers.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

THOS. F. ABBOTT, Secretary.

Recently published, price One Shilling,

THE TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA, Jun., at the Central Criminal Court of the City of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th days of October, 1843, on a charge of Slave-trading. Reported by J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer. With introductory and concluding remarks, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. (Second Edition.)

To the Trial, as reported in this pamphlet, is annexed a very interesting and important Appendix, containing extracts from the log of the *Augusta*, and the slave-trading instructions put on board at Cadiz.

"We strongly recommend all who feel any interest in the abolition of this accursed traffic to procure and peruse this trial."—*Patriot*.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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 20, 1844.

A LARGE part of our columns to-day is devoted to the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 7th instant, on Mr. Labouchere's motion for an Address to the Queen respecting the trade with Brazil, practically for reducing the duty on Brazilian sugar. The question of the slave-trade was made very prominent in this discussion, and we have thought it our duty to give at length those parts of the several speeches which refer to it, leaving the other topics to be sought for in the daily papers. The sentiments of the Anti-slavery body having been referred to by Mr. Milner Gibson, Sir Robert Peel produced, and read to the House, a memorial which had been addressed to him a few weeks before by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and which our readers will find in another column of our present number. To this we have to add, that the Committee yesterday waited on Mr. Gladstone, the President of the Board of Trade, with a memorial of similar tenor, taking its occasion from the tone of the debate. The gentlemen who attended were Messrs. Joseph Sturge, Stafford Allen, Henry Sterry, Joseph Cooper, and the Rev. J. H. Hinton. Mr. Gladstone's behaviour was at once courteous, frank, and business-like; his object being, as he justly observed, not to tell the views of the Government, but to learn those of the Committee. The memorial presented to him was as follows:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P., PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, ETC. ETC.

SIR,—From the debate in the House of Commons on the 7th instant, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are led to hope that, in the negotiations now pending with Brazil, a course may be pursued which will secure the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, so far as that country is concerned.

No doubt whatever can be entertained that a stimulus applied to the culture of sugar in Brazil would be immediately, and in a full proportion, felt in the slave-trade, by the increased activity of which alone the additional labour in that case demanded could be supplied. But against the encouragement of the slave-trade the British Government has been long and deeply pledged. Not less than twenty millions sterling, in subsidies, armed cruisers, courts of adjudication, and other appliances, has England spent, during the last thirty years, for the suppression of this guilty traffic. It is by a revolting course of national perfidy, that this trade is still carried on by Spain, Portugal, and Brazil itself. And it could not, in the judgment of the Committee, be without gross and palpable inconsistency that, under such circumstances, the British Government could adopt any fiscal regulation, the effect of which would be to annex a reward to the violation of treaties, and to lure thousands of men into a traffic in which British ships would hunt and capture them as pirates.

The Committee repeat their declaration, that they look with regret on all measures for the armed suppression of the slave-trade. Objecting to such measures on principle, they find their impolicy proved by experience. They cannot but think that a practical encouragement may be given to free labour, by which it may be made the interest of all parties to prefer it to the labour of slaves. Can a question exist, whether, if the produce of free labour from all parts of the world were made admissible into the British market on the same terms as the growth of British colonies, "a heavy blow and great discouragement" would not be dealt to the system of slavery? Most earnestly do the Committee hope that the principle they have thus expressed may be incorporated with the policy of the British Government, and that all commercial advantages henceforth to be conceded may become practical arguments—to which even slave-holders will show a quick sensibility—in favour of the renunciation of a system of oppression and wrong, which admits of neither defence nor palliation.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
JOHN HOWARD HINTON.

We must express our prompt and deep sympathy in the fearful dispensation of Divine Providence, which has so suddenly and awfully removed from the scene of political action two influential men. We refer to Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, and Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, in the United States. It is, nevertheless, in our judgment, not incompatible either with the respect due to the dead, or with the condolence due to the afflicted survivors, to express our hope that the cause of human freedom and happiness may, from this sad event, reap no inconsiderable advantage. The following extract of a letter from our well known friend, the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, will fully explain our meaning:—

“Boston, March 1st, 1844.

“A most astounding Providence has just occurred, which will probably defeat the Texas scheme for the present. By the bursting of the Paixhan gun, on board of the Princeton, two members of the cabinet who were the champions of annexation, were instantly killed, Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, and Upshur, Secretary of State, both Virginians, and fierce for annexation; while the President narrowly escaped. The news arrived this morning. It cannot but produce serious embarrassment to the war party. Independently of this, strange uncertainty was brooding over the public mind on the subject, so that I was at a loss what to write. The advocates of annexation were boastful of immediate success, and there was a dreadful apathy in the minds of the petitioners who profess to be opposed to the scheme.”

Passing from this solemn dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we mention with pleasure that a motion in the House of Representatives to re-enact the 21st rule, commonly known as the gag rule, has been rejected by a majority of 22. The floor of Congress is now open as freely to petitions on the subject of slavery as to any others. There is, it appears, little expectation that the fugitive slaves from Florida will be recovered. And hereupon, in the Senate, Mr. Benton has moved a resolution that notice shall be given of cancelling the celebrated tenth article of the treaty of Washington. This seems quite tantamount to a confession that the recovery of flying slaves was the only purpose for which it was considered valuable. The motion, however, has not yet passed. To these announcements we must add one affecting our friend Mr. Leavitt himself. The Speaker of the House of Representatives has refused him permission to attend there as a reporter! He is now, however, in Boston, where he will become the editor of a daily paper, under the familiar name of the *Morning Chronicle*. We commend it warmly to our readers' patronage.

The sentence of death on John L. Brown, for aiding a slave to escape, is creating a deep sensation in a portion (as it should throughout the whole) of the United States. A public meeting was about to be held on the subject at New Haven, Indiana. Why not at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia?

This distressing subject was again adverted to in the House of Lords, on Monday night, by Lord Chief Justice Denman, in the following terms:—

Lord DENMAN said he was anxious to bring a subject under their lordships' notice, which he knew could not be formally taken up on the part of that house, or by the humble individual who then addressed them, but which was yet a matter of such immense interest and importance that no person of sense or humanity could possibly avoid adverting to it without feelings of an extremely painful nature. He was aware that his noble and learned friend near him (Lord Brougham) had, some days ago, stated that, in Louisiana, an individual had been condemned to suffer death for promoting the rescue or escape of a slave. It appeared that some doubt was then entertained as to the sentence being ultimately carried into effect. The probability was—such, at least, was the feeling—that when the law was declared announcing the punishment affixed to this description of offence, that declaration of the law would have been considered sufficient for every useful purpose, and that no punishment—no capital punishment—would be inflicted. But, since that time, he had unfortunately seen a document in the public papers which stated, that one of their fellow-creatures was sentenced to undergo the punishment of death on the 25th of April, for effecting the escape of a slave. No man was more sensible than he was of the duty which belonged to all states to see that their laws were properly obeyed; no man was more aware than he was of the high degree of jealousy that must be excited by any attempt to interfere with other states in carrying their laws into effect: but, in consequence of the increased respect which was felt in this country for the manner in which justice was administered in America—for the humanity and legal knowledge with which everything connected with the law was administered by those able and eminent men who presided in the courts of that great country, he was induced to mention the subject here; entreating them, in the name of humanity and justice, to pause for a moment before this sentence was carried into effect. He believed that nothing of the kind had ever yet taken place, and he could not but think that, after some consideration on the subject, their sentence would not be carried into effect. America was remarkable for having been one of the first nations to form a criminal code more humane than had before prevailed. Some years ago Mr. Livingston had introduced a code much less severe than that which previously existed. Almost all the nations of Europe (our own amongst the number) had profited by it, and found the beneficial effects of adopting certain parts of that mitigated code. He did not bring forward this question with respect merely to an individual case. He had reference to the propriety of investigation as to the extinguishing of what must be considered an unequal measure of punishment—he had reference to an inquiry as to how far a punishment so evidently disproportioned to the offence should be carried into effect? Therefore it was that he had taken the liberty of making these observations. Some parties, he had understood, were of opinion, that by carrying this case before the public—pressing it on their attention, and calling for an expression of feeling—there was some danger of increasing that jealousy and irritation which existed at the other side of the Atlantic, and of their defeating the very object which was sought to be attained.

But, from the best inquiry that he had been enabled to make upon the subject, he was perfectly convinced that some benefit would be produced, and that no injury would result, from such a public statement, followed by a proper expression of public feeling. He, on the contrary, believed that much good would be done, by reason of the expression of public opinion on the subject. He could not think, that, in any civilized state, individuals could be found who would be induced to carry into effect a law of such extreme severity, after a general expression of public feeling. He therefore thought it right, with the strong feeling which he entertained on the subject, and which he knew was shared by many of his learned brethren, to bring this matter under the notice of their lordships. He hoped that the expression of the opinion of that house would meet the eyes of those who had the power to mitigate this sentence, and that, while they carried out all the other laws of their country for the protection of personal property, they would not allow a fellow-creature to be put to death for the offence of which this man had been found guilty, for, by so doing, they would be throwing back the cause of civilization, humanity, and Christianity for centuries. He felt quite aware that it was not for the constituted and responsible authorities of this country to interfere in any way in this matter; but still he thought that the expression of public opinion on the subject might prevent the execution of the sentence. He had, from the few hours which he could spare from the public business of his circuit, taken this opportunity of bringing the subject before their lordships. He had done so, in the hope that the general principles of humanity which had induced him to speak would operate on the minds of those who had the power of mitigating the sentence, and would prevent its being carried into effect. (Hear, hear.)

By the *Port of Spain (Trinidad) Gazette* of the 22nd of January, we observe that the Governor, Sir Henry M'Leod, appeared on the previous day in the police-court, as a complainant against a black man named Manuel Martine, for striking his horse on the Maraval road. This proceeding seems to have greatly amused many of the peasantry, who wondered to find “Massa Cadiz (the police magistrate) a greater man than Massa Governor.” So far the Governor's appeal to the law may be useful. We respectfully submit, however, that the Governor should not also have taken the law into his own hands. By his own statement it appears that *Sir Henry M'Leod struck Martine with his whip*, in resentment of the blow which was inflicted on his horse. Now we think that Sir Henry, as the first magistrate in the island, should have shown somewhat more command of his temper. And we think also, that, after he had thus punished the delinquent in his own person, he had no ground for appealing to the police. No magistrate in England, we are satisfied, would have awarded any further punishment in such a case.

FROM the West India papers which have come to hand since our last we had prepared a few extracts, the most important of them developing the working of the immigration scheme in British Guiana; but the length of our parliamentary intelligence has displaced them. If everything stated in these papers respecting Lord Stanley is to be believed, the noble lord is very far gone in this mad business. Of 191 Coolies who lately returned from Demerara to Calcutta, in the *Louisa Baillie*, twenty per cent. died in rounding the Cape of Good Hope!

WE received yesterday (too late to make more extended reference to it to-day) the parliamentary paper relating to the fugitive slaves from Florida. We regard it on the whole with great satisfaction.

WE have the pleasure of inserting to-day another contribution from the pen of Thomas Clarkson to the cause of humanity, in the shape of a *Letter to a friend on the ill treatment of people of colour in the United States*. No testimony need be borne by us to either the convincing or persuasive qualities of this composition, for which the name of the author is a sufficient guarantee. While most gratifying to the friends of the anti-slavery cause universally, as evincing the unquenchable interest in it which our venerable friend cherishes amidst his growing infirmities, it will be received with peculiar pleasure, we have no doubt, by our fellow-labourers in the United States, whose benevolent designs it is eminently adapted to forward.

Literary Notice.

The Fourth 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 held in Exeter Hall, on Wednesday, June 21st, 1843. With an Appendix, and List of Contributions. London: 1844.

THOSE who have been long expecting, with some impatience perhaps, the appearance of this important document, will find their impatience turned into sympathy by the announcement of the Committee, that the delay has arisen from the protracted illness of the Secretary. Now that it has appeared, we take the earliest opportunity of expressing our conviction that, in interest and value, it is equal to any of its precursors. The Report itself is short, and has already been extensively diffused through the papers. The Appendix, which exceeds a hundred and fifty pages of closely printed matter, contains a large mass of important information, very much of which (extracted with great labour from Parliamentary papers and other authentic sources) is thus for the first time rendered easily accessible to the public, while much more of it is derived from manuscript documents of great accuracy and trustworthiness exclusively in the possession of the Committee. Any friends of humanity who will

take the trouble to look through the Appendix, although, of course, they will not read the whole of it, will find their attention arrested by various matters in which they will not fail of being deeply interested. Even a glance at it is enough to show how utterly fallacious the notion is (which we fear, nevertheless, has obtained an extensive prevalence) that, with the abolition of slavery in the British territories, every thing has been done which can be dear to the friends of the anti-slavery cause. Far, indeed, from it! as all may learn who will devote a single half-hour to the perusal of only two articles, to be found at pages 145 and 152 of this Appendix. The document will be forwarded with as much dispatch as possible to all parties entitled to it, and will be diffused extensively throughout the world. We commend it to the attention of all the friends of humanity and freedom.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Thursday, March 7, 1844.*

TRADE WITH BRAZIL.

Mr. LABOUCHERE ssid.—The great objection on the other side was, that, by admitting foreign sugar into the consumption of this country, we should give encouragement to slavery in the Brazils and other foreign slave-owning countries. (Hear, hear.) He hoped he was not disposed to treat with disregard any really conscientious scruples which might be held by any portion of the people of this empire—(cheers)—but the more they examined this case, the greater must be their astonishment that any man at all acquainted with the subject could make his stand on that objection. (Hear, hear.) They had been told by the right hon. gentleman opposite, that he was not willing to renew the negotiations with the Brazils, unless the Brazilian government would stipulate for certain conditions with regard to slaves; not stipulations to check the slave-trade, but affecting the domestic and municipal institutions of the Brazils. He could not suppose the right hon. baronet could have meant stipulations for the suppression of the slave-trade; for, so far as treaties and stipulations upon paper went, there was hardly anything for us to require. (Hear, hear.) We had already a most stringent slave-trade treaty—the right of search both above and below the Line—a mixed commission to adjudicate—all we could expect, all we could demand, for checking the traffic in slaves had already been given. (Hear, hear.) He had a right, then, to assume that the meaning of the right hon. baronet was, that government recommended to Parliament and the country not to renew the negotiations with the Brazils—above all, not to reduce the duty on Brazilian produce, and to deal with the question in that way in which alone they could hope to place the commercial relations between the two countries on a firm and satisfactory footing—unless the Brazilian government would undertake to make certain laws for the regulation of slavery within their own dominions. Now, he would ask the House to consider on that, the last opportunity, perhaps, they would have of doing so, before a heavy blow would be struck at our commerce and navigation, whether they could, he would not say as wise and prudent men, but as consistent and conscientious men, take up that ground? (Hear, hear.) He knew how strong was the detestation of slavery in this country, and he trusted England would at all times hold high language to foreign nations in regard to slavery; but to enable her to do so effectually we must take care that foreign nations shall not have the opportunity of saying to us in return, “It is impossible for us to believe that you are sincere in your denunciations of slavery; it is manifest that your argument is pretext and not reason, for we see that you can get over your scruples when it suits your own interests, or when you wish to give support to certain powerful interests in your own country, which you are either unable or unwilling to grapple with. (Hear, hear.) It is easy to make us the victims of your pretended scruples, and to tell us that it is a question of humanity that prevents your fairly dealing with us, when we see that the question with you really is one of protection to class interests.” (Cheers.) He appealed to the house and the country to consider how the question stood. Sugar was the only article of slave-grown produce upon which we had any scruples at all. (Hear, hear.) Cotton, coffee, and other articles produced by slave labour, they admitted. Under the tariff of 1842 the government had given facilities for the introduction of foreign coffee, cultivated by slave labour, into the consumption of this country to the extent of three millions of pounds. With regard to the slave-trade question, the bringing the slaves across the Atlantic, it mattered not whether it was for the purpose of cultivating sugar or coffee, except so far as sugar was produced by a more laborious and painful system of cultivation, and was more cruel to the slaves engaged in it, and that, therefore, we ought not to encourage it by admitting slave-grown sugar into this country. This, he imagined, must have been the language of Mr. Ellis to the Brazilian government, and this must have been the language which the members of the government opposite addressed to the Chevalier Ribeiro, the Brazilian minister in this country. But was this country in the condition to hold such language to the Brazils? Was it in our power to do so? It was well known that, if there was one mode of employing slave labour more cruel and disgusting than another, it was in mining operations. (Hear, hear.) This had been admitted in all countries and at all times. The Roman slave “damnatus ad metalla” was considered to be in the worst position of servile existence. But what had been done by the right hon. gentlemen opposite in their tariff of 1842 in regard to this matter? He would say nothing about gold, which was admitted freely. He was aware they could not shut out gold—

“—perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Icts fulmineo.”

Any attempt to shut it out was absurd. But he would come to the article copper ore, and he was curious to hear the answer which the right hon. gentleman opposite would make upon this point. Down to the year 1842 the question of copper ore stood thus:—Foreign copper ore stood previous to the tariff precisely in the same position as foreign sugar stood in now; it was admitted into this country for the purpose of being smelted in bond, as foreign sugar now was of being refined in bond for re-exportation to other countries. But the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) had made a very important and a very proper alteration in reference

to English interests in regard to the import of foreign copper ore, by which it was allowed to come in and be consumed here, subject to a light duty. (Hear, hear.) That was a change which he (Mr. Labouchere) had hailed with pleasure, and what had been the result? These were the returns of the effects of that alteration:—

FOREIGN COPPER ORE IMPORTED.—THE QUANTITY ON WHICH DUTY WAS PAID, AND THE AMOUNT OF REVENUE RECEIVED THEREON IN EACH YEAR, 1837 TO 1843:—

	Entered for Consumption, Imported. cwt.	and Duty paid. cwt.	Amount of Revenue. £
1837	389,331	67	£40
1838	541,266	15	6
1839	603,902	15	9
1840	838,904	112	21
1841	971,935	1,020	56
1842*	997,120	314,180	15,689
1843	1,111,960	1,085,420	64,343

He did not mean to say that, to the whole of this extent, or any thing like it, the alteration in the law had stimulated the import of copper ore into this country, for at the same time the right hon. baronet had abolished the smelting of copper ore in bond. But the analogy of the case was apparent. Yet they had departed, in the case of foreign copper ore produced by slave labour, from the system which they still adhered to in regard to foreign sugar, for no other reason than that slave labour was employed in its cultivation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE spoke as follows:—As respected the reserve which Government had professed and practised towards sugar, it was not necessary to go at length into the grounds which actuated it in doing so. These grounds were stated very much in detail by the right hon. baronet near him, when he introduced his Customs' Act in 1842. But his right hon. friend, in so stating them, could not claim for them the merit of much originality, because he had taken them—the present Government had taken them—from the right hon. member for Taunton himself, who had used them in the year 1841, in the discussions which then took place upon the commercial schemes propounded by the late Cabinet. But they had other authority for these views—that of Lord Monteagle, who, in 1839, used some rather strong expressions upon the subject, when his hon. friend, the member for Dumfries, proposed a reduction of duties in that year. The noble lord stated that, in the first place, the colonies did possess a claim to preference over foreign countries; and, in the second place, that he could not vote for the proposal of the hon. member from the particular condition of Brazil as to slavery, as it was known that at the present moment the Brazils furnished a market for slaves transported from Africa; and it behoved the house to pause before they sanctioned a measure which would necessarily have the effect of enlarging that market. He (Mr. Gladstone) never was made acquainted with a chain of reasoning more close than that which proved that the proposition made for the introduction of Brazilian sugar into this country, if it was worth any thing, if it was not mere trash, would necessarily have the effect of enhancing the value of Brazilian sugar, of encouraging its production, and thus affording a powerful inducement for its producers to seek an augmentation of the means of cultivation; and they knew there was but one channel through which to procure these means—they must seek for them on the shores of Africa. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman had not grappled with this argument. Nobody had or could grapple with it. But the right hon. gentleman, in stating that the objections entertained to his proposition were dependent upon and entirely connected with the question of slavery, was by no means accurate. He (Mr. Gladstone) contended that slavery was but a secondary consideration. Were slavery the only thing to be considered, it might have been doubtful; at all events, it would have been a very different question whether the course adopted by Government was that which would actually have been pursued. It was not against simple slavery which they had to contend, but against slavery fed by the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) With respect to cotton the matter was different. In our connexion with America we had no question as to the slave-trade. True, there was in America a traffic in slaves between man and man, between state and state; but there was nothing like the African slave-trade; and if they taunted him, by showing that there was in theory a traffic in slaves in America, he would reply that he did not stand upon theory, but he would ask if a practical evil of a very great extent was not connected with the admission of slave-grown sugar? (Hear, hear.) The hon. member for Dumfries had asked what Government intended to do with the sugar-duties? To this inquiry he was sorry to say that he could afford not the slightest satisfaction; but the hon. member further asked whether Government, by the course which it had adopted, had diminished slavery in Brazil? Certainly the Government had not abolished slavery there, nor had they procured any distinct recognition of a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery there. But still they had diminished the slavery of Brazil. (Hear, hear.) In comparison with the state of things which would have ensued, had the proposition of the late Government been adopted in 1841, in comparison with such a state they had reduced the extent of slavery, and consequently the extent of misery connected with the transport of slaves. Figures proving the fact of the reduction of the slave-trade had been brought before the house. There could be no doubt but that the vigilance of our cruisers on the coast of Africa had had a very great effect in restraining the slave-trade with Brazil. In 1838 the number of slaves imported into the province of Rio alone was 30,000. In the years 1841 and 1842 it was reduced to between 8,000 and 9,000; and while he was on this subject he would be allowed to say, in the name of the British Parliament, that that man should be for ever recollect who, as Governor-General of Cuba—he meant General Valdez—in spite of local prejudices—in spite of the influence of personal interest—in a country where we knew not how difficult it was to make head against such obstacles—had set himself against the slave-trade to that island, and by whose exertions it had been nearly put an end to. (Hear, hear.) It was unfortunate that he had been removed, and that the Governor who had been substituted was more likely, he believed, to accommodate himself to the feelings and the prejudices of those around him. Such an appoint-

* After the alteration.

ment he could not but look upon as a misfortune to humanity. (Hear, hear.) But to return. By the vigilance of our cruisers it was notorious that the slave-trade had been much reduced, but it was equally notorious that that vigilance had been aided by the commercial policy which this country had pursued—he granted, at a commercial disadvantage—with reference to our Brazilian trade. But there was no doubt that there had been a considerable transfer of estates in Brazil from sugar to coffee growing purposes. The fact was important owing to the difference in cultivation, and consequently in the happiness of the cultivators, between the two products. That difference consisted in this, that the cultivation of sugar was confined to male adults, while that of coffee could be carried on by women and children. The transfer, therefore, had been most important; and the committee appointed in 1842, to examine into the state of affairs on the west coast of Africa, stated that, not only had the cruisers helped to diminish the nefarious traffic, but that the depressed condition of the sugar-planters in Cuba and Brazil had done much in furtherance of the same object. (Cheers.) But the slave-trade still retained its vitality, and the slightest relaxation of vigilance on the part of our cruisers would be sufficient to revive it on its former extended scale. It should be recollected that he was speaking of a trade which was encouraged and protected by, at all events, the local and provisional authorities of Brazil; and he had the best authority to show that those amongst the superintendent officers of Brazil who might choose, from motives of humanity and respect to the law, to set themselves against the slave-trade, were frequently discouraged and dismissed, and the course which their superiors adopted was to wink at the slave-trade in the most open and glaring manner possible. That trade had, to some extent, revived on the coast of Brazil, in consequence of its having become necessary, on account of political circumstances farther south, to relax the vigilance exercised in guarding that coast. He did not mean to say that the trade had extended to any great length; but the inquiries which had taken place showed that the slave interest was as cruel as ever, and as much as ever alive and on the watch for opportunities of again exercising all its resources. It was known that Government, in attempting to negotiate with Brazil, did endeavour to connect with the object of the admission of sugar into this country more favourable terms than the present—a stipulation on the part of the Brazilian Government with regard to slavery and the slave-trade. He thought that, in touching upon this subject, the right hon. gentleman had seemed inclined to say that, so far as the slave-trade was concerned, this was a legitimate interference; that to ask from the Brazilian Government some legitimate guarantee, as respected the slave-trade, would be reasonable; but he had understood the right hon. gentleman to have deprecated any interference with internal slavery. Now, how did they stand with respect to this assertion? Was it not a fact that the stipulations already agreed to by the Brazilian Government as to the slave-trade, would, were they only acted upon, be quite adequate to effect their purpose of the suppression of the traffic? It would be impossible, he believed, for the wit of man to devise stipulations of a more efficient nature than those already in existence. But he had been struck by a question asked by the noble lord the member for Tiverton, as to whether the Government were seeking to obtain new stipulations for the suppression of the slave-trade, or whether they were seeking to obtain satisfactory guarantees for the fulfilment of the existing stipulations. A more important distinction could not be drawn; for though the stipulations were most efficient, the guarantees were worthless. There were only two guarantees which, until a great change had taken place in the feelings of the people of Brazil, were worth having. One of them would be effectual, and that was the stoppage of the slave-trade by extrinsic force. If they could so blockade the coast that no slave could be smuggled through the guard, that would be a guarantee for the extinction of the slave-trade. He admitted that, if such a thing could be done, it would have an important bearing upon our commercial policy as regarded sugar. If it were possible to render our guard upon the coast of Africa perfectly effective, so as entirely to stop the traffic, then he would not hesitate to admit that the case of sugar was analogous to that of cotton. It would then be doubtful if it was reasonable to stand upon distinctions between the slave-trade and the slavery that actually exists in Brazil, the more especially when that slavery existed in such a form that it would soon be necessary either greatly to modify it, or that it would destroy itself by the waste of life of the slave population. That was one guarantee. But the only other guarantee was connected with measures for the mitigation and suppression of the system in Brazil itself. The internal slavery in the Brazils was thus connected with, and dependent upon, the slave-trade; and therefore it was not a curious desire to intermeddle with the internal and municipal institutions of Brazil which had led the Government to adopt the steps which it had taken. He repeated, that it was because slavery in Brazil was irretrievably connected with the slave-trade, it could not be viewed in the light of a mere domestic institution. If the slavery of the Brazils, then, was of such a peculiar character—if it was one of the great means of keeping up the slave-trade—then the internal slavery connected itself with a question not municipal, not domestic—it almost took rank as a question of international law and international justice. (Hear, hear.) Having thus tried to explain that it was from no desire to interfere with the internal constitution and arrangements of Brazil that the Government made the demand which it had brought forward, he went on to allude to the charge of inconsistency brought against the Government. The right hon. gentleman had taunted them with respect to their reduction upon the duties on coffee, and the willingness which they had expressed to carry that reduction still further; and, although he admitted it was true that the cultivation of sugar was more severe labour than the cultivation of coffee, yet that it mattered little to the unfortunate slave on the middle passage whether he was going to cultivate sugar or coffee, so far as the horrors of the slave-trade were concerned. But the real difference was this. He granted that, if the cultivation of coffee were to have the effect upon the slave-trade which the cultivation of sugar had, that in such a case the argument would be a valid one. But the fact was, that, to cultivate sugar, slaves would be carried from Africa to the Brazils, while to cultivate coffee they would not. (Hear, hear.) The cultivation of coffee could be better carried on by free than by slave labour. It was a cultivation which adapted itself to the economy of every family. Every woman, every girl, and every boy, found his or her place. It was not to

carry away women, boys, and girls that the slavers crossed the sea; they made up, indeed, about a fourth of the cargo of such unfortunate persons, but their great object was to carry away young men. The great mass of their captives were young men under twenty, just beginning to be available for hard labour—just reaching the maturity of their strength, out of whom a few years' labour could be confidently anticipated. Such persons would not be carried away to cultivate coffee. It was quite easy, even in the western hemisphere, for coffee planters to compete with free against slave labour. St. Domingo exported a great quantity of free-grown coffee, without any more difficulty than Brazil found in exporting her slave-raised sugar; and if they were content to take experience for their guide, it did appear easy to raise coffee by means of free labour. He believed, indeed, that if the duties on coffee in this country were to be so much lowered as to establish a greater cultivation of coffee in Brazil, it would be the interest of the Brazilians to supply the means of the increased competition which would arise by free labour. But the right hon. gentleman had dwelt on a case with respect to which he (Mr. Gladstone) thought that both sides of the house had heard its introduction with pleasure. He alluded to the course pursued by Government as to copper ore; but he (Mr. Gladstone) would still say, that if it could be proved that the Government were guilty of the grossest inconsistency as to permitting the introduction of copper ore, it would not therefore follow that it befitted the House of Commons to overlook the great practical question of the revival of the slave-trade in connexion with any reduction of the sugar-duties. But he denied that any inconsistency existed in the matter. The right hon. gentleman had stated that, of all sorts of labour, the most wearing and the most wasting was that of slaves in mines; and then he went on to show that the present Government had so reduced the duty upon copper ore, that a very large quantity had been since admitted into this country. The right hon. gentleman then asked why the Government would not do for sugar that which they had done for copper ore? The argument would be strong, if it did not unfortunately happen to be wanting in the main point of resemblance between the cases. The right hon. gentleman seemed to labour under a delusion, that the commercial measure of 1842 was intended to facilitate the introduction of copper ore into this country—that it was intended by it to afford facilities for this purpose.

Mr. LABOUCHERE.—It has done so. An increased quantity has been introduced.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—Then, if that had been the effect, it had never been the object, of the tariff. The right hon. gentleman stood on a mere literal distinction, and not condescending to look into commercial results, because there was a larger importation he took it for granted that importation was with the view of benefiting the importers from Brazil.

Mr. LABOUCHERE.—All I say is, that the quantity imported has increased.

Mr. GLADSTONE admitted this; but if the right hon. gentleman was to go into a specification of all the countries from which the whole quantity of copper ore came, he would find that, where copper ore was raised by slave labour, there was a diminution, and that the increase was produced by the ore of Chili. But this was only the practical effect. What he maintained was, that the change of the law in 1842 was not intended to favour the importer of copper ore, but to confer a benefit on the consumer and manufacturer. The object was to prevent the smelting power from being used to the exclusive benefit of other manufacturers, and to equalise the price. How? Not by granting a favour to the importer, but placing the difference of price in the treasury of the country. And it was into the treasury it had gone. Nothing was more plain than the distinction between copper ore and sugar. Of sugar we did not import enough for our own consumption from our own possessions. Of copper ore we imported enough to export to other countries. The right hon. gentleman taunted the Government for not having given the same facilities for the introduction of sugar that they did for that of copper ore. Now, he admitted that the owner of copper ore had no preference of the English over a foreign market; but, to show the way in which the change of the law had operated, he held in his hand a letter complaining of the increased quantity of Cuba ore smelted at New York.

Mr. LABOUCHERE.—But that shows a larger importation from Cuba.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—Certainly; but it showed the importer gained one advantage while he lost another; and he looked upon the advantage he gained as less than that which he lost. He (Mr. Gladstone) was quite sure it was so. He did not say, however, that the injury would be permanent. The intention was to leave the importer just where they found him, and to confer a benefit on other parties without mischief to him. He believed the importer's position to be worse since the passing of the law than it was before. It was very doubtful whether this was not owing to the depressed state of commerce, and the unusually low price to which copper ore had fallen; but, at all events, nothing was more vain than that, because a change had been made in the law which gave the importer of copper ore a practical advantage, and increased the employment of free labour, we should therefore give an advantage to slave-grown sugar, and augment the number of those employed in raising it. He thought the right hon. gentleman had given as his understanding of the failure of the negotiation between this country and Brazil, not any violence of temper or unreasonableness of demand which might have prevailed on either side of the Channel, but the insuperable resolve of our Government to abolish all traffic in slaves. He did not say that the right hon. gentleman stated his view at all unfairly, and he admitted the impression he lay under prevailed to some extent. The case was not as assumed. It was perfectly true that the mission of Mr. Ellis had failed; it was perfectly true that Mr. Ellis was empowered to deal with the Brazilian Government on terms of relative advantage, provided Brazil was willing to assent to certain stipulations as to slavery and the slave-trade; but it was by no means true that on these grounds the mission was broken up, or that it failed from any other reason than the demands made by the Government of Brazil. And it was due to the right hon. gentleman at the head of this mission, which did not terminate successfully, that that result was not at all induced by the want of good feeling or courtesy on the part of the ministers on either side. The gentleman accredited last year laid down this principle: “We will enter into a commercial treaty with you, if you will admit our sugar at a differential duty, not of one-tenth on the value of the goods, but one-tenth on the corresponding

articles of English growth." So that the extreme point to which they were willing to go was, that sugar raised by slaves should enter into competition with that raised by freemen in Jamaica or Barbadoes at a differential duty of one-tenth, not on the value, but on the duty. The effect of this would be, that, taking the protecting duty of British sugar to be 25s., the maximum duty at which the Brazilians were willing that their sugar should enter would be 27s. 6d. If his recollection served right, on that demand being made it was deemed utterly hopeless to pursue the matter further. (Hear, hear.) He thought the universal opinion of the house was, that, so long as protective duties remained in any form, there was a strong claim for retaining them on the part of the growers of sugar in our British colonial possessions. He did not say that in the East Indies sugar might not be raised at a cheap rate, or that in the Mauritius the supply of labour was not now comparatively abundant; but he maintained on behalf of the West Indies, when the scarcity of labour was produced there by our benevolent and excellent legislation, we should provide for the consequences which we had ourselves brought about. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman alluded to the mission of the Brazilian minister to this country, and attributed its failure to our rejection of certain articles in the tariff. Now, supposing a minister of this country could be so forgetful of the feelings of humanity as to disregard all considerations respecting slavery and the slave-trade, still the terms offered by Brazil were not such as could be accepted. He might state to the house, he should not say the arguments—they might be dispensed with—but the demands made on the part of Brazil. In the first place, he must say that, from the discussion which treated of the question in this country, a false impression appeared to prevail as to the importance of the trade with Brazil. The ministers of Brazil were not willing to grant what the right hon. gentleman admired so much—a good reciprocity treaty without a tariff treaty. If they consented to an equality of dues on ships, and to an equal treatment with respect to goods, they considered this a great boon to England, for which some large equivalent should be given. Now, with regard to the tariff treaties great difficulties stood in the way—whether from ignorance or selfishness, on one side or both, or from the liability to be blinded by national interests—which could be best illustrated by stating the terms which were demanded. Besides the stipulation of 2s. 6d. protection on Brazilian sugar, it was proposed that English cottons and woollens—the Brazilians having an unrestricted power over other goods—should be admitted into Brazil, the latter at 30 per cent., and the former (which, as the right hon. gentleman knew, constituted three-fourths of the whole trade) at 40 per cent. So that, in deference to the peculiar circumstances of our colonies, and the consequent scarcity of labour and high wages, British free-grown sugar was to have a bonus of 2s. 6d.; whilst on our coarse cotton, intended for the use of slaves, the moderate impost of 40 per cent. was demanded! This was in lieu of a treaty according to which our goods paid 15 per cent. on importation into the Brazils.

Mr. M. GIBSON said,—They had heard a great deal of slavery and the slave-trade; but he must be permitted to remark, that the course taken by her Majesty's Government, in reference to this question, somewhat resembled the course which the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies said the late Government took on most questions of public policy—like the game of thimble-rig. (A laugh.) He thought the present was a case exactly in point. (Hear, hear.) Sometimes they were told it was slavery, sometimes it was the slave-trade; so that they never knew under what thimble the pea was. (Laughter.) When they urged that ministers had got all the treaties against the slave-trade they could expect to get—that they had obtained all the stipulations which could be offered to them in negotiations, then it was replied that it was not the slave-trade, it was slavery they were anxious to put down; but now, when ministers were charged with making a pretext of the question of slavery, they went back and told their opponents that it was the slave-trade against which they directed their efforts. (Hear, hear.) Now, he ventured to say, if they were to look back to the proposition of the noble lord the member for London, they would find that it was slavery on which the present ministers had grounded their opposition to that plan. (Hear, hear.) They said they could not admit the sugar of Brazil and Cuba until they had made some attempts to induce those governments to put down slavery—that they must have some preliminary treaty. He was sorry the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government had left his place, because he wished to ask him how he proposed to treat with the Brazilian Government in reference to the question of slavery, and with whom he would have treated? Could the President of the Board of Trade tell him that there was any body or any potentate in Brazil that had the power to put down slavery and the slave-trade if they were willing? Unless the right hon. gentleman could assure them that there was somebody who possessed that power, with whom did he propose to treat? The right hon. gentleman could not propose to treat with parties who had no power—he could not have meant to raise expectations that could never be realised, and hopes that could never be fulfilled. (Hear, hear.) He would ask the right hon. gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade, as he was an advocate for putting down slavery by coercion and the interference of foreign countries—what put down slavery and the slave-trade in this country? Was it hostile tariffs? Was it the visits of foreign cruisers on our coasts? Was it menacing negotiations? Nothing of this kind was used to put down slavery in the British dominions. He (Mr. Gibson) said it was the formation of an enlightened public opinion in this country, the conviction that slavery was contrary to every law, moral or divine, and to the principles of religion, that caused the suppression of slavery, and not those external influences to which the right hon. gentleman seemed disposed to trust. (Hear, hear.) He would ask the right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel), now that he had returned to his place, to what authority he intended to appeal in Brazil to aid him in putting down slavery in that country? Did the right hon. gentleman think that the Brazilian Government, or any party in that country, could abolish a system which was so interwoven with all the feelings, prejudices, and pecuniary interests of the great proprietary classes in that empire? The right hon. gentleman surely would not have offered a condition which he knew could not be fulfilled; either he must have known that there was such a power with which it was right and fit to treat, which could put down slavery, or he laid himself open to the charge of having proposed the reduction of the sugar-duties as a pretext, and having given

rise to expectations which there was no chance of realising. (Hear, hear.) He would ask the right hon. gentleman how that public opinion was to be formed in Brazil, which he contended was the only power, in that or any other country, which could effectually put down slavery? He (Mr. Gibson) said that a system of coercion, of intimidation, of hostile tariffs, would retard and prevent the formation of such a public opinion. And why? Because it would enlist on the side of slavery the spirit of nationality; it would induce the Brazilians to forget the iniquity of slavery, and look at it only as an institution which they must vindicate in order to assert their national independence. But did not every reasonable man in this country know perfectly well it was not slavery that prevented Government from altering the sugar-duties? (Hear, hear.) There was not a man, woman, or child in the British dominions who gave them credit for sincerity in this allegation. Why, who were we, to be talking about slavery? (Hear, hear.) Was it so long since we were slave-owners ourselves? (Hear, hear.) These duties were imposed at a time when we were slave-owners, and were, therefore, clearly not imposed for the purpose of preventing the import of sugar, which was the produce of slave labour, to come into competition then with the produce of free labour. Perhaps ministers would tell the House that they would have taken them off, but for their wish to prevent slave labour from competition with free. He (Mr. Gibson) did not believe they would; he believed their object at first was monopoly, and that it was still monopoly. (Hear, hear.)

Viscount SANDON said that the Brazil trade was not a boon so great and so important to the manufacturers of Manchester, that it was worth scrambling for, in opposition to a great principle of policy which had been adopted with the general consent of the nation. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman challenged him (Viscount Sandon) to go down to his constituents at Liverpool, and tell them that he advocated the continuance of the present duties upon principles of humanity. Now he (Viscount Sandon) believed that, were he to do so, the result would prove that the opinions of the people of Liverpool were unchanged upon this question, and that they had a strong horror of the encouragement of the practice of slavery, in common with the majority of the community of this country. He believed that the feeling of the great body of the people of this country was unchanged upon the subject of slavery, and that if they were appealed to on the subject at another general election, they would unequivocally declare it; and he believed that that feeling was so deep-rooted, that mere considerations of pounds, shillings, and pence would not induce them to sacrifice it. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that they had the choice between the immigration of free labourers into the West India colonies, or the importation of sugar, the produce of free labour into our markets, and he trusted that the feeling of the country would make no hesitation as to which to accept. He admitted that the state of the sugar-market was still by no means satisfactory. He thought the price of 63s. an extravagant one; but still it was defensible at present upon the score of the abolition of slavery. Honourable gentlemen might laugh at motives of humanity, but this was not the fashion some years ago. The question was, whether the admission of Brazilian sugar would not be a boon and encouragement to the employers of slave labour. He maintained that it would be, and upon that ground alone he should be prepared to oppose this proposition.

Mr. BRIGHT said that throughout the evening he had not heard any discussion of this question in reference to its real merits, namely, the effect which it had upon the great body of the consumers of this country. Honourable gentlemen opposite had tried to divert the house upon a false scent, and had talked of the discouragement of slavery, as if that was the great cause nearest their hearts. But it was somewhat a drawback to the force of these arguments, that the right hon. gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade, who had used them, was of a family which in former times had been connected with all the disgraceful features and practices of slavery. (Oh, oh!) He meant to make no charge against any individual, nor as to any particular acts. He believed that nothing had been done by any of the gentlemen of that family but what any person who had slaves was necessitated to do; but still the right hon. gentleman and his family notoriously belonged to a party which had always supported the principle of slavery, and had kept slaves as long as public opinion in the country allowed them to do so. (Hear, hear.) He was aware that the Anti-Slavery Committee had sent some kind of memorial or report to the Government against the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars, but he knew also that in this course they had not been supported by any of the anti-slavery societies in the provinces. The Hibernian Society, as well as those of Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, Devizes, and many others, had seceded from the central Society on that very ground, and the Society, in consequence of this fatal error, had fallen into complete helplessness. From his own experience, he (Mr. Bright) having visited almost every borough in England during the last few months, could safely say that anti-slavery notions would not be a hindrance in the way of any gentleman who came forward in favour of free trade opinions. The right hon. gentleman alluded to the fact, that the East Indies and the Mauritius would not long require protection, but that the West Indies would require it, because labour, from its scarcity, was so very dear. But the planters of Jamaica were themselves to blame for any scarcity of labour there. The climate of Jamaica was favourable to negro population, and yet their numbers had, instead of increasing, greatly diminished. It had been stated, on good authority, that if negro emancipation had been postponed for fifty years, under the treatment of the planters of Jamaica not a single negro would be in existence. The cruelty of it was so great, the food so bad, the labour so long and heavy and barbarous, and their sufferings so appalling, that the whole negro race would have been exterminated. Therefore he thought it was a bad argument that, because the negro population of the West Indies was diminished, the people of this country should be robbed of between four and five millions annually to support the sugar monopoly for the benefit of those colonies—a monopoly that worked injuriously, not only to the consumers but the traders; for it was a notorious fact that the grocers realised no profit, scarcely, on the sale of sugar—many of them, indeed, refusing to sell that article by itself, requiring that the dealer should purchase tea as well as sugar, in order that they might obtain some profit by the transaction. But it was useless to argue this question. There could be no two opinions upon it, that the West India

planters derived the same advantage from this monopoly as the landed proprietors of this country did from the corn-laws.

Mr. F. BARING said.—The topic of slavery had been so constantly introduced into this question that it was hardly possible to avoid it; but he would ask if, on the grounds urged by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) in relation to sugar, it was possible to defend all the anomalies belonging to our system of trade? The importation of copper, for instance, had been mentioned, and the right hon. gentleman, with his usual acuteness, had drawn a distinction in favour of copper as compared with sugar. The same ingenuity might, perhaps, establish some distinction between Brazil and United States sugar; but who would say that it was possible fairly and honestly to carry out the principles laid down as to slavery and sugar? He had listened to the right hon. gentleman's case as regarded copper with great attention; but how could he maintain his own principles? For who would now say, when smelted copper was notoriously imported, that no copper from Cuba entered into the circulation of the country? In truth, it was impossible for the right hon. gentleman to carry out his own principles; and the question how far foreign countries would give Great Britain credit for perfect honesty of purpose he (Mr. Baring) had no great difficulty in solving, when he recollects how they universally held that in her proceedings regarding the slave-trade she had been governed mainly by regard to her own interests. The right hon. gentleman had put the question of the slave-trade very fairly. It would be impossible for him to deal with any article the produce of the United States, if the question of slavery were to be introduced. Almost the only commercial treaty he had entered into was with Russia, and though slavery, strictly speaking, did not exist in that empire, still the system of serfs in Russia seemed almost to render it necessary, upon his own principles, that the right hon. gentleman should require of the Czar certain regulations to ameliorate the condition of the serfs. The right hon. gentleman stated that he objected to slavery in the Brazils, because it encouraged the slave-trade, and he knew of no possible means of getting rid of the slave-trade but by the abolition of slavery. According to the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel), last year some immediate measures were required for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, with a view to the ultimate abolition of slavery. He (Mr. Baring) did not mean to speak with the slightest disrespect of those who, in this country, entertained a strong feeling on the subject of slavery. On the contrary, he entertained the highest admiration for the motives which influenced them; and it was the duty of every man to do his utmost to get rid of such a scourge to human nature. But was the proposed condition likely to produce the slightest effect? Supposing the Brazils had accepted the offer of Great Britain; suppose it had undertaken to introduce immediate measures for the amelioration of the state of the slaves, with a view to the ultimate abolition of slavery, how would it be possible for this country to take care that the measures were carried into effect? It might be well to obtain treaties, and to procure the insertion in them of articles in themselves adequate to the end; but how could Great Britain make sure that the articles would be observed? Were they to leave it to the Brazilian Government to take measures for the suppression of the slave-trade? Did they suppose that the Brazilian Government would carry into effect that which we had not been able to do with all our exertions, with our armed steamers, with our cruisers, with all our means? We had failed in doing that, and would we then trust it to the Brazilian Government, and expect that they would carry it into effect? Was there seriously any intention of such a proceeding? Would they propose to send protectors of slaves to be established throughout the Brazils? Were there to be a minister and consul for the purpose of constantly hearing complaints in Brazil on the subject of slavery, and carrying them to the Government of Brazil? Would they propose to adopt a system so much calculated as that must be to promote quarrels and hostility, and bad feeling towards England? (Hear, hear.) Would that course, he asked, be called one that was at all likely to lead to an increase of the popularity of England in Brazil? (Hear, hear.) But he would put a case to illustrate that. When we had in operation the system of slavery in the West Indies, would it be permitted that a foreign country should become protectors of that population, and by treaty give them a right to do so? Would it be permitted that they should have such privilege secured by treaty, and that they could constantly make representations to their Government, and complain of us that we had broken faith when we refused to do as they should ask? (Hear, hear.) So strongly did he (Mr. Baring) feel on the subject, that he believed, if such a treaty were entered into on our part as gave such a right of interference when slavery existed in our West India colonies, it would have had the effect of uniting one of the most powerful feelings, namely, national pride, with slavery, and postponed for a considerable time, instead of advancing, its total abolition. (Hear, hear.)

Sir ROBERT PEEL said that the hon. member (Mr. M. Gibson) had stated that the Anti-Slavery Association was adverse to the continuance of the system of armed intervention, and that they did not wish to see exertions made to put down the slave-trade by armed steamers, nor did they think that such means would have the effect of suppressing it.

Mr. M. GIBSON.—Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT PEEL thought he should have heard that argument used, and that, if it were used, it would be heard from the hon. member for Manchester. Now, in answer to that statement of the hon. member, he (Sir Robert Peel) would read a document which he had received from the Anti-Slavery Society within a month. It was dated February 9th, 1844, and was as follows: "The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society deem it their duty at the present moment to lay before you their sentiments in relation to a subject intimately connected with the great object of their pursuit—the extinction of slavery, and the consequent cessation of the slave-trade throughout the world." (Hear.) He was perfectly ready to admit that a part of this communication confirmed the statement of the honourable gentleman, that the Society was not in favour of armed means to suppress slavery, and he would read the passage which bore upon it: "As for armed intervention and treaty stipulations, all experience shows that, without having effected, and without holding forth any promise of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade, they immeasurably aggravated its ferocity and destructiveness." (Hear, hear.) "Under the influence of these considerations," it went on, "the Committee present their earnest and definite request to you, Sir Robert

Peel, as the head of her Majesty's Government, that a measure may be prepared for admitting free-grown produce from all parts of the world into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions." (Hear, hear.) It concluded by saying, "In any event, however, the Committee but desire that no relaxation of existing duties on the produce of slave labour shall be allowed. It is enough—the Committee think it is far too much—that Great Britain now does, by her unparalleled commerce, to sustain and foster this gigantic evil, and it is time that her course was in the opposite direction; but, at all events, it may be hoped that this country will be spared the dishonour, and the world the misery, of any further aggravation of this horrible system by such means." Now, that was from the Anti-Slavery Society, which the honourable member said were too wise to approve of differential duties between sugar which was the produce of free labour, and that which was produced by slave labour. (Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. M. GIBSON.—I do not believe that Committee represents the Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir R. PEEL said the honourable member left the impression on the House of Commons that the Anti-Slavery Society were opposed to the discriminating duty as a means of suppressing the slave-trade; and with respect to the fact of this committee representing the Anti-Slavery Society, he could only say that the communication which he received bore the venerable name of Thomas Clarkson, (hear, hear,) and he (Sir Robert Peel) doubted whether the Anti-Slavery Society would disavow the sentiments expressed by him upon the part of that society. He (Sir Robert Peel) did not mean to say that those opinions ought to be binding on the legislature; he did not attach to them more weight than they deserved; but he protested against the honourable member for Manchester using the name of the Anti-Slavery Society in support of his arguments, when he (Sir Robert Peel) showed that they entertained opinions altogether different, and opposed to him. (Ministerial cheers.) In the present state of our relations, he felt it to be his duty to decline entering into any extended explanation. It was all very well for the hon. member for Durham to say there was no question but the interest of consumers—what would most tend to cheapen the price of sugar; but he (Sir Robert Peel) doubted whether that was the most economical view to take of the question; he doubted whether, with the colonial empire we had, if we chose to disregard every consideration—if we were reckless of all consequences, and supposing the course hon. gentlemen opposite wanted to pursue were to involve those colonies in difficulty, distress, and anarchy—he doubted whether we should release ourselves from the moral obligation our present position imposed, and whether we should find that we were consulting thorough economy, supposing their measures were carried. (Hear, hear.) That, however, opened a great question, which would not be solved by saying the interest of the consumer alone was to be attended to, and every other interest disregarded. If the principle of the hon. member for Durham was good, they ought to have made no effort for the extinction of slavery; it ought rather to be revived; for he would prove that, if they revived slavery in our colonial possessions, they would have cheaper sugar. (Loud cries of "Hear.") If cheapness of sugar, then, was the only question to be considered, they need not incur an immense expense for suppressing the slave-trade. When slavery existed, the produce of our West India colonies was greater than at present, and sugar was cheaper than at present; and they were enabled not only to supply this country, but we had a surplus for exportation—(hear, hear)—and if the interest of the consumer and the cheapness of that product alone were to be attended to, it was an impeachment of every act by which they attempted to mitigate the horrors of slavery—it was an impeachment of every expense they would now incur for the purpose of preventing it. (Hear, hear, hear.) They (the Government) were about to adopt a new, and he hoped more effectual plan for the extinction of slavery. They admitted, with the Anti-Slavery Society, that their efforts hitherto had been unavailing—that it was impossible to prevent the importation of slaves into the Brazils. Whatever force they might station on that coast, it was difficult to prevent the landing by thousands, and tens of thousands, of slaves. The local authorities of the country would connive at the traffic—self-interest was too powerful, and the treaties were not fairly executed. (Hear, hear.) It had been suggested to the Government by Captain Denman, an officer well acquainted with the coast of Africa, and whose exertions in the suppression of the slave-trade were entitled to the thanks of every philanthropist—(hear, hear)—it had been suggested to them by him that, without an increase of their force, they might act much more efficiently in the suppression of the slave-trade than they did now. He proposed to establish a blockade of the whole of that part of the western coast of Africa from which slaves could be taken—that they should keep a constant guard on that coast—and he and the naval authorities with whom they had consulted concurred in giving it as their opinion that, by withdrawing from the West Indies and the coast of Brazil a considerable portion of the force now employed there for the suppression of the slave-trade, and employing on the coast of Africa steamers at the mouths of the rivers, and to visit every part of the station for 600 or 700 miles, they would be more successful in the suppression of the slave-trade, and the prevention altogether of the evils and horrors of the passage. (Hear, hear.) They were about to try that experiment, and God grant that it might succeed! (Loud cheers.) But if the hon. gentleman's doctrine was correct that the reduction of 1d. in the price of sugar is the thing to be aimed at by the legislature, they were not justified in making that experiment; they were not justified in taxing the people of England for the purpose of putting down the slave-trade, but they should rather encourage it to reduce the price of sugar. (Hear, hear.) But he trusted the House of Commons would be influenced by more high and honourable motives than those expressed by the hon. member for Durham—(loud cheers from the ministerial benches)—and looking at the course which had been pursued, the sacrifices which had been made, looking at the grant of twenty millions for the purpose of abolishing slavery in our dominions, he did trust the House of Commons would not be prepared to follow in the wake of the hon. gentleman, and admit the proposition that every shilling which had been expended in mitigating a great moral evil had not been justified, and that we ought to have looked at no other consideration than what was the price of sugar to the consumer. (Loud cheers.) There was a time when the members of that persuasion to which the hon. gentleman belonged—(loud cheers, in which

the remainder of the sentence was lost)—and whatever their sentiments might be now, he would say, that to the honour of that persuasion, he knew when the members of it would to a man have disclaimed the hon. gentleman's doctrine, that we ought to be indifferent to the evils of slavery—to regard the price of sugar. (Loud cheers.) Last year the legislature passed an act prohibiting the employment of British capital for the purpose of producing articles in which slave labour was concerned. It passed an act preventing the British subject so employing his capital from recovering any debt that might be due to him. As he had said before, they were now about to make a great experiment for the purpose of preventing the exportation of slaves from Africa. If they were prepared at once to admit Brazilian sugar into consumption in this country, his belief was that they might pass what laws they pleased as to the employment of British capital, but they would have caused a great aggravation of the evils of slavery. The right hon. gentleman said, that it was impossible in negotiations or conventions to have a guarantee that the Brazilian Government would observe them. He asked whether there was to be a constant interference with the municipal institutions of another country? He (Sir Robert Peel) thought that much might be done towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, supposing the Brazilian Government consented that after a certain day all the children of negroes born in the Brazils should be free; and supposing they also consented that some means should be taken for the purpose of insuring that privilege to those actually born—supposing the conditions of our treaty depended on that, surely it was possible to conceive means by which they might ultimately effect the extinction of slavery, without that constant and vexatious interference in the domestic affairs of another country, which he admitted, with the right hon. gentleman, was open to much objection.

Lord PALMERSTON said, if the Government were as sincere in their desire to suppress slavery as he was persuaded the hon. member for Durham was, its extinction would soon be effected. The right hon. baronet had been pleased to pay a compliment to his (Lord Palmerston's) right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon his ability in framing the estimates; and he was sure the compliment might be well returned by his right hon. friend, because his right hon. friend, he was sure, could not compete with the right hon. baronet; but to return to the question. As he had before said, it had been put on very narrow ground, because all those hon. members who had spoken from the treasury benches had abandoned the financial part of it. The right hon. baronet said that the consumption of sugar might be greater in one year than in another; but even the right hon. baronet had not contended that the supply from our colonies was as great as the consumption of the country demanded, and as great as it would be if more facility were given for the exchange of foreign sugar for British commodities, by which the trade of the country and the comforts of the lower classes would be greatly extended. This was a position advanced by his hon. friends, and it would be taken for granted that he was not going to add anything to the conclusive arguments which had been advanced by them. But the question had been reduced to a question of negotiation. He stated on a former evening, that in the speech from the throne, in the beginning of 1842, the Government had announced (departing from the usual custom by which negotiations are adverted to, unless they are terminated by treaties) that they were negotiating with several powers, and they trusted those negotiations would end in an arrangement that would tend to increase the commerce of the country. He (Lord Palmerston) stated that they had never heard with what powers those negotiations had been carried on, or what had been the result thereof; but it appeared that this was one of those negotiations; and he should certainly like to hear, on a fitting opportunity, what the others were. This surely had not been conducted either with great success or dexterity. The right hon. gentleman who had answered his right honourable friend, at once, as it appeared to him, threw over as disadvantageous those treaties which were termed tariff negotiations. He seemed to acquiesce in the decision of his right honourable friend that such arrangements were difficult of accomplishment, and it was better to confine ourselves to more general treaties. It was stated that the Government of the Brazils had made some very unreasonable proposals. He (Lord Palmerston) thought that the proposals stated by the right hon. gentleman were unreasonable terms, and such as the Government were right in not accepting; but if the late Government had been allowed to go into a negotiation with the Brazils in 1841, upon the footing on which the Government of that day meant to negotiate and proposed to the House to negotiate, he thought it was not assuming too much to say that they should have negotiated on much better terms, as they would have found the Brazilian Government more ready for entering into a treaty than they were now, after so long a delay. Then the treaty had three years to run; but the Brazilian Government knew now that it would expire in November next, and they were more likely to have negotiated on reasonable terms then, than they would be now. He could only say that they could not go into any details with the Brazilian minister; but as far as he had been guided from the conversation he had had with that minister, the latter dwelt much on the hardship that the Brazilians felt from the high duties levied on their commodities, and if we felt disposed to grant a fair reduction of those duties, there was every disposition on their part at that time to enter into a fair treaty; but when last this question was discussed, the representative of that Government, as far as he (Lord Palmerston) could understand him, regarded it as a question as to the abolition of slavery. It was then represented by the right hon. gentleman that it would be highly improper to admit sugar the produce of slave labour; but now they shifted their ground, and it was not the abolition of slavery, but the suppression of the slave-trade, at which they aimed. He was willing to meet them on that ground. What that might indicate as to their future measures he would not inquire: if it was to be a step towards the relaxation of the restrictions on trade, he should be glad; they did not state what their intentions were, but perhaps those who had heard them might be able to form some shrewd guess on the subject. As to the proposition that the Government of Brazil should enact some municipal law which should have the effect of improving the present condition of the slave, and should also lay the foundation for his future emancipation—he would suppose the Brazilian Government had agreed to those terms—what would be the effect of this upon the slave-trade? Their argument was, that if Brazilian-grown sugar was imported

into this country, the increased demand would give encouragement to extended cultivation, which could only be carried on by a greater importation of slaves, and thus a stimulus would be given to the slave-trade. He would admit that if they could abolish the condition of slavery, it would be productive of the best results; but supposing the Brazilian Government would agree to that, within what period did the house imagine that it would have any sensible effect? Within the whole interval between that time and some remote period when slavery should be abolished in Brazil, would there not have been annually an enormous increase in the importation of slaves for the extension of sugar cultivation? Therefore, he said, on their own showing, the proposition was absurd. He was supposing that the Brazilians had not only agreed to the proposal, but had executed it *bond fide*; but what right had they to suppose that? What was their argument about the slave-trade? They said they had by treaty from the Brazilian Government, with regard to the slave-trade, almost every condition that they could ask for its suppression. The first article of the treaty of 1826 between this country and the Brazilian Government for the suppression of the slave-trade, said that from that time it should not be lawful for any Brazilian subject to engage in the slave-trade, and that any Brazilian subject being so engaged should be deemed and treated as having been guilty of piracy. He would not enter upon a consideration of the observations made by the right hon. baronet as to the advantages which would result from the right of search, but he (Lord Palmerston) would ask if the Brazilian Government had performed the engagements they had entered into with this country, could any reasonable man believe that the Brazilian slave-trade would not long ago have ceased? If the Brazilian Government had dealt with the Brazilian slave-trade as piracy, it was childish to suppose that it would not long since have been put down. If the Brazilian Government violated their engagements in this way, could there be any reliance placed on any local arrangements for the administration of Brazilian law for the suppression of the slave-trade, from which the right hon. baronet seemed to suppose such advantages would result? One of the conditions of the treaty which he had just referred to was, that the slaves captured on board those ships, and taken into Rio Janeiro, and condemned by the court of mixed commission, should be free. Had this condition been fulfilled? It was notorious to all the world, that thousands of slaves thus emancipated by the mixed commission at Rio Janeiro, and whom the Brazilian Government was bound by treaty to protect and maintain in a state of freedom, were as much slaves as those furtively introduced into the Brazils. Therefore, when the Government stated, as an objection to letting in Brazilian sugar, that by so doing it would be lending encouragement to the slave-trade, he said that such a ground of objection was utterly valueless, and was a mere pretence set up for refusing to let Brazilian sugar come into the markets of this country, and was one which any reasonable man should treat with scorn and ridicule. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that with all this apparent zeal against the slave-trade and slavery, the real reason and ground of objection was to favour those who were the active supporters of the Government (cheers); it was to obtain and secure the support of the West India interest, which was the real ground of objection to the relaxation of trade which this admission of foreign sugar would produce. (Hear, hear.)

The House then divided. The numbers were—

For the motion	• • • • •	132
Against it	• • • • •	205
Majority against the motion	• • •	73

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE EXTRADITION CLAUSE.—If anything was wanting to confirm the suspicions of the abolitionists both of England and America, that the 10th article of the Ashburton treaty was agreed to by the slaveholders in the hope that it could be made available for the recovery of their fugitive slaves from the British dominions, the effect of the very first case that has occurred under it, where coloured persons are concerned, will furnish that proof. We hope it will be found that the venerable Thomas Clarkson is yet alive to see this elucidation of the correctness of his judgment, and the reward of his fidelity in making such efforts as he did to defeat this infamous design. On Tuesday, Mr. Benton, Senator from Missouri, offered the following resolutions, the second of which was adopted, and the first, on his suggestion, was deferred until the information shall have been received. They refer, of course, to the Florida fugitives.

Resolved.—As the opinion of the Senate, that the President of the United States ought to give notice to the Government of Great Britain for the immediate termination of the tenth article of the treaty of 1842, being the article for the surrender of fugitive criminals.

Resolved.—That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate the information, if any, which may be in the Department of State, in relation to the escape of slaves committing crimes, and escaping to the British dominions since the ratification of the treaty of 1842, and the refusal of the British authorities to give them up. Also, that he communicate to the Senate the information, if any such is possessed by him, of the construction which the British Government puts upon the said article in its relation to slaves committing crimes in the United States and taking refuge in the British dominions."

The coincidence of these two resolutions will be quite instructive to English statesmen, and, we hope, will serve to put them on their guard against the underhand movements of the slaveholders. They will also learn to respect the sagacity of the Anti-Slavery Committee, headed by the venerable Clarkson, when they point out to them dangers and deceipts as yet unimagined in European diplomacy.—*Emancipator*.

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 LANCKLOT 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, March 20, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXIII. VOL. V.—No. 7.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3RD, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

The course which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have deemed it their duty to pursue in relation to the question of reducing the duty on slave-grown sugar, has become the occasion of a Circular, which has been issued by some valued supporters of the Anti-slavery cause, and which will doubtless engage much of the attention of its friends at large. It is as follows:—

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO, AND TO ALL WHO WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN PROCURING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

We, whose names are affixed to this document, believe it due, no less to the great cause of universal freedom and justice, than to our own character, to submit to the friends of the negro race, and to all those with whom we have been accustomed to unite in anti-slavery efforts, the following statement of the reasons which have induced us to dissent from the proceedings of the London Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society in reference to the question of introducing foreign sugars into this country.

It will be in the recollection of most of you, that in the year 1841 a proposition was submitted to Parliament to reduce the prohibitory duty on foreign sugars, and to admit them for consumption in this country. This proposition met with a most violent opposition from all those who supposed their interests would suffer by the abolition or curtailment of the monopoly of the British market possessed by the Colonial sugar-growers; and the London Anti-slavery Committee, in pursuance of what they deemed their duty to their constituents, and in furtherance of what they judged to be the interests of the great principles they are appointed to defend, memorialized the Government against any relaxation of the duties upon slave-grown sugar.

By their influence, united with that of the British sugar-grower, the proposed measure of relaxation was successfully resisted.

Very serious consequences have resulted from the course which the Committee have taken. In the first place, a schism has been created in the ranks of the anti-slavery friends in this country. The London Committee acted without the consent or approval of many of the most influential provincial associations, several of which immediately protested against the course taken.

Amongst these, we believe, were the associations at Kendal, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Devizes, Hitchin, and Glasgow; and there are good grounds for believing that great doubt was entertained by many others of the wisdom of the step taken by the London Committee.

As an inevitable result of this, it may be stated that the London Committee has not since so fully enjoyed the confidence of the anti-slavery public as is necessary for the successful prosecution of its labours.

We are anxious to submit to your candid consideration our objections to the course taken by the London Committee.

In the first place, we are conscientiously opposed to the means resorted to for effecting its object, as involving an infringement of the sacred rights of justice, and requiring for its successful accomplishment the use of physical force.

And, secondly, we are of opinion that the righteous object sought to be obtained by the Committee will not by their plan of operations be achieved, but that to persevere in the use of such means will greatly tend to injure the anti-slavery cause.

In considering the first objection, it is of importance to ask—Who are the men who object to our receiving slave-grown sugar? Not the poor, but a small, very small minority of the more comfortable or richer classes. It is a few of these who have conscientious scruples against permitting slave-grown sugar to come into consumption in this country; and for the sake of these scruples, in which the millions do not participate, the latter are condemned to give up to a great extent the use of sugar. Our own colonies produce enough to supply those who can pay the high price they charge for their sugar, and these, consequently, get enough; but the poor go without, to satisfy the scruples of those who, under any circumstances, know nothing of scarcity. We feel constrained to put it to the latter, whether their conscientious scruples ought to impose sacrifices upon their poorer countrymen, who do not partake of their scruples?

To us it appears more just to permit importation freely; and then, where conscience forbids the use of slave produce, to indulge only in the consumption of that which is grown by free labour.

To doom millions to involuntary abstinence and suffering, because a few, and an almost imperceptible fraction, of the people have honest objections against the use of slave-grown sugar, appears to us to be the subjecting of one man's clearest natural right to the arbitrary decision of another man's conscience, and wholly indefensible on any ground, social, political, or religious.

And we may here observe, that the plan of action laid down at

the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society recognized only such means as were consistent with moral, peaceable, and Christian principles: all other measures are expressly excluded. The application to Government to interfere by fiscal regulations is one which can only be successful by a violation of those great principles. If the legislature maintain a prohibition against foreign sugar, how does it maintain it? Clearly, not by the voluntary co-operation of the consumers of sugar in this country, but by a preventive force of revenue cruisers and armed blockade men. No man will assert that, if government force were removed, Brazilian and other foreign sugar would not come freely into the British market.

The few who have any scruples against using it are as nothing amongst the twenty-seven millions of our population, and the great bulk of the people are, beyond a doubt, anxious to be supplied with a larger quantity of sugar. To maintain this fiscal regulation and prohibition, *force* is absolutely necessary; and, in demanding such prohibition at the hands of Government, the London Committee virtually demands the employment of force. And what has experience taught us are the benefits of the employment of *force* to put down slavery? The ships of war on the coast of Africa have done little, perhaps nothing, to suppress the slave trade; but they have done much to increase its horrors, and to add to the tortures of the unhappy Africans, whom cupidity has snatched from their native land. All employment of *force*, thus far, has proved useless, and worse than useless; and it is time the friends of the negro exhibited more confidence in the great Christian principles upon which alone their movement should be based, and by the progress of which alone it can ever triumph.

Having thus briefly stated our reasons for believing that the London Committee, in calling in the aid of coercive Government measures, has unconsciously adopted a course involving principles of action at variance with justice and humanity, let us, in the second place, consider its probable effects upon the great and holy cause in which we are all equally interested.

Let us direct our attention more particularly to the Brazilian Empire, where slavery and the slave trade are maintained in connexion with the cultivation of sugar to a larger extent probably than in all the world besides. The circumstances of the Brazilian Empire are such as to make it impossible that any Emperor or statesman of that country can, of his own will, at once destroy a system so long existing, and so interwoven with the habits, feelings, prejudices, institutions, and fancied interests of the people.

Slavery in the Brazils can only be abolished in one of two ways: by social convulsion and violent revolution; or by a change in public opinion on the question itself. The first mode all good men would dread; for what can be more terrible than the uprising of an ignorant and exasperated slave population, spreading horror, and crime, and devastation, not surpassed even by the terrors of slavery itself? The second mode is the only one to be hoped for, and that can never be brought about by aggravating distinctions in our commercial code.

English anti-slavery opinion may operate powerfully upon Brazilian slavery opinion. But, to act at all, it must not only exist, it must have a medium through which it can act. The more our intercourse with the Brazils is encouraged, the more powerfully will our opinions act upon their opinions, and the more likely shall we be to urge them to a wiser policy. Offer them advice in a hostile shape, send it to them on the bayonet's point, or in a vexatious and injurious tariff, and it is rejected with feelings of exasperation and contempt; but convey it in kindly terms, through the channel of trade and of mutual dependence, and it will come attended with all the circumstances which can give inducement to its cordial acceptance.

So long as our interference with the institutions of Brazil is confined to the benevolent exertions of individuals, or of Anti-slavery Societies, we may hope to find a sympathetic response from the philanthropists in that country; but the moment we call in the aid of Government the spirit of nationality is roused, and the Brazilians are excited by their pro-slavery party to view with suspicion and jealousy such an attack upon their independence. If we would fully estimate the injurious tendency of this policy, let us suppose that, at the time when slavery existed in the British dominions, the Government of Russia had threatened, through its diplomatists, to coerce us into an act of justice to our negro population; would that have aided the efforts of our abolitionists? On the contrary, would it not have afforded the best possible opportunity to our West India interest for an appeal to the patriotism of the English people to resist the menaces of foreigners; and would not the question of slavery have been lost in the indignation excited against the arrogant dictation of Russia?

That similar passions are fostered in foreign slave states by our diplomatic intervention in their affairs, is shown by the correspondence upon the subject of slavery between our Government and that

of Spain, by the debates in the legislatures of Brazil and of the United States, and by the newspaper press of those countries.

But there is another, and perhaps still more forcible, objection to our calling on Government to resort to fiscal restrictions for coercing foreign countries into the suppression of slavery.

This policy is maintained by our statesmen upon the plea that the free-labour sugar of our colonies cannot compete in price with the produce of slaves.

This is their avowed motive for excluding Brazilian sugar from consumption in this country; and it has naturally imparted the colour of selfishness to their policy, and has led foreigners to regard the anti-slavery arguments which they have borrowed for the occasion from the London Committee as mere pretences for upholding the interests of the West India monopolists, upon whose support the Government of the day depends to some extent for its existence. This has given to the slave-owner in Brazil and elsewhere the power of appealing to the selfishness of the consumers of sugar, by pointing to the effects of emancipation in England, and saying to their countrymen, "Behold the failure of the great experiment of abolition! The advocates of freedom for the slave promised the British people that free labour should be found cheaper than slave labour, and now they are made to pay for that sugar double the price at which you are supplied by us."

Nothing has, probably, been more fatal to the interests of freedom than the assumption, in our opinion utterly unfounded, that the labour of slaves is cheaper than that of freemen. It has arrayed the consumer of tropical productions against the cause we have at heart, and thus placed the most powerful barrier—man's interest and selfishness—in the path of negro emancipation.

We entreat your earnest attention to this point, upon the solution of which depends, in a great degree, the triumph or failure of your efforts to abolish slavery throughout the world.

Let it be premised, and always carefully borne in mind, that *our fiscal laws exclude all foreign sugars, whether the produce of freemen or slaves; that the present virtually prohibitory duty was imposed prior to the emancipation of our slaves, and that it was imposed, not for the purpose (now avowed) of excluding slave-grown produce, but to secure a monopoly of this market to the then slave-owners of our own colonies.*

The question at issue is not, therefore, as has been systematically made to appear, whether, with open ports to all sugars at the same duty, the West Indians could now compete in this market with the Brazilians, but whether free labour in any part of the world is cheaper than the labour of slaves. We are by no means prepared to admit that even the free population of the West India islands are incompetent, with a more wise application of capital and labour, to produce sugar as cheaply as the Brazilian planter. Our colonists have long enjoyed a monopoly of the English market. We all know the blighting effects of monopoly upon skill, enterprise, and improvement, and nowhere has its withering influence been more fatally felt than in the colonies of Great Britain. To pretend to decide what may be done by the West Indians in future, under the stimulus of free trade, from the experience of the past, would be to disregard that chief incentive to all improvement—competition. Already, under the apprehension only of the possible loss of their monopoly, they have entered upon the march of improvement. By a late arrival, the Governor of Jamaica has given us the gratifying assurance that, by the adoption of improved modes of cultivation, such as the use of the plough, &c., fifty per cent. more produce may be raised—a mere foretaste, as we believe, of that which future efforts will accomplish. But the question really at issue is, whether slave labour may not be rendered unprofitable, if subjected to competition with free labour under the most favourable circumstances. It was the well-known opinion of that benevolent and intelligent man, the late James Cropper, that, if sugar were cultivated in the East, it would be the means of abolishing slavery in the West. The rapid increase which has lately taken place in the cultivation of the sugar-cane in our Eastern possessions tends to corroborate that opinion.

But, as the sugar of the East Indies enjoys the same monopoly of our market as that of the West Indies, the experiment has yet to be tried in competition with the produce of Brazil; nor can it be fairly tried, until the sugar of the world is admitted into this country at one uniform duty.

In many parts of the East the wages of labour do not exceed 1½d. or 2d. per day, less than one half of the lowest estimate we have ever heard of the daily cost of a slave in Cuba or Brazil. Admit then, we say, the sugar of China, Siam, Java, Cochin China, and Manilla, as well as of the Western Islands, Peru, and every other country, into fair and equal competition with the produce of Brazil, and let it be seen whether we cannot destroy slavery by underselling it. Let this be done, in the full faith that Divine Providence has ordained that the greatest abundance and cheapness of his bounties shall be the reward of those who "do unto others as they would that others should do unto them;" and, with His blessing, the evil of slavery shall be for ever destroyed, by the most peaceful, safe, and effectual method of rendering it no longer profitable to wicked men to enslave and oppress their fellow-creatures. By this course we shall free ourselves in the eyes of the world from the imputation of selfishness, and no longer be suspected by the slave-owning communities as the supporters of monopoly in the West Indies.

We have thus endeavoured briefly to convey to you the principal grounds of our dissent from the course taken by our friends and coadjutors in the anti-slavery cause; and we fervently hope that they may be induced to reconsider their opinion and retrace their

steps. We cannot express the pain we have felt when we have viewed the course taken by the executive committee of a society whose object is so noble as that of promoting the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

We have seen this policy, begun we believe in error, persevered in with a pertinacity wholly unaccountable. We have heard it advanced as a powerful and conclusive argument by men in the Legislature of our country, who in former years were known only as the determined friends of slavery in its worst form.

We have perceived its effect upon the public mind, and the mode in which it has impaired the influence of the once powerful creators and directors of British anti-slavery opinion; we have observed with regret the secession of many associations whose co-operation and exertions had done so much to secure the triumph of justice in our own colonies; and, seeing all this, and feeling deeply concerned on account of it, we are constrained to attempt the restoration of British anti-slavery effort to the better position it enjoyed before this almost fatal error was committed.

SIR.—We, the undersigned, having been appointed by those Members of the Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in June, 1843, who disapproved of the steps taken by certain Members of the London Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, in opposing the introduction of foreign sugar on the same terms as the produce of our own colonies, beg to call your attention to the accompanying Address. Should the sentiments therein contained meet your approval, we shall feel obliged by your permission to affix your name to it, in addition to our own signatures. The discussion on the Sugar Duties, which is to come on during the present session, renders it of peculiar importance that we should remove the impression made upon the House of Commons by the recent assertion of Sir Robert Peel, that the Anti-Slavery Society is in favour of the existing monopoly; by which assertion, we are made instrumental in depriving the people of England of the great advantage of cheap sugar.

THOMAS SPENCER,
W. T. BLAIR,
G. W. ANSTIE.

Please to send a reply before the 1st of April, to Rev. T. Spencer, Hinton, near Bath.

The issuing of this circular has given rise to a reply from Mr. Sturge, after the following tenor:—

To THOMAS SPENCER, WILLIAM T. BLAIR, AND GEORGE W. ANSTIE.

Edgbaston, Birmingham, 3rd Month, 23rd, 1844.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I have this week received a note from you, accompanying a circular addressed "To the friends of the Negro, and to all who were instrumental in procuring the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies." I have read both with surprise and pain. My entire confidence in your fairness and candour compels me to conclude, that you would not have given the sanction of your names to documents so full of injustice to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, had you compared the statements with the facts on which they profess to proceed.

The case stands thus:—The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was established in the spring of 1839. It originated in a conference held in London, to which every gentleman known to have taken an active part in the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was invited. The following was unanimously adopted by the conference, as a fundamental principle of action:—

"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."

And as a leading means of obtaining this object, it was also unanimously resolved,

"To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour."

To carry out these views the committee accepted their appointment. That committee resolved to convene an anti-slavery convention in 1840, to which they invited abolition delegates from various parts of the world. The attendance at that convention exceeded their most sanguine expectations; and not only was there no objection then raised to the constitution of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but, during its sittings, a motion having been introduced into the House of Commons for the reduction of the duty on slave-grown sugar, the Convention, in reference to that motion, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave trade, this Convention is of the judgment that the British Government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view."

In the spring of 1841 it was supposed that a similar measure was contemplated by Government; and the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society presented a memorial to Lord Mel bourne on the 2nd of April, urging the continued exclusion of slave-grown produce, but at the same time advocating the unrestricted admission of foreign sugars raised by free labour. These facts were before the public for a considerable time, but not a single objection was raised, until the sugar duties became part of a question on which the existence of the Whig government was staked. The subject

was also mixed up with the general question of free trade, and then for the first time the proceedings of the Committee were called in question. They were censured by many of their country friends, but vindicated themselves by a statement of the foregoing and other facts, published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of May 19th, 1841.

However you may have altered your opinion as to the principle on which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is founded, you must admit that the Committee of that Society, so far from being the cause of a schism in the Anti-Slavery ranks, have acted in strict accordance with the duty imposed upon them by the constitution of the Society, and the resolution of the Convention of 1840. They have only been able to ascertain that four Anti-Slavery Associations, out of the large number existing in Great Britain and Ireland, have ever intimated their dissent from the views entertained by the Committee on the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into the British markets. One of these, that of Birmingham, has reviewed the subject, and returned to the ground taken by the London Committee. In reference to another, that of Liverpool, though there was a large majority of its Committee, no doubt, in favour of your view, yet several of the minority sent the London Committee letters of protest against the course taken by the majority. On the other hand, the conduct of the Committee was fully approved by many local associations.

In the documents you have just circulated, permit me to say, an incorrect impression is conveyed in the statement that the Committee are "opposed to the introduction of foreign sugar on the same terms as the produce of our own colonies." So far from this, they have uniformly and strenuously advocated the introduction of sugar from all parts of the world into the British market, provided it were the produce of *free* and not of *slave* labour. This fact is proved by every document issued by the Committee on the subject, including the one read by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, on the evening of the 7th instant.

A second Convention was held in 1843, constituted, like the former, of delegates from anti-slavery bodies in this and other countries. If any doubt had existed of the conduct of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having secured the confidence of the anti-slavery public, that doubt must have been dispelled by the large and influential character of the assembly which, at their invitation, met on that occasion.

Though I do not admit that the soundness of great principles is to be tested by the number or station of their supporters, yet the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society might appeal to the support they have received, in confirmation of the inaccuracy of your statement that they have paralyzed their influence by the course they have pursued. Not only have two Conventions met, at the invitation of the Committee, which might fairly be said to include a representation of the anti-slavery feeling of the civilized world, but the Committee have been annually and unanimously appointed to their office by public meetings at Exeter-hall, which will at least bear comparison with any others for benevolent objects. At that held shortly after the formation of the African Civilization Society, from which we dissent on vital points, the Duke of Sussex presided, the Ambassador, now the Prime Minister, of France took part in the proceedings, and there were present not only the venerable Thomas Clarkson, and the leading abolitionists from different parts of the United Kingdom, but such an assembly of the friends of the cause from different parts of the world as had never met on any former occasion.

In anticipating the possibility of an immediate abolition of slavery, I am grieved at your expression of an apprehension of the "uprising of an ignorant and exasperated slave-population, spreading horror, and crime, and devastation, not surpassed even by the terrors of slavery itself." Such language, you will recollect, was used by the supporters of slavery in the British colonies against the advocates of immediate emancipation, and by such groundless fears I believe the attainment of our object was very greatly retarded.

You assert that the course pursued by the Society involves a violation of the pacific principles on which it is based. I cannot admit this, although most decidedly of the opinion that the suppression of the slave-trade by armed cruisers is alike ineffectual and inconsistent with Christian principle. I have yet to learn, that fiscal regulations to prevent the sale of stolen property require to be enforced by the sacrifice of human life.

I also maintain, that the unrequited toil of the slave is at the outset a violation of every principle of free trade.

Those who have advocated the cheapness of free over slave labour—the circumstances being equal—have ever admitted that the slave-dealer, by seizing on rich virgin soil, and by an unsparing waste of human life in its cultivation, may for a time obtain larger returns than can be secured by labour without coercion.

Past experience assures me that I should be doing injustice to the working classes of this country, did I believe that, if they knew half the misery occasioned by the use of sugar supplied by the slave-trade and slavery, they would wish to consume it at any reduction of price.

I entirely dissent from the opinion that our moral influence can be beneficial to slaveholders, if we participate in their crimes. It is well known that a large part of the produce now shipped from the Brazils and Cuba to the bonded warehouses in England, is to meet bills drawn at long dates, for goods which have been sent from this country to Havana and Rio Janeiro, to be shipped from thence in barter for slaves; and the recent trial of Zulueta

has proved that the slave-trade is mainly sustained by British capital.

As a further illustration of this, I may mention that I was told by a gentleman largely concerned in the manufactures of this country, and on whose veracity I can fully rely, that, in passing through the establishment of a friend of his (a Member of Parliament), he observed an article known to be prepared for barter for slaves, and remarked to him, "I see you are in the slave-trade." This he admitted, and confirmed the fact by saying, that his house had lately made a bad debt of considerable amount in consequence of the capture of a slaver by our cruisers, on the sale of whose human cargo the payment of the money depended. I would appeal to your candid opinion, as to what would be the moral effect of adopting a course which would inevitably lead to the increase of similar transactions to an unlimited extent, and in the guilt of which Englishmen would be not only individually but nationally involved.

In conclusion, I fully admit that it is far less important to show that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have acted consistently with the principles laid down for their guidance, than to prove that these principles are correct. We shall all agree that a right decision upon this question must have a powerful influence for good or evil on the cause of emancipation throughout the world, and I would earnestly implore you, and every other true friend of the slave, deeply and fully to consider the documents you have issued before you finally adopt their views.

I greatly regret that I should be opposed to the judgment of friends with whom, on so many subjects, I cordially unite; but you will give me credit for not having lightly come to the conclusion, that the stand taken by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee is based upon the immutable principles of truth, and that, in acting upon them, they are entitled to hope for the Divine blessing.

At the time this question was exciting much political interest in England, I was in the United States, and had an opportunity of calmly and deliberately reconsidering the opinion I had previously formed, uninfluenced by local circumstances; and the result was a firm conviction that the course you now recommend was calculated to rivet the chains of the unhappy victims of slavery for ages yet to come. I should be shrinking from what I consider an imperative duty, if I did not, at the present crisis, urge in the strongest terms the friends of the slave to unite for the removal of the restrictions upon the introduction of tropical productions, from every part of the world, which are not stained by the blood, or extorted from the uncompensated toil, of our fellow-creatures, instead of encouraging a policy which must have the effect of weakening the barriers which check the extension of the pollutions of this atrocious system in our own country. If Government would thus apply the power of England on the side of freedom, it would do more to terminate slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, and to raise the moral standard of Britain on this subject, than any measure yet adopted by the legislature.

I am, very sincerely and respectfully, your friend,
JOSEPH STURGE.

Mr. Sturge has favoured us with copies of some of the many letters which he has received, and we here insert them for the information of our readers.

3rd month 26th, 1844.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, JOSEPH STURGE,—I have received from thee a printed paper addressed to our respected late anti-slavery friends, Thomas Spencer, William T. Blair, and G. W. Anstie. I thank thee for it. I think I can concur in every position therein advanced against opening the British markets to slave-grown sugar.

The longer I consider this subject, the more I am satisfied with the course that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has taken. I see not only that the Committee is right, but where the free traders are wrong in reference to this question. They are untrue to their own principles; they do not carry them out. They call for free trade for the rich man, and not for the poor. They are loud for the wealthy ship-owners, the manufacturers, merchants, proprietors to have free markets; they are dumb respecting the poor man, whose only merchandize is his labour, the power of his muscles, his capacity to cultivate the cane. This is as much his article of commerce as the sugar and coffee are of the proprietors and capitalists, and ought to be (if they are consistent with themselves) equally regarded by the free traders. A true free trader must make the abolition of slavery the groundwork of the system. It is labour only, that most despised of all things, which gives value to all the rest, to every thing else; and not to insist upon a free market for labour, the liberty of its possessors to carry it and to offer it to whatever person he chooses as a purchaser, is to violate the very first principle of trade and commerce, and to render all that is erected upon it baseless. The free traders assert the free trade of the labourer in corn, but not in sugar. They weigh corn with the long arm, and sugar with the short arm of the steel-yard. They are the truly inconsistent. They have given up, yes, given up, the vantage-ground of truth to the Tories, and yet say they stand upon it themselves. While they profess to be abolitionists, they advocate the direct interests of slaveholders upon the very principle which alone induces them to become and continue slaveholders, namely, the permanent advantage of trading unrestricted by the limitations of Christian morals. In this thing the free trade advocates are the hypocrites, and not the Tories. I wish some WOMAN would shame them by writing a

book, like Elizabeth Heyrick's "Immediate, not gradual emancipation"—"Complete, not partial free trade."

It is painful to see the defection of the individuals whom thou hast addressed, who have rendered such valuable service to the cause of emancipation; yet it is a satisfaction to know that many have not been drawn away from their abolition principles, either by political party or political economy, and I am inclined to think that the Committee will rise morally into higher respect for the stand it now makes on this subject.

I am, &c.,

* * * *

To Joseph Sturge.

The Vicarage, Selsheat, Devizes, March 26, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with great attention the address signed by Messrs. Blair, Spencer, and my friend Anstie (with the latter of whom I have had some conversation), and I am anxious to inform you that I fully agree with the printed letter forwarded to me bearing your signature. I should be exceedingly sorry to see the friends of negro freedom stultify themselves, by consenting to a measure which would increase the slave trade and the miseries of the slave to an incalculable extent; and not only on that account, but because I believe that there would be great wickedness in sanctioning a principle which would go far to render nugatory, as an *example to the world*, our late act of emancipation. Was it for this that a Clarkson and a Wilberforce, and a host of abolitionists, spent their strength? Surely not; they had no intention of thus pulling down with one hand what they built up with the other. I am no political man; I interfere not with mere political questions; but here is one of humanity and Christian principle. Let the Government, if it think proper, cheapen our sugars by a total or partial remission of duty, and the sooner the better; but I trust the people of England have virtue enough to pay even a *higher price*, rather than the *blood of the slave should be mingled with it*; otherwise, we have our work to do over again. Pray make any use of my name in this matter as you may think proper, and believe me to remain an enemy to the introduction of slave-grown produce, and,

My dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. H. JOHNSON.

Joseph Sturge, Esq.

To THOMAS SPENCER, T. W. BLAIR, AND G. W. ANSTIE.

Newcastle-on Tyne, 3rd mo. 23, 1844.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—I have duly received your circular, with remarks upon the conduct of the Anti-slavery Committee; and, as you request a reply, I will offer to your consideration a few observations.

Having been deeply concerned for the success of the anti-slavery struggle for the long period of fifty years, and having been a diligent reader of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, of the editors of which publication I once heard William Knibb publicly assert that "they never err," and having also carefully read the late James Cropper's controversy with John Gladstone, with many other publications and speeches in parliament, &c., bearing on the principles of the great question so long at issue, I must candidly profess to you, that, in my judgment, if the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society had not remonstrated against any measure having for its avowed object the introduction of the sugars of Brazil, Cuba, &c., (being slave-grown produce,) for consumption in this kingdom, they would have neglected their duty in reference to the African slave-trade.

I cannot believe that many, if any, of the older abolitionists would have advocated such a measure, not even James Cropper, with all his large and comprehensive views of the benefits of free trade generally. He was, in my apprehension, a sound abolitionist, both of the slave-trade and slavery.

Had the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society pursued the opposite course, it would have been a suicidal act of policy, at variance with all their previous proceedings, and would, indeed, have gone far to lay waste their future efforts.

Believing that the use of tea, coffee, and sugar, not only contribute largely to the comfort of the poor in this country, but also that they have tended almost to eradicate some diseases which were very prevalent half a century ago—particularly the scurvy—(yet I do not wholly attribute the change to this cause, but partly also to the diminished use of salt provisions in winter, now rendered unnecessary by the large cultivation of turnips for the winter fodder of cattle)—and believing also that a very extended use of the above articles in lieu of intoxicating liquors would have a further beneficial effect, I cannot but advocate such a line of sound policy on the part of Government as would tend to reduce the price. But this should be done by encouraging the cultivation in both the West and East Indies, and by a further reduction of duty, both on tea and sugar. Nor would I object were the duties equalised, as to all sugar or coffee the *produce of free labour*. Nor would such a measure be likely materially to affect the amount of the revenue derived from these articles, were the duty on tea only 1s. per lb., and that on sugar 10s. per cwt. When the duty on coffee was reduced from 2s. 6d. to 8d. per lb., the effect in increasing the consumption was astonishing. I have no doubt but that, in twelve months after the change took place, it was nearly tenfold. This would be the more likely to be again the case, if the duty on both tea and sugar were to be reduced at the same time.

But let us no longer serve our own country, whether the rich or the poor, at the cost of hogsheads of African blood. After the sacrifices which the country has already made for the extinction of the slave trade and slavery, and after the exposition of the dreadful sufferings on board the slave ships, surely to promote an increase of this trade would be a sin of a deep die.

You must bear with me if I say that the reasoning in your circular appears to me very unsound in various respects. England does indeed admit slave-grown produce in the articles of cotton, indigo, rice, and tobacco, with some other articles of home consumption; but, if we are doing wrong in a few cases, let us not add to our crimes. But would it not be wise and consistent policy so to order the fiscal regulations, as that in all these cases free labour produce should at least have a decided preference?

The capabilities of the West India islands, especially the island of Jamaica, have never yet been fairly and fully developed. On the abolition, the females, I apprehend, very generally withdrew from sugar cultivation. Many of the men also were soon driven into free villages by the oppressive measures of the planters. But let a little time elapse, and there will be a rapid and accumulating increase of population; this, with the introduction of machinery, when brought to bear upon sugar cultivation, will be likely vastly to increase their exports of sugar and coffee.

Then again, the resources of the East Indies, were a just and liberal line of policy to be adopted toward the natives, with the introduction of mechanical and other improvements in the management of sugar cultivation, would immensely increase the quantity fit to be brought to England. I have known the lowest price of raw sugar retailed in this town to be 1s. 8d. per lb., but very probably, in a few years, it may not exceed 4d. per lb.

It appears to me that you unfairly ascribe the objection to the introduction of slave-grown produce to a conscientious objection to the use of such produce abstractedly considered. This I apprehend to be the case with very few. Our objection is grounded on a strong fear, that, to encourage the peculiarly iniquitous proceedings of the Brazils and of Cuba, as connected with the continuance of the African slave trade, would be to undo the labour of many years, by directly adding to their inducements to persevere in carrying on this horrible traffic.

Neither is it fair to speak of the Anti-slavery Committee as departing from their pacific professions. They have not called on the legislature to impose a high prohibitory duty which had not previously existed; but, even had they done this, to speak of it as an appeal to armed force, is quite an overstrained argument. But if I understand the case aright, all the Committee did was to express their dissent from any relaxation of the duty already existing upon slave-grown produce, which, in my view, was their imperative duty, in accordance with the course they had been pursuing, and the views they had uniformly avowed, for a long series of years.

I would not call upon Government to impose any tax; but of those which are imposed, we have a fair right to point out to them that some taxes are much more inconvenient, oppressive, or objectionable, than others.

I am aware that the sugars of the Brazils and Cuba are now being brought to England, and refined for export; but why is it so, but to gratify the unprincipled avarice of some of our merchants?

With a proper estimate of your past labours in the abolition cause, and with the hope that you may be favoured to see the dangerous tendency of your present course,

I remain, your friend,

GEORGE RICHARDSON.

London, 27th March, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I entirely agree with you on the sugar question, not as viewing it as a subject of political economy, but under the circumstances of the case taken altogether. When the British nation gave 20,000,000*l.* to the persons called owners of slaves, they did so for the sake of humanity, but in direct violation of all rules of political economy; and it would be, in my mind, the most absurd of all absurd things to give 20,000,000*l.* sterling to get rid in our own colonies of all the cruelties necessarily incident to slavery, and then immediately after to open our markets to slave-grown sugar in other countries, and thus to hold out a bonus to those countries to continue and increase all the horrors of negro slavery. It is, to my mind, a one-sided, left-handed humanity, to free the negro in our own colonies, and then to augment his suffering in other countries. It is said, "Will you be so cruel to the people of England as to refuse them cheap sugar?" I say, Yes, I will; if the cheapness of that sugar is to be secured by shedding the blood of the negro. I would not consent to give the people of England, or of Ireland either, cheap sugar at the expense of robbery or stealing. I will not consent to give it to them by the murder of the negro. If the throat of the negro was to be cut at once in the process of augmenting the produce of sugar canes, every body would call that murder. And it is no less murder to cut his back with the lash, and work him to a premature death, which are the necessary consequences of the production of sugar by negro slave labour.

As you see how entirely I agree with you on this subject, command my services at any time, and in any place you please.

It is no answer to say, "That we use slave-grown tobacco, and slave-grown cotton." My reply is—that I would prevent both if I possibly could; and it is no reason at all, that, because I cannot prevent two existing crimes, therefore I should consent to the commission of a third crime. Every law, human and Divine, prohibits such conduct. I will prevent as much criminality as I can, and endeavour as much as possible to lessen that which I cannot prevent; leaving it in the hands of Providence to dispose of the hearts of other men so as not anywhere to augment human misery.

Believe me to be very faithfully yours,
(Signed) DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Joseph Sturge, Esq.

In addition to these documents, the Committee have been obliged by Mr. Peek with a copy of the reply which he has forwarded to the Circular. We insert it below:—

Hazelwood, near Kingsbridge, 21st March, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your note, I most decidedly object to my name being affixed to the address, which appears to me one of the most insidious pro-slavery addresses I ever saw.

For more than twenty years in London, I was engaged in buying and selling by wholesale sugar, coffee, cocoa, and other articles the produce of slave and free labour; and it is my deliberate judgment that nothing would give a greater stimulus to slavery and the slave-trade, than to admit the produce of slaves on the same terms as free labour.

If I wished to extend slavery, to increase the slave-trade with all its horrors, and to perpetuate both, I would adopt your address as the best means of accomplishing these objects.

I am not now a member of the Anti-Slavery Committee. I am therefore at liberty to say that you have grossly misrepresented them (I hope not intentionally).

I was present at the formation of the Society, and I am intimately acquainted with all its proceedings; and I know, therefore, that to say the Committee demand the employment of an armed force, and to insinuate that they approve of the ships of war on the coast of Africa, is directly contrary to fact.

I can see a wide difference between fiscal regulations and physical force, nor do I consider that our duties are collected at the point of the bayonet.

I care not whether the planters in the east or west would be injured or benefited by admitting slave-grown produce. The only question for every anti-slavery man is, Would it increase or decrease slavery and the slave-trade? It is a secondary consideration whether sugar would be 1d. per pound cheaper, or not. I have a much better opinion of the "millions" than to suppose they would wish to increase and perpetuate slavery, even if they could get sugar 2d. per pound cheaper.

I am an advocate for free trade, but I do not mean that every thief in this country should be at liberty to sell the produce of his unlawful occupations in the best market. My notions of free trade extend only to property lawfully obtained.

I contend that slaves are stolen, and that every slaveholder is a thief, or the receiver or holder of stolen property, and that he ought to have the same liberty of free trade as thieves have in this country, and nothing better.

I should like the government to enact a law to encourage free trade with all the world in articles the produce of free labour, and in the same enactment to prohibit the produce of slaves of every country from touching our shores; and this might be accomplished by the ordinary power of law, and the ordinary means every civilized country adopts to carry out their fiscal regulations.

I admit your description of the Brazilian empire is correct, but I do not agree with you as to the best means of inducing them to abandon slavery; there is something so hardening and demoralizing in the system, that there is only one avenue open, that is, self-interest.

We should offer to receive their produce on the most advantageous terms whenever they abolish slavery; but they, and all other nations, should be self-excluded, so long as they continue that system.

I believe free-labour could compete with slavery, if in precisely the same circumstances; but the exhausted estates in the West Indies cannot compete with slavery in Brazil and Cuba, because their soil is much better. But, as I said before, I care nothing for the West Indies; but I cannot approve of what I conscientiously think will very much increase slavery, and, as a consequence, the slave-trade.

Would it not be better to confine your notions of free trade to property honestly obtained?

I am exceedingly grieved to see gentlemen I esteem advocating the extension of slavery, which I know they detest.

Praying that you may be enabled to see the consequences of your plan,

I remain, yours sincerely,

R. PEEK.

To the Rev. Thos. Spencer.

We conclude this series with the following resolution of the Newcastle Auxiliary, which has been obligingly transmitted to the office:—

At a meeting of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, held this 27th day of March, 1844, Mr.

Finlay in the chair,

Resolved.—That this Committee, having had laid before them an "Address to the Friends of the Negro," &c., forwarded by the Rev. T. Spencer, and W. T. Blair and G. W. Anstie, Esqrs., on the subject of the introduction of slave-grown produce into this country, are unanimously of opinion that the conduct of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society in London with respect to this question is founded upon the principles of righteousness and sound policy, and in harmony with the original constitution of the Anti-slavery Society. And that this meeting expresses its perfect confidence in the parent Committee, and its hope that they will persevere in the same path of religion, justice, and humanity, which has hitherto marked their steps.

And that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, and to the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society in London, and also to Joseph Sturge, Esq.

By the direction of the Committee,

JAMES FINLAY, Chairman.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

On the 1st of April was published, in THE BRITISH CHURCHMAN, the first of a Series of Letters on

THE CONNEXION of the AMERICAN CHURCH with SLAVERY. By an AMERICAN CHURCHMAN.

Groombridge, 5, Paternoster-row, London; Parker, Oxford; Stevenson, Cambridge; Gallie and Bayley, Edinburgh; Curry, Dublin; Wiley and Putnam, New York.

* * Orders for the "British Churchman" received by every bookseller in the kingdom.

Recently published, price One Shilling,

THE TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA, Jun., at the Central Criminal Court of the City of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th days of October, 1843, on a charge of Slave-trading. Reported by J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer. With introductory and concluding remarks, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. (Second Edition.)

To the Trial, as reported in this pamphlet, is annexed a very interesting and important Appendix, containing extracts from the log of the *Augusta*, and the slave-trading instructions put on board at Cadiz.

"We strongly recommend all who feel any interest in the abolition of this accursed traffic to procure and peruse this trial."—*Patriot*.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Just Published, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in one handsome vol., price 7s. 6d. cloth,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

Statesmen, philanthropists, and merchants will find in this volume copious information upon every point connected with slavery and the slave-trade in America, Brazil, Cuba, Texas, &c., &c.

"It is wholly the affair of Mr. Johnson, the short-hand writer; a very spirited affair, for which both the Committee and the public are much indebted to him."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"In this volume will be found a greater amount of information on the general question of slavery than was ever, we believe, before submitted to the world."—*Morning Advertiser*.

"The volume is a noble monument of an event which reflects the brightest honour, not only on our country, but on our common Christianity. Great, indeed, had been the loss to humanity, if this record had not been preserved. As the friends of the oppressed of every colour, in every clime, and as the inexorable, the immortal adversaries of slavery all over the world, we recommend, we urge the diffusion of this book among all classes of the community. We do trust that the reception of this momentous publication will be such as to speak fresh hope for the cause of the slave, and to proclaim that there is no decay in the philanthropy of England."—*Christian Witness*.

John Snow, 35, Paternoster-row; and the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several articles which we had prepared for this number have been crowded out by the very important documents on the Sugar Question.

The demand for our last number has been so great, that we shall be obliged if any persons not wishing to keep their papers will kindly return them to the office.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 3, 1844.

THE documents on the Sugar question to which we have thought it our duty to assign so large a part of our space to-day, will occasion no surprise to those who have been acquainted with the progress of anti-slavery affairs in Great Britain during the last two or three years. What has long been discussed in private, and what was, indeed, strenuously debated in the Anti-Slavery Convention of last year, has now become matter of public appeal and controversy. It is useless to say, either, that we dislike controversy in general, or that we regret this controversy in particular. It is the method in which the mind of man works; and it is better that the workings of the human mind should have free scope, than that they should be in any way repressed. It remains only for those concerned to

at their part in it with some vigorous use of their understandings, and a careful guard upon their temper.

For ourselves, we lay no claim to the character or influence of an oracle. We are Anti-slavery *Reporters*. And, accordingly, we have contented ourselves with presenting to our readers the documents as yet pertaining to the case, and nothing more; although we shall not, of course, be precluded from showing our opinion hereafter. Our only counsel at the present moment is, that parties will not act in haste. The subject brought before them is not only very interesting and important, but very extensive and complicated. Let a full and careful consideration be given to it; and may truth and wisdom guide our way!

PROOFS have multiplied since our last, that the case of John L. Brown, under sentence of death in South Carolina for aiding a slave to escape, has created throughout Great Britain a sensation of the deepest and most painful kind. On the 14th of March a crowded public meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was held in that city, Alexander Hastie, Esq., a magistrate, (in the absence of the Lord Provost) in the chair, at which the following resolutions on this afflictive subject were enthusiastically passed:—

"Resolved,—1st. That the punishment of human being by death for any offence, is at all times most revolting; that, while there are many, and they seem to be rapidly increasing, who deny the right to take away life by judicial sentence for any crime, there are others who deem it to be at least a questionable measure; but it is the opinion of this meeting that there will be few, if any, found, even under the most despotic governments, who will attempt to justify the punishing with death of John L. Brown, who, it appears, was convicted lately at Winnsborough, South Carolina, in the United States of America, of 'aiding a female slave to run away and depart from her master's service,' and who is sentenced by J. B. O'Neal, the Judge of the district, to be executed on the 26th day of April next.

"2nd. That the murderous proceedings of Lynch law, which so frequently occur in the southern or slave states of America, are not more disgusting and offensive than is the professional coldness and would-be religious formality with which this Judge pretends, as God's vicegerent, to take away this man's life for what he deems to be an 'offence,' and for what, doubtless, is an offence against the laws of slavery; but for that which, wherever God's laws are regarded, would be esteemed a meritorious act.

"3rd. That this meeting would calmly remonstrate with the judicial authorities of the state of South Carolina, on the gross cruelty and injustice of this sentence, as being at variance with the eternal law of God, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' or 'Thou shalt not kill;' and 'whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' would earnestly entreat them, for their own sakes, to pause awhile, and consider lest, in executing this sentence, they bring the greater condemnation upon themselves, and repent when too late; and would remind them that there is also a law which says, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto thy master the servant who is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him,' Deut. xxiii. 15, 16."

At Edinburgh, the Magistrates and Town Council convened a public meeting, which was held in the Music Hall, on the 2nd of March, John Urquhart, Esq., acting chief magistrate, (in the absence of the Lord Provost) being called to the chair. This meeting was large in number, and of great respectability, being attended by almost all the members of the Town Council, a number of ministers of all denominations, and many gentlemen of the highest standing in the community; and at it the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

"1. That, this meeting having learned that a man named John L. Brown has, for aiding the escape of a female slave from her master's service, been condemned to death at Winnsborough, South Carolina, by the Hon. J. B. O'Neal, Judge of the District, we do hereby declare our utter horror of this sentence, as one which, however sanctioned by the penal code of any state, is intrinsically unjust and cruel.

"2. That we regard this sentence as a natural though dreadful fruit of the unrighteous system of slavery, and as a further evidence, were any now required, that that system, in itself an enormous violation of human rights and human duties, cannot by any nation be maintained as a branch of its polity, without debasing its standard of morality and corrupting the fountains of public justice.

"3. That, not seeking to palliate, but, on the contrary, humbly acknowledging the deep guilt which this Christian country incurred by the long maintenance of its colonial slavery, we nevertheless feel bound to declare that we view slavery, in any form, as peculiarly criminal and odious in a nation such as the United States, which enjoying, not less than others, the lights of Christian knowledge and civilization, has, beyond all others, professed an ardent love of freedom, and laid the foundation of its independence in that memorable Declaration, 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"4. That, disclaiming all presumptuous intermeddling with the affairs of a distant though kindred nation, we are yet constrained to urge upon the American authorities our solemn remonstrance against the execution of this their sentence, consigning a prisoner to the extreme penalty of death for an act which, though it may be branded as a crime by an arbitrary law of man, appears, when tested by the law of God, not merely no moral offence, but the discharge of a positive duty of charity to a distressed fellow-creature.

"5. That the acting chief magistrate, chairman of this meeting, be requested to sign and ratify with the seal of the city the above resolutions, as passed by act of the inhabitants in public meeting assembled; and that copies hereof be transmitted to the American President, and to

the proper authorities of South Carolina, through the United States' Ambassador in London and the British Consul at Charleston."

Besides this, we observe that an address "to the Churches of Christ in South Carolina" has been signed extensively on behalf of the Independent churches of Lancashire, and that the example thus set has been followed enthusiastically throughout the country. These external movements, however, are but slender indications of the universal and sickening horror which every remembrance of this judicial outrage inspires, not only in Great Britain, but wherever throughout Europe it has become known. They are but straws on the surface of that deep stream of emotion against which no people desirous of the esteem of mankind can venture to contend. Mr. Elizur Wright, an American gentleman now in this country, and among the staunchest of her band of abolitionists, in endeavouring to account for the coolness with which this atrocity is regarded in the United States, passes upon the slaveholding portion of that confederacy the severest and most biting censure we remember to have heard. "I take it as a mark of progress towards humanity," says he, "that the murder of Brown is put under the form of law." Well may he add, "I blush to write such a confession."

THE advices from Cuba which appear in the public papers, although scanty and unsatisfactory as to detail, are of the highest interest to the cause of humanity. It is beyond question that an alarming unquietness prevails extensively among the slaves, and a growing reluctance exists to any augmentation of their number. Memorials against the continuance of the slave-trade have poured in upon the new Governor in such numbers, and from such influential quarters, that he has at length consented to transmit them to Madrid. What is yet more promising is, that, of a cargo of 1,200 slaves just arrived from Africa, no purchaser could be found for even a single individual. If the planters thus take the matter into their own hands, the question of the slave-trade will soon be settled.

SUGAR QUESTION—THE GLASGOW MEMORIAL.

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and to the other Members of her Majesty's Government.

The committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, perceiving that the various topics connected with sugar—the introduction or exclusion of foreign or of slave-grown sugar on differential or equal duties, the policy of these measures, and the effect they may have upon slavery or the slave-trade—at present very much occupy the attention of the parties interested, of the Legislature, and of the Government, and also, it may be presumed, of the foreign states affected by these measures; and, encouraged by the favourable reception of their former memorial, and the hope that the measure to which they now beg leave to direct your lordship's attention may be found adapted to the present juncture, humbly present to your lordship the following memorial:—

Showing.—That, whereas the British Government and people have, for many years, by a course of policy too unequivocal to be misunderstood or questioned, exhibited a strong aversion to slavery and the slave-trade, and a manifest desire, at the expense of costly sacrifices, not only to abolish them herself, but to use every practicable means to prevail upon other powers to abolish them;—

And whereas she has most distinctly evinced her sincerity by having ceased from these iniquities, which are still practised by other states with whom she has commercial intercourse, and which are the source of great evils even now inflicted upon mankind, but especially upon the natives of Africa;—

And whereas it is held, by a very large and influential portion of the British people, that, to cultivate with foreign states a friendly intercourse, by a commercial interchange of produce and manufactures upon the most liberal and equal terms, is a policy beneficial to ourselves and to those states (and in this policy your memorialists acquiesce, provided they are not thereby made instrumental in extending the evils of slavery and the slave-trade, the abolition of which this nation is pledged to promote by every practicable means);—

And, believing that her Majesty's Government participates in these feelings, and that we have discovered a principle by which that intercourse may be cultivated with those foreign powers who desire it, not only on safe moral grounds, but so that, in proportion as it is cultivated and extended even with the Brazils and Cuba, and in proportion as we import their produce on this principle, so will slavery be diminished and gradually abolished, and, consequently, the slave-trade;—

Your memorialists would, therefore, humbly, but strongly and earnestly, recommend to your lordships to examine and adopt this principle, and to urge it upon these foreign powers, unless it is found to be objectionable.

It is simply that those Brazilian or Cuban planters, whether they amount to 5, 20, 50, 100, or more, who are desirous that their sugars, &c., shall be admitted into the British market on the same terms as British free-labour sugar, will notify to the British Government that such is their wish, and also the names of their plantations, their extent, with the number and description of the slaves on each, and their sugars will be admitted forthwith, provided they agree to cultivate their plantations and raise their sugars by free labour; that is, by wages, and not by the whip, or any other coercive system. And, in order that satisfactory proof may be obtained that their sugars, &c., are raised by free labour, as the British sugars are, there shall be British officials appointed, and permitted to reside on each plantation as inspectors, to see that these plantations are so cultivated. And it shall be the duty of these inspectors so to brand the sugar casks or packages, and otherwise so to certify that these sugars, the produce of these plantations, were cultivated by free labour; that is, that the labourers were paid wages for their cultivation, and were not coerced by the whip or any other method.

Thus, by offering these terms, a test is also established, by which it may be discovered whether the Brazilian and Cuban planters are or are not firmly attached to slavery; and, of course, whether or not they are persons in whose favour the British people would be justified to relax their principles so as to admit their slave-grown produce, as is proposed by a certain party, in the hope that they may afterwards abandon slavery and the slave-trade.

Were five, ten, or twenty planters, in a circuit of fifty, a hundred, or two hundred miles, to agree to these terms, the system of free labour will soon extend (for, from its own nature, it cannot safely retrograde), until, in a very short time, it will include all within reach of the infection; and, the privileged terms operating as a bonus, slavery will be quietly and almost imperceptibly abolished, and, consequently, the slave-trade. The sugars of Brazil and Cuba may thus be gradually introduced into the British market on the same terms as British sugars, until, by adopting the wages system, the planters of these countries become entitled to this privilege, and slavery and the slave-trade thereby become extinct. At the same time, the British people will be enjoying cheaper sugar, in a ratio increasing according to the quantity thus admitted, as free labour increases until all is admitted, and at the trifling expense to the British of keeping inspectors in these places for a few years, on the plantations where the terms are agreed to and complied with.

It may also be expected, that, in proportion as this system of free labour extends, so will the demand for slaves be diminished, and the amount expended on armed preventative squadrons, &c., &c., be proportionably lessened.

There seems no reason to doubt that, if, from the insecurity of life and property connected with the slave system, or from any other cause, only a few were tempted to try this scheme, the number would rapidly increase; and, if only in a few years they came to amount to one-third, or even one-fourth of the planters, the rest would have to fall into it almost at once, for the slaves still retained in slavery will naturally be clamorous to be put on the same footing with those receiving wages. The same system may also be proposed to the cotton-planters of America.

This measure, it appears to us, may be submitted to the respective governments, or to the planters in each place without any reference to their governments, or to planters and governments simultaneously, as to your lordships may appear proper.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society,

JOHN MURRAY, }
WILLIAM SMEAL, } Secretaries.

Glasgow, 25th March, 1844.

Correspondence.

MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECH.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Hitchin, March 29, 1844.

SIR,—Your last Number contains a report of the speech of John Bright, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, on the importation of sugar from Brazil, in which he is reported as having said that several Anti-Slavery Associations had seceded from the London Society, and among others mentioned was the Hitchin Auxiliary. I have written to Mr. Bright, by direction of our Committee, to say that, although nearly three years since we differed on one point from the London Committee, we did not secede, nor was secession ever contemplated; but that, on the contrary, our correspondence and co-operation had been uninterrupted, and our confidence unabated.

Will you have the kindness to state this fact in any way you think best in your next Number?

I am, very respectfully yours,

JOHN W. WAYNE, Sec.

AMERICAN SLAVERY—JOHN L. BROWN.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

50, Marchmont-street, March 23, 1844.

SIR,—Permit me, as an American, to thank you, and the abolitionists of Great Britain, for the sympathy which has been manifested towards John L. Brown, convicted by a jury of my countrymen of an act of humanity, and therefore sentenced by a republican judge, to suffer an ignominious death! I am asked why so little feeling is expressed in the United States. Suffer me to explain the matter as it appears to me.

In regard to the abolitionists of my country, it is not because deep and indignant feeling does not exist. Thousands of hearts have been made to bleed afresh, and to deepen their vows against the monstrous iniquity. Utterance had been given to this feeling before I left the United States, in many of our smaller meetings, as well as through the press; but it had not been made the basis of a general public agitation, partly from fear of insuring the death of the victim, and partly because the public mind of even the free States, as your beloved and venerable Clarkson too truly describes it, has become demoralised—callous and apathetic towards such awful outrages upon justice. I blush to write such a confession, but I take it as a mark of progress towards humanity that the murder of Brown is put under the form of law. A few years ago, the case would have been disposed of as were those of M'Intosh, in St. Louis, and Albe Dean, in Mississippi. The latter was an estimable citizen of Connecticut, and was tried by men similar to Judge O'Neal sitting in "Lynch" Court, and hung on the next tree, on the bare suspicion of being guilty of humanity. My pen trembles when I write, that Connecticut, my native state, never to my knowledge lisped a request for reparation in regard to that flagrant violation of justice, and of our federal constitution! Our little band of despised abolitionists, however, were not silent; and rely upon it, that at least 50,000 voices will now use the monstrous charge and diabolical sentence of Judge O'Neal to illustrate the principle which we have resolved to live and die by, viz., that self-evident injustice cannot be law.

As to Brown, I cannot but hope, from their adopting the forms of law and deferring the execution, that it is in the breast of the civil authorities to let him escape, after having humiliated him to their satisfaction. The judges of the south are miserable slaves to slavery, and Judge O'Neal probably regards his part in the horrible mockery, his daring to take jurisdiction in a case which custom has assigned to a more summary tribunal, as an heroic achievement in favour of humanity.

The reason why we have not attempted a public show of indignation and rebuke, I may therefore state to be, our apprehension that such action might lessen the victim's chance of escape. In other cases, where the same principle is involved without a similar danger, the American abolitionists have not been backward. Witness the case of Latimer, last year, in Massachusetts. As the result of that agitation, that commonwealth has forbidden any of her magistrates to take cognizance of the cases of fugitive slaves, or to suffer any of her gaols to be employed in detaining their persons. I may safely say no such fugitive can hereafter be recovered from her territory. Her citizens generally are too much aroused to the meanness and wickedness of permitting such piracy, to allow the unconstitutional act of Congress, for that purpose made and provided, to take effect on their soil. Large contributions have been made in the free states, for the purpose of appealing to the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Mr. Van Zandt, heavily fined in an inferior court for rendering assistance to a fugitive. If the appeal is unsuccessful, I trust American abolitionists will not leave Mr. Van Zandt to suffer. They have resolved themselves into a Mutual Assurance Society against all such fines.

A word more on another topic. I am glad to see so high an authority as Thomas Clarkson impute that blot on America—repudiation, to its true cause, slavery: let me bear my testimony to the truth of it. As to the slaveholders, they are repudiators by birth. The prince of them, Henry Clay, long time a candidate for the presidency, has not probably paid his first sixpence to his washerwoman. One of his arguments against the exclusion of slavery from Missouri was, that it would reduce him to the alternative of blacking his own boots, or paying for it! What has Threadneedle-street to expect of such men? As to the northern repudiators, they are men who have lost, probably their money, certainly their morals, in the Maelstrom of slaveholding prodigality and profligacy. But do not involve us all in the condemnation. There is a party, headed by a repentant and reformed slaveholder, geometrically progressing towards victory; and I will answer for it, soon after it reaches the goal, the last farthing of the repudiated debts will be paid with interest.

I am sorry for one expression, which occurred in the postscript of the excellent letter of Mr. Clarkson, published in the last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and I can hardly believe that he wrote it with consideration. He says, "Not that I condemn the judge for condemning Brown, because, as a judge, he must uphold the law while it exists," &c. Now, on just that point the abolitionists of America are at issue with their opponents. They do condemn the judge: they hold that he could not regard as law, a statute which flatly contradicts the higher law of Almighty God. In their last national convention at Buffalo, in an assembly of 5,000 persons, they solemnly took this ground in relation to the constitution of the United States, holding that the clause requiring the surrender of fugitive slaves, even if it were expressed, as it is not, in unequivocal language, would be null and void from its own inherent, self-evident iniquity. They support their position by a reference to the foundation principles of human laws, as laid down by Blackstone and reaffirmed by our own judges, as well as to the Divine law. Our opponents to the two pro-slavery parties, in copying our manifesto, took care to omit our legal authority, and then argued from our sole reliance on Divine authority, that we were endeavouring to bring about a union of church and state; but, if our doctrine is not true, then law is merely formalized mobocracy, or regulated tyranny, and so the good people of the free states begin to regard the matter. None of our opponents can now look us in the face, and plead for one moment's observance by judge, jury, or citizen, of a law for the commission of the foulest crime. Call it revolution, if you please; it is the revolution of immediate repentance, which cannot be displeasing to God, or dangerous to our civil institutions.

I do hope that our American expounders of law and gospel, who would justify our judges for robbing and murdering by statute, may not be allowed to quote the venerated Clarkson against us.

Yours, for justice and not injustice under law,
ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jun.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Thursday, March 21, 1844.

WEST INDIA IMMIGRATION.

Mr. VERNON SMITH, understanding from the papers laid upon the table of the House, that inquiries had been instituted by the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies, addressed to the governors of Trinidad, Jamaica, and Guiana, as to whether it would be advisable to relax the rule which prevailed of requiring a proportion of women, amounting to one-third, in any immigration which might take place into those colonies; and also understanding that answers had been received favourable to such relaxation from the governors of the colonies, wished to know whether the noble lord had acted upon the information thus obtained?

Lord STANLEY replied, that, in consequence of communications which had been made from Sierra Leone, stating that great difficulty had been found, in consequence of the restriction alluded to, in prevailing upon men who were desirous of immigrating to West India colonies to do so, he had written to the governors of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana, to inquire whether, in their opinion, a relaxation of the rule as to the proportion of the men to be admitted would be advisable. Their answers had only been received four or five days ago; and, although the papers containing them had been immediately laid before the House, no actual steps had yet been taken in consequence of the information communicated in them.

Foreign Intelligence.

CUBA.—THE SLAVE REVOLTS.—We have already stated, that the apprehensions excited by the late revolts induced the planters in the neighbourhood of Matanzas to petition the Governor-General for the stoppage of the slave-trade. We are informed by a correspondent that this petition contained the following passage:—"The slave-trade has accumulated in this island a coloured population of 660,000 souls, of which 498,000 are slaves; and their numerical preponderance over the whites may produce the saddest consequences. The mutinies of Bampa and Ingenio Triumvirito show the disposition for revolt prevailing among the blacks, who are getting more and more excited by their knowledge of the victory of the Haitians, and of the emancipation in Jamaica, from whence emissaries have succeeded in getting to this island, besides the well-known ones sent here by British societies. An English mission, at the head of which is one of the most zealous abolitionists, is now proceeding through the island. This explains why, in the last mutinies, negroes were discovered who were familiar with the English language. Consequently it was urgently necessary that an end should be put to the abominable and dangerous trade in slaves, and the Governor who would effect its suppression would do the greatest possible service to his country. It was true the revolts of Bampa and Triumvirito had been suppressed, but the killing of 300 negroes was a considerable loss to the colonists." The story of the English emissaries in this extract is, of course, fiction. The negroes who were so familiar with the English language were doubtless of that large number who have been illegally transferred from British islands.

The Philadelphia correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* furnished the following extracts:—

"Letters just received from Havana state that there have been negro insurrections on six estates at Cardenas, Cuba. Many lives were lost, but the Government suppresses all the particulars."

"The insurrection in Cuba, says a private letter, is a concerted movement. Planters and overseers are flying into the cities. Many whites have been killed; some of the overseers have been boiled to death in sugar-coppers. Houses have been burnt, and the revolt is spreading. Troops are gone to the disturbed districts."

"The Captain of a vessel arrived at New York from Matanzas, reports that, on the day previous to his sailing, an insurrection had broken out among the slaves on the plantations in the neighbourhood of Matanzas, and it was supposed that their plan of operations had been concerted throughout that part of the island. The people from the country were hastening to the city for protection—great numbers had already arrived. An engineer on one of the sugar plantations had been thrown into one of the sugar boilers and scalded to death. The inhabitants of Matanzas were seriously alarmed. One planter, who had 400 slaves on his estate, had put 100 in irons the day the ship sailed. Several hundred soldiers started in different directions, to endeavour to quell the disturbances."

"This account seems to be confirmed by the following letter, dated

"Matanzas, Feb. 14, 1844."

"There has been a great excitement in the neighbourhood of this and Cardenas, among the planters and indeed all the whites, who fear another revolt among the negroes in this part of the island. There are a thousand reports all the while in circulation, exaggerating the truth. There is, without doubt, great disaffection among the negroes, and some of these tribes of blacks are bold fellows, and would be dangerous if they were organised. They are ignorant of military tactics, and in case of revolt, were the number very large, it would only result in defeat and death to the negroes. The whites on the whole island are equal in number to the blacks; the blacks stand no chance at all, and the oftener they revolt the more severely are they treated."

The *Times* gives the following as from Havana, under date of Feb. 17:—"The Military Commission appointed to investigate into the extent of the late conspiracy of the negroes, and to punish the most criminal, are still pursuing their inquiries. It appears that no white persons are implicated, and as the intentions of the negroes are, by their own declarations, now well known, it may be safely asserted that the mischief is at an end. Meanwhile Government will establish a military force in the interior, which need not be very large, to insure tranquillity. Most of the planters are determined to increase the number of whites on their estates, and immigration, after having been indifferently supported, will now be looked to as the necessary means to insure permanent tranquillity. It is painful to know, that in the midst of this turmoil, a slaver, with 1200 negroes, has arrived on our coast. They have been offered at 340 dollars a head, but our planters are determined to buy no more, and none of this cargo has been disposed of. No one is now inclined to encourage this abominable traffic, which begins to be considered as highly injurious to the welfare of the island. Several corporations and planters have given in reports favourable to the total abolition of the slave trade; it is understood these will be sent forthwith to the Spanish Government. This is a true outline of the present state of things; and the accounts which appear in the papers of the southern states of America are not to be relied on, and excite here general disgust. The only disturbance has been on the side of Matanzas, for everything in the Buelta de Abajo is quiet."

DENMARK.—NEW SLAVE ORDINANCE.—In the *Journal des Debats* we find the following news from Copenhagen, under date the 12th March:—

"The King has issued an ordinance for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the slave population in St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John. The following are the chief points of this ordinance:—

"1. The slave shall be exempt from every species of labour on Sundays and the great fête days, whether civil or religious, until four o'clock in the afternoon; after which hour they may be employed in domestic services, or work of an easy nature. Nevertheless, in cases of extreme urgency, legally proved, the slaves may be employed, under the authorisation of the civil authorities, in cultivation and manufacture such as they are usually called upon to perform.

"2. Considering that the services of the slaves are indispensable to their

masters on market-days and fairs, it is declared that those of them which have hitherto been held on Sunday shall be transferred to the Saturday preceding the days on which they have been individually held.

"3. In the mixed tribunals, composed of magistrates and planters, constituted for the trial of offences committed by slaves, neither the master, nor any other person interested directly or indirectly in the estates to which the slaves may belong, or having any interest whatever in the cultivation of such estates, shall be permitted to sit in judgment on such slaves. Moreover, the slave shall have the right, in future, to appeal from the sentences of these mixed commissioners to the ordinary tribunals of the colonies.

"4. There shall be established at St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, schools for the instruction of adult and infant slaves. The masters shall be required to allow them to resort to those establishments under pain of fines, the amount of which shall be fixed by the tribunals, analogous to those inflicted in the case of whites.

"In the preamble of this ordinance the King expresses the satisfaction which he feels, that the planters of the Danish colonies have readily consented to make the great sacrifices required to enable the government to adopt the foregoing regulations in favour of their slaves."

However short this measure falls of what could be desired, it is satisfactory as indicating movement. The abolition of the Sunday markets and fairs is a great gain to the slaves. The establishment of schools for adults, as well as for infants, is an advantage also; but then one is anxious to know when they will be allowed to attend those schools, the time they will have secured to them for instruction, and the kind of learning that will be imparted. Some advantage will also result from the sabbath being secured to the slaves; though the power given the planters to employ them in cases of urgency may and will be abused. The partial purification of the tribunals is another point in favour of the slaves, coupled as it is with the right of appeal to the ordinary courts; but it would have been wiser and better for the King at once to have decided upon sending the cases of delinquent slaves before an independent tribunal. Impartiality can scarcely be expected from any mixed tribunal, such as that contemplated in the ordinance. Nothing is said about slave evidence, whether it is to be regarded as legal evidence against the master; nor, in case of appeal of the party, who is to bear the expense. It is, however, a step in the right direction; and must, I think, lead to others.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cheltenham Auxiliary		
Exeter Auxiliary	£13 4 6	
Less expenses.....	2 17 9	
Amount remitted	£10 6 9	
Alexander, Daniel		0 10 0
Davies, Samuel		0 10 0
Drewe, William		1 1 0
Dymond, Robert		1 1 0
Dymond, John		0 10 0
Evans, Richard		0 10 0
Knott, Thomas		1 1 0
Lee, William		1 1 0
Mackintosh, John		0 10 0
Milward, Thomas		0 10 0
Small sums	0 7 6	
Sparkes, Sarah		1 1 0
Sparkes, Rachel		1 1 0
Sparkes, T. T.		0 10 0
Treffry, Henry		1 0 0
Wilkey, J. F.		0 10 0
Wilkey, Sarah		0 10 0
Wright, Harriet		1 1 0
York—Candler, John	(one year and a half)	1 11 6
Favill, James Copsie		1 1 0
Fletcher, Caleb	0 10 0	0 10 0
Fletcher, Martha	(half-year)	1 0 0
Ford, John	0 10 0	
Harris, Charles		1 1 0
Rowntree, Joseph	1 1 0	1 1 0
Scarr, Hannah		0 5 0
Spence, Joseph	1 1 0	1 1 0
Tuke, Samuel		1 1 0
Walker, John	1 1 0	
Waller, Alice		1 1 0
Waller, Robert	0 10 0	
Williams, Caleb	1 1 0	1 1 0
Buckingham—Collected by Miss Hatton	2 10 0	
Horsham—Pollard, William		1 1 0
Aylesbury—Lee, Dr. (Hartwell-house)		1 0 0
Driffield—Anderson, David	20 0 0	
Chester—Place, Richard		1 1 0
Truro—Hodgson, Maria		2 2 0
Stourbridge—Zachary, Thomas		3 0 0
Rochdale—A Friend	3 15 0	
Baldwin, James	0 5 0	
Schofield, Robert		1 0 0
Bath—Stuart, Capt. Charles	5 0 0	

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, April 3, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXIV. VOL. V.—No. 8.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

CRITICAL STATE OF CUBA.

THE intelligence from Cuba brought by the last mail is of the deepest interest; and, while it is calculated, on the one hand, to awaken sympathy for the suffering negroes, is not less calculated, on the other, to inspire animating hopes of some salutary change.

It appears that the alarm excited by the two insurrections of the slaves in the neighbourhood of Matanzas, in November last, has induced a course of extreme severity, not only towards the parties known to have been implicated, but towards the negroes in general. The Government and planters have made extensive and rigorous inquiries, with a view to ascertain whether any concert existed among the slaves, and, if so, to what objects it was directed; and it is said that a negress on one of the five sugar estates which followed the movement of the Triumvirato (the sugar estate on which the revolt commenced) has revealed to her master what in the letters is called "a dreadful plot." In consequence of this there have been arrested a large number of negroes, together with three white men, the latter of whom were put in prison at Matanzas. More than fifteen hundred slaves were summoned in order to witness the execution of sixteen of their companions, with the view of inspiring terror; but it is stated that these men went to their death with such an air of intrepidity and triumph, that the effect produced on the spectators was the opposite of that which was intended. From this it has resulted that the Government has refrained from further public executions, and has rather given the negroes over in a mass to be punished by their masters at pleasure, and with as little noise as possible. The consequence of such a measure may well be imagined; and yet imagination must fail to realize it. The resentment of the planters, aggravated by their fears, is without bounds, and murderous cruelties are practised without scruple on every hand. Many slaves have already died under the lash, and the whole island is to be deluged with blood.

The investigations of the Government have elicited the fact that four or five large estates between Guines and Melena had been implicated in the plot said to have been discovered. From the uniform declarations of the negroes, it appears that the opinion has spread among them that they either are free, or ought to be so. Some are persuaded that the Queen of Spain has sent out two *cartas* to the governor, giving them their freedom; some have been told that they are free as having been imported since the year 1820, and therefore contrary to the treaty with England; and some have arrived at the noble sentiment that they ought to be free, because they are men, as well as their masters. No doubt can be entertained that the emancipation of the slaves in the British islands has become the primary source from which these ideas have emanated; and the prevalence of them among the slaves in Cuba demonstrates at once the impossibility of preventing their diffusion, and the impossibility likewise of preventing their influence wherever they are diffused. They are now permanent elements in the condition of Cuba, of a far more serious kind than have ever yet impregnated the community. Several free negroes are reported to have been implicated in the plot, and its object is said to have been known by all the negroes in the country.

The destruction of so many slaves, while it must inflict on the planters a heavy loss of property, must at the same time greatly reduce the amount of labour available for the cultivation of the estates, and on this account it might be supposed that the demand for fresh ones would be increased. The alarm felt by the planters may, consequently, be measured by the fact that they will not add to the number of their slaves. In the midst of this excitement the brig *Palmyra* has arrived from Africa, with a cargo of slaves belonging to the notorious Pedro Blanco, to the number of eleven hundred and four, and not one of them can find a purchaser. Five hundred of them are in a baracoon near Havana, where they cannot be sold; and five hundred are distributed among some of his friends, who are to have their labour for their keep. In one word, consternation reigns in Cuba. Already a reduced crop of sugar is anticipated, and the value of real property is reduced almost to zero. The Captain-general does not dare, either to disseminate his troops, or to allow the organization of local militia. He has contented himself with purchasing several hundred iron chains for the feet, and distributing them among the plantations!

In their distress, the immediate and most urgent cry of the planters is, Stop the slave-trade; bring us no more negroes! But to this the Captain-general will lend no ear. The petitions on this subject of which our readers have already heard, were got up and presented to him by men of the first rank and influence, some of them nobles of Spain; but he received them with a most

repulsive courtesy. It seems that a political feeling is artfully connected with this subject; and that the Government chooses to suspect all who object to the slave-trade of disaffection to Spain, and a desire after the political independence of Cuba. The real reason, however, why even the present calamities cannot interrupt the slave-trade is, that it yields such immense wealth to the functionaries who possess the Government, and who are largely bribed by half a dozen desperate speculators to connive at its continuance.

Another circumstance indicates the infatuation of the Government. Amidst the state of things we have faintly described, the court abandons itself entirely to pleasure. Grand balls and splendid amusements are the order of the day. The city of Havana is represented as "mad with rejoicing," in order to celebrate the arrival of the young Queen of Spain at her majority!

And to crown this melancholy business with an element almost too farcical for the connexion in which we are obliged to place it, the Government of Spain has sent out royal order, constituting five persons into a Committee, to investigate the truth of the allegations made by the English Government as to the continuance of the slave-trade, and, "if existing (!), to check it by suitable restrictions not inimical to commerce and agriculture." Of this Committee the Captain-general is President; and the other parties named are Don Joaquim Gomez, the Marquis de las Delicias (well-known partizans of the slave-trade), Don Juan Montalve, the Count de Veravanda, Don Rafael de Quesada, brother to the celebrated General Quesada, and the Marquis de Donadieu. No doubt the British Consul at Havana will give a good account of these proceedings to his Government.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

In our last Number we laid before our readers the Address to the Friends of the Negro, which has been circulated by Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, with a view to obtain signatures, in order, of course, to show to what extent the sentiments it contains are held by the friends of the Anti-slavery cause; and we added to this document some of the many letters to which it has given rise. To-day we give several more letters: that from Lord Brougham has been written in consequence of the address having been shown to him by a third party. It remains for us now to state our own view of the case.

In proceeding to the expression of our sentiments, in which we must use all frankness and sincerity, we hope to abstain from every thing inconsistent with candour and kind feeling. Already we have said that the authors of the Address are among the most valued friends of the Anti-slavery cause; and we now add, that we give them credit for the full measure of respect and kindness towards the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society which they have expressed. With this declaration of mutual esteem we may be permitted to put personal feelings altogether aside, and to enter without fear of offending on the consideration of the argument.

The false step alleged to have been taken by the Committee—"the head and front of their offending"—is, that, in 1841, they "memorialized the Government against any relaxation of the duties upon slave-grown sugar." To which this aggravation is to be added, that they have "persevered in" this course "with a pertinacity wholly unaccountable."

The charge of pertinacity may be disposed of in a single word. The authors of the Address themselves admit, that the Committee acted "in pursuance of what they deemed their duty to their constituents, and in furtherance of what they judged to be the interests of the great principles they are appointed to defend." Now, in such a course, we think constancy ought not to be called pertinacity, but steadfastness; and we think it strange that men who possess so much of this admirable quality as the authors of the Address should find any difficulty in accounting for its manifestation in others.

To the argument, however. The authors of the Address open it in the following manner:—

"We are anxious to submit to your candid consideration our objections to the course taken by the London Committee.

In the first place, we are conscientiously opposed to the means resorted to for effecting its object, as involving an infringement of the sacred rights of justice, and requiring for its successful accomplishment the use of physical force.

"And, secondly, we are of opinion that the righteous object sought to be obtained by the Committee will not by their plan of operations be achieved, but that to persevere in the use of such means will greatly tend to injure the Anti-slavery cause."

The first objection is twofold. The conduct pursued by the Committee, first, involves an infringement of the sacred rights of

justice; and secondly, it requires for its accomplishment the use of physical force. We do not quite see how it happened that the second part of this objection came to be linked with the first, with which it has clearly no natural connexion. It was, perhaps, an after-thought; or it may have been felt to be capable of bearing so little stress that it was deemed necessary to attach it to a more weighty argument. But let this pass.

1. The opposition of the Committee to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, we are told, "involves an infringement of the sacred rights of justice." It is, then, one of the sacred rights of justice that Englishmen should be allowed to use slave-grown sugar. We confess this does not appear to us in the light of an axiom. That men have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (we believe we use the words of the American Declaration of Independence) we can understand; but we do not see our way clear to put Brazilian sugar in the same category.

But how, let us ask, do the authors of the Address endeavour to make good their assertion? It is by this singular allegation, that slave-grown sugar is kept out of England by the "conscientious scruples" of some of the people. Well; suppose it were so: does this prove it to be "an infringement of the sacred rights of justice?" The *non sequitur* is obvious. But the allegation is untrue. Slave-grown sugar is not kept out of England by the "conscientious scruples" of any body. The conscientious, that is, the sincere opinions of some persons respecting its impropriety induce them to use their efforts for this end, which we suppose is no harm. With such opinions, what else ought they to do? The authors of the Address put it to us whether our conscientious opinions ought to impose sacrifices on our poorer countrymen. We merely ask in reply, whether a regard to the cheapness of sugar ought to induce us to throw overboard the great moral considerations connected with slavery and the slave-trade. As to the notion of permitting importation freely, and employing conscience to pick out from a hundred samples of sugar the produce of free labour, it is so near the ludicrous that we can scarcely keep our gravity. If, however, it should be further insisted on, we must suggest that conscience should be apprenticed for a season to a Colonial broker, to acquire the necessary tact and experience.

The authors of the Address sum up this objection in the following words:—

"To doom millions to involuntary abstinence and suffering, because a few, and an almost imperceptible fraction, of the people have honest objections against the use of slave-grown sugar, appears to us to be the subjecting of one man's clearest natural right to the arbitrary decision of another man's conscience, and wholly indefensible on any ground, social, political, or religious."

This is a mere re-statement of the argument from an alleged natural right to the use of slave-grown sugar, with an endeavour to add to its weight by exhibiting the small number of the objectors to it. Now, if the exclusion of slave-grown sugar be an infringement of natural right at all, it is so independently of all questions as to the few or the many. If that which is done by "an imperceptible fraction of the people" infringes my natural right, the same thing done by an overwhelming majority would infringe it no less. This consideration, therefore, although repeatedly used in aggravation, is altogether irrelevant. If the exclusion of slave-grown sugar be an infringement of natural right, it must be only by virtue of a general proposition—which, however, (we know not why) the authors of the Address have not expressed—that all men have a natural right to the free use of all the productions of the world. We will not now dispute this proposition. It is enough for us to say, that the right in question is clearly among those which must, in any view of the social compact, be held liable to modification by the governing power. Not every infringement of a natural right is a violation of the sacred rights of justice.

2. The authors of the Address now turn to the argument derived from the employment of physical force. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, they remind us, is pledged to measures exclusively pacific; but "a prohibition against foreign sugar," we are told, will be maintained "by a preventive force of revenue cruisers and armed blockade men." There is nothing peculiar in this respect, we suppose, in the fate of foreign sugar. "Revenue cruisers and armed blockade men" are undoubtedly employed every where to prevent smuggling, which is liable to take place with all highly-taxed articles, although not at all likely to take place with so bulky an article as sugar. If the argument is good for anything, however, it bears equally against all duties, whether of customs or excise, and with no particular force against a duty on sugar. It may be added that it bears against all taxation, all police, and all government; since force, whether indicated by any outward sign or not, and whether military or civil, is the real basis on which all government rests. That the authors of the Address are prepared to recommend the universal abandonment of force cannot for a moment be supposed; yet from the stress laid on this point in the address, one would almost think that, if the scruples of those who obstruct the admission of slave-grown sugar could but be got out of the way, the employment of force would be altogether at an end.

3. We come now to the second—or, as we number them, the third—objection to the course which the Committee have pursued. It will not, it is affirmed, be successful, but will greatly tend to injure the anti-slavery cause.

Before asking for the proofs of this allegation, it is proper to observe that, by the terms in which it is expressed, a change is effected in the subject under consideration. Hitherto we have had to do with the Committee on the mere fact of their endeavouring to keep out

of the British market what is already prevented from coming in; which they have done, because, in their opinion, it would aggravate the condition of slavery, and stimulate the slave-trade. Now it is assumed that they are systematically endeavouring to induce, by fiscal regulations in England, the abandonment of slavery abroad. We are not denying that the fact is so: we only feel it needful to mark this change in the aspect of the discussion. It is in this view that the authors of the address say the Committee will do harm instead of good. We now ask for the proofs.

"Slavery in the Brazils can only be abolished in one of two ways: by social convulsion and violent revolution, or by a change in public opinion on the question itself. * * The second mode is the only one to be hoped for, and that can never be brought about by aggravating distinctions in our commercial code.

"English anti-slavery opinion may operate powerfully upon Brazilian slavery opinion. But, to act at all, it must not only exist, it must have a medium through which it can act. The more our intercourse with the Brazils is encouraged, the more powerfully will our opinions act upon their opinions, and the more likely shall we be to urge them to a wiser policy. Offer them advice in a hostile shape, send it to them on the bayonet's point, or in a vexatious and injurious tariff, and it is rejected with feelings of exasperation and contempt; but convey it in kindly terms, through the channel of trade and of mutual dependence, and it will come attended with all the circumstances which can give inducement to its cordial acceptance."

We can have no hesitation in saying that we look to a change of opinion, and not to revolution, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. Our difference with the authors of the Address relates to the mode in which a change of opinion may be brought about. Enlarge your intercourse with Brazil, say our friends; open the British market to their produce, and give the amplest facilities to their commerce, for so will "our opinions act upon their opinions." We have no great faith in this assumed action of opinions upon opinions. We suspect that, in the present state of the world, people's opinions are strongly acted upon by their interest: more strongly, indeed, than, interest being adverse, they would be by the opinions of any other people whatever. The maxim, "Take slave produce from the Brazilians, and exhort them to give up slavery," may, we think, be fairly translated into the following—Give them doubloons for holding slaves, and a hornim in favour of freedom. We confess we should have little faith in the remedy, if we could even believe in the sincerity of the physician who prescribed it.

The matter, however, is not one of speculation. The experiment has been repeatedly tried, and the result is practically before us. Cast a glance at our own West India colonies. Their commerce was loaded with favours; but West Indian "slavery opinion" was very little wrought upon by the anti-slavery opinion of England. Or look to the great transatlantic republic. The cotton of the southern states has commanded favour by its incalculable importance to ourselves; but the trade in it has made no way for the influence of English opinions on the subject of slavery. The very contrary has been the fact. The time when the southern states approached nearest to the abolition of slavery, was also the time when there was the smallest demand in England for their staple produce. It is the demand for American cotton at Liverpool, and nothing else, that rivets the chain of the slave. To stop it, or to diminish it one half, would do more to effect a change in the "slavery opinion" of Louisiana and the Carolinas, than a hundred years preaching of sermons while they are getting rich by the culture of cotton for the British market. What should inspire hope of a different result in Brazil? All experience shows us the practical wisdom of saying to the Brazilians, We will open our market to your produce when you have abolished slavery.

4. Under their second head the authors of the Address introduce "another, and," as they add, "perhaps still more forcible objection to our calling on Government to resort to fiscal restrictions for coercing foreign countries into the suppression of slavery. This policy is maintained by our statesmen," they tell us, "upon the plea that the free-labour sugar of our colonies cannot compete in price with the produce of slaves."

We are here brought to a stand. We do not see what we have to do with the allegations made "by our statesmen." If this argument had been used by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, it would have been our duty to examine it; but all the world knows that they have constantly affirmed, that, other things being equal, the labour of freemen is always cheaper than the labour of slaves. If the authors of the Address mean to maintain more than this, let them make out their case. We are quite willing to adopt their maxim, "Let it be seen whether we cannot destroy slavery by underselling it," provided only that we bring none but the produce of free labour into the competition. As to "the full faith that Divine Providence has ordained that the greatest abundance and cheapness of his bounties shall be the reward of those who do unto others as they would that others should do unto them,"—in which singular faith it is recommended that the slave-holders and slave-traders shall be put into possession of the amplest opportunities we can give them of amassing wealth—we acknowledge that we are somewhat sceptical.

We have now noticed all the arguments contained in the Address; but we must add one or two miscellaneous remarks.

1. Injustice, we think, is done to the Committee by the note which accompanies the Address; inasmuch as they are represented as "opposing the introduction of *foreign sugar*" into this country. The well-known fact is that they are strenuously advocating the introduction of foreign sugar, not being slave-grown.

2. Injustice is done to the anti-slavery body throughout the country, when the Address speaks of "the secession of many Associations" from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The whole facts are these:—The Committee at Liverpool passed adverse resolutions, against which several members of it protested; the Committee at Birmingham passed adverse resolutions, and afterwards rescinded them; the Committee at Hitchin passed adverse resolutions, but did not secede; and the Devizes Committee became extinct. How much of the general confidence of the country has been lost or retained, the present discussion will probably ascertain.

Having thus adverted to all the points in the Address which seem to require notice, it might seem that our work was done. If our readers are like ourselves, however, they are sensible of a strange surmise that something has been omitted, or else that something is not there which should have been there. The latter, we beg to explain, is the fact. And it is to us (to use a phrase of their own) "wholly unaccountable" that the authors of the Address should have sent so grave a document into the world, taking absolutely no notice whatever of the two important topics which we will now introduce.

1. They complain of the Committee for availing themselves of fiscal regulations for the discouragement of slavery, but they never notice the fact that the use of such measures is actually prescribed by the constitution of the Society itself. One of the means agreed on with perfect unanimity at the formation of the Society, was "to recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, instead of slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour." Whether the adoption of such a course was right or wrong is a question on which opinions may differ; but that the Committee can be blameable for pursuing it while it stands as a part of their fundamental law is utterly inconceivable. It is by neglecting it that they would expose themselves to censure.

2. It is well known that the ground on which the Committee have throughout resisted the admission of sugar from Brazil, is that it would aggravate the sufferings of the slaves, and multiply the victims of the slave-trade; yet not a single reference is made in the Address to this topic. For all that appears there, the world might think that the Committee were acting without any solid reason at all, and, for mere sport, and, "with a pertinacity wholly unaccountable," making wanton assaults on "the sacred rights of justice." Certainly it was incumbent on the authors of the Address to show, if they could—and nothing would have served their purpose better—that the admission of Brazilian sugar would neither hurt the slaves, nor increase the slave-trade. "The better part of valour is discretion;" or perhaps an argument with which no man has ever grappled, or ever can grapple, may have been habitually so far out of sight as to have been overlooked unawares. We, however, must not suffer it to be overlooked; and we call the attention of our readers to it distinctly and emphatically.

Look at the condition of the slave. Where the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his comforts; where the labourer is a slave, it diminishes them. During the controversy with our own West India colonies, one cry of the abolitionists was, "To relieve the slave, consume less sugar: the more sugar you eat the harder he works, the sooner he dies." The principle is just as applicable to Brazil. How is it possible to create an increased demand for the sugar of that country without adding to the toils of the slave, and aggravating all the dreadful sufferings of his condition?

Look at the slave-trade. If more sugar is to be made in Brazil, there must be more hands to make it; and these hands must be fetched by the slavers from desolated and bleeding Africa. The gains of the slave-trade being increased with the growing demand for slaves, desperate men will run the most fearful risks for such mines of gold. Can there be a doubt about it? Or about the dreadful cruelties and miseries involved in it? And a reluctance to become a party to such an issue is to be denounced as a "conscientious scruple" of "an imperceptible fraction of the people"! This "scruple" weighs heavier than all the hogsheads of sugar in Brazil; and weighs, too, we are persuaded, with "the millions" of our countrymen.

THE FLORIDA FUGITIVES.

From the papers laid before Parliament in relation to the seven slaves who escaped to the Bahamas from St. Augustine, we learn that Mr. Browne, United States marshal, arrived at Nassau in the *Nautilus*, United States schooner-of-war, on the 24th of December, 1843. He was received by the Governor, Sir Francis Cockburn, on the following day; and, on the object of his visit being mentioned, he acceded to the suggestion of the Governor that it would be better for all communications to be in writing. The United States marshal opened his commission by the following note:—

*U. S. Schooner Nautilus, Providence, Nassau,
25th December, 1843.*

SIR.—The undersigned avails himself of the earliest opportunity to announce to his Excellency the Governor of the Bahamas, that he has been directed, by order of his government at Washington, to repair to this port for the purpose of obtaining the persons of seven individuals, who, after the perpetration of a most wanton murder, and the commission of several acts of piracy and robbery, it has been understood were at the island of Nassau, to which they had fled for security. The United States

government, anxious that every provision of the late treaty between her Britannic Majesty and themselves should be fulfilled in the spirit of good faith, have directed the undersigned to make such communication with your Excellency as will at once fulfil these intentions, and enable them to vindicate the supremacy of their own laws by a return of those criminals who have sought the protection of the British flag.

The undersigned simply announcing the object of his visit, and awaiting the earliest leisure of his Excellency, has the honour, &c.,

(Signed) J. B. BROWNE,
His Excellency Sir Francis Cockburn, United States Marshal.
&c. &c. &c.

His Excellency having solicited and obtained the names of the alleged criminals, forthwith issued his warrant to Chief Justice Lees, to proceed in the case according to the tenor of the Act of Parliament. Associating with himself his "brother judges," Sandilands and Gahan, he lost no time in attending to the business; and, in a communication dated December 30th, the result is stated as follows:—

Nassau, 30th December, 1843.

SIR.—I had the honour of informing you through the medium of the public secretary, that, immediately on the receipt of your Excellency's warrant delivered to me on the afternoon of the 26th inst., I requested Mr. Justice Sandilands and Mr. Justice Gahan to associate themselves with me for the investigation of the evidence forwarded by the United States government for the purpose of claiming as criminals under the recent treaty certain fugitives from St. Augustine. On the following morning (the 27th) I was waited on by Mr. Wood, the counsel employed by the United States agents, to know when we would be ready to receive the evidence. I replied, immediately; but Mr. Wood appointed the following morning at ten o'clock. At that time we assembled accordingly, and, that no time might be lost, I had the warrant for apprehending the fugitives ready prepared, expecting, as a matter of course, that such evidence would be given to us as we should under the Act be authorized to receive. We were much surprised, therefore, to find that the only evidence offered to us was documentary, and those documents consisting of mere indictments, without any evidence upon which they were framed. Willing, however, to give the subject the most mature consideration, we postponed coming to a decision until the following day (yesterday), when, having satisfied ourselves that it was quite impossible that a warrant could issue on such evidence, we delivered our decision to the United States agents, a copy of which I have herewith the honour to enclose. After this, and the meeting had broken up, I was asked by Mr. Browne, the provost marshal from Key West, whether, if certain circumstances could be deposited to me by one of the party, it would be considered sufficient? I replied, I could hardly answer a question put in so vague a way, but that if he would have the circumstances he alluded to put down on paper, I would consult my brother judges on the subject. I have not since had the honour of receiving any communication from them.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. C. LEES.

His Excellency Sir Francis Cockburn, &c., &c.

The official document containing the formal decision of the judges is in the following terms:—

By the Act for giving effect to a treaty, &c., &c., it is enacted, that, upon warrant given under the hand and seal of the officer administering the government of any colony, &c., it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace, or other person having power to commit for trial persons accused of crimes, &c., &c., to examine upon oath any person or persons touching the truth of the charge made against such offenders, and upon such evidence as, according to the laws of that part of her Majesty's dominions where the supposed offender shall be found, would justify his or her apprehension, &c., if the crime of which he or she shall be so accused had been there committed, it shall be lawful for such justice of the peace, or other person having power to commit as aforesaid, to issue his warrant for the apprehension of such person. Had any such evidence been offered to us, we should of course have considered ourselves bound to receive it, and to issue our warrant for apprehending the offenders. No *vitio vox* evidence, however, of any kind touching the charge is offered to us, but we are presented with certain indictments, which it is stated have been found by a jury in Florida. Now it is provided by the second clause of the Act, that, in every such case copies of the depositions upon which the original warrant was granted, certified, &c., may be received as evidence; but we are furnished with no such copies of depositions. An indictment *per se* can never be received as evidence; it is not enough for us to know that the American jury thought the parties guilty, we ought to know the grounds upon which they thought them guilty. What may constitute the crime of murder in Florida may be very far from doing so according to the British laws, or even to the laws of the northern states of America; by issuing a warrant, then, to apprehend the parties in virtue of these indictments, we might be doing so on evidence which would not justify their apprehension by the British law, and should thereby be proceeding in direct violation of the Act. We profess and feel the utmost willingness to carry the Act into effect, and to aid and assist, by every means in our power, in the apprehension of offenders under the treaty; but, being furnished with no kind of evidence against the parties except the indictments alluded to, which neither the Act itself nor accordance with our own laws would justify us in receiving, we must consider ourselves as totally without evidence, and, however reluctantly, refuse to issue the warrant.

(Signed) J. C. LEES, Chief Justice.

ROBERT SANDILANDS, Assistant Justice.
P. F. GAHAN, Assistant Justice.

In the conduct of his case, Mr. Browne "had the assistance of one of the most talented men of the legal profession," while "the Friendly Society, composed of emancipated negroes, employed a professional man to watch the case on the part of the accused." Mr. Browne certainly seems to have no cause to complain of either

want of courtesy, or want of alacrity, on the part of any functionary at Nassau ; and, before quitting that port, he made the following graceful acknowledgment on this head :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS COCKBURN,
GOVERNOR OF THE BAHAMAS, &c. &c.

United States schooner Nautilus,
30th December, 1843.

The undersigned, having had the object of his visit brought to a close by the opinions of her Majesty's Judges for the Bahamas, avails himself of this opportunity to tender to your Excellency his warmest thanks for the courtesy and good feeling evinced toward him personally and in his official character, and shall embrace the earliest opportunity, on his return to the United States, to express the same to his own Government. With every wish for the continued happiness of your Excellency,

I have, &c.,
(Signed) J. B. BROWNE,
United States Marshal.

By an extract in our last number, it would be seen that attention had been called to this subject in the senate of the United States by Mr. Benton, who moved for information. In a late number of the *New York Evangelist* we find the following summary of the information supplied by the President in answer to this request :—

"On the 21st a message was received from the President, communicating some correspondence, &c., on the subject of the tenth article of the late treaty, and the British construction of it. A slave who had killed his master in self-defence, and fled to the Bahama islands, was demanded under that article of the treaty as a fugitive from justice. The case was tried in the Bahama Courts, and the demand was disallowed; and the decision of the Courts was, that the killing of a master in self-defence was no greater crime than killing a man who was not a master, and that therefore the person claimed was not guilty. This decision will have an important bearing, and discloses, more fully than any other decision which has yet occurred, the determination of Great Britain with regard to our fugitive slaves."

It will be seen that this account adds somewhat to the information supplied by the Parliamentary paper. According to it, the indictment seems to have carried on the face of it that the slave had "killed his master in self-defence;" and the Judges to have held that killing in self-defence was not murder.

FRENCH VIEWS OF BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Paris, 3mo. 22, 1843.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Before leaving Paris, where John Scoble and myself have made a longer stay than we originally intended, I proceed to give thee some account of the information we have obtained; and the steps we have taken during the period of our visit. Soon after our arrival we procured some of the principal works relating to the anti-slavery question which have appeared here during the last few years, especially those published by the French government. These contain a very large amount of reading. Among them we have directed our attention to the continuation of a series of publications intended to illustrate the results of emancipation in the British colonies, entitled, *Abolition de l'esclavage dans les colonies Anglaises*; the *Procès Verbaux* of the Commission appointed by the king to examine questions relative to the abolition of slavery, and the constitution of the French colonies; and, finally, the Report of the Royal Commission on the subject of slavery. I cannot but hope that the large amount of information contained in these, and in other works that I have not noticed, will be productive of benefit to the cause which they are intended to illustrate. They must at least serve to awaken attention to the abolition of slavery, and excite reflection upon the duty and importance of this act. It may be interesting to some of the readers of the *Reporter* to know what is the general character of thousands of quarto or octavo pages thus brought under the notice of the statesmen and people of France. I shall therefore observe that the volumes entitled, "Abolition de l'esclavage dans les colonies Anglaises," containing an account of the results of emancipation in the British colonies, consist of extracts from the various classes of documents that have reference to this subject printed by the Parliament of England, including parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies, Reports of Commissioners on slavery, on the apprenticeship, on the state of the West Indies, and on immigration from Africa. They include, also, some documents issued by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and notices of important parliamentary debates on subjects connected with the abolition of slavery. There are also various introductory and explanatory remarks contained in these volumes; and, lastly, reports made by Frenchmen who have recently visited the British colonies by direction of their government, or of the colonial authorities. The general tendency of the original remarks and statements introduced by the compiler of the volumes, which are published by the Department of the Marine, favours a very gradual abolition of slavery. The persons on whom was devolved by the French government or authorities the task of investigating the situation of the British colonies under a state of freedom, are Captain Layrle (now Governor of French Guiana); M. Bernard, Procureur-General of the royal court of Guadeloupe; M. Guillet, Commissioner of the Marine in French Guiana; Dejean de la Batie, member of the Colonial Council of the island of Bourbon; Captain Jehenne; and the Vice-Admiral Count de Moges. Among these persons, the visits made by Captain Layrle were extensive, and embraced Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent,

Grenada, St. Christopher's, Antigua, Trinidad, Barbadoes, an British Guiana. The statements of M. Bernard relate to Antigua only; those of Vidal de Lingendes and of M. Guillet to British Guiana; of Dejean de la Batie to the island of Mauritius; and of Vice-Admiral de Moges to St. Lucia. It will be at once seen how large an amount of the testimony respecting the results of British emancipation, so far as it is found in these original French documents, rests upon the authority of Captain Layrle; and that nearly the whole of the remainder is furnished by persons having an official connexion with the French slave colonies, or being interested in them. The latter class of evidence will scarcely be considered as satisfactory or conclusive by any impartial person; and how large a proportion of individuals holding official situations in slave countries are, by marriage or otherwise, implicated in the system of slavery! On the reports of Captain Layrle I remark, that an evident antipathy to emancipation, and sympathy with the planters, runs through them, notwithstanding some fair professions of impartiality. Thus, in the commencement of his observations on labour in Jamaica, he observes: "We are no longer living at the period when persons could deceive themselves with respect to the results of free labour—the period when the Broughams, the Wilberforces, the O'Connells, the Seafords, the Sligos, and others, predicted in the Parliament of England that the labour of a free negro would be as valuable as that of three slaves. Since then facts have spoken; they have overthrown all the theories of those abolitionists, and destroyed all the arguments in favour of productiveness and riches."—*Abolition de l'esclavage*, 4th publication, p. 71. It is too evident that productiveness and riches for the planter are, in the opinion of Captain Layrle, of far greater importance than the rights and happiness of the negro. The proof of this is continually afforded to those who read his reports with any degree of attention, and will be sufficiently manifest in the dark colours in which he has depicted the results of emancipation in the principal British West India colony, Jamaica. Captain Layrle notices the great diminution which had progressively taken place in the export of sugar from that island, subsequently to the abolition of the slave-trade. The exportation reached its minimum in 1841, when the quantity shipped was 30,560 hds., besides tierces and barrels; but was estimated by Captain Layrle, writing at the commencement of 1842, at only 20,000 hds.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 69, 70; 5th pub., p. 98. The unfavourable account given by Captain Layrle of free labour has been already noticed. This is frequently repeated in other words in his reports. He is, nevertheless, forced to admit that all the parishes of Jamaica do not present the same unfavourable aspect; that in some the negroes have shown themselves more assiduous in the fields; and that there are still plantations on which a fair amount of sugar is made. These admissions are not destroyed by statements of an opposite character with regard to other labourers or other plantations, or by Captain Layrle's gloomy anticipations, with which they are generally accompanied.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 73, 74, 90. The hopes expressed by planters of an increase of production are twice noticed, and twice spoken of as feigned, or as arising from interested motives.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 89; 5th pub., p. 106. The reasonable expectations entertained by persons resident in the colony, founded on a knowledge of facts, have, however, proved more correct than the prejudiced forebodings—I will not speak of them as feigned—of this censor of emancipation. The exportation of sugar from Jamaica amounted in 1842 to 47,892 hds., in addition to a considerable number of tierces and barrels, being an increase of more than 50 per cent. on the exports of the two preceding years. In speaking of immigration into Jamaica, which has only taken place to a very limited extent, it is remarked, "The diabolical spirit (!) of the blacks is besides this (other difficulties previously mentioned) an obstacle to the success of immigration."—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 83. The adult portion of the emancipated population is described as not having made any progress in morals and religion; but it is expected that the rising generation will derive some benefit from schools spread over the island by the abundant resources of British philanthropy.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 78. In another portion of the same report, Captain L. states that "the Baptist missionaries are said to be generally men of low station, and are only remarkable for the political attitude they have assumed, and for the vehemence of their declamations. In the midst of the interest which they affect to feel in the emancipated population, they do not forget their own advantage. They have built with the purse of the negroes handsome churches, handsome schools, and especially handsome houses for their own use; they take advantage of the credulity of their flocks; they have renewed in the present day the sale of indulgences, and there is not a negro who is not eager to bring his shilling in order to obtain the ticket which is to open to him the gates of heaven. Thus the Baptist missionaries are seen surrounded by all that luxury can present that is agreeable: in some localities they have become proprietors. It is by extracting as much as they can from the population of which they call themselves the friends and protectors, that they enrich and raise themselves upon the spoils of expiring Jamaica."—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 80, 81. Such statements require only to be perused by English readers acquainted with the character of the persons spoken of, and with the facts, to receive their full confutation. Captain Layrle, however, appears to have reversed the statements made by himself respecting the stationary character of the larger part of the enfranchised population of Jamaica, and the conduct of the Baptist missionaries, when, in a later report, under the head "Analogy of situation between Jamaica and the French Antilles," he says, "The English colonies owe the remarkable state of ad-

vancement at which they have arrived in moralization and civilization to the continued efforts of ministers of religion; for the monetary evils that the dissenting sects have occasioned are only an exception which does not destroy the rule."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 107. The dwellings of the negroes are described as in a more miserable and ruinous state than during the period of slavery, and their interior as wanting that appearance of comfort which Captain Layrle had observed in the other colonies. The dress of the new freemen is said to have undergone no improvement. They are represented as covered only with miserable rags even in the city of Kingston, and at Spanish Town, the seat of government.—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 100. The town of Kingston is acknowledged to present an appearance of great prosperity, and the general trade of the island to have increased; but these circumstances are stated to have arisen from an extension of its foreign commerce. It would have been inconvenient to have ascribed it to its true cause, the increase in imports occasioned by the greatly improved situation of the emancipated population, and the activity imparted to the coasting and internal trade of the island by the same circumstance. I shall copy no more of the incorrect statements of Captain Layrle relative to Jamaica, except the conclusion at which he arrives:—"Doubtless in this colony various circumstances have contributed to complicate a state of things thus prejudicial to production; but these are only accessories, the foundation of the evil remains the same; it is free labour, the result of which is no longer doubtful, that inclines the balance to the ruin of the former slave colonies."—*Ibid., 4th pub.*, p. 92. It is scarcely needful to observe that the statements made by Captain Layrle on several of the subjects above given are wholly at variance with those contained in official documents published by the British government, with communications made by the highest authorities at home and abroad, and with the accounts of travellers of the highest character and the most unquestionable disinterestedness. Such a fact must greatly lessen, if it does not wholly destroy, the value of Captain Layrle's testimony. His prejudice, or unreasonable regard for the planters, seems to have led him not only to see the darkest side of every feature in negro emancipation, but to regard the future with the same gloomy feelings. He does not appear to have reflected that the peculiarity of freedom, as compared with slavery, is, that it has a constant tendency to progress and improvement. If the same amount of sugar is not at once produced by voluntary industry in many of the British colonies that was extorted from men, women, and children, by the whip, there is no longer a stationary or decreasing population; education, morality, and religion are continually spreading their benign influence over the community, and the result of these circumstances cannot be long doubtful to the most perverse understanding, not only as they affect the happiness of the great mass of the population, but as they conduce to the general prosperity of the country in which they exist.

The account given by Captain Layrle of British Guiana, to which colony he appears to have devoted more attention than to Jamaica, contains many important admissions. Respecting free labour it is said, "In Guiana, the former planters are divided into two parties: the one proclaim the impossibility of going on under the existing system; the other, on the contrary, affirm that they never want labourers, that they have only to commend the industry of the negroes, that they produce as much as under the former system, and, finally, that the future gives them no uneasiness. These assertions, altogether different as they are, proceed from men too respectable not to be of some weight: so much for the former planters. Now, consult those who have newly become such; hear those men who only know forced labour by tradition (and there are such in the colony); you will find them unanimous; all will tell you that they are satisfied with the work, that their plantations are doing well, and that they do not fear a diminution of the price of colonial articles."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 25. Captain Layrle is, I believe, incorrect in stating that there are now planters in Guiana who only know forced labour by tradition, as it is well known that all the estates which have changed hands subsequent to emancipation have been bought by persons previously resident in the colony. I conclude, therefore, that the remarks attributed to new colonists were made by those who have recently become proprietors. On the subject of the value of property, Captain Layrle observes: "All the investigations that I have made on the state of property in the country have generally resulted in learning that they have not decreased in value since emancipation. I shall not speak of the earliest period of liberty, when the influence of capital thrown into the colony by the indemnity may have led to transactions considered as hazardous, and when there was very little confidence in the continuation of labour. I shall only speak of property purchased after things had subsided to their natural state, and the future had become less gloomy. It results then, from documents the most entitled to confidence, that twenty-two estates have changed hands, and there is scarcely one which has been sold below its (former) value, whilst it is notorious that the price of several of these estates has exceeded that at which it had (formerly) been estimated. These purchases have not been made by strangers, but by men who have long resided in the country, who are still there, and who know the resources of the colonies as well as the unfavourable chances."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 34. It will be seen that the above quotation confirms the remark I have made respecting the new class of planters in Guiana, and is at variance with Captain Layrle's former statement in reference to this subject. Concerning the value of property in towns, it is remarked: "If the value of plantations appears doubtful to some minds, this is not the case with regard to property in the towns. This, for some

years past, has greatly increased in value; a fact which is universally established, and which is the result of the increase in the population of the towns, and of the luxury and easy circumstance which prevail among all classes in society. At George Town persons often talk of ruin; but it is difficult to believe it in the midst of the luxury which surrounds you, and of the princely state of those to whom the new system, as they say, is so injurious."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, pp. 34, 35. The state of society and the conduct of the emancipated class in British Guiana is thus noticed:—"If, under the head of production, emancipation has not realized the hopes of the partisans of free labour, it must, however, be acknowledged that, in a moral point of view, it has operated in such a way as to satisfy the minds of those whom it is the most difficult to please. The progress of the emancipated population in civilization is evident. Everything announces that the rising generation will receive a suitable degree of instruction." The negro population of Guiana presents to society, not only the guarantee of order, but Captain Layrle "dares even to add the probability of the labour being afforded which the future welfare of the colony requires." These advantages he attributes "to the continued efforts of the mother country, the local government, the regular clergy, the dissenting sects, and the planters." Schools and churches are said to have been generally erected by the same parties, and "sometimes (it is remarked) the people themselves, in their earnest desire for instruction, participate eagerly in the expense of building schools." Much more than this might have been truly said of the noble and generous contributions made by those who were lately slaves to moral and religious objects. Marriages are acknowledged by Captain Layrle to be numerous; but any credit which might otherwise attach to the negro, from this change from his former demoralized habits, is given principally, if not wholly, to the clergy and the planters. The manner in which the latter are asserted to encourage marriage, by providing the dinner which takes place on the occasion, and making marriage presents, is, as a general statement, ridiculous and untrue. Captain L. proceeds to say: "It is notorious that former habits still prevail, and that there are numerous instances of a want of fidelity in married persons." The exhortations of ministers of religion are nevertheless said to bear their fruits. It is admitted in society that libertinism is blamable; married persons refuse to associate with those who live in an immoral manner; women, especially, will not yield on this point, and affix a profound contempt on those who persist in their former irregularities. From this state of things, it results that family ties are increasingly regarded; infancy is cared for; old age and its infirmities inspire interest. Captain Layrle cites on this subject the intention which the local government had formed, to collect in one place the old and infirm people of the rural districts. A law was passed in consequence; it was established on the same basis as the poor law of England; funds were voted for its execution; but this humane act of the legislature proved useless. The old people and the infirm found among their relations and friends, not only an asylum, but a supply for all their wants.—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 40. I will only notice further in the general account given by Captain Layrle of British Guiana two circumstances in which a happy change has taken place since the abolition of slavery. In the English colonies, cruel use was formerly made of poison; this is a fact of which Captain Layrle was everywhere assured. Emancipation has put an end to practices which cost the life of entire families; at present these practices are unknown. If a labourer has reason to complain of the colonist that employs him, he does not poison him, he does not ruin him by poisoning his cattle; he leaves him, takes his services elsewhere, and the matter is at an end.—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 51. Again, it is said: "The time no longer exists when the colony demanded from the metropolitan government the withdrawal of the missionaries. Far from that, it would be happy to receive new ones, so sure does it feel of the usefulness of their co-operation."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 74. I regret that the length of the extracts already made prevents my copying the description given of the dishonest means that have been adopted by some persons in British Guiana to depreciate the value of property there, in order to become purchasers themselves.—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 34. The general conclusions at which Captain Layrle professes to have arrived, that follow the notice of British Guiana, will, after the extracts which have been given, surprise most readers. Some of them are thus stated: "English emancipation, irrespective of its political bearing, was a hasty and unjust measure. It was hasty, because the population was not sufficiently prepared to enjoy the benefits of liberty, and because the transient system of apprenticeship did not continue as long as was required for the moralization of the rural classes. It was unjust, because it has ruined colonial property, which the Government knew to be loaded with debts, which it did not afford time to liquidate. It was unjust, because it sacrificed at once colonial and metropolitan interests: colonial interests, in leaving the planter dispossessed of indemnity in the impossibility of continuing cultivation after liberty was given; and metropolitan interests, in depriving the creditor of the hope of recovering the whole amount of his claim."—*Ibid., 5th pub.*, p. 82. I confess that I am wholly at a loss to reconcile these conclusions with the facts stated by Captain Layrle, and suppose it to be an illustration of the well-known lines,

"A man convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still."

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

This day, price Sixpence, second Edition,
THE EFFECT of an ALTERATION in the SUGAR DUTIES on the CONDITION of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND and the NEGRO RACE considered. With an Appendix, containing the History and Practical Effects of the Slave-trade Treaties. By MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq.

Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, London.

Recently published, price One Shilling,

THE TRIAL of PEDRO DE ZULUETA, Jun., at the Central Criminal Court of the City of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th days of October, 1843, on a charge of Slave-trading. Reported by J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer. With introductory and concluding remarks, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. (Second Edition.)

To the Trial, as reported in this pamphlet, is annexed a very interesting and important Appendix, containing extracts from the log of the *Augusta*, and the slave-trading instructions put on board at Cadiz.

"We strongly recommend all who feel any interest in the abolition of this accursed traffic to procure and peruse this trial."—*Patriot.*

London : Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row ; and Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers, **T**HE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world ; its extent ; the cost of endeavours to suppress it ; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c. ; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies ; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies ; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius ; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries ; Washington Treaty ; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil ; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti ; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London : Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row ; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.—CASE OF JOHN L. BROWN.
THE COUNCIL of the NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION held a Special Meeting at their Offices, 37, Waterloo-street, Birmingham, on Wednesday, April 3, to consider the subject of addressing the friends of Freedom in America, relative to the case of JOHN L. BROWN, sentenced to death for aiding a slave to escape from bondage, and the inconsistency of America claiming to be a democracy and yet legalising slavery.

After some conversation the following address was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. Sturge undertook to forward copies to friends in America, who would see that it should be brought under the notice of the parties to whom it is addressed :—

"The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, established to claim for the unrepresented people of Great Britain and Ireland their political rights, to the friends of freedom in the United States of America.

"Ardently attached to the principles of freedom, we seek the political enfranchisement of our fellow countrymen. Oppressed by laws they have had no voice in making, borne down by taxes imposed without their consent, about six millions of male citizens above the age of twenty-one demand admission within the pale of the British constitution. In the name of those men, on behalf of the rights of humanity and the claims of Christian principle, we now address you.

"First—on behalf of our own unenfranchised fellow countrymen.

"America boasts itself to be 'the land of liberty.' Its constitution is based on the principles of democracy, and its citizens profess to be animated by a tone of universal freedom. The right of universal suffrage is nominally conceded ; and therefore class legislation ought to be with you a thing unknown. These principles we wish to see restored to the British constitution. Would that America did them justice!—that we might point to her as a living witness of their intrinsic worth, and a positive exemplification of their practical importance. We cannot, we dare not do so, while America tolerates and upholds the inhuman system of slavery, and deprives nearly three millions of her coloured population of their rights and liberties as free-born men. In her Declaration of Independence, she asserts that 'all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,' that amongst these are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and that to secure these rights 'governments are instituted among men.' Notwithstanding which she tramples on the very first principles of liberty, by sanctioning the monstrous doctrine that man can hold property in man ; and in some of her states she has actually enacted laws under which sentence of death has been passed upon an individual for aiding the escape of a female slave from unrighteous bondage ! While such crimes are perpetrated in the name of liberty, and by a nation which claims to be morally, commercially, and intellectually, an example to the world, we feel that the cause of freedom, essentially the same in every country and clime, is exposed to contempt and scorn. Most men judge by hasty observation : few discriminate between the practical defects of your political institutions and the principles on which they are based. But such discrimination is indispensable to a correct appreciation of the democracy of America, while that democracy is vitiated by slavery, and thus poisoned at the core.

"We appeal to you on behalf of the rights of our common humanity, and the claims of Christian principle. John L. Brown, in aiding the escape of a runaway slave, has neither done violence to the laws of God, nor the rights and liberties of man. He was actuated, we believe, by the generous promptings of kind and benevolent feeling, and if he fall a victim to the tyranny of a barbarous law, it will entail indelible disgrace on your much privileged but guilty land. Christianity could have no sympathy with such a deed—humanity revolts at the thought of it, and the whole civilised world would execrate the motives and the policy by which that deed was done. We implore you, then, to seek by prompt, united,

and decided action, the deliverance of this innocent man from prison and from death. Though sentence has been passed under the laws of South Carolina alone, we know that she dare not withstand the united influence of the whole American republic ; and, if the friends of freedom there do not combine to exert that influence, by whom else can that great act of justice and humanity be done ?

"We appeal to your best feelings, at once to uproot a system the bitter fruits of which are thus so shockingly exemplified. We take guilt to our own country for having suffered slavery to remain within our American colonies, before the United States was disengaged from the British Crown. Then three hundred thousand of our fellow beings were in bondage within your territory ; but now nearly three millions are in chains ! Whose is the guilt of this fearful increase ? Are you not prepared to wash that guilt away ; to wipe from your banner the dark, deep stain of slavery, and let all your growing population stand forth before the world physically, morally, and politically free ?

(Signed)

"JOSEPH STURGE, President.

"JAMES H. WILSON, Secretary.

"Birmingham, 4th month 3, 1844."

NOTICES.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will be held at Exeter Hall, London, on Friday, May the 17th, 1844. Further particulars in due course.

The Friends of the Society are respectfully reminded that the accounts will be made up to the 30th instant, and are requested to pay such subscriptions as may be due, and such sums as may be in their hands, before that day.

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 17, 1844.

In our present number we have expressed at considerable length our views of the Address to the Friends of the Negro, which was inserted in our last. In this place we have no need to say more than that a large number of letters in relation to it have been received, affirming the ground which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have taken, and urging them to maintain it. Some of these letters having been intended for publication, we have given them insertion ; and we have lying by us a mass of extracts from others, which may be inserted hereafter should there be occasion for it. Our readers will not need that we should further direct attention to the subject. We shall only in this place present the following Resolutions, which have been adopted by the Anti-Slavery Committee at North Shields :—

At a Meeting of the North Shields Anti-Slavery Committee, held the 12th of 4th month (April), JOSEPH OGILVIE in the chair,—

Resolved—That this Committee, having had the subject of the free introduction of slave-grown sugar into this country brought under consideration, are of opinion that the effects of such a measure would be most injurious to the interests of those employed in its cultivation, and greatly tend to the increase of the horrible traffic in slaves ; and that the conduct of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with respect to this question is founded upon correct principles, and in accordance with the original constitution of the Society.

This meeting would also express its earnest desire that such fiscal regulations may be adopted as will freely admit all free-labour produce, believing that such a measure would tend most powerfully to the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

And that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Committee of the parent Society, and to Thomas Spencer, of Hinton, near Bath.

By the direction of the Committee,
 JOSEPH OGILVIE, Chairman.

It will be gratifying to those friends who thus heartily approve the course which the Committee have taken, to know that their determination to persevere in it has been indicated by another practical step. Petitions to both houses of parliament have been prepared for presentation, fully expressing their sentiments. A circular has also been issued to their friends, recommending an extended imitation of their example. For more general information, we insert both the circular and the petition below.

CIRCULAR.

27, New Broad-street, London,

April 12th, 1844.

DEAR SIR.—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have deemed it their duty to present a Petition to both Houses of Parliament, for the admission of produce of all kinds raised by free-labour in foreign countries into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions, and against the adoption of any fiscal regulation by which facilities would be granted to the introduction of any articles produced by the labour of slaves.

The pending treaty between this country and the empire of Brazil, the late discussion in the House of Commons, and the probability

that the policy of the Government may speedily undergo some modification, combine to impress the Committee with a deep sense of the importance and urgency of the step which they have taken; and to make them desirous that their example should be followed by the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country. I have, therefore, to request in their name, that you will lay this communication before such friends of the cause as may be in your neighbourhood, and consult with them on the subject. It is much to be desired, that the advocates of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade should exert an efficient influence in support of the great principle which is thus submitted to the legislature; and, in order to this, it is necessary that they should make their voice heard in it, in as large numbers as may be found readily practicable. A copy of the petition adopted by the Committee is added below, and, to such extent as may be acceptable, it may serve as a general guide. It will be further useful, if, in addition to petitions to the legislature, individual members of Parliament be respectfully memorialised to support them.

I am, yours respectfully,
JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

* * * Petitions should be presented not later, if possible, than the 22nd of April.

PETITION.

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

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

That the African slave-trade is an evil of incalculable magnitude, to the extinction of which the strenuous endeavours of the British nation and Government have been for many years directed.

That your Petitioners have reason to believe, that, notwithstanding the costly efforts made by the Government and people of Great Britain for the extinction of this nefarious and cruel traffic, it continues to exist to an undiminished extent, and with aggravated sufferings.

That, in the judgment of your Petitioners, it would be practicable for Great Britain, by fiscal regulations, to annex such advantages to the use of free labour, as to create a very powerful inducement to substitute it for the labour of slaves, and to secure, within a short period the voluntary extinction of the state of slavery, and the consequent abandonment of the slave-trade, even by the nations who now most tenaciously uphold them.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to adopt fiscal regulations in favour of the produce of free labour; and more especially to pass a law which shall admit the produce of free labour of all kinds in foreign countries into the British market on the same terms as the produce of British possessions and plantations.

Your Petitioners also pray that your Honourable House will not adopt any fiscal regulations affording facilities for introducing into the British market the produce of slave-labour; inasmuch as such a course would incalculably aggravate the miseries of the slaves, and supply a fearful stimulus to the slave-trade.

And your Petitioners, &c.

(Signed on behalf and by order of the Committee,) THOMAS CLARKSON.

We stated some time ago, that a petition for the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies was in course of signature by the operatives of Paris. The *Times* of Monday last, contains the following notice of its presentation:—

"A petition, divided into three parts, signed by a number of male and female operatives of Paris, and demanding the immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies, was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on Wednesday, by Messrs. Isambert, Lamartine, and Gasparin."

We are particularly gratified to observe the names of the Deputies by whom this interesting and important petition was presented; not only because they are of the first distinction, but more particularly because they are representatives of different political parties, and because their union on this occasion denotes the union of all parties in the Chamber on the question of abolition. We hail this omen with much satisfaction.

From another of the daily papers (the *Morning Herald*) we take the following intimation that *something* relating to abolition is on the *tapis* in the French cabinet.

"The French Government, it is said, has determined on abolishing slavery in its colonies. A sum of two millions sterling is to be appropriated, in imitation of the English plan, in purchasing from the masters the liberty of their slaves. The plan is not yet matured, but we may expect to hear something decided on the subject before the close of the session."

In the number of the *Revue Coloniale* (which is understood to be published by the French Government) for February, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* is noticed in a manner which requires some correction. It is necessary to quote the following passage:—

"It is remarkable that the advocates of contrary views, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* and the *Colonial Gazette*, agree in coming to the same conclusion, namely, that the actual system of repression (of the slave-trade) is ineffectual. . . We shall leave to the former of these journals the responsibility of the contradiction which is to be remarked between this opinion and the hope, which it elsewhere expresses, of seeing the system of cruisers and blockades at last clear the coast of Africa from the presence of the slave-traders," p. 220.

We have marked in italics the words which we deem it needful to correct. We have not, we believe, on any occasion, expressed a

hope—which certainly we have never entertained—from the armed suppression of the slave-trade. Our contemporary, perhaps, conceives that our approbation is implied in the insertion of an article; but we must beg him to rectify this error, and to understand that we insert as news many matters of fact of which we could express no approbation. All items respecting the capture of slavers are of this class. Our general sentiments being known, it is as needless as it would be troublesome to renew on every occasion the expression of our dissent.

We have given extracts as usual from the papers which have arrived since our last. The affairs of Texas seem to be approaching a crisis; but the most important intelligence to the anti-slavery cause is from the island of Cuba. We particularly call the attention of our readers to it.

LETTERS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

Paris, 6th April, 1844.

DEAR MR. SCOBLE,—I am much obliged to you for having sent me the letter of Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, together with the answer of my worthy friend, Joseph Sturge.

My opinion upon this important subject, which you think it desirable that I should state, has been more than once given by me from my place in Parliament. I believe no one ever was adventurous enough, in the House of Lords, to undertake the defence of the Brazil or Cuba slave-trade, or, which is the same thing, the plan of 1840 for admitting Brazil and Cuba sugars, after the plain facts had been brought before that House. The argument lies in a small compass. Had the question been of increasing the export from Cuba and Brazil of any produce which could only be increased in amount by natural and innocent means, as the growth of Baltic wheat is increased by our increased demand for it, no one could for a moment have doubted that the people had a right to benefit by this free importation. But it is a matter of absolute certainty that no additional hundred hogsheads of sugar can be obtained from Cuba or Brazil, without an additional hundred negroes being brought over from Africa. Consequently, every hogshead imported by us from thence into the United Kingdom means an addition to the African slave-trade; and consequently the plan of 1840 was neither more nor less than a project for increasing the slave-trade, as certainly, and almost as directly, as if we had given a premium for every negro kidnapped or forced on board the slavers, and carried from Africa, through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to American bondage. How could any one ever dream of support from us to such a horrid scheme—us, who for half a century had been labouring to extinguish that execrable traffic? Above all, how could any one expect that I, whose good fortune it had been to pass for the first time an act making slave-trading a felony, should join in encouraging the Spaniards and Portuguese to commit the acts proclaimed by my bill of 1811 a crime, and in encouraging our countrymen to be accessories after the fact to the same heavy offence? No one ever attempted any answer to this. It is in truth unanswerable. It is and was said, indeed, in these debates, that we took slave-grown cotton from America without scruple. Is there the least resemblance between the two cases? None whatever. But I will suppose a case in which the cotton-trade might resemble the sugar-trade, and then I will admit my principles to govern that case. If we all of a sudden were called upon to increase by a large amount our importation of cotton, so that our demand could only be met and supplied by an increased importation of negroes from Africa, then I grant that my principles would forbid that increased demand. In the existing state of the cotton-trade, any increased demand is gradual, and never can cause one slave more to be imported from Africa. Besides, we have long been dependent on foreign countries for cotton, and we have no means of stopping the trade, even if its increase should afford some little stimulus to the slave traffic. The sugar question stands on wholly different grounds. We never have as yet had any sugar-trade with foreign slave settlements.

I confess that I have read the letter in favour of this hateful project with astonishment. There are things in it which nothing but the evidence of my own senses could have made me believe that any men of ordinary reflection could have set their names to. What shall we say of the practical wisdom of men who have actually penned and signed the following strange proposal? "Permit importation freely, and then, where conscience forbids the use of slave produce, indulge only in the consumption of that which is grown by free labour"!

That some one individual should write this astounding sentence is barely conceivable; but that three men should have met, and discussed, and penned, and adopted, and written, and copied, and signed, and printed such a thing, is truly the most marvellous instance of haste and thoughtlessness which I ever have had occasion to witness. Will any one of them be pleased to point out by what test the conscientious purchaser is to discover slave-grown sugar in the market; or by what means the seller is to satisfy his customer respecting the origin of his wares; or in what mode he is to be prevented, even if he knew it, from telling the purchaser that his sugar is free grown, when his confessing it to be slave grown would put a stop to the bargain?

There is, however, nothing in this letter more singular than the constant assumption, that the only objection to the Brazil and Cuba sugars is the "conscientious scruples entertained by a few persons, who are as nothing compared to twenty-seven millions," against using slave-grown sugar. There were some few persons who, before emancipation, would never consume sugar; but the great bulk of the abolitionists and the anti-slavery party were sound in this view of the matter. It is utterly untrue that the present objection to the slave-trading scheme of 1840 rests on such scruples. Nothing of the kind. These objections rest on the very different and only practical ground, that, by admitting the Brazil and Cuba sugars into our markets, we certainly, immediately, directly, commission some scores of slave-trading vessels to assail and to haunt the African coast, and that an act of Parliament passed for this purpose is as inevitably an act for the more effectual encouragement of the African slave-trade as if it honestly and shamelessly bore that name. Another

extraordinary assumption runs through this letter. There is mention always made of free and slave grown sugar; as if any foreign sugar were free grown! save, perhaps, the produce in Java and Manilla. Assuredly in America there is not raised, out of our own colonies, one hogshead but slave grown.

As to any commercial policy which this country may adopt, exerting much influence upon the legislatures of the slave settlements, or their planters, my hopes are, I confess, not sanguine; because I well know the spirit of gambling speculation which pervades those nations, always agitating the mass, and mixing itself with the great body of the people. But, if any course of conduct can have any such an influence, it is assuredly that which all reflecting abolitionists recommend—the shutting our markets against slave-grown sugar, and opening them to the produce of free labour. The plan of the extraordinary, though perfectly well-meant letter, of which you have sent me a copy, is one from which surely no reflecting person ever can hope for the smallest practical effect, namely, the "powerful operation of English anti-slavery opinion upon Brazilian slavery opinion." The proposition is to offer them gold to continue the slave-trade, and preach them a sermon to give it up. One can hardly doubt which of these exhortations will prove the most efficacious. Even the "benevolent exertions of individuals or of Anti-slavery Societies," to which the writers of the letter would confine all our efforts with foreign states, seem to offer a most remote and doubtful prospect of any real good. When coupled with the grand remedy for slavery and the slave-trade, of admitting all at once into our markets as much sugar as negro slave labour can yield to the lash, such a resource can hardly be seriously relied on by any rational person.

I hope and trust that the warmth with which I have expressed myself on this important subject, may not expose me to any suspicion of having been wanting in due respect to three estimable persons of whose pernicious opinions I have spoken. At this moment their support of a party measure so fraught with mischief to a cause for which I have laboured for nearly half a century, seem to me most dangerous to that cause. It may revive attempts of mere party men, which had appeared to expire under the almost universal scorn of abolitionists—tempts under the plausible name of free trade and cheap sugar, not merely to perpetuate negro slavery, which would have been bad enough, but to revive the detestable slave-trade, and extend its ravages over new regions. Assuredly there are no peaceable measures which I would not cheerfully support, to prevent a grievous a crime from falling upon our times as the voluntary encouragement of the slave-trade, and the voluntary extension of slavery by the apostles of freedom.

Believe me truly yours,
J. Scoble, Esq.
(Signed) BROUGHAM.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Bath, April 13, 1844.

SIR,—In your 113th number, of April 3rd, I find an article headed "Sugar Question," and under that article a long letter, signed "Thomas Spencer, W. T. Blair, and G. W. Anstie." The following sentiments on this subject burn in my heart, and I should not feel at rest without offering them for publication.

The devotion of two of these gentlemen, Blair and Anstie, to the anti-slavery cause, according to their best views of duty, generously and laboriously, I have long known, and do earnestly testify; and could personal affection, or human influence, move me from the independent convictions, under God, of my own conscience, I know few who could more powerfully affect me. But the duty of the soul to the God who made it and who died for it, and to everlasting truth and love, forbid such influences: and, in my mind, when I find my friends and companions wrong, as I thoroughly believe it, in the sight of God, then does wrong become doubly detestable to me, and all the powers of my soul are emphatically awakened to resist it.

What is the question? Simply this: Ought we to urge our Government to give the same countenance to slavery as to freedom? For slave sugar is the bank and mint, and nerve and heart, of slavery, in the case in question. Without it slavery would wither, as the upas withers when its congenial nourishment is withdrawn. And what is slavery in this case? It is the most atrocious system of legalized and complicated villainy which deforms and outrages the human family; and we are called upon to urge our Government to give the same countenance to this most atrocious outrage upon God and man, as to the honest efforts of virtuous and lawful industry!

Or the question may be stated in another form: Ought we to prefer the convenience, taste, and appetite of the freeman, to the liberties and rights, natural and fundamental, of the slave? Or, in order to supply the freeman somewhat more abundantly with sugar, ought we to hire the slave-holder to drive his slave to death? Or, ought we to provide a somewhat more profitable employment for the freeman, who is too ignorant or too corrupt to care for the Divine precept, to remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, at the expense of the blood and ruin of the guiltless slave?

I know, indeed, mournfully know, that these statements of the question are denied—denied, for instance, by the gentlemen whose long letter, as published by you, impels these lines. I was at the Convention in 1843, when this question was introduced, and for a day earnestly discussed; and I gave all the attention, with all the energy and kindness of which my soul is capable, to that discussion. I have since conversed upon it freely with those gentlemen. Yesterday it was a subject of fervent discussion here; and I am more and more perfectly convinced, that any other way of putting the question than such as the above, is merely a blind—certainly not always meant, but as certainly always real—a blind, a mere blind to the truth. It is like entangling yourself with all the difficulties which talent or zeal can supply, in order to arrive at the solution of whether one and one make two.

My heart sinks within me when I find such views can be urged by such minds; and, had I not God's bible, with free access to it, for my own solemn and prayerful judgment of what God's own truth is, I should be maddened into the conclusion that no such thing as truth or falsehood, as right or wrong, as benevolence or malignity, exist; but that all these things, yea, that all things are mere matters of opinion; so that whatever

a man takes into his head to be right, is right for him; and the support of slavery, which always and fundamentally involves the support of fraud, felony, and murder, in such cases becomes as virtuous and as praiseworthy as the advocacy of holy law and liberty. But I have my bible, and free access to it, through Him who loved this world in its sins, and who gave himself to the cross in order to win it from all its abominations; and my soul's prayer is, that no influence, under whatever pretence, or however urged or supported, may ever induce either our Government, or the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to make itself, not only a partner, but a hirer, in the unspeakable sin and shame of slavery, as I affirm either would do, could it so utterly degrade itself as to put upon the same footing, by any means in its power, the products of slavery and freedom.

C. STUART.

Carlisle, April 13th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Indisposition has prevented me from giving so early an attention to your able circular as I could have wished. I not only quite agree with you in opinion, but I may say that it has given great relief to my mind to find that the sentiments with which I have been anxiously impressed have been so ably vindicated in your letter, as well as in that of O'Connell and others.

The firm and consistent part which the London committee have taken under trying and discouraging circumstances, has raised them higher than ever in my estimation. Had they adopted any different course with regard to the sugar-question, they would clearly have contravened the fundamental principles on which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was instituted. Those who censure the committee are, by endeavouring to obstruct the practical application of those principles, the really inconsistent party. If they were not prepared to carry out fully the fundamental principles of the society, they ought never to have joined it. The opponents of the London committee are not warranted in their statement, that "the men who object to our receiving slave-grown sugar are a very small minority of the more comfortable or richer classes." In the absence of any proof whatever, we cannot but treat this as a gratuitous assumption. Were I to give an opinion, I should say it was the reverse. But admitting, for argument sake, that their views have a numerical superiority in the country at large, I would ask, Is the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—an institution which has for one of its chief objects the enlightening, influencing, and directing the public mind, and whose affairs are chiefly conducted by men who devote a great part of their time, and who have given their most earnest attention to the subject—now to take its cue from the public voice, and follow where it ought to lead? But still less are they warranted in imputing to those who differ from them in opinion a want of regard for the comforts of the poor, which charge is certainly indirectly conveyed in their statement. Here I may say, that I appreciate as much as they can do the advantages of cheap sugar to the working-classes, and am as anxious as they are that they should have it; but I am not willing to buy these advantages at too dear a price—and it is at too dear a price when purchased at the expense of misery, torture, and death, to thousands of our fellow-men in other parts of the world.

In the circular to which I allude, the writers consider that it would be "more just" in those who differ from them to confine their opposition to merely refraining from the use of slave produce; but, if their consciences tell them clearly that it is sinful, by any fiscal enactment, to encourage slavery and the slave-trade, can they, or ought they to content themselves with merely discontinuing the use of slave produce, and stopping there? As well might a person who was solicited to join in a robbery think he was sufficiently doing his duty in merely declining a participation in the proceeds, without taking any steps to prevent the perpetration of the crime. No. On the contrary, are they not bound by their duty to their country and their God, to make use of all lawful means to prevent their country from committing what they believe to be a grievous wrong? And for the neglect of the use of such means as God has given them will he not one day call upon them to give an account?

I now advert to an argument of a rather startling description. We are recommended, as a mode of abolishing slavery in the Brazils, to encourage a connexion with them by taking their slave produce to as great an extent as possible, in order, "through the channel of trade and mutual dependence," to produce kindly feelings, and thus gain an influence over them that might end in inducing them to adopt a wiser policy.

Now, in order to show more clearly the absurdity of this argument, let us take a parallel upon a smaller scale. Would any one think of putting down a system of robbery and plunder by continuing to act as the receiver of the stolen property, in order, by thus conciliating the thief, to have an opportunity of inculcating honest principles with greater effect? Would his words have much influence upon the thief, when his actions were so much at variance with them? In the same way, could we expect the Brazilians to believe our advice and remonstrance anything but hypocrisy, so long as our profession and practice contradicted each other? And what an example of inconsistency should we set to surrounding nations! On the one hand, by armed cruisers, by treaties and negotiations endeavouring at an immense expense to prevent the traffic in human beings; and, on the other, by opening a more extensive field for the produce of slave labour, increasing the demand for slaves, and consequently extending the slave-trade in a fearful degree. Some nations already seem inclined to suspect the sincerity of our motives, as regards the part we have taken on the slave-trade question; and, if we thus afford them a just ground for such suspicions, should we not thereby altogether destroy the effect of the noble example we have afforded them on that great question, and throw away all the advantages we have already by great sacrifices obtained for the cause of humanity?

The last topic I shall allude to is, the recommendation to "destroy slavery by underselling it." There can be no doubt that, other circumstances being equal or nearly so, slave labour cannot compete with free labour: the former will eventually be destroyed by the latter in a fair competition. The time that will elapse before it can be thus destroyed must be very uncertain; this, however, cannot be uncertain, that the more slave labour is pressed upon by free labour the more terrible will be the contest, the more dreadful the sufferings of the slave, and the more awfully increased will be the destruction of human life. Such direful

results, even for the shortest period that the struggle between the two systems may last, are too distressing for the mind to contemplate. And surely, if, as they state, free labour sugar can be produced so much cheaper than slave sugar as to destroy slavery by underselling it, the supply of free sugar from the half-dozen countries enumerated, in addition to the supply from India and our other colonies, would, by the competition of one with another, give us the benefit of cheap sugar without the attendant evil of encouraging slavery.

In conclusion, let us have free trade with all the world in everything but the produce of slave labour; but let us not exalt the principle of free trade above the holier principles of justice and humanity, but rather let us make it subordinate to them, for, if kept each in its proper place, they may be made, instead of opponents, most powerful auxiliaries to each other.

Several other points in their circular might have been adverted to, but I have already made this letter too long.

Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,
Joseph Sturge, Esq. JOSEPH FERGUSON.

THE CASE OF JOHN L. BROWN.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Committee was held on the 3rd instant, at the Public Office, to consider the case of John L. Brown, now lying under sentence of death in South Carolina, for aiding a slave to escape. Several resolutions were adopted, and among them a vote of thanks to Lord Denman, and also to Lord Brougham, for the part they have taken in holding up to the abhorrence of the world the enormity of condemning a man to die for doing his duty. One of the resolutions adverted to the fact that this deed occurs under a Republican government, and truly says that it has tended to render the boasted American institutions odious in the eyes of the civilized world.

The following address was also adopted, and directed to be forwarded to the United States for publication:

"American citizens!—We offer no apology for addressing you on this occasion. We have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow that an individual now lies under sentence of death in your country for aiding a slave in making her escape from bondage. The constitution of your Union is based upon the principle of universal freedom, and it is astonishing to find that, under this constitution, slavery is not only tolerated, but upheld. This is an inconsistent as it is unchristian. The laws of nature are hostile to man holding property in man, and the word of God declares that he 'hath made of one blood all nations of the earth.'

"How great, then, must be the guilt of that nation by whom these laws are violated, and who, while professing liberty, hold man in bondage!"

"Are not you thus guilty? Does not the condemnation to death of John L. Brown display before the whole world deep turpitude, in treating as a crime a deed which, wherever true liberty exists, ought by all Christians to be considered an act of imperative duty?

"We implore you to raise your voice against this legal murder in South Carolina. Should J. L. Brown perish, how will you wipe out the indelible stain which must attach to every one who refuses to protest against this terrible deed? We cannot doubt that an energetic remonstrance on your part against the law of South Carolina by which this man is condemned would accomplish its destruction.

"Citizens of America!—You live under a government which professes to be democratic, and you tell us truly that liberty is the birthright of all men. Do justice to your principles. Give to every man his freedom, and then, and not till then, will the moral influence of America promote the cause of freedom in every part of the world."

"Signed in the name and by order of the Committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, this 3rd day of April, 1844.

"SAMUEL LLOYD, Chairman.

"WILLIAM MORGAN, Secretary."

The following letter has since been received from Lord Denman:

"London, April 6, 1844.

"Sir,—I beg leave to thank you for the obliging letter which accompanies the resolutions of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Committee on the subject of the late conviction in America. I am not entirely without hope that the appeals which have been made to the ruling authorities may secure our fellow-creature from the doom that appears to await him. That he is very probably a fellow subject also, your distinguished townsman, Mr. Joseph Sturge, apprized me; and with the utmost satisfaction I found Lord Aberdeen eager to interfere in his behalf.

"The hope of saving this poor man's life has compelled the use of language very distasteful to those who [do not] regard slavery in its true light. Whether we succeed or fail in that immediate object, I trust the event will lead to the adoption of more just and generous sentiments than unfortunately now prevail in the public mind.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, yours faithfully,

"DENMAN.

"Mr. William Morgan, Waterloo-street, Birmingham."

SAFETY OF JOHN L. BROWN.

By the *Emancipator* and *Weekly Chronicle* of the 23rd of March, we are assured of the fact that John L. Brown "will not be hanged." It seems that a public meeting was held on his case at Pittsburgh, the resolutions of which were forwarded to Judge O'Neal, a deputation also being intended. Stung by the severity of the remarks made, the Judge sent for publication a letter, of which the following is the principal portion:

"John L. Brown is a native of Fairfield district; he was tried and convicted on very clear proof of aiding a negro woman to run away and depart from her employer's service. The proof created a strong belief that the woman had been his kept mistress for some time. The act under which he was convicted was passed 11th May, 1754, and is as follows: 'Whereas, by the laws of this province, negroes and other slaves are deemed to be chattels personal, and are, in every respect, as much the

property of their owner as any other goods and chattels are. And whereas no punishment can be inflicted by the laws now in force upon persons inveigling, stealing, or carrying away any such slaves from their lawful owners or employers, that is adequate to so great and growing an evil. And whereas the inhabitants of this province are liable to and receive great prejudice and damage by such unwarrantable and pernicious practices and wicked proceedings, therefore to prevent and punish as much as may be such evil. Be it enacted, that from and immediately after the 24th day of June next, all and every person and persons who shall inveigle, steal, or carry away any negroes, or other slave or slaves; or shall hide, aid or counsel any person or persons to inveigle, steal, or carry away as aforesaid any such slave, so as the owner or employer of such slave or slaves shall be deprived of the use and benefit of such slave or slaves; or that shall aid any such slave in running away or departing from his master's or employer's service, shall be, and he and they are hereby declared to be guilty of felony, and being thereof convicted or attainted by verdict or confession, or being indicted thereof shall stand mute, or will not directly answer to the indictment; or will peremptorily challenge above the number twenty of the jury, shall suffer death as felons, and be excluded and debarred of the benefit of clergy.' This act, it will be seen, is nearly one hundred years old, and could therefore have had no direction against the abolition folly of the present day; although I have no doubt it may check such philanthropy as that of the editor of the enclosed, if he should ever venture to try his hand in stealing a negro or aiding one to run away. How a judge can be justly styled a murderer for enforcing the law of the state whose officer he may be, is rather strange: perhaps the editor can find something in the new code of morals, of which he seems to be an exponent which may justify it. Our revolutionary sires thought precious little of the rascals who stole or aided negroes in running away; little of their blood would have been poured out to keep such from the gallows; they would sooner, much sooner, have tied the noose, than cut it with their swords.

"Say to the worthy editor of the enclosed that John L. Brown will not be hanged. By the recommendation of myself and my brethren of the Court of Appeal he was pardoned by the governor, on the condition of receiving, on Friday, the 26th of April next, at Winnsborough, thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. If the editor will then and there attend, I have no doubt John L. Brown will gladly accompany him to the West, where he can soothe and cherish him as one of 'the young and ardent men' who loved negro women, and advised them to escape from slavery.

"JOHN BOLTON O'NEALL."

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Brussels, 4th mo. 6, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I arrived from Paris in this city on the 3rd inst., where I found my friend B. Wiften, who had arrived direct from London. In coming to this place, it appeared to me that Belgium, having no direct interest in the support of slavery, our attention would probably be principally directed to two points having some relation to the subject; namely, the extent and prospects of beet-root sugar manufactured and the probable results, as far as they affect the anti-slavery cause, of the colonisation which has recently been commenced by Belgians in South America. We have had access to several influential persons, who appeared both able and willing to aid our inquiries. Of this number is the Count Arrivabene, well known in England for his enlarged and philanthropic views, and some directors of the two colonisation companies, one of which is intended to establish settlers in Guatemala, and the other in Brazil. We have also to acknowledge the kindness of — Davis, agent of the Evangelical Society; of Edward Panchard, a Protestant pastor; and W. P. Tiddy, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

With regard to beet-root sugar, our statistical information does not reach farther than the close of 1842. At that period nearly six millions, out of twelve millions of kilogrammes of sugar consumed in Belgium, were produced in the country from the beet-root. This article of native industry had been, up to the year 1836, favoured by being subjected to no duty, whilst a duty was imposed on foreign sugar. In that year a duty was imposed on indigenous sugar of twenty francs per hundred kilogrammes, while the impost upon the foreign sugar was fixed at forty-five francs per hundred kilogrammes. The duty thus laid upon beet-root sugar, and the late low prices of slave-grown sugar, have had the effect of lessening the home growth. We have not at present the returns for the past year, but the best-informed persons agree that the beet-root sugar factories are in a state of much depression, and some establishments in which the article was produced have recently been given up. Of the slave-grown sugar used in Belgium, a large portion is imported from Cuba, and the remainder appears to be principally furnished from Brazil. We expect to obtain full particulars of the amount of beet-root and foreign sugar consumed in Belgium during the past year, and the countries from which the foreign sugar was imported.

Of the two companies that have been formed here for colonisation, one is directed, as we have before remarked, to Guatemala, and the other to Brazil. On that to the former country, in which slavery does not exist, we have no remark to make. In reference to that to Brazil, entitled *La Compagnie Belge-Brésilienne de Colonisation*, which proposes to settle the province of Saint Catharine, in Brazil, it is scarcely needful to observe, that the sphere of its intended operation is in one of the largest slaveholding countries in the world. It is acknowledged that there are in the province of Saint Catharine, in which the new settlers are to be placed, already ten thousand slaves and fifty thousand free persons. The company binds itself and its colonists by its own laws to employ free-labour only; but there are articles in the charter granted to it by the Brazilian government, which compel the surrender of fugitive slaves who may resort to its territories, unless their master be willing to sell them to the company, besides imposing a heavy fine, under specified circumstances, for having or harbouring such slaves. The tendency of articles of this nature is evidently to support the existing system of slavery in Brazil, besides the disadvantages inseparable from emigration to a slave-country from the contempt in which labourers are held, and the injury to which they are

exposed by the prevalent demoralisation. We have had a meeting with nearly thirty persons at our hotel, amongst whom were three of the directors of the colonisation companies, to whom the character of slavery was exhibited, and the evils inseparable from colonisation in lands in which this iniquitous and impolitic system is maintained. We also pointed out some of the objectionable articles in the constitution of the Belgian-Brazilian Colonisation Company. We have subsequently drawn up some remarks upon slavery and colonisation, which will, we expect, appear in the Brussels newspaper, entitled *L'Emancipation*, as well as in a separate form, and be circulated amongst the members of both chambers of the legislature, the directors of the colonisation companies, and some other classes of persons. Copies will likewise be sent to Germany, where a disposition has been manifested to promote emigration to tropical regions.

I shall probably send a copy of that part of the address, referred to in this letter, which treats of the question of beet-root sugar and colonisation.

I remain respectfully, thy friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

Literary Notice.

The Effect of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties on the Condition of the People of England and the Negro Race, considered.
By MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq. London : 1844.

THE discussion on the sugar duties has again brought forth this prompt and indefatigable advocate—not of things as they are, certainly—but as he thinks they ought to be. The plan he now recommends is altogether one of his own. He would have all sugar produced in British territories admitted for consumption at one shilling per cwt., and all sugar of foreign growth at twenty shillings per cwt. No such scheme as this being likely to be brought forward, it can be scarcely worth while to make any observation upon it. We hardly see to what party it can be acceptable. Certainly not to the free trader, who will see foreign sugar proscribed by a discriminating duty of twenty to one; a larger proportionate difference, we believe, than has ever before been proposed or conceived. Not, we should think to the general consumer, when he understands that the anticipated deficiency in the revenue which is to result from it is to be made up by adding a million and a half annually to the income tax. Not to the anti-slavery party, whether professional or unprofessional (to use a pet term of Mr. Laird's), since it is avowedly a scheme for introducing slave-grown sugar in enormous quantities. There remain, however, the West Indian and other British sugar growers, to whom this scheme would open a mine of gold, and for whose especial benefit it might seem to have been designed. The differential duty of nineteen shillings per cwt. in its favour, would create a higher monopoly price for all sugar of British growth than that which now exists. Now the difference is only as two to one; then it would be as twenty to one. Whatever price might be fetched by foreign sugar, the same must, of course, be paid for British; and in this way an enormous sum of money would be taken out of the pockets of the community, and handed over to the cultivators of sugar in the British East and West Indies! The palmiest days of West Indian monopoly and money-making were nothing to this.

Home Intelligence.

THE FREE CHURCH, SCOTLAND.—The Glasgow Emancipation Society, at its late meeting, passed the following resolutions respecting the Free Church receiving contributions from slaveholders:—

"That whereas ministers and other office-bearers, as well as Church members, in the Southern States of America, are well known to be slaveholders; and whereas the American churches have been denominated 'The Bulwarks of American Slavery,' this meeting cannot but express their deep regret that the Free Church of Scotland, or any other Evangelical Church, should accept of pecuniary contributions from such a quarter; and their decided conviction that, until the American churches have put away from them the sin of slaveholding, they are deserving the admonition and censure, and not the countenance, of Christian men."

"That this meeting, therefore, affectionately and earnestly call on the office-bearers and members of the Free Church of Scotland to acquit themselves as becomes Christians and Scotchmen in regard to pecuniary contributions from American slaveholders, and, in particular, the contribution sent them from Charleston, South Carolina; and not to accept of such, but to refuse, and send them back to the donors, accompanied with a faithful and plain-dealing testimony to the American churches against slavery, universally allowed and practised by ministers and members of churches in the Southern States, by which 2½ millions of our fellow-men are bought and sold, bred, and forced to live like cattle, and shut out from all access to moral and religious knowledge."

"That the secretaries of this Society transmit these resolutions, with such further memorial in accordance therewith as the committee of the Society may judge fit, to the Moderator and others of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, and to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, or any other Evangelical Church; and to request that these bodies will, as early as possible, make known to this Society and the public the course they think right to pursue in this matter, so momentous and important to the interests of religion and humanity."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—(From our own Correspondent.)—The Christmas holidays have never passed away in a better manner than the last. The conduct of the country people, and even the towns' people has been exemplary. The papers teem with praise; and all are exclaiming, that even

enemies must acknowledge a great improvement has taken place. This is one glorious result of freedom.

Wages are being lowered in this parish. Where the 1s. 3d. cannot be reduced to 1s., the task or job is increased. It is said that since August the planters have combined to reduce the rate of wages by turning out of employment as many hands as possible. At the commencement of crop another desperate effort was made; and I know that on several properties more work is done for the daily price. During crop the labourers work very hard; they strain themselves; and in many instances I am sure that the job work will not be so well done by its being increased. As a sample of the current rate of wages in this parish, I give you the following. On one estate they pay the labourers this crop time 1s. 6d. sterling to work from day-dawn to sunset. This agreement was made after a fruitless attempt to reduce the price by giving a large piece of task-work for a small price. Two other estates give 1s. 3d. for certain job-work, for less than which last year they gave 1s. 6d. The people commence at six and finish at three o'clock. They take no time for breakfast, and labour very hard. The boiler-men and labourers about the yards are paid by the syphon; a very uncertain method, as the number ground depends very much upon the steam-engine or the water-wheel, the quality of the cane, the efficiency of the cattle, &c. Often do they labour from morning till the middle of the night, and earn only 1s. 6d., sometimes 2s. Of course, there are certain situations in which the labourer earns more. The friends of abolition endeavour to impress upon the labourers' minds the importance of doing a fair day's work, and of doing the work well. Bad work in the field will ruin any estate. I find that the best educated labourers work best; and every planter that I know does homage to the gospel (perhaps unaware) by praising those people for their good work and behaviour, who happen to be the best instructed in the ways of religion.

Immigration is not much talked of. I believe its advocates are ashamed to speak of it, but still obstinately persist in promoting it. The House of Assembly has voted 30,000*l.* for immigration purposes. Chinese immigration is a most mischievous scheme. If I understand it rightly, no females will be brought; and this will bring a flood of debauchery upon the land. Ignorant black females are proud of having a white or even coloured—what shall I say? not husband—they are vain of being the "housekeeper" of a white man. For this is the gentle term the white gentlemen of Jamaica give their concubines. This feature of the Chinese immigration scheme is truly frightful.

The drought has been very severe. In St. James's, Trelawney, and other windward parts, it has ruined the crop, and will force some proprietors to relinquish sugar-making. This is what I hear. Last Friday, the 26th, the rains set in, and have continued until now. St. James and Hanover have been thus blessed; but, as they seem to be only "norths," we cannot tell how long they will last. Several planters have freely acknowledged to me, that the seasons have been most irregular and unfavourable ever since 1838.

A census is to be taken in June, which will have very important results. It will, I doubt not, show the needlessness of immigration, the saving of infant life since freedom, and the consequent increase of the population. I have not yet seen, or even heard of, the particulars of this or any of the new laws. The legislature seems to think that ignorance is bliss, for the new laws are in operation for months before a private person can possibly obtain a copy of them. Even then it is scarcely possible to obtain them; and the Government employs no means of diffusing a knowledge of them among the people.

THE WEATHER AND THE CROPS.—On these most interesting topics we have been making extended and anxious inquiries. The answers received have varied much, graduating from earnest hopefulness to gloom and despondency. Our own inference, from all the information we have been enabled to procure, is, that the long-continued drought has done serious injury in almost all quarters; that, in most cases, the injury done is now irreparable; but that, in a few localities, the crop, if visited with immediate and copious showers, would still prove moderately abundant and remunerative. Yesterday, a most intelligent gentleman, of experience, from Clarendon, gave us rather a distressing account of the effects of the drought in his district. It is certainly strange, that during the last five seasons, being those which have elapsed since the emancipation, and during which the resources in labour have been most crippled, we have had a succession of droughts. As to the final results on the several crops, we are not as yet prepared to pronounce an opinion. There is still some lingering hope that a change may take place, which will prevent our staple growths falling below a moderate average.—*Royal Gazette.*

IMMIGRATION.—The important subject of Immigration continues, it would appear, to engage the attention of the Colonial Secretary. Some arrangements were in progress, by which only one agent was to be employed for all the colonies requiring immigrants, and a regular *rata* was to be laid down.—*Morning Journal.*

THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH on opening the legislative session contains the following:—"I am deeply grieved to learn that the continued drought has seriously injured the crop in some districts of the island. ** The peaceable and orderly demeanour of the population during the late Christmas season was the subject of general remark, and afforded me the most sincere gratification."—*Jamaica Times.*

GOOD WORK.—The *Jamaica Times* quotes the following with admiration:—"An estate in the parish of St. Ann, using a cattle-mill and one set of coppers, manufactured fifty-eight hogsheads superb sugar in four weeks, ending 16th February, working only five days each week. The total expenditure one hundred and twenty-seven pounds four shillings. This is a fact, and no mistake; and, for the information of the captious, it is as well to state that the hogsheads are forty-inch true hoop, and the produce second to none in the parish." The quantity is very large, and the cost about one-half of what has been usually paid for it.

TOBAGO.—**THE PEASANTRY.**—The holidays, we are happy to say, have passed away in a remarkably peaceful and orderly manner. With a slight exception, the people have "turned out" to the entire satisfaction of their employers. There is evidently among the peasantry

a more settled state of things, and a greater earnestness to enjoy the ordinary comforts of life. This leads us to hope favourably for the planting interest.

THE CROP.—A favourable change has taken place in the weather. We are at present blessed with a fine, strong, steady breeze, not only favourable for windmills, but also for ripening the cane, which is of very great importance.—*Tobago Chronicle*.

GRENADA.—The weather in the early part of the month was complained of as excessively wet, particularly in the parishes of St. Patrick and St. John; and a stop had been put to sugar-making in consequence. A change, however, had taken place, and it had become exceedingly propitious.—*Free Press*.

DOMINICA.—Crop has commenced on many estates, and we are happy to learn the canes are yielding well, and produce good sugar. The weather is beautifully fine.—*Dominica Colonist*.

ST. VINCENT'S.—The *St. Vincent's Observer* warmly recommends the selling of small portions of land to the peasantry, in order to lessen their inducements to migrate to other islands.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—The bill which passed the legislature in the last session, to throw obstacles in the way of labourers emigrating to other colonies, did not receive the assent of the Governor-in-chief, to whom it was sent for approval, but was quietly suffered to "drop to the ground."—*St. Kitt's Advertiser*.

TRINIDAD.—CRIME.—At the approaching session of the Supreme Court in this island there is no case for trial.—*Berbice Gazette*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION.—Our prospects of immigration from the West coast of Africa have so far improved that we now have the *Arabian*, emigrant transport, in port, with 103 liberated Africans on board; detained there, however, in consequence of some mitigated cases of small pox having appeared among them. We should deceive those at home, however, whom it is our paramount object rightly to inform, if we did not state that, even by this increased number of immigrants from Sierra Leone, as compared with former voyages of the two transport vessels, we are by no means impressed with a favourable view of immigration from this source. It has now become obvious that a spirit hostile to the emigration of the African reigns at Sierra Leone, which, joined to the restriction with respect to the sexes, operates strongly and banefully against our hopes in that quarter. The eye of hope is now alone turned steadfastly East. It is there that the day-star of our prosperity must arise, if prosperity be ever again destined to shine upon these colonies. On the subject of immigration, especially Coolie Immigration, the inhabitants of the sister country of Berbice have been so far more energetically stirring themselves than our community, that they have prepared a very strong petition to the Colonial Office on the subject, which, in all probability, will be despatched by the present opportunity.—*Royal Gazette*.

The Court of Policy has passed, or is about to pass, a measure, for facilitating Lord Stanley's plan for the Immigration of Chinese. The inhabitants of this colony are about to be taxed for the introduction of immigrants all the way from the Eastern seas, while as yet it is not certain that the crying wants of the agriculturists may not be supplied from the nearer coast of Africa.—*Guiana Times*.

The restrictions placed upon the immigration of Chinese labourers by Lord Stanley are strongly complained of by the Demerara press. After the failure of the attempts at Sierra Leone to obtain free labour, they look with very little hope to the supply of Chinese labour likely to be obtained from British possessions in the Eastern seas, under the regulations of the Colonial Office. The regulations of the Colonial Office, to be observed in the importation of Chinese labourers from Singapore or other British ports, are complex, and calculated to retard any extensive operations; for they first of all allow the immigrants to indent for five years, but at the same time declare that the contract may be rescinded by them on arriving at their destination, provided they find that they have been misled as to their labour. This is offering a temptation to the immigrants to "repudiate" their contracts, and must render parties very much afraid of entering into such insecure agreements. The payment of their expenses by the colony will scarcely be looked upon as a compensation by the colonists, in the event of such breach of agreement, and is not calculated in a great degree to reconcile them to such contradictory and puzzling conditions.—*Royal Gazette*.

THE WEATHER.—This colony has suffered much in several quarters by drought, which impeded the navigation of the punt trenches and stinted the growth of the young canes. Some seasonable rains, however, had fallen.

NEW SOURCE OF LABOUR.—At a late meeting in this colony of the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Mr. Young stated that some of the River Indians had become cane-cutters on the estates of Sparta, Coffee Grove, Hampton Court, and Anna Regina, on the Arabian coast. On Anna Regina they have exhibited steadiness and continuity of work for two years. Mr. Hancock stated that a movement of the same kind existed in the opposite part of the colony.—*Royal Gazette*.

THE WAY TO HAVE NO LABOURERS.—We have received information of proceedings on Philadelphia estate, which go far to explain why some planters in Guiana can get no labour. A Dr. Munro, who is part proprietor of this estate, has gone out with a determination to be the estate's doctor, and the people are told that one guilder per month will be stopped from their wages to pay him, whether they choose to employ him or not! If we thought the people would wait for our advice, we would recommend them, should this be insisted on, to seek work elsewhere.

BERBICE.—COOLY IMMIGRATION.—The *Louisa Baillie* had arrived at Calcutta, with the loss of 20 per cent. of the Coolies. This fearful mortality amongst those people was the consequence of intense cold in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, notwithstanding every precaution humanity could suggest. At their embarkation here, they were sup-

plied with warm clothing to meet the change of climate they were certain to meet; but it never was anticipated that it was not until reaching the latitude of the Cape the necessity would arise, and at such a season. Its occurrence is to us most unfortunate, as, previous to the present mail, Lord Stanley had written to the Governor General of India, to report his opinion as to the emigration of Coolies to the West Indies, the Home Government being willing to remove all restrictions. We suppose his Excellency can only report as to its probable effects and expediency, from the appearance and circumstances of those who have already experienced the work and the climate; and but for this accident all would have been most favourable. It cannot, however, affect us in any other way than in delaying the measure till means be adopted, by fixing the season of departure, or probably substituting steam conveyance, to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Capt. Webb, formerly of the *Mary Hartley*, writes Messrs. Laing, Brothers, and Co., from Calcutta, that notwithstanding the dreary voyage and the mortality, those who had returned had reported so favourably of the trial given to sugar-growing here, as to raise the greatest desire in their countrymen to embark the moment restriction is removed. Cooly emigration, then, is at least certain, and its commencement not far distant. Her Majesty's Government have, at length, seen the necessity existing for giving us justice; and although somewhat of the latest, let us be thankful for the boon.—*Berbice Gazette*.

The *Egyptian* transport, lying for emigrants off the Gambia, has been wrecked at the mouth of that river.—*Ibid.*

MAURITIUS.—EXCESS OF LABOUR.—It is an admitted fact that an increasing quantity of vegetables is now brought to market, and at a price so much reduced as to be barely remunerative. On this the *Mauritius Watchman* remarks:—"From this fact would not any man who reasons or reflects conclude that numbers of the Coolies destined for the sugar plantations are employed in raising vegetables? And is this not rendered probable by the additional fact that the planters cannot pay their Coolies at the present moment, and that many tons of sugar have been sold already, and much more will be sold, to pay wages? And when the sugar is gone, will not the mills and implements of husbandry follow? for the labourer must be paid his hire; and though at present the special magistrates are content merely to represent this state of things to government, they will soon be obliged to put the law in force against the non-paying planter. The day is not far off—not, perhaps, further than the end of 1843—when the *petit propriétaire*, who *bona fide* owns his few acres, will be abundantly supplied from the *grand propriétaire*, who is merely the tenant-at-will of some *Commissionnaire*, who, with his tenant, will no longer be able to pay the wages of the Coolies employed upon the estates; and what then will be the use of Coolies to him?"

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE GAG.—The gag rule, precluding the reception of anti-slavery petitions, has been re-enacted in the House of Representatives by a majority of one.

THE POPE'S BULL.—Mr. O'Connell's address to the Cincinnati repealers has brought to the notice of the American slaveholders the Pope's bull against slavery, which had been altogether suppressed by the Catholic clergy in that region. It has created a considerable sensation.

A KIDNAPPER BAFFLED.—Mr. Baker, one of the police-officers of New York, whilst returning home a little after midnight, a few days since, fell in with three villains who were in the act of kidnapping a woman. One of them was dragging her along the pavement, and the other two appeared to be interested. The officer immediately interfered, and ordered the release of the woman; one of the lookers-on came up to him, and struck him in the face, upon which Mr. Baker drew one of Colt's pistols, and shot him. The other attempted an assault, but retreated before the weapon of death, and began to pelt the officer with stones. He immediately fired another shot, when both the villains took to their heels, and the woman was saved.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

KIDNAPPING BY LAW.—Some time during the last summer, a coloured girl, born free, only fourteen years old, and a resident of the town of Manchester, U. S., paid a visit to a friend on the other side the river. Either through choice or necessity she remained all night, without, however, having the smallest intention of becoming a resident. During the night she was arrested by the police, and, not having her free papers with her, was lodged in jail. Being perfectly ignorant of the law, and having no one to counsel or advise her, the unfortunate creature was detained in jail forty-five days, and then, by order of the court, sold for jail fees! She was sold for the period of forty-five years to pay the sum of forty-five dollars, was purchased by a Negro trader, and carried into captivity in a strange land, where she was sold again. We are informed that she is, if alive, at this moment in Louisiana.—*Leeds Mercury*.

AIDING SLAVES TO ESCAPE.—The dangers now incident to efforts of this class seem to attach a romantic interest to them quite to the taste of some transatlantic freemen. We find the following instance in the *Western Citizen*, under the characteristic head of "Kidnapping in Winchester":—"One of the boldest and most successful attempts at kidnapping we have ever known was undertaken in this town on Wednesday night of last week. Some fortnight or more since, a man who registered his name as C. Turner made his appearance in Winchester, having apparently no kind of business with any of our white citizens. After remaining a day or two at Danner's Hotel, his conduct was rather singular, and created suspicions that all was not right. He left, however, as appears, without informing any one where he was going, and was not heard of until Thursday, the 21st, when it seems he had returned to Winchester the night before, and succeeded in carrying off six negroes belonging to Bushrod Taylor, Esq. The negroes were not missed until about eleven o'clock on Thursday, and immediate steps were taken to pursue them. Messengers were dispatched to different parts of the country, and, upon the arrival of two in Chambersburg, Pa., they found that the negroes, in company with a white man, had left in the cars for Philadelphia four hours before. Thus it would appear that the negroes must have started at an early hour in the night, and travelled all night with considerable speed. A letter

was received here on Monday (Christmas day), post-marked Philadelphia, in which the writer stated that Mr. Taylor's servants had safely arrived in that place on Thursday night, and that Mr. T. need not trouble himself about them, as they were well and on their way to Canada. This letter was directed to a free negro man, and stated that some one would be on again in a few days, to take off several other blacks."

THE FREEMAN ABOUT TO BE SOLD INTO SLAVERY AT WASHINGTON.—The following is the petition to Congress of William Jones:—

To the Congress of the United States.

The humble petition of William Jones, now a prisoner in the United States jail in Washington city, respectfully represents—

That your memorialist is a free citizen of the United States, born free in the state of Virginia, and has always been an industrious and honest citizen, chargeable with no crime; that, while enjoying his liberty in this city, he was seized, and, without any charge of crime, was thrown into jail, where he has been confined for several weeks, and now is advertised to be sold as a slave by the Marshal of the United States to pay the expenses of his imprisonment, unless his owner shall appear; that your petitioner has no owner but his God, and owes no service but to his country; that it is hard for him to be imprisoned without fault, and then sold to pay the expenses. He therefore prays the Congress will exert their powers for the protection of the weak, and procure for him that liberty and justice which are his right, and which he has a special claim for in the district which is under the exclusive legislation of your honourable body.

his
WILLIAM X JONES,
mark.

Witness: D. A. HALL.

Washington Jail, December 28, 1843.

TEXAS.—ANNEXATION.—Extract of a letter from *A Genevese Traveller* (correspondent of the *Times*):—

New York, March 30.

At the moment when the Montezuma took her departure, this city was filled with rumours that a treaty had been signed, and would be laid before the senate in a few days. The stock-jobbers and speculators of Wall-street were in consternation, and every species of stock was in a greater or less degree affected. The alarm was at its height on the 19th, after which day the alarmists and the alarmed gradually recovered from the paroxysm. The general opinion seems now to be, that a treaty has been negotiated, and would have been signed, but that a special minister (Mr. Henderson) was appointed, and duly authorised to close the affair; and it was expected he would have arrived in Washington before this date. The friends of Texas assert, with the most perfect confidence, that the American senate will ratify the treaty; adding, as if by "authority," that in the event of a refusal to ratify, Texas will immediately cast herself into the arms of Great Britain, where she will be promptly and cordially received.

Public opinion is undoubtedly much divided as to what is the real state of facts on this subject. I will, therefore, briefly give you my opinion, and allow me to add, that it is given after much inquiry, due deliberation, and a knowledge of circumstances that warrant me in assuming the position that I do assume:—

First.—In my opinion, no treaty providing for the annexation of Texas to the United States has been negotiated, nor has any progress been made in such a negotiation.

Second.—If negotiated, it has not been signed, and probably, in the present state of affairs, will not be signed.

Third.—If signed and presented to the senate, it will be rejected by that department of the Government beyond all doubt. On this point there is no uncertainty. It requires (the senators being all present) 35 votes to ratify a treaty. At no time during the session could 27 votes have been procured in favour of a treaty for annexation. You may, therefore, consider this question as settled so long as the present senate continue in power.

From the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday:—

"The accounts from the United States bring the somewhat exciting intelligence, that two Texan envoys, Henderson and Van Zandt, had arrived in Washington, to conclude a treaty for the annexation of that republic to the United States. This, however, is avowedly a Tyler scheme, got up with electioneering views, and for the purpose of damaging both Clay and Van Buren in those states where the absorption of Texas and the Oregon are popular. Whilst American statesmen are themselves so little serious on the subject, the Texans seem also to be playing a game. President Houston is shrewdly suspected of not being favourable to annexation, and of having sent envoys as much for the sake of receiving a refusal, and then proceeding to Europe in search of treaties, as with any hope of coming to a satisfactory conclusion in the present state of parties at Washington. It appears almost certain that the Senate would pass no such bill, unless acted upon by a moral coercion not likely to be successfully got up and applied. It would, however, be unwise to reckon the Texan question as decidedly at an end, even for the session, until it is seen what position Mr. Calhoun will take up, and what influence he may wield."

HAYTI.—TRADE.—The restrictions imposed upon communications between Hayti and this colony having been removed, a trade has sprung up between the two islands, and vessels now frequently sail for and arrive from the former. Mahogany, logwood, hides, coffee, cattle, &c., are received here, and correspondents are established in Hayti by parties in this city who purpose carrying on a regular trade in those and other articles.—*Jamaica Morning Journal*.

INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGNERS.—It is known that the constitution of Hayti denies to whites the privilege of possessing immovable property within the limits of the republic. The enlightened Haytians consider this, speaking philosophically, as a bad law in itself; but they also consider it as a defensive and indispensable law in the state of their relations with white nations, and regard it as the shield of their liberties. Some, however, think that this law is only applicable to countries which have not abolished slavery in their colonies; and letters from Port-Republican, of February last, announce that a modification on this point is about to be moved by a member of the Chamber of Representatives. In

this we reap the fruit of our miserable policy. If the proposed motion triumphs, or, in other terms, if the faculty of possessing and establishing manufacturing and agricultural establishments in Hayti be accorded to nations which have abolished slavery within their dominions, England alone will be the gainer. England, more able or more bold, if not more generous than other nations, has, within the last ten years, left all behind upon this point. The English alone—English capital and English hands alone will be admitted to open for themselves in St. Domingo new sources of prosperity and riches, and that in consequence of having been able to adopt resolutely, courageously, and honestly, a measure which is required by the genius of humanity and advancement, and because we did not take the proper opportunity of proffering emancipation to the negroes of our colonies in the Antilles.—*Sicile (French paper)*.

CUBA.—Extract of a letter from Havana, dated Feb. 14, 1844:— "The whole Island of Cuba is at this present moment a scene of the most horrid butchery. Torments and cruelty are practised upon the slaves, who are in a thorough state of dogged discontent, and conspiracy for general insurrection; which has alarmed the proprietors to such a degree, as to make them hail our efforts to put an end to the traffic as a blessing, instead of an attempt to ruin their interests. But, can it be believed?—some half dozen slaves, and the anxiety of our rulers to profit by the disgraceful traffic, has influenced the highest authority to suffocate the most anxious representations prepared for the purpose, and praying for the entire suppression of the slave-trade from Africa, by the most outrageous threats of the exercise of the despotic power which is committed to the Spanish captains-general, and made use of by General O'Donnell towards some of the richest proprietors, nobles of Spain, who waited upon his excellency with draft of these proposed representations. Many estates have been destroyed by fire; hundreds of negroes shot by the military; many have died under the lash; and every well-disposed person as regards this subject is watched, and all their acts reported in the highest quarter, in consequence of which many respectable people have been ordered off the island at short notice."

SURINAM.—Some Surinam fishermen, about the middle of last month, fell in with, and boarded a schooner, bound from Martinique to Cayenne. They found the master covered with wounds, and either dead or on the point of expiring. The crew, consisting of two coloured persons and one white, they carried prisoners into Paramaribo, where, of course, the Dutch navy men, indebted to the slave-owners for numerous hospitalities, some of them not of a cleanly or moral character, (but it is only a resident of the West Indies who can conceive an adequate notion of these foul civilities,) evinced the readiest alacrity to secure them, and deliver them over to summary punishment. Murder, no well-constituted mind can applaud. But, if two Englishmen were taken prisoners by blacks, say at the mouth of the Niger, and menaced with perpetual servitude, which inhabitant of England would condemn them, if, in order to regain their freedom, they cut the throat of every one who impeded their escape? In which village of happy England would they not be greeted as the valiant and adroit preservers of national spirit? And have the Africans no right to vindicate from invasion? The Paramaribo journals dwell on the atrocity of this assassination, forgetful of the injustice and cruelty which provoked it. They name the vessel the *Creole*; yet this may be a blunder, occasioned by a confused recollection of the Bahama affair. The vessel will be sent to Cayenne, and the two patriots will be summarily disposed of. Yet, for freedom, the stroke was worth striking.—The British Commissioner, Schenley, appears to have been doing his duty at the latest dates, for his deer, monkeys, and other specimens of natural history, were poisoned; medics men were threatened with ruin if they practised for him; and he and his family were assailed with discharges of human excrement, as they sat in their own gallery.—*Guiana Times*.

GREECE.—The new constitution contains the following articles:—

"Art. 4. Personal freedom is inviolable; no individual can be procured, arrested, or imprisoned or molested, otherwise than as the law directs.

"Art. 9. In Greece man shall neither be bought nor sold; the slave whether by birth or purchase, of every race or religion, shall be free from the moment when he sets his foot on the soil of Greece."

Miscellanea.

SLAVE-TRADE.—We in our last gave Cape news to the 1st of December, but have since received some papers of earlier date, in one of which we regret to observe mention of a report current in the settlement that her Majesty's brig-of-war Rapid, of 10 guns, Lieutenant-Commander E. C. Earle, belonging to the Cape station, had been sunk near Ben guela, after a smart fight with a Spanish slaver, and that every soul on board had perished.—*United Service Calcutta Gazette*, Feb. 9.

STEAM POWER versus SLAVE-TRADE.—The advantage of employing steam-vessels in the suppression of the slave-trade has been manifested in the recent success of the *Thunderbolt*, Commodore Broke which captured three vessels during the nights of the 2nd and 3rd of January with upwards of 1,200 slaves on board; one of them having 660, another 327, and the third 246. The first vessel was seen at twenty minutes past ten at night, on the port-beam, when the *Thunderbolt* immediately got her steam up and went in chase, and in little more than an hour she was alongside the slaver, and sent her boats to board her. Immediately after she had taken possession of this vessel, she observed another, and upon giving chase soon came up with her. She also proved to be laden with slaves. The third was taken, after a short chase, on the following night.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 23, 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 a weekly newspaper.

Wednesday, April 17, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXV. VOL. V.—No. 9.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST, 1844. *

[PRICE 4d.

THE SUGAR QUESTION: MR. BLAIR.

In our last Number we submitted to the consideration of our readers an examination of the "Address to the Friends of the Negro" on the question of the Sugar duties; in our present Number it is our gratifying duty to present a proof of the beneficial effects which a due consideration of the subject may produce. From the letter which we have the pleasure of inserting below, it appears that Mr. Blair, one of the gentlemen who concurred in issuing the Address, has seen reason to change his opinion. This letter will be read with great interest. It is strongly characterized by the eminently amiable and high moral qualities so long known to distinguish its author, and must endear him alike to all parties. We give it without further comment.

"*Bath, 23rd April, 1844.*

"**MY DEAR SCOBLE,**—After the most mature consideration I can give to the Sugar Question, I have determined on addressing the enclosed letter to Joseph Sturge. Pray let it appear in the next *Reporter*. It has been an effort to me; but my judgment and my conscience both tell me I am acting right, and that ought to be sufficient to satisfy any man.

"Yours sincerely,
"J. Scoble, Esq.
"W. T. BLAIR."

COPY.

"*Bath, 24th April, 1844.*

"**MY DEAR FRIEND,**—I have read your letter addressed to the Rev. T. Spencer, G. Anstie, Esq., and myself, on the Sugar Question, with the careful attention it deserves. I have also gone over the debate that took place on the subject at the last Convention, and have endeavoured, with all the fairness I am capable of, to re-consider and weigh the facts and arguments that have been adduced on both sides; and the result is, that I am constrained to abandon the ground I have hitherto taken in favour of the admission into the British market of the sugars of Cuba and Brazil on *equal terms* with the produce of free labour. Having come to this conclusion, candour requires that I should publicly state the change that has

~~taken place in my sentiments, and the reason for it.~~
"I observed in my speech at the Convention—'I hope it is almost unnecessary to say, that, if I thought the measures which the resolution before the meeting contemplates would have the effect of augmenting and aggravating the horrors of the slave-trade, no consideration on earth would induce me to support it.' Believing, as I now do, that the *immediate effect* of such measures would be to increase these enormous evils, I am bound by my own acknowledgment to retract the unqualified assent which I gave to the principle on which the resolution was founded.

"I am as strongly convinced as ever, that the employment of slave labour is destructive of the interests of the master, and that, in the long run, and not a very long run neither, the labour of the freeman will displace and abolish the labour of the slave; but my present apprehension or conviction is, that, while the principles of *free labour are working their way, and the great change consequent on free competition is in progress, a convulsive effort will be made by the slaveholder to reap a double harvest, because he would know that his time was short.* I shrink from the responsibility of being accessory to this. I am not prepared to expose a single additional cargo of plundered Africans to the horrors of the middle passage, or to add one manacle or inflict one pang on a single man or woman now toiling in hopeless bondage. And if there is even a *risk* of such fearful consequences, should that risk be incurred? If there is a *doubt* as to the result of opening the British market to the sugar of Cuba and Brazil, who should have the benefit of this doubt, the *slaveholder or the slave?* I would not have it inferred that I was ignorant of these consequences until they were suggested by your letter, for they were powerfully dwelt upon by Dr. Lushington in his speech at the Convention, which I confess made a strong impression on my mind at the time; but my scruples on this head were silenced by the conviction that I felt that, *ultimately and not very remotely*, slavery and the slave-trade would be abolished by the policy I was advocating, and that *in the aggregate* there would be a saving of human life by the adoption of that policy. My present judgment is, that I should not be justified even 'for time,' as you have put it, no, not for a month, or a day, in aggravating the atrocities of slavery, and its inevitable concomitant the slave-trade, even though it should accelerate the downfall of the unrighteous system by half a century.

"Do I lay myself open by such views to the imputation of being insensible to the privations and sufferings of my fellow-countrymen at home? I hope not. I will yield to few men in my desire to redress the wrongs, or to relieve the necessities, of our suffering poor; but there is nothing in these sufferings that will bear comparison for a moment with the horrors of the middle passage, or the prison-house of slavery; and I have a better opinion of the

manhood of my countrymen generally than to suppose, if the subject were fully explained to them, they would care to receive a larger supply of a single article of luxury at a cheaper rate, if it was to be obtained, even 'for a time,' at the price of the tears, and groans, and blood of their fellow-men. Though an advocate for free trade, I have never taken up this question on such grounds; neither do I regard it as a party or political question, but as a grave, moral problem, that is to be decided strictly on Anti-Slavery principles; and viewing it, as I have endeavoured to do, in its immediate bearings on slavery and the slave-trade, truth and duty compel me to retrace a step which, I believe, I have taken in a wrong direction. Though this avowal should expose me to a charge of precipitancy or vacillation, it will be a small matter in my estimation, compared with the satisfaction of acting out the convictions of my own conscience.

"I am, your very sincere friend,
(Signed) "W. T. BLAIR."
"To Joseph Sturge, Esq.

FRANCE.

THE questions of Slavery and Emancipation are again beginning to excite the French press. The occasion of this has been the presentation of certain petitions by MM. Isambert, Gasparin, and De Lamartine, from the workmen of Paris to the Chamber of Deputies, for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the French colonies. Of course it was not to be expected that the portion of the press in the pay of the planters, such as the *Globe*, conducted by Granier Cassagnac, and the *Commerce*, edited by M. Lechevalier, would be silent. We, therefore, find the *Globe* not content with vituperating the abolitionists, maligning their motives, and sneering at their objects, but actually engaged in printing supplements to its ordinary sheet from day to day, to prove the compatibility of slavery with Christianity as taught by the fathers, John Chrysostom and Augustin, and grounded on apostolic authority. Now, with all respect for these venerable pillars of the Greek and Latin churches, we must be permitted to judge for ourselves of the true interpretation of Paul's message to Philemon, by Onesimus: "Receive him, that is my own bowels . . . not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved," specially to me, but now much more to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord." If that were to return the fugitive to slavery, it was certainly a strange way of doing it!

The *Commerce*, more dignified in its language, strives to reach the same end with the *Globe*, though by different means. It cannot be brought to defend slavery, but then it assumes that its abolition would be attended with immense injury to France. It would cripple its revenues, weaken its maritime defences, and prove injurious to the slaves. In other words, it would be a political blunder; and that is worse, according to this journal, than the continuance of an atrocious crime.

The *Presse* also has some elaborate articles on the same subject, got up for the purpose of proving that, notwithstanding slavery is a gross violation of the natural, civil, and political rights of men, the condition of the slaves in the French colonies is really so easy and comfortable that its abolition is not necessary.

The refutation of these organs of the planters we leave in the hands of our French friends, persuaded that they will triumph in the controversy to which they are summoned. They have a glorious object before them, and they will act in a manner worthy of it.

In connexion with this subject, it gives us the sincerest satisfaction to be able to announce that the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery have determined to issue a monthly periodical, under the name of the *Abolitionist*, in which the actual condition of the slaves in the French colonies will be shown, and the various branches of the great question of Emancipation discussed by men of eminent ability and talent. We look for the numbers of this periodical with great interest, as they will afford us the means of knowing the principles which guide, and the spirit which animates, our fellow-labourers in the sacred cause of human freedom in France.

The following article from the *Univers*, a journal decidedly favourable to the abolition of slavery, on the broad ground of its being opposed to Christianity, indicates the course it is probable the French Government will pursue on the question of abolition:—

"It is believed that a '*projet de loi*,' relative to the emancipation of slaves in the French colonies, has been examined by the Council of Ministers, and will be shortly laid before the Chambers. The personal opinion of M. le Baron de Mackau, who has acquired, by four years' residence in the colonies in the capacity of governor, some experience, appears to have weighed with his colleagues, and has led to the adoption of a system of emancipation which it is thought will be of easy execution. The negro slaves are to have the right of self-redemption secured to them by law, which they do not enjoy at the present time, emancipation depending on the will of the master. The slaves are to have the right of purchasing

themselves out of their savings. The state will only co-operate with them so far as to afford its assistance to the most meritorious in the way of reward. Thus the government promises itself a double advantage: on the one hand, it will stimulate the negroes to industry and economy, and on the other emancipation will be secured by slow degrees, without imposing large sacrifices on the mother country."

We will not allow ourselves to comment on this poor scheme of Emancipation. We can scarcely believe that the French Government will venture to propose to the Chambers so paltry a measure; which would be an insult to the distinguished men who, for many years past, have devoted themselves to the serious consideration of the question of Emancipation, and, at the same time, be in the teeth of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, presided over by the Duc de Broglie.

MR. RICHARDSON'S MISSION TO MOROCCO.

Our readers are already apprised that Mr. Richardson set out from this country about the close of the year, on an anti-slavery tour along the northern coast of Africa, and will be glad to receive intelligence of his movements.

Mr. Richardson sailed from Gibraltar, on board a trading vessel, in the beginning of February, and, after encountering imminent peril on the voyage, he arrived at Mogador, the principal trading port of Morocco. He found that the emperor was then at the city of Morocco, as were also the governor of Mogador, and Mr. Willshire, the British consul. On sending forward his request for an interview with his Moorish majesty, he received for answer that the emperor would not receive him, or any address of which he might be the bearer; but that he was required to leave Morocco in the same vessel which brought him to Mogador. This abruptness seems to have arisen from the notoriety which Mr. Richardson's object had obtained, through the annunciation of it especially in the French papers. On the return of the governor and Mr. Willshire to Mogador, Mr. Richardson presented his request for an interview with that officer, and this request was granted. On the 16th of March, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he was introduced by the British consul, and favoured with an audience which was strictly private, and lasted about two hours. He commenced the interview by reading, for the purpose of opening the subject, and supplying topics for conversation, the following address:—

May it please your Excellency,—The mission with which I am charged to this country is to persuade his imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco to co-operate, in any way his imperial Majesty may deem proper, with the people of England, for the abolition of slavery. I am sent to the court of Morocco by a society of English gentlemen, whose object is to persuade all men, in all parts of the world, to abolish the traffic in human beings, as a traffic contrary to the rights of man and the laws of God.

In undertaking this mission, these gentlemen applied to the Government of our Sovereign Queen to furnish me with letters of recommendation to the British consuls of this country, the representatives of her Majesty the Queen of England. Copies of these letters are in the possession of Mr. Willshire. These letters express strong sympathy for the object of the mission, and require the consuls to give me their fullest protection; and so far, our gracious Queen, the Government, and the English people, are all agreed, that it is a good and proper thing to address his imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco, to co-operate with and assist them in putting down the traffic in slavery in every part of the world.

If the Government of the Queen had thought that they should recommend to your Excellency and your royal master anything contrary to your religion, they would not have given me letters of introduction to their consuls in this country. Rest assured, that the English people believe it to be agreeable to the doctrines and precepts of all religions to abolish the traffic in human flesh and blood.

I therefore pray your Excellency to receive the petition of which I am the bearer from a society of English gentlemen. Our Government has already spent three hundred millions of dollars, the money of the people of England, to destroy the traffic in human beings; and every day our Government continues to spend vast sums, adding to this enormous amount, for the same object of humanity. I am sure that, if your Excellency and your imperial master value the friendship of England and the British Government, if it be a politic and good thing for Morocco to be allied with the most powerful Christian Government in the world, the most certain way to conciliate and found this alliance on a durable basis, is to co-operate with the people of England for the abolition of the traffic in slaves, and graciously to receive this address from the Society of Abolitionists in London.

We come not to your Excellency with force of arms—this would not be just: we use only moral persuasion. Our religion disapproves of compulsion in all such affairs. But I can assure your Excellency, that the English people will never cease, though all nations be against them, as long as God Almighty holds them up as a people, to endeavour, in every possible way, to persuade and convince the world that the traffic in human beings is a great crime.

To this address the governor replied, paragraph by paragraph; and an extended conversation arose out of the discussion of it. The following paper contains the substance of his Excellency's reply:—

[After saying that he was happy to see Mr. Richardson, and welcomed him to his country, his Excellency proceeded, the first paragraph of Mr. Richardson's short speech being read, to reply to it substantially in the following manner:—]

"Your mission is against our religion. I cannot entertain it, think of it, or interfere with it, in any way whatever. If in other countries

the traffic in slaves is contrary to the religion of those countries, in this it is not; here it is lawful for us to buy and sell slaves. Mahomet, our prophet, has authorized us to do this; but at the same time our slaves must be fed and clothed like ourselves. If you wish a proof of this, you can go and look at my slaves (*pointing to his house*). To be holders of slaves is a merit with us.

"Your address ought to have come directly from your Government—from your Queen to our Emperor: it is not enough that it is recommended by your Government. In Europe sovereigns are accustomed to act by the advice of their counsellors and ministers; but the Sultan of Morocco always acts without advice or councils. If the address had come from the Queen it would have been received, and an answer would have been returned accordingly. Then, if your Government had been offended at the answer of my master not agreeing with their opinion, they could have taken their own satisfaction in any way they might have thought proper.

"The money which you say the people of England have spent for the suppression of the slave-trade has been, according to our opinion and religion, mispent, and employed to destroy a system of which we approve, and consider lawful. Still, however, I hope God will give your country more money to spend, and in abundance.

"The English people and the Moors of Morocco have been, from time immemorial, great friends; proofs of which I can give you. The guns that we get from other Christian nations are never so good as those which we receive from England. Besides, we always give the English whatever they ask for. When the French were at war with Spain, and wished to take Ceuta from her, the English demanded from our Emperor a small island near Ceuta, to prevent the French from landing and seizing Ceuta. To this request his Majesty acceded: and to show you that the English are our particular friends, the English gave the island back to us when the war was at an end."

Mr. Willshire having presented the Address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to his Excellency, and prayed him to accept it, his Excellency continued:—

"No, I am sorry I cannot accept it—if I do, the Sultan must also, for now I act as the Sultan. Indeed, I dare not receive it, nor write to his Majesty about it: nor can I look at it; for in case the Sultan asks me about it, I must be able to swear that I have not touched it or seen it; and if I look at it, and then say I did not look at it, the Sultan will order my tongue to be cut off from the roof of my mouth.

"And further, were the Emperor to agree with your Society, and abolish the traffic in slaves throughout his dominions, all the people would rise up against him in revolt, and the Emperor would be the first to have his head cut off.

"Therefore, as a good and wise man—which you must be, or you would not have been entrusted with this mission—you must comply with the orders of the Sultan's message, given to you by me and Mr. Willshire. Anything which you want for yourself, for your private use, I will give it to you, even to all this city of Mogador; but I cannot comply with the prayer of the Address, or receive it from your hands."

Thus baffled and repelled, nothing remained but for Mr. Richardson to leave Mogador when he could find a convenient opportunity; but his plans had not, at the last date, been matured. He is far from thinking, however, that his mission, although officially unsuccessful, has been a practical failure. The fact that an English gentleman was coming, and had come, for the purpose of procuring the release of the slaves, and of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade, had become extensively known among the people of Morocco, and had created a sensation quite unusual. The interest excited manifested itself by an eager curiosity, together with the invention and credulous reception of exaggerated reports. One of them was that the English agent intended to purchase all the slaves; and some respectable persons at Mogador told Mr. Richardson on the very night of his arrival that they had already been calculating at how many millions of dollars the bargain must be struck. And while the much-dreaded address is officially re-used with so much pertinacity, all the Moors, not excepting the Governor, are known to be very desirous of seeing it privately; nor does it seem beyond hope that in this manner the document may be perused by the Emperor himself. The entire novelty of the subject thus introduced to general discussion in Morocco has (to use an expressive term of Mr. Richardson's) "perfectly staggered" the Moorish official and other principal persons; and we are inclined to concur in the hope that the effort may not be ultimately unfruitful. Some encouragement to this hope arises from the domestic interest in the matter described in the following extract from Mr. Richardson's latest communication.

"The lady members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will be happy to learn that, among their sex at least, in this part of the world, the anti-slavery mission is well received. The wife of one of the most distinguished Moors of Mogador informed a Jewess of her acquaintance, that she was very glad to hear that a Christian had come to liberate all the slaves, and that they were soon to be liberated (such is the credulity and ignorance of these poor women, who never leave their houses but once or twice a year). The truth is, that the respectable Moorish ladies detest the system of domestic slavery, and wish to see it abolished. They see themselves gradually abandoned by the husbands of their youth for the most ignorant and degraded negress slaves, whom their husbands purchase one after another, as their caprice or passion excites them, until their establishments are filled with these slaves. These artful and lascivious negresses absorb all the conjugal affections of their master, and the legitimate wife is left a barren widow, and is obliged to wait upon these pampered slaves, whose insolence increases in proportion to the favour of their master. These female slaves, besides, when they bear sons, are treated with great respect, and their children are free, and by the law cannot be sold—although the Moors do sell them when hard pressed for money. Such is Mohammedan domestic slavery, always working inhumanely one way or other. I am further told that even the negresses are

beginning to chatter about the anti-slavery mission, and expressing their satisfaction to their Jewish neighbours. Of course this sort of information can be obtained only through Jewish females, it being impossible to speak about such a matter with a female of this country of the Moorish religion; but you may rely on its being perfectly correct."

FRENCH VIEWS OF BRITISH EMANCIPATION.—No. II.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Paris, 3mo. 25, 1844.

ESTREMED FRIEND,—Had I the time requisite for the task, and were it consistent with the space which can suitably be devoted to the subject in the *Reporter*, I should be glad to follow Captain Layrle throughout the whole of his statements relative to the British colonies which he visited. In this way it might be seen how many mistakes he has committed in reference to each of them, and how frequently he has contradicted in one place that which he has asserted in another. Such a course is, however, impracticable. I shall, therefore, content myself with a few additional remarks on Captain Layrle's evidence relative to the colonies not already noticed.

Barbadoes is stated by him to enjoy a state of commercial prosperity.—*Abolition de l'Esclavage*, 4th pub., p. 465. Everything there proceeds favourably.—*Ibid.* p. 466. More land is under cultivation in the island than under the preceding systems. If the labourers are not equally numerous, labour is better organised, and as large an amount of produce is raised as formerly.—*Ibid.* p. 469. Labour has never been wanting, but the incessant droughts of 1840 and 1841 prevented the growth of the cane, which, in these years, scarcely attained the half of its ordinary dimensions.—*Ibid.* p. 472. Plantations have preserved their primitive value.—*Ibid.* p. 491. The first class of labourers receive one franc eight centimes, and the second eighty-one centimes daily.—*Ibid.* p. 491. Captain Layrle was everywhere struck with the air of contentment and enjoyment that he found on all countenances; and yet, according to him, the negro at Barbadoes can scarcely live.—*Ibid.* p. 495. I notice here some still more startling inconsistencies, if not contradictions. Although it is stated as above, in one passage of Captain Layrle's report, that the negro in Barbadoes can scarcely live, in another it is no less confidently affirmed that the amount of wages paid in that island is equivalent to that given in Trinidad and Demerara, owing to the greater cheapness of living in the former colony. Again, we are informed that the negroes of Barbadoes, (ill provided as they are said to be with the means of livelihood, and little as, according to the same testimony, the ties of kindred exist among them,) nevertheless sustain their aged and infirm relations.—*Ibid.* p. 497. Marriage is stated to take place among the negroes in Barbadoes as elsewhere, and perhaps more than elsewhere, but the moral obligations which it imposes are represented as being often violated. In proof of this statement, Captain Layrle appeals to the records of the Court of Conciliation. These records J. Scoble has seen, and he informs me that they do not support the charge. Captain Layrle admits that everything in the rural districts of Barbadoes denotes order, and a possession of comfort which does honour to the administration, to the planters, and to the emancipated population itself.—*Ibid.* p. 496. His general conclusion respecting the colony is that, though undoubtedly it has chances of future prosperity, he would not affirm that, with all its advantages, in the extent of its population, the occupation of its territory which prevents idleness and vagabondage, and the existence of a class of rich and resident proprietors, it will escape the common law of the ruin of the former slave colonies. Still he says Barbadoes is a fine and interesting colony!—*Ibid.* p. 498.

Of Antigua, Captain Layrle observes it has maintained during the last seven years a state of prosperity which every impartial person cannot fail to acknowledge.—*Ibid.*, p. 189. The exports have increased rather than diminished since emancipation.—*Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195. In a passage which shortly afterwards occurs, Captain Layrle seems to have abandoned for a moment, his favourite theory of the superiority of slave over free labour. "If, under the system of slavery, labour had been as complete and productive as it ought to have been, if the negroes had employed their time to the best advantage, there is no doubt but they would have produced more than they do at present, when, in consequence of freedom, the fields have lost a third of their labourers. But I have had occasion to say in my former reports, that forced labour has never answered the expectations that have been formed respecting it, and I find a new proof of this in the table of production in Antigua during fifteen years."—*Ibid.*, pp. 196. If the colonists are to be believed, Captain Layrle says, the plantations are worth without the negroes as much as they were worth formerly with their gangs of slaves.—*Ibid.*, pp. 218, 220. In some places he speaks of education as a source of idleness and immorality among the younger portion of the emancipated population. Thus he appears to believe that juvenile prostitution, which he asserts to exist extensively at St. John, is attributable to the education given in the schools.—*Ibid.*, p. 208. In another part of Captain Layrle's report I find the following passage, which is doubtless more conformable with truth:—"It is useless to insist on the salutary consequences that have been produced in civilizing the negro population of Antigua by a religious education and elementary instruction. The effects are such that they appear to me to have attained their ultimate end, that of modifying in a sensible manner the primitive manners of the negro, and of effacing to a certain extent the

African character. I have travelled in the colony in all directions, and at all hours, without hearing, whether on holidays or days of labour, the sound of the bamboula, or any of those noisy manifestations which elsewhere characterize the leisure of the negroes. I have visited the churches, and frequented the schools, and everywhere I have been struck with the sight of the crowd which eagerly repaired to them with seriousness and intelligence." Of the judicious management of the schools and the mode of conducting public worship, it is further said that they concur to explain the moderation of the negro in his pleasures during the very brief period of leisure left to him. In these leisure intervals Captain Layrle has often surprised young people and children, occupied in reading the bible, and doing this with a remarkable degree of intelligence.—*Ibid.* pp. 175, 176. It is evident, then, that the most opposite effects are attributed by Captain Layrle to the same causes, and that, if the prostitution alleged to exist at St. John be admitted as a fact, it is an exception to the general conduct of the emancipated population. My friend J. J. Gurney, who has recently arrived at Paris, states that he did not witness the licentiousness spoken of at St. John, and does not believe that it exists there. Punishments for crime, Captain Layrle states, have considerably decreased; but then, Captain L. says, too much stress must not be laid on this fact!—*Ibid.*, pp. 211. An unfavourable account is given of the physical condition of the emancipated population in Antigua.—*Ibid.*, p. 203. But it is not asserted to be more unfavourable than at Barbadoes, where, as has been seen, the negroes are not only able to maintain themselves but their helpless connexions.

Of the new freemen in St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, it is said, that their present social condition has placed them more in contact than they previously were with civilization, and that they have rapidly adopted its habits and its wants. The men are no longer in rags or ill clothed, as they were formerly; the women are no longer naked or covered with a coarse *toile de Guinée*; at present both are well dressed, and, in the fields as well as in the town, they are often to be seen in superior clothing. Their food is also of a much better description than formerly. Owing to the wants which emancipation has produced, the negroes remain employed in the cultivation of the soil. Their circumstances are easy, and they enjoy a degree of comfort nowhere found among the labourers of Europe.—*Ibid.* p. 127. Emancipation is therefore blamed as having done too much for them. At St. Lucia, the price of a day's labour has risen, Captain L. says, to two francs sixteen centimes, whilst at St. Vincent and Grenada he found it to be only eighty centimes. He visited the new cottages which the proprietors had built for the peasantry; they are charming wood houses, boarded inside. Their free inhabitants ornament them with useful articles; and the whole presents a clean and comfortable appearance, which contrasts with the former bamboo huts covered with thatch that in some places recall the period of slavery. Each of these new and pretty little houses costs the proprietors from 100 and 150 dollars.—*Ibid.*, p. 144.

St. Christopher only fixed Captain Layrle's attention in reference to its productiveness, which in 1839 (the first year of freedom) experienced a considerable increase. Thus, in 1836 this island exported 6,000 hogsheads of sugar; in 1837, 5,000; in 1838, 5,583; and in 1839, 6,823. Captain Layrle remarks that the result of the last year might seem, at first sight, to indicate that the negroes have been more assiduous in the cultivation of the ground than in the other colonies he had visited; but contends that this conclusion would be erroneous. The negroes, he asserts, are everywhere the same; there is not a place where, since the day that introduced freedom, they have showed more aptitude to labour than another; and at St. Christopher's, as elsewhere, a considerable number of hands lately employed in agriculture have quitted the field. But, in 1839, this colony had so abundant a crop, and the canes were so productive, that probably half a century will pass away before a similar phenomenon will again present itself; the labour of the negroes had nothing to do with it (*la main des noirs n'y a été pour rien*).—*Ibid.*, p. 160.

Before bringing these remarks on Captain Layrle's Report to a conclusion, I may observe that he states that the governors and other agents of the British government never hesitate to give their evidence in favour of free labour, of free cultivation, and of the good conduct of the emancipated population. The disadvantages which exist under the free system they attribute to the planters, who, on the other hand, complain of the conduct of those in authority.—*Ibid.*, p. 151. Captain Layrle thus undertakes the decision of the whole question: "When a person has been upon the spot, when he has been placed in a situation to enable him to appreciate facts, and has himself shared the fears and hopes of those around him, it is not difficult to arrive with confidence at this truth:—emancipation is a measure fatal to the English colonies: they can never recover from the blow which they have received."—*Ibid.*, p. 152. Enough has, however, I hope, been seen of Captain Layrle's character and evidence to enable the reader to appreciate, at its just value, the statement of opinions intended to induce the French government to withhold from two hundred and fifty thousand of its subjects a liberty to which they have a claim, no less sacred than the present governor of French Guiana himself.

The same motive which has induced me to notice only a few passages from the extensive reports of Captain Layrle, requires that I should altogether pass over the generality of those made by other Frenchmen who have visited the British colonies subsequent to emancipation. On one of these, however, that of Dejean de la

Batie, a distinguished inhabitant of Bourbon, I shall bestow two or three observations. This report, consisting of more than eighty pages, is marked by the most inveterate prejudices against emancipation, and by statements of so extravagant a character as to secure their disbelief by all reasonable and impartial persons. One passage extracted from it may serve as a specimen of the whole. I give the extract in the original, because it is difficult to render it in English:—"Donnez des besoins au nègre, vous ne le ferez pas travailler, vous le ferez périr. L'esclavage le fait travailler et le conserve ; mais ce n'est pas un besoin qu'on lui donne, c'est une violence qu'on lui fait qui obtient ce résultat."—*Abolition de l'Esclavage*, 4th pub., p. 431. I appeal, in disproof of the former part of this statement, to the natural increase which is taking place in nearly every colony of Great Britain in which liberty has been given, and the rapid increase which occurs in some of them. The latter part of the statement is equally disproved by the nearly stationary or rapidly decreasing population of the French slave colonies. The single British colony, Mauritius, may not present the same favourable results in the excess of births over deaths as others, owing to the large preponderance of males over females, and the numerous deaths which have taken place among the Indian labourers introduced within the last few years. I would, however, especially demand of Dejean de la Batie where is the evidence of the conservative influence attributed to slavery in that island with which he is best acquainted, Bourbon? There, owing to a still greater inequality of the sexes than exists at Mauritius, and the rigours of slavery superadded, the number of deaths among the slaves is nearly double that of the births. In Bourbon the females constitute only a third part of the adult slave population, owing to the recent existence of the slave-trade. On plantations in Bourbon it has been found, as the result of numerous observations, that the women are only in the proportion of one-seventh, a tenth, and even a twentieth of the males; a large proportion of the female slave population being resident in the towns. Comment on such facts, in connexion with the assertions made by Dejean de la Batie, is superfluous. At present I shall not stay to consider further the assertion, that the atrocious violence done to the negro by slavery is the means by which the negro is to be preserved.

In the communications I have forwarded to thee, I have only adverted to a portion of the contents of two of the volumes referred to in the early part of my last letter, and find that it is impossible to do anything like justice to the contents of the remainder in the space I had prescribed to myself. I shall therefore not attempt it at present, but hope that some opportunity will be found of commenting upon them at an early period in the pages of the *Reporter*.

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,
G. W. ALEXANDER.

IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

FROM the papers recently laid before Parliament, we derive the following information:—

Since the 1st of August, 1834, and up to the 31st of December, 1843, there have been added to the labouring population of the West Indies the following numbers:—

Jamaica	6,635
British Guiana	19,945
Trinidad	7,845
Dominica	907
St. Lucia	192
St. Vincent	136
Total						35,660

Of this course of immigration the following has been the cost:—

	£	s.	d.
Jamaica	89,455	3	5
Ditto for townships	22,452	6	4
British Guiana	*72,554	12	2
Trinidad	27,309	9	3½
	211,771	11	2½

A TABLE SHOWING THE PLACES FROM AND TO WHICH IMMIGRANTS HAVE COME.

Places from which.	Jamaica.	British Guiana.	Trinidad.	St. Lucia.	Dominica.	Total.
Africa	1,486	3,556	688	5,930
Canada	245	245
Europe	1,038	381	..	60	..	1,479
Great Britain	2,685	54	..	2,739
India	406	406
Madeira	5,349	5,349
Malta	264	264
St. Helena	400	..	402	802
St. Michael's	91	91
Surinam	31	31
United States	281	73	2,186	2,540
West India islands	408	9,884	5,473	78	..	15,843
Captured slavers	907	907	907

* At four shillings and twopence the dollar.

It appears from these returns, that, of the migration that has taken place in connexion with the British West Indies since emancipation, a large proportion (about four-ninths) has consisted of an interchange between the West India islands themselves, leaving five-ninths of the gross number, or very nearly 20,000 persons, as added during the period to the labouring population. Of the 2,739 who have gone from Great Britain, almost the whole (2,685) have gone to Jamaica, and a large proportion of these (1,333) in the year 1841. Of those from Europe, also, the larger number (1,038) have gone to Jamaica, and these were all from Germany. Of the 2,540 who have gone from the United States, the greater portion (2,186) went to Trinidad, principally in 1839 and 1840, as the fruit of the effort to beat up for emigrants of which so much was heard at the time. This source of supply materially failed in 1842, and ceased entirely in 1843. The most industrious and successful hunter of men has been the colony of British Guiana, into which nearly 20,000 immigrants have been imported, four-sevenths of the whole number. She has drawn her supplies from many sources: from various parts of the continent of Europe, from Malta, from Madeira—and from this island no less a number than 5,349; from India (the Gladstone Coolies), from the United States, from Surinam. She has also drawn largely on her neighbour islands, having derived nearly 10,000 labourers from them. The immigrants returned as from Africa amount to 5,930, all, of course, subsequent to the year 1841, and all having gone to Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad.

With the statement of these facts we shall at present content ourselves, adding only one word. These five-and-thirty thousand immigrants—where are they now, and what has become of them?

DISTRIBUTION OF ARABIC TRACTS.

We mentioned some time ago that an anti-slavery tract had been printed in the Arabic language, partly for the use of Mr. Richardson in his tour to Africa. A number were also intrusted to the Hon. W. Jay, of the United States, then in London on his way to Egypt; and we have now the pleasure of inserting a letter just received from him, exhibiting the manner in which he has disposed of them:—

Naples, 23rd March, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of a leisure moment to render you an account of the disposition I have made of the anti-slavery tracts in Arabic, which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through you, did me the honour to intrust to my care on my departure from London for Egypt.

On receiving these tracts it immediately occurred to me, that I could not do better with them than place them in the hands of gentlemen whose opportunities for making a good use of them would be greater than my own. Hence I left one hundred with the agent of the Malta Anti-Slavery Society. The constant intercourse between Malta and the Mahomedan countries on the Mediterranean will enable the Society to dispose of the tracts to the best advantage. On my arrival at Syra, which is in the direct route between Constantinople and Alexandria, I called on your consul, Mr. Wilkinson, for whom I had a letter of introduction, and requested him to accept of fifty of the tracts. He received them very cheerfully, and promised to embrace the facilities his position afforded for making a judicious use of them.

At Cairo I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Leider. He very readily accepted one hundred tracts, saying that his familiarity with Egypt would enable him to place them where they would be most likely to do good.

The Rev. Mr. Kruse was on the eve of his departure on a visit to various villages in Upper Egypt. He also very cordially took another hundred to distribute on his journey.

Not having the honour of an introduction to her Majesty's consul-general in Cairo, Col. Bartlett, I addressed a note to him, stating that your Committee had intrusted these tracts to me, but that, being an entire stranger in Egypt, and intending shortly to leave it, I was at a loss how to forward the benevolent views of the Committee more effectually than by taking the liberty of sending him a portion of the tracts, feeling confident that he participated in the desire for the abolition of human bondage which so honourably distinguished his government and nation. This note, together with a bundle of one hundred tracts, I personally delivered to his servant, who promised to give them to his master. Having received no reply from the consul-general to my note, I am unable to predict what disposition he will make of the tracts.

During the short time I was in Egypt, I distributed your tracts in the slave-markets, in the bazaars, in a public coffee-house, in the hotels, and to persons in the streets.

A gentleman long resident in Egypt, and in whose piety and information I had full confidence, on reading one of the tracts, expressed to me his regret that it was addressed exclusively to Mahomedans, and not to slaveholders generally; remarking that the Coptic Christians were great slaveholders, and far more cruel masters than the Turks, and that their clergy justified slavery from the Bible. I confess, however, that these reasons for changing the address of your tracts are, in my opinion, far from being conclusive. I have seen too much in my own country of the fatal influence exercised by bishops and clergy in vindicating slavery, and paralyzing the consciences of slaveholders, not to be convinced that the disciples of the false prophet will be more accessible to your arguments and remonstrances, than a people who are taught to believe that our blessed Redeemer authorises the abolition of the conjugal and parental relations, and the conversion of those for whom he died into beasts of burden. The late conduct of the Bey of Tunis forms a strong, though mortifying contrast with that of slaveholding Christians generally.

It may not be improper to mention, that, on embarking at Syra (1st of January) for Alexandria in the French government steamer *Scamandre*, I found on board a number of Turks, and four females in Turkish costume, three white and one black. It was soon whispered among the

passengers that these females were slaves, going from Constantinople to a market in Egypt; their owner was pointed out, and even the price mentioned which he demanded for one of them. On speaking to an officer of the ship, he acknowledged that these females were slaves; and when I remonstrated with him on the impropriety of receiving them on board, he treated the subject with levity. It should be recollect that these steamers are armed vessels, commanded by officers wearing the royal uniform. It can scarcely be doubted, that, on proper representations being made to the government, orders would be issued prohibiting this portion of the French navy from affording in future any facilities to the detestable commerce in human beings.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your friend and obedient servant,

John Beaumont, Esq.

WILLIAM JAY.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN MOROCCO.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Mogador, February 22, 1844.

THE number of slaves in this city is from eight hundred to a thousand; but it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number, the opulent Moors having many female slaves, with whom they live in a state of concubinage which even the government itself cannot know anything of. The majority of the population of Mogador are coloured people, the Moors of Fez resident here alone being white. What would the Yankees say at nearly all the great dignitaries of this immense empire being a coloured race, some of them of the blackest Guinea dye; the emperor himself being also a fourth or fifth caste! I am sorry to hear, for the first time in a Mohammedan country, that the young rich and fashionable Moors, becoming disgusted with the old habits of marrying and taking a wife early—whilst the law requires every good Mussulman to marry once in his lifetime—begin the immoral habit in Mogador of buying female slaves, and making them serve for all the purposes of wives; thus avoiding, as they say, the trouble and expense of marrying females of their own rank and standing in Moorish society. This system has, you are aware, often been practised in substance, form only differing, in the great capitals of Europe. The consequence of this vicious plan adopted by the young Moors of Mogador, you may imagine is very detrimental to the interests of even Moorish society; and the sooner the Europeans abolish the slave-trade the better for the happiness, as well as honour and respectability, of this people. Slaves are imported into Mogador *via* Wadnoon, a wild country some hundred miles farther down this coast. Wadnoon is independent of the emperor; the inhabitants are a few grades more uncivilized than those of Mogador, and they trade direct with Timbuctoo, whence and from the neighbouring country they import slaves, some of which are sold and detained here, and the rest, the greater part, are forwarded to Morocco, and thence to all parts of the empire. It was in the Timbuctoo frontiers of Wadnoon where the unfortunate Mr. Davidson was murdered. No doubt the interested merchants who had this zealous traveller assassinated in so unprovoked a manner, were afraid of their overland slave-trade receiving a check from his exertions.

A great distinction is made between the blacks of Timbuctoo and Guinea, the latter being considered more worthy, alas! and more fitted to be slaves. The blacks of Timbuctoo, also, are Mohammedans, which is an immense advantage for them; whilst those of Guinea, and the slave countries adjacent, are mostly pagans, whom, of course, the good Mussulman abhors, and considers it a pious act to enslave them in order to convert them. There is no market for slaves in Mogador. The same practice is adopted here as in Tangier. The public crier leads the poor afflicted creature about the town, alleging the price already offered, and calling for a greater, until the human being is knocked down as goods by the auctioneer's hammer! The price varies very much; and in these countries, where slaves are not wanted for the cultivation of plantations, a great deal depends upon the caprice of the buyer.

How horror-stricken would Christian Europe be to have unveiled to them all the unnatural crimes cherished in Mohammedan countries by this detestable system! The common price of a slave, male or female, in Mogador, is from sixty to ninety ducats (a ducat in this country is of the value of an English half-crown); but the other day there was a beautiful African girl of about fourteen years of age, freshly imported from the interior, sold in this city for 160 ducats, or about 20*l.* sterling. This was considered an extraordinary high price. Slaves are liberated at different times according to Mohammedan law, and are treated here as in most of the cities of the Moors: one day they may be nursed as children, and covered with caresses and favours: the next day, without cause or even being told the reason, they may be strangled! Such is the system which guarantees property in the bodies, almost the souls, of our fellow-creatures. There has no instance occurred within many years of slaves being brought to Mogador from the Slave Coast; indeed, this could not be expected. The Moors are not sailors; whilst they feel themselves infinitely more secure in traversing with their slaves the Sahara, where certainly no English cruisers can reach them. You are perfectly aware, however, of the sacrifice of human beings in the overland trade, and that the billows of the great sandy desert swallow up its hundreds or thousands annually, like the ocean, enraged by the crimes of man against man! Still, although the emperor's subjects do not import slaves *via* the sea, there is no reason that a treaty might not be made with him similar to that made with the Imaum of Muscat. I do not here allude to the Mediterranean slave-trade, but that from this port and the southwestern coast of Africa. Were the Moors better sailors, certainly such a trade would be flourishing.

LETTERS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

Spitalfields, April 9, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been so impressed with the necessity of keeping alive the interest of the government and the public on the subject of the ruinous consequences, as regards our exertions against the slave-trade, which must necessarily ensue upon the introduction of slave-grown produce, that I have thought it my duty to lay before Sir Robert Peel the opinions which, after the most mature consideration, I feel compelled to adopt on this important question.

We cannot be blind to the many interested motives at work, in the endeavour to obtain from the government so calamitous a concession as the one in question; nor can we fail to observe how vigorous are the measures adopted in order to insure the result which we so much deprecate: and, seeing this, it has appeared to me that I could not do wrong in stating directly to the government what I feel to be the true and real sentiments of the majority of those gentlemen who are still resolved to make the example of England, as the enemy of slavery and the slave-trade, the precedent for all future exertions in such a noble cause; which precedent would be obscured, if not entirely destroyed, by the introduction of a measure so calculated to add an impulse to the growth of sugar by slave labour, and consequently to the trade in slaves, as the diminution of duties on the sugars of Cuba and Brazil.

You will, if you please, have the goodness to lay this before the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Believe me, my dear Scoble,

Very faithfully yours,

J. Scoble, Esq.

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Spitalfields, April 17, 1844.

SIR,—As some persons have, I believe, addressed the government on the subject of the sugar-duties, and as many are taking measures for making their views known to the public, I hope I do not appear to you to be putting myself too forward by troubling you with my opinions on the same matter.

I feel most strongly that to allow Cuba and Brazil to send their slave-grown sugars to Great Britain with any serious diminution of restrictive duties, would be to undo, in great measure, the work in which this country has, so much to her own honour, been for so long a period, and at such heavy sacrifice, engaged.

The impulse which would be thus given to the growth of sugar in Cuba and Brazil could not fail to be very great. An immense addition to the number of labourers would necessarily be required; and it is too late to entertain a doubt as to the horrid cruelties and crimes which must be perpetrated in order to obtain that supply of labour.

But it is not merely the cause of humanity which would thus suffer; the character of our nation would receive an indelible stain. It has been our pride to furnish encouragement and energy to the friends of freedom; and now, supposing us to yield to the entreaties of those who are interested in slavery and the slave-trade, we shall stand forth as the revivers and re-animators of those monstrous iniquities. We shall employ one fleet on the coast of Africa to suppress the trade, while another, under the British flag and supported by British capital, will be sailing from Cuba and Brazil, to supply the British market with sugar, which can only be produced by that new slave-trade which we shall thus call into existence.

I assure you that I have felt deep gratitude to yourself and your colleagues for your stedfast refusal to admit slave-grown sugar; and I am not altogether unable to estimate the strenuous resolution which it must have required, in order to enable her Majesty's ministers to resist the entreaties of some, the threats of others, and the plausible appeals of those who have made the distresses of our own people the ground on which to base their interested applications.

I am aware that some persons, very different in their character and in the objects at which they aim from those to whom I have alluded, and who are as strenuous as any class in hostility to the slave-trade, are yet, as lovers of free trade, in favour of the admission of the sugar of Brazil and Cuba. On them, I need hardly say, I mean no reflection; I only lament that I am compelled to differ from them.

There are also some, warmly attached to the cause of the negro, who object to the employment of armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade. With these I do not agree. I need not trouble you, Sir Robert, with any argument to show that this infamous traffic is a compound and an accumulation of all crimes, or that its merits (looking to the present calamities it inflicts, and the innumerable and heavy evils which result from it), more than any other great iniquity, to be visited with the vengeance of the law. Nor can I conclude this letter without remarking how sincerely I have rejoiced in the vigorous policy of the government, as evinced by their sending out so many additional cruisers and steam-vessels to the coast of Africa, to co-operate with the squadron before stationed there in a yet more determined effort to give the final blow to the iniquitous occupation of the slave-dealer.

I have the honour to be, Sir Robert,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Sir Robert Peel, Bart., &c., &c.

The following letter from Dr. Lushington was written in reply to a question, proposed to him by Mr. Barry, "Whether he retained the opinions which he had expressed in the House of Commons?"

Great George-street, February 5, 1844.

My dear Friend,—The opinion I maintained in the House of Commons was this—that sugar from places which still carried

on the slave-trade should not be allowed to come into competition with English sugar, or free-grown sugar.

The train of reasoning which led me to this conclusion was, that Cuba and the Brazils still carried on the slave-trade—that even with their present markets they found it profitable so to do—that to add to their markets was to give an increased stimulus to the production of sugar—that such increased production could only be effected by the increased importation of slaves, it being wholly impossible that the slaves at present existing in Cuba and Brazils could produce more; therefore, by the admission of Cuban and Brazilian sugar, the slave-trade must be augmented.

I have heard nothing since to disprove this reasoning; on the contrary, many of the free traders have admitted that such must be the immediate consequence; but they add that, in the result, such admission of sugars would destroy the slave-trade and slavery too.

Even if this argument were true, I never could consent to a measure which would occasion an immediate increase of the slave-trade, even though it were probable that it might ultimately (no one could conjecture when) abolish both the trade and slavery itself.

I doubt, however, if, under the circumstances, the argument be indisputably conclusive. It depends on the following proposition—that free labour is cheaper than slave labour; and that the introduction of Cuban and Brazilian sugar would act so promptly as a stimulus on the countries producing sugar by free labour, that improved machinery and greater economy would excite them to raise sugar so cheaply that all slave-importing countries could not compete with them.

Now I fully admit that, *all other things being equal*, free labour must be cheaper than slave-labour; but surely it cannot be contended that fertility of soil and number of labourers are not material elements. I really do not know how Jamaica, with its inferior soil and comparatively small number of cultivators, could compete with the rich land of Cuba and a constant supply of slaves; certainly I think Jamaica could not for a number of years to come, and during the whole of that interval there would be an increased temptation to the slave-traders of Cuba and the Brazils to augment their infamous traffic. Therefore, for the sake of Africa, and not for the West Indians, I am still opposed to the suggested measure.

I am, and always have been, the advocate of free trade; for nearly thirty years I have uniformly upheld those principles. I will buy honourably at the cheapest market, but I will not purchase of the robber and the thief, because they can undersell the honest man. On this principle, and claiming no protection for the West or East Indies, I would allow the importation of sugar from all places where it is free grown, on moderate duties, so soon as it can be done without breach of existing treaties.

I will only add that most willingly would I change my opinion, if I could be convinced that the introduction of sugar from slave-trading states would not increase the slave-trade.

I pray you to observe that the objection on which I have always insisted, is, not to the admission of sugar from countries where *slavery* exists, but where the *slave-trade* is carried on.

This latter question, the admission of sugar from countries having slaves, but no slave-trade, stands on different principles, and has not practically arisen. I therefore give no opinion upon it, especially as I could not do so, save at length. This letter, indeed, imperfectly as it states the question, has already outgrown what I expected.

I am, very faithfully yours,

(Signed) S. LUSHINGTON.

P.S. Pray read the little pamphlet, "Fifty Days on Board a Slave," and think if any advantage could compensate for half a dozen such occurrences.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the above SOCIETY will be held in EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, the 17th of MAY, 1844.

The Right Hon. LORD BROUGHAM will preside.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'Clock precisely. Tickets may be had at the Office of the Society, 27, New Broad-street; of James Nisbett, Berners-street; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; Jacob Post, Lower-street, Islington; Henry Sterry and Sons, High-street, Borough; and of Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,
THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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, MAY 1, 1844.

By an advertisement in our paper of this day, it will be seen that the Fifth Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society is to be held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 17th of May. The Chair will be taken by the Right Hon. Lord Brougham.

We mentioned in our last that a petition had been prepared for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, in relation to the pending discussion on the sugar duties. We have now to state that those petitions have been presented. That to the Lords was presented by Lord Brougham, and that to the Commons by Mr. Scholefield. In addition to this, petitions of a similar tenor have been presented from the following places:—Birmingham, Hitchin, Colchester, Stratford-on-Avon, Exeter, Sunderland, Glasgow, Kendal, Fakenham, Oswestry, Torquay, Helston, Darlington, Newton Abbott, Reigate, Chester-le-Street, Ware, Alton, Carlisle, &c., &c.; also one from Alfred Rooker, and one from the Stoke Newington Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association.

The progress of the discussion on the sugar question has elicited an expression of opinion from two long tried and distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, whose letters we have the pleasure of inserting to-day; we mean Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., and the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington. Nothing that we can say can add weight to these letters; nor, we hope, will it diminish in any degree the influence of Sir Fowell Buxton on the main question, if (as we must) we express our dissent from that part of it which relates to the employment of armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Of the numerous communications which have been received by the Committee in reply to the Circular which appeared in our last, all have been favourable except one. The Committee at Worcester have sent up an adverse resolution, which is said to have been passed unanimously. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr. Brewin to Mr. Sturge, that the resolution is far from expressing the sense of the whole Committee. It is as follows:

"Worcester, 25th 4 mo., 1844.

"DEAR FRIEND, JOSEPH STURGE.—I am sorry that many of our Anti-Slavery Committee approve of the introduction of Brazilian sugar. I conceive it would be a violation of the great principle espoused by the Anti-Slavery Society, that every man has a perfect right to dispose of his labour in such a way as he thinks best, no other man having any right over him. If we encourage slave-grown produce we shall be aiding and abetting men who violate this principle of justice and freedom, and riveting the chain of the slave. As one of the Committee here, I must avow my dissent from the course adopted by that body. There are other members of the Committee, I believe, who unite with me.

"Blair sent me their Circular, and I replied that I approved of *free trade* with every country producing their commodities by *FREE* labour.

"I am thy sincere friend,

"EDWARD BREWIN."

The most important incident, however, in this controversy at the present moment is the change of opinion on the part of Mr. Blair, announced in a letter from himself to Mr. Sturge, which we have inserted elsewhere.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Monday evening, after presenting his budget for the year, made the very gratifying announcement, that the Government had resolved to avail themselves of the expiration of the treaty with Brazil in November next, as an opportunity for recommending the admission into this country of foreign sugar raised by *free labour*, on favoured terms as compared with that raised by slaves. The differential duty against foreign sugar at present is about 41s. per cwt.; and Mr. Goulburn proposes that after the month of November, the differential duty on free-grown foreign sugar shall be only 10s. It will then be admitted at a duty of 34s., while sugar of British growth pays 24s. We cannot but hail this announcement with great satisfaction, as a step—a first and important step—in the right direction. Of course, we should have been more happy if the differential duty had been altogether annihilated; a point which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will still feel it their duty to press, and on which they look with confidence for the support of their friends throughout the country. We must also express our deep regret, that Ministers have enfeebled their position by the manifest inconsistency of reducing generally the duties on foreign coffee. We repeat our conviction, however, that the step taken is a most important and salutary one; and we tender our heartfelt thanks to the Government who have adopted it. The debate contained an episode of some moment between Mr. P. M. Stewart and Lord Stanley on colonial immigration. We shall, of course, return to both subjects.

Our friends G. W. Alexander, and B. B. Wiffen, have recently visited some of the principal towns of Holland for the purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery in the colonies of that country. They had the pleasure of meeting friends of the anti-slavery cause at Utrecht, Groningen, Amsterdam, Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam. Previously to reaching Holland they learned that two numbers of a work intended to advocate the abolition of Dutch colonial slavery, to be continued every two months, had been published at Utrecht. During their stay in that town they had the further satisfaction of learning that the conductors of this interesting and valuable periodical, entitled, "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Dutch and Foreign Colonies, especially in reference to the Emancipation of the Slaves," meet every week for the purpose of conversing on the subjects to which it relates. In all the other towns visited by our friends, they had the gratification of seeing unequivocal proofs of the deep interest felt in the anti-slavery cause. On a future occasion we hope to furnish some information obtained by our friends during their journey, and to notice several works recently published in Holland besides that herein noticed, in which the question of the abolition of slavery is prominently brought forward. Previously to leaving Holland our friends drew up an appeal for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies, addressed to the friends of justice, humanity, and religion in Holland, which they hope will be extensively circulated.

In our Colonial Intelligence will be found an article from a Trinidad paper, indicating some contemplated changes in the laws of that colony of a nature too well adapted to inspire alarm. It appears that there has been sent out from the Colonial Office a draft of three ordinances, intended to alter the excellent laws now in force relating to contracts for labour, and to supersede the stipendiary magistracy by the appointment of a court of appeal. Without knowing more of the ordinances recommended by Lord Stanley than we now do, it is, of course, impossible to express an opinion of them; but the language used by the governor and other parties in Trinidad, as to "making labourers enter into contracts," and the great benefit which "the planters" are to derive from them, gives rise to the most painful apprehensions.

We mentioned in our last the fact of John L. Brown's safety, technically on the recommendation of his judge, but really, no doubt (as one of our American correspondents affirms), because the South Carolinians "did not dare to hang him," in the face of the indignant feeling which such an atrocity would have aroused throughout the Union. We trust the sentiment of horror which the possibility of such an event has excited among all classes in this country will have the effect of preventing any further application of so barbarous a law, even *in terrorem*. Indeed, the existence of such a law—now rendered notorious, although (as we are informed) heretofore denied—is a blot on the name of Carolina which, it may be hoped, will be speedily wiped away. With respect to Judge O'Neill himself, who seems to think the commission of any enormity "in enforcing the law" a matter of perfect innocence, we are sorry that, by the levity with which he has treated this subject in his letter, he has affixed a stigma of sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy on the religious language used by him in passing the sentence of death. We can say nothing severer of Judge O'Neill, than to perpetuate the fact of his having written the following words:—"Our revolutionary sires thought precious little of the rascals who stole or aided negroes in running away; little of their blood would have been poured out to keep such from the gallows; they would sooner, much sooner, have tied the noose than cut it with their swords." Assuredly the spirit of justice and of judgment breathes not here.

We gave in our last, in extracts from the correspondence of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, a view of the general position of the annexation of Texas question. We are now enabled to give, in a series of extracts from the *Emancipator*, some fuller details of the excitement which the rumour of a treaty for that purpose had excited in the American press, together with the remarks of the editor of that paper, our friend Mr. Leavitt. We shall add here an extract of a letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan on the same subject. The space we devote to it will show that we contemplate it with deep and unabated interest.

"What an awful lesson has been taught our pro-slavery men at Washington by the explosion on board the *Princeton!* Upshur and Gilmer, thus cut down at a blow, were the chief actors in the nefarious scheme of introducing Texas into the Union. Mr. Tyler is no better. He will do all he can to bring about the annexation. I do not believe it can be accomplished. But there is no knowing what the satanic designs of wicked men may achieve. The great art among certain of our politicians is, and always has been, to carry measures by arousing jealousy and hatred of England. It is now trumpeted forth by this class of politicians that General Henderson, the special envoy from Texas, who is daily expected at Washington, is charged to inform this Government, that, if they do not agree to annex Texas, he is to proceed to England and offer Texas to the British Government. If the people can be made to believe this, the effect will be great and pernicious. It is said that Texan scrip is distributed freely. The truth is, a most desperate game is playing. The *Journal of Commerce* of this city is advocating the annexation, provided some restrictions can be made with regard to slavery! Other papers, from the editors of which better things might be expected, are urging for annexation. All the stratagems that can be employed by unprincipled men are at work. Still I do not think they can succeed. I cannot think the God of the oppressed will permit it."

We perceive that our old friend, Mr. George Thompson, in his recent speech on behalf of the Anti-Corn-law League, has applied himself to the *rexata questio* of sugar and slavery. Nearly two columns of compact matter have we seen—and read—of his argumentation on this subject in the *Morning Chronicle*. We award it—this commendation is due to all he says—the praise of eloquence and tact. But he does no justice to the subject. Of the great and only reason why opposition is made by the Anti-slavery party to the admission of Brazilian sugar, namely, that it will increase at once the sufferings of the slave and the activity of the slave-trade, he takes absolutely no notice at all; leaving this still to be an argument "with which no man has grappled, and with which no man can grapple." This alone stamps vanity upon all his eloquence. What, however, did he say? He descended on the inconsistency and insincerity of the present Ministers. Very well. Suppose this is granted, what then? Will that render the admission of Brazilian sugar less destructive to the slave, or less stimulant to the slave-trade? He said treaties and cruisers were futile. Suppose this also is granted, and we certainly agree with him, is this any argument for an open market? He said, "I see not why the people should be compelled, by legislative enactments, to buy the produce of the British West Indies, or be driven to the alternative of going without that which they want." This is thoughtless; since no man knows better than Mr. Thompson, that the British East Indies, as well as the West, supply to this country a large quantity of sugar, and that those who deprecate the admission of Brazilian sugar are for opening our ports to sugar free-grown from every part of the world. He says again, "I see not that the people can with justice be prevented from buying the produce of Brazil or Cuba, on the ground that the produce of those countries is the fruit of a slave system." This is not the point. Will Mr. Thompson say, that he thinks it would be right to open the British market to Brazilian and Cuban sugar, in the face of a fearful aggravation of the sufferings of the slaves, and an unlimited impulse to the activity of the slave-trade?

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Friday, April 19.

SLAVE TRADE.

Lord BROUHAM wished to call their lordships' particular attention to the petition which he was about to present, as well on account of the extreme importance of the subject to which it related, as of the high character of the venerable gentleman from whom it emanated. It was the petition of Thomas Clarkson, who, nearer to seventy than sixty years ago, had first called public attention to the atrocities of the abominable slave-trade; and who now, at a very advanced period of human life, had the satisfaction of looking back to what had been effected by himself, in conjunction with the late Mr. Wilberforce and others who had followed in his footsteps, to put an end to that inhuman traffic. The petitioner entreated their lordships to give their sanction to such fiscal regulations as may admit foreign sugar into the markets of this country, provided it came from settlements in the East, or from Manilla, where free labour alone was employed; and he further prayed their lordships to adopt no measure whatsoever that would have a tendency, direct or indirect, immediate or remote, to allow the importation into the markets of this country of sugars grown in Brazil or Cuba, the produce of slave labour. The petitioner was convinced that any fiscal regulation having that object in view would be neither more nor less than an immediate premium given to the importation of negroes from Africa to South America, and would directly lead to the encouragement and extension of the slave-trade. The noble and learned lord presented petitions to the same tenor from Chester-le-Street (Durham), Colchester, and several other places.

Lord KINNAIRD said, he had seen a letter written by his noble and learned friend, in which he asserted that we never had much trade in sugar with slave states. Now, he and others had been labouring under a delusion, if we did not carry on a very considerable trade in sugar with such states. He had been led to believe that slave sugar was sent here to be refined, and was afterwards exported; and that, in this way, a very large trade was carried on. We sent our goods to Cuba, and took their sugar in exchange. That sugar we afterwards carried to Russia, and received in return their flax and tallow. This certainly was a roundabout way of managing the business, but still it was a dealing in sugar with slave states. The fact was, that a certain interest was to be supported, and they were afraid to allow the unfortunate people of this country to have their sugar at one half the price at which they might procure it if importation from those forbidden settlements were permitted. The trade with those places was not allowed directly, but it was permitted indirectly.

Lord BROUHAM said, he would only give their lordships a single sample of the accuracy of his noble friend, with respect to the knowledge of the facts connected with the question which he had undertaken to elucidate. He (Lord Brougham) was able to say that he had made this question his study for many years before his noble friend had had an opportunity of turning his attention to anything of the kind. He was sure that his noble friend had been misinformed; otherwise he would not have said, that, by the introduction of sugar from Cuba, and other places where slave labour was used, the people of this country would procure that article at one-half the price they now paid for it. Why, it was clearly proved, by a recent calculation, that the third part of a farthing per pound would be the utmost difference that the importation of slave-grown sugar would make. The abatement of price would be the one-third of a farthing in the pound; and not, as his noble friend had said, the one-half of the existing charge. The whole argument of his letter went to prove this, that, if they opened the ports to a new trade in sugar with slave states, they would absolutely and inevitably add to the African slave-trade. He should be happy to meet his noble friend on the question whenever he thought proper to bring it forward.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Monday, April 29.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, having brought forward his budget, said,—Having made this statement to the House, I should, perhaps, here close my observations; but there is one other article, which, though not immediately under the consideration of the House, yet, as it must necessarily form, at no distant period, the subject of a separate discussion, and respecting which great anxiety exists to learn the intentions of Government—I refer to sugar (hear)—I should not act fairly towards this House if I did not openly state the course I intend to pursue when I move the question of the sugar duties. The House will not think it necessary for me to enter into all the details. I will merely state the principle on which we shall proceed, and defer the details until the subject comes regularly before the House. I allude to the subject now, for I know the great importance to every class to be apprised early of the determination which Government has formed with regard to sugar. The House are aware that the treaty with Brazil will come to a termination in the month of November next; and with the treaty will terminate the right which Brazil enjoys under the treaty of importing sugar into this country on equal terms with the most favoured nations. There was, however, an obstacle to the admission of slave-grown sugar into the British market. After November, however, I shall recommend this House to admit into this country, on payment of a differential duty, the sugar of those sugar-growing states which are exempt from the stain of the slave-trade, and which produce their sugar by means of free labour. We shall thus throw open the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, we shall extend our trade with China; and we shall thus derive from those quarters, without departing from our principles or rule of conduct with respect to the slave-trade, a supply of sugar at a price which will tend to increase consumption; and also to give an additional impulse to the productive powers of British colonies. Of course, in stating that the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope are to be allowed to send us sugar, I except those countries where the slave-trade is still carried on. Where sugar is raised by slave labour, those countries will not be included in the reduction which I propose to submit. The differential duty on sugars from countries free from the taint of the slave-trade, I propose shall be 10s. per cwt.; that is, whereas British sugar pays now a duty of 24s., sugars from the countries I have referred to will pay 34s. per cwt. duty. I am quite aware that it may be said, although the Brazil treaty will be brought to a conclusion in November, there will still exist a treaty with the United States of America, which contains the same favourable clause as the Brazilian treaty. Nothing is further from my intention, or from the intention of the British Government, to infringe, in the slightest degree, any treaty that may have been concluded with any other country. And, when the time arrives, I shall be able to show, that, though sugar is raised by slave labour in the southern states of America, it is not calculated to be brought into competition with the sugar raised by the free labour of other countries. It would be most satisfactory if the state of the revenue admitted some arrangement to be made with respect to the sugar duties generally. But at present this proposition cannot be entertained with any hope of a satisfactory result. Until the expiration of the treaty existing between this country and Brazil in November next, it will not be in our power to act upon general and uniform principle with respect to foreign sugars. The effect of such an attempt now would be to paralyse the whole of the trade in that article. After that date it will be the duty of the House to take into its consideration at what rates of duty sugars of foreign growth, and sugars from countries where slaves are engaged in their cultivation, shall be admitted by us. In making these observations, I beg to disclaim, on the part of the Government, any hostility to the particular state alluded to, or any intention to prejudice its commercial interests; and I trust that the proposed reduction of the duty upon coffee of the growth of foreign nations and countries, including that of Brazil, will be a sufficient pledge of the sincerity of our intentions in that respect. As to the amount of the differential duty, I am only anxious that we should take such an amount as will give an advantage to our own and to free labour sugar in the market over slave-cultivated sugar.

Mr. HUME said,—The policy pursued by the present Government with respect to Brazil was to him incomprehensible. He could not see the policy of declining to take from her cotton, coffee, and sugar, at a loss to this country of having our manufactures, to the value of 4,000,000/- annually, excluded from the ports of that country. He therefore protested against the proposed measure of the Government with regard to sugar.

Mr. F. BARING did not object to the proposed change in the sugar duties, but he was much afraid that the right hon. gentleman would find that, when he proposed a differential duty in favour of free labour sugar and against that of Brazil, the Brazilians would make a difference between our cottons and the cottons of other countries (hear.) He would not say that Brazil would benefit itself by such a course; but most assuredly this country could have no just ground of complaint if that country should adopt it. They would have another opportunity of discussing this part of the question, and he would not now further allude to it than by expressing his hope, that the right hon. gentleman had taken into his consideration the treaties which they had with several countries in this respect. On a former occasion they were no doubt told that the introduction of even one ounce of slave-grown sugar would be contrary to the principles of humanity; but the introduction of it was either right or wrong. No doubt hon. gentlemen might answer that only a small quantity would be introduced; but this only reminded him of the story of the poor girl who, when brought before the magistrate, assured him that it was a very small bastard of which she had been delivered (hear, and a laugh.) Would any man tell him that the taking out of the European market the quantity of sugar now consumed there would not give a stimulus to the trade in slave-grown sugar? From a statement made by Mr. M'Gregor Laird, he found that the whole of the sugar produced for importation was 673,000 tons, of which 204,000 tons were the produce of British colonies, leaving 469,000 tons for the use of the European market. From Manilla and Java, the amount of free-labour sugar amounted to 95,000 tons; and if they should take this quantity out of the European market, what, he asked, would be the result? Would not the supply be less than the demand? Would not prices rise, and would not the gap be filled by slave-labour sugar? (hear,

hear). Where, then, was their consistency? How could they expect that the people of England would not see through this very clumsy way of dealing with a question with which they were obliged to deal, and with regard to which they were only consistent in words (hear). He believed that by the arrangement proposed, they would give exactly the same stimulus to slave-labour in Brazil that they would have given if they had taken the 95,000 tons, not out of the European market, but out of the slave-grown sugar of Brazil itself.

Sir R. PREL said that he would postpone any detailed discussion of the question until the opportunity alluded to by the right hon. gentleman. The right hon. gentleman had brought a charge of inconsistency against the government, with respect to this question, which was without foundation. He did not apprehend that, at the period alluded to by the right hon. gentleman, there was any question as to the admission of sugar the produce of free labour, so soon as our trade with Brazil should permit that admission without giving to Brazil the right to claim admission for sugar the produce of slave-labour. He recollects that, when they urged their objections to the admission of slave-grown sugar, they were constantly asked why they did not permit sugar the produce of free labour to enter into competition with sugar the produce of our own colonies. The hon. member for Wigan and the hon. member for Dublin, when they sat on that side of the House, had repeatedly asked that question, and the hon. member for Dublin had once given notice of a motion to admit sugar the produce of free labour into competition with our own colonial produce. Suppose they had refused to admit sugar the produce of free labour on the grounds stated by the right hon. gentleman, would they not have been taunted with a desire to maintain the monopoly of the West India colonies, and been told that their objections were not to the admission of slave-grown sugar, but to throwing open the monopoly of the West Indies? That argument would certainly have been used against them if they had not availed themselves of the earliest opportunity, consistently with their principles, to avow that, if they admitted any sugar into competition with that of their own colonies, such sugar should not be the produce of slave-labour.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said there was one announcement made by the Government that night of infinitely greater importance than anything else which they had stated; and, although other opportunity would be afforded of discussing the subject, he could not help availing himself of the first moment that offered to express his deep concern and regret at hearing ministers declare that they were prepared to take a step perfectly novel in the commercial legislation of this and, he believed, of any other country, by putting a commercial ban upon great nations intimately connected with this country. He alluded to the statement they had heard with respect to the sugar duties; and, although under some apprehension upon that subject from the statements he had heard, he had clung to the hope that when the right honourable gentleman came closely to consider the subject, and when he came to see the immense difficulties which environed his way of dealing with it, the right honourable gentleman would have taken a different course. He was surprised at the tone adopted with regard to the sugar duties. He was afraid that we should lose all credit with foreign nations on this subject. He feared that we should desecrate the sacred name of humanity, to which we had hitherto appealed in our conduct with regard to the slave trade. There would be other opportunities for discussing the details of this question, but he confessed he should be curious to hear the explanations of honourable gentlemen opposite. Suppose, for instance, a ship coming with a cargo of sugar from New Orleans, he should like to know how they could be sure that cargo of sugar was grown in Louisiana, and not in Cuba. Did they mean to rely on certificates of origin—documents not of the highest value, even when coming from our own custom-house officers? Of what value would they be when furnished by the American authorities of New Orleans? He greatly feared that they were opening the door to an endless system of evasion, subterfuge, and fraudulent trading, deeply injurious to the commercial character of the country, and of no use whatever in checking the slave trade, which they professed themselves so anxious to suppress; a system deeply injurious also to the general commerce of the country, by exciting hostile feelings against us in the Brazils and the Spanish colonies, and other countries whose unfortunate prejudices still bound them to the vicious system of slavery. All these consequences, he apprehended, would flow from this measure, which they were about to introduce for the first time into the commercial legislation of the country, without gaining any advantage in the way of suppressing the slave-trade, which he would go as far as any of them in seeking to put down. The right hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, must feel that, under the present circumstances, the discussion of the sugar duties was of unusual importance. He trusted, therefore, that the subject would be introduced into the House at such a period of the session as should afford ample opportunity for full and mature consideration. He could not help remarking it as a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that they should, under whatever pretext, be induced to establish a system of differential duties against any particular nation or nations at the present moment, when, unhappily, a great jealousy existed against the trade of England; and when a strong disposition was manifested on the part of rival commercial states to endeavour to persuade other nations to enter into treaties to our disadvantage.

Mr. P. M. STEWART said, there could be no doubt but that the colonies of this country were to be placed in competition with other countries. But what was the state of our colonies in reference to the supply of labour, in consequence of the foolish and unreasonable legislation which had marked the Colonial Office for some years past? In the year 1833, when slavery was abolished from a well-founded horror of slavery, laws were passed extremely injurious and hostile to the interests of our colonial possessions, by preventing contracts being made out of the colonies with regard to labourers, and by hindering in every way the supply of labour. Since then various regulations had been made, some better and some worse, but at the present moment—he made the statement in all courtesy to the noble lord—nothing could be so destructive to the colonial interests of this country as those unnecessary, unmeaning obstructions of every avenue through which labour could flow into the colonies. Were those dependencies not entitled to some relaxation of those restrictions? For what purpose were they upheld?

Were not the West Indies provided, like the mother country, with a magistracy to see justice done between the master and the labourer? Had they not the Passengers Act for the protection of emigrants to all quarters of the world? These were not mere idle assertions. He would only point to the three sources from which labour would naturally flow to our colonies. With regard to Africa, his noble friend the member for London, when in the Colonial Office, wrote a letter to the Governor of Sierra Leone, containing some excellent regulations with regard to the African labourers; but the noble lord's regulations were no longer acted on; for, instead of allowing the Africans to come from different parts of the coast, they had established a foolish—he trusted he should be forgiven the word—and mischievous regulation, which made it compulsory that all labourers going to the West Indies should be shipped at Sierra Leone, by which many of those whom they called their best class of labourers would be obliged to travel 600 miles along the coast to the point of embarkation. Arrived at Sierra Leone, they were obliged to wait six weeks or two months before they could embark for the West Indies. With these restrictions, it would puzzle the ingenuity of the noble lord to say what would be the supply of labour from the coast of Africa. He believed they would get no supply at all. With respect to the Coolies, a real prohibition existed. Maintaining the restriction with respect to the West Indies, they had found it necessary to make a relaxation in favour of the Mauritius, the result of which had been that nearly 40,000 Coolies had emigrated to that colony, and were comfortably settled there. The third source was China. Two or three licences had been granted to import labourers from that quarter lately, but last Saturday he had seen an answer from Singapore, in which the supply was stated to be impracticable on account of the conditions exacted; for no contract could be made out of the colony, and no shipowner would be bold enough to run the risk of importing them without some security that they would be hired on their arrival at the colony. He did not impute these mischievous regulations exclusively to the noble lord, for there seemed to be an anti-colonial interest ever at work in the Colonial Office, no matter who happened to be at the head of it. The regulation was, that no contract made out of the colony was binding; but that had been relaxed in the case of the European artisan. Why could not a similar arrangement be made with regard to the negroes, a proper certificate being signed before a proper officer to be appointed by the Government here? Not one of these officers had been appointed up to the present time, and the consequence was, that no labourers had been carried into the colonies; although they were told, every packet that arrived, that in some of the colonies there were crops, yet there were no labourers to work them, or if there were, they demanded higher wages than could be given to them. The noble lord had announced a small reduction in the duty on sugar, but he (Mr. Stewart) did not see how the consumer was to benefit by that change. (Lord Stanley here shook his head.) He had no hesitation in saying, that his object was to call up the noble lord, and to put him upon his mettle with regard to the proceedings that had taken place in the Colonial Office. If the noble lord would only take the matter in hand, and procure labour for the West India colonies through those channels from whence it could be readily obtained, he would soon put them in that position that they would be able to compete with any other part of the world. After he had done that, he might do with the sugar duties what he pleased; for his (Mr. Stewart's) conviction was, that their West India colonies would be able to compete with the world if they only had a sufficiency of labour. He was sure the House would agree with him, that, in the state the West India colonies at present were, there should be no obstruction to a free and abundant supply of labour. (Hear, hear.)

Lord STANLEY trusted, however little the question of the importation of labourers into the West Indies had to do with the one before the committee, that they would allow him to reply to some of the observations of the hon. gentleman. Indeed, it was quite impossible that, under the circumstances, he could be wholly silent; and he was not sorry that the hon. gentleman had given him an opportunity of expressing how entirely he differed with the hon. gentleman, as to the effect which the proposition of his right hon. friend would have upon the West India colonies. There was a time when hon. gentlemen opposite, entertained very different views upon that question to what they did then. With that, of course, he (Lord Stanley) had nothing to do. He was happy to be able to say, that, so far from acting in any way to the discouragement of the West India colonies, as regarded "tampering" with the sugar duties, the announcement that had been made by his right hon. friend was one calculated to re-assure them with regard to the definitiveness of the intentions and the stability of the principle with which the Government would deal with colonial protection. Throughout they had not contended for the principle of colonial protection as such, but for the principle of protecting free-grown as against slave-grown sugar. (Hear, hear.) Why the very objection taken that evening by the right hon. gentleman, the member for Portsmouth, and the right hon. gentleman, the member for Taunton, that for the first time they were placing on the statute-book a declaration recognising a commercial distinction between slave-grown and free-grown produce, might have satisfied the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, as it would, he thought, satisfy the West India proprietors, that, while they were not prepared to give them more than a just and fair differential duty for their produce over that with which it came into competition, namely, free-labour produce, they were determined, at whatever risk, and under all circumstances, to maintain a positive distinction and difference in favour of the produce of free labour, and as against the introduction of slave-grown produce, and against the encouragement of slavery and the slave trade. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") And he trusted that that principle, now for the first time announced, when it went to the West Indies, would show them that, they had to compete, although not upon unfavourable terms, with a limited amount of the produce of other countries,—it would show them the fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government to protect them from unfair competition with those who obtained an unjustifiable advantage, from the employment of labour obtained from that unrighteous source which it was the determination of the British Parliament and the British Government, in every way they possibly could, to put down. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman had stated that the foolish regulations of the Colonial Office had prevented their

colonial produce from competing with that of other countries in every part of the world; and that the noble lord who had preceded him (Lord Stanley) in the Colonial Office, of whose labours he was disposed to speak with the greatest respect, and for whose talents and character he had the highest esteem, had laid down a model of regulations for emigration from Africa to the West Indies. Now he would tell the hon. member, that it appeared by the papers which had been laid on the table of the House, and which it was evident the hon. member had not read, that every step that had been taken in the Colonial Office since the retirement of the noble lord had been the removal of restrictions, the reduction of impediments, and the affording facilities of intercourse, and increase of communication, between the coast of Africa and the West Indies. (Hear, hear.) He defied the hon. member to point out a single step, with regard to emigration from Africa, in which the difficulties had been increased: he defied him equally to show a single instance in which the facilities had not been increased. (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Stanley) took no credit to himself for that; but he did say, that it was not quite fair of the hon. gentleman who had just sat down to talk about the regulations framed by the noble lord having been impeded by the subsequent course of the Colonial Office, that course having been to increase the facilities and reduce the difficulties of emigration to the West Indies. But emigration from the coast of Africa! Was that all? He should like to know what model regulations the hon. gentleman found in progress. He begged the hon. gentleman's answer. (Mr. Stewart was engaged in conversation with an hon. member near him.) The hon. gentleman had taken upon him to make a very unexpected attack upon him, and he would trouble him to listen to the answer. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman talked of restrictions on the emigration of coolies. By whom? Not by him (Lord Stanley). He believed last year, or the year before, he was somewhat strongly attacked by the other side of the House, and particularly by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. V. Smith) opposite, for doing away with these restrictions upon the emigration of hill coolies, and for facilitating their emigrating into a British colony, which had been absolutely prohibited by the Government which preceded him. He meant emigration to the Mauritius.

Mr. V. SMITH.—I had nothing to do with that.

Lord STANLEY recollects how attentively and severely—how vigorously and how jealously—emigration to the Mauritius was watched by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Now, the hon. gentleman must be aware that, with regard to the Mauritius, he (Lord Stanley) had taken the first step for removing restrictions and facilitating the emigration of the coolies. He knew well the jealousy with which the proceeding was watched, and the reasonable apprehensions that were entertained and that existed, and he had stated that at the time; and in the papers which had been recently laid before the House, as the hon. gentleman well knew, he had referred to the Governor-General of India to say whether, in his judgment, a more extended emigration to the West Indies would be compatible with the doing away of those abuses, and whether similar precautions might not be taken so as to permit emigration to the West Indies as well as to the Mauritius, which the present government had for the first time permitted (hear, hear). So much for cooly emigration—but the hon. gentleman also talked of impediments in the way of the emigration of Chinese labourers. Why, was it the late government with its model regulations, or the invisible influence in the Colonial Office of which the hon. gentleman talked, that had thwarted that emigration? The fact was, that, for the first time, in the present year, permission had been given to import, not Chinese, but that class which was in the habit of being employed in that species of labour, from Singapore and the neighbouring districts, under special regulations, into the West Indies. For the first time that license had been given during the present year, and it was upon the present government, that had relaxed the restrictions to emigration from Africa, that had done away with these restrictions upon the emigration of the hill coolies, that had permitted the attempt to import Chinese labourers—it was upon that government as contrasted with the late administration that the hon. gentleman turned round, and charged it with preventing and restricting emigration, and thereby stinting the natural capabilities of the West India Islands (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman spoke as if there was an endeavour on the part of the government to prevent free emigration from any part of the world. There was no law in force that he knew of to prevent it; but there was a law in the West Indies prohibiting the entering into a lengthened period of service with persons from a remote country, who were wholly incapable of judging of the value of their labour, and making such terms and conditions as would be equitable. That such engagements should not be entered into was the only restriction he knew of with regard to emigration to the West Indies; and he would venture to tell the hon. gentleman, in answer to the attack he had made, that the whole course of the present government had been, not a course of restriction and prohibition, but of relaxation and remission, and they had done that in conformity with what they well knew to be the intentions and views of that House and the country (hear, hear). Whatever restrictions were retained were those absolutely necessary for the prevention of abuses, and by the necessity of not encouraging the exaggerated and unfounded expectations of advantage which was to be derived from the admission of emigrants into those colonies at an enormous expense, but limited by these precautions only. He ventured to tell the hon. gentleman that the whole course of the present government had been and would be that of removing all restrictions which were not absolutely necessary, and all those impediments which were felt to be uncalled for to a free emigration into every part of her Majesty's colonies (hear, hear).

Mr. P. M. STEWART, in explanation, was sorry the noble lord had been so much annoyed at his observations. He (Mr. Stewart) had not swerved from his principles in any way as regarded the course to be pursued towards the colonies. What he had stated had been said before—let them do justice to their colonies. The noble lord had worked himself into a heat, and had made that a party question which he (Mr. Stewart) had wished to be treated as a colonial and a national question. He would give the noble lord one instance of the model instructions, namely, a letter written by his noble friend (Lord J. Russell) to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and in that colony it was held to be a model of instruction on the subject. His attack had been made against the Colonial

Office; and he would repeat that every colonial minister who had been in that office had been made more or less of a puppet (a laugh) by some secret influence; and he called on the noble lord to apply his own good sense and straightforward judgment to the question, and follow out those principles which he had given them some slight hope he intended to adopt.

Lord STANLEY denied that he had made the matter a party question. He had referred to his noble friend who had preceded him in those terms of respect which he thought he deserved. The right hon. gentleman had said that the model regulations for the emigration of Africans to the West Indies were not at present in force. He (Lord Stanley) had stated, and he repeated it, that these model regulations for emigration from the coast of Africa had been in the main acted upon ever since, and whatever alterations had been made were in the way of relaxation and not restriction. The hon. gentleman had made an accusation which was very rife, of there being some hidden influence which superseded the arrangements of every Colonial Secretary of State, and exercised an anti-colonial influence in that office. Now he did not believe that the noble lord the member for London was a man very likely to have his own judgment set aside by that of any of those persons who acted under him—(Hear, hear.) For himself (Lord Stanley) he could only say that no papers passed through the Colonial Office of any sort or kind that did not come under his own eye, and were not subjected to his own examination; and on the subject of that particular question of emigration to the West Indies, since he had entered the Colonial Office, he had given the most constant and unremitting attention to it, and he would venture to say that it was not inferior to any that had been given by the noble lord himself while he held the same office—(Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought, if the government had made up their minds to allow the introduction of foreign sugar, it was far better for them to say at once that they would admit it from whatever colonies it came, than to attempt to draw a distinction which was vicious in principle, and which he was convinced would be found impracticable in operation (opposition cheers.) As to its being vicious in principle, he wanted no other proof than the speech of the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because, after having stated his intention of excluding the sugar of the Brazils, he went on to say that it was done from no feeling of hostility towards the Brazils, because he had already stated his intention to give further facilities to the introduction of coffee (cheers.) He (Lord J. Russell) owned he could not very well understand that peculiar and nice morality which shrunk with horror from the introduction of slave-grown sugar, but had no objection to slave-grown coffee (hear, hear.) What was it made it so immoral to introduce sugar, while it readily admitted coffee? It might be said that the labour of making coffee was lighter than that required for making sugar. What they wanted to discourage was slavery and the slave-trade, and he thought it would be highly objectionable to introduce in their legislation a principle which would draw a distinction between what should be allowed and what should not be allowed. But they carried the matter further, and made a distinction between different employments. Why their morality would become the plague and nuisance of the world (a laugh.) Then as to the practicability of the measure—who could deny that we would have the sugars of the Havannah brought in under forged certificates and entries? It was but a few years ago when that very useful committee, the import duties committee, which was presided over by his honourable friend, exposed the practice then in vogue, of sending coffee all round to the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of its being introduced into the consumption of this country at the smaller duty (hear, hear.) If the measure of the right honourable gentleman was carried out, who would be able to prevent that most ridiculous practice from being again resorted to? Two hundred thousand tons of sugar was about the amount of our imports from British possessions; the right hon. gentleman hoped by his measure to introduce other 90,000 tons: that was adding nearly one-half to the consumption, and by such introduction of foreign sugar they would benefit the consumer to a certain extent, but in a very few years they must come down to the last step in the process, and introduce the very plan proposed by him (Lord J. Russell) in 1841—(Cheers)—with only the difference that, in place of 24s. and 36s., they would have to make it 24s. and 34s. He foresaw that result as clearly as possible. The proposal of the Government might cover their inconsistency for a year or two—(Loud cheers)—but they might depend upon it that they would find their unnatural and impracticable plan would only be replaced by the simple and natural plan of opening the markets for the introduction of foreign sugars generally. Then they would have the right hon. baronet coming down and bringing forward those great principles which he enunciated in 1842—that of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. They were very just principles, and the right honourable baronet would come down and say, "Recollect those principles which I laid down in 1842; I have been waiting all this time for an opportunity of applying them. I did so in respect of onion seed, and of certain spices, and I also applied them to herrings (laughter:) now I am applying them to sugar,"—and he (Lord J. Russell) trusted they would soon see him applying them to the most essential article of all, viz. the food of the people.

MR. PHILLIPS could not but express his approbation of the reduction of duty on an article of such general consumption as coffee, but he could not understand the system of morality which would reduce the duty on coffee and would not reduce it on sugar. He saw no consistent morality in the course which had been taken with regard to Brazilian sugars. A Brazilian merchant might export his goods to any port on the Continent and get a bill of exchange drawn on England, and take back the value in British goods. The man must be a refined casuist who saw a difference between giving a man the value of his goods in money or in other articles. The sooner the absurd distinction was abolished the better.

The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

Colonial Intelligence.

TRINIDAD, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—At a meeting of the Legislative Council of Trinidad on the 1st of March, the Governor brought to the notice of the board a despatch, which he had received from the Secretary for the Colonies, on a subject of, certainly, no small importance to the colony. We extract from the report of the *Standard* of the 5th:

"His Excellency then informed the Board, that he had received from the Secretary of State a despatch of great consequence to the colony, but which, at the same time, appeared to him to be attended with some difficulty. It would be recollect that they had been called upon to enact certain laws; among the rest, three ordinances on the contracts with servants, recovery of rents of lands and tenements, and the regulation of labour. He had spoken to gentlemen connected with agriculture, who agreed that it was very requisite that some law should be made to make people enter into contracts for certain fixed periods, not less than one month, to the breach of which certain penalties should be affixed. The Secretary of State had sent out a model law on this subject for their consideration, with instructions to him to strike out certain parts to which there might be any serious objection; but it was to be subject to the contingency of creating a court of appeal, and the appointment of a person legally well informed as chairman of quarter sessions. Now, such an appointment will entail a large expense on the colony. His own opinion was, that it might probably be met hereafter by a considerable reduction of the stipendiary magistrates. They must, however, recollect, that at this moment the colony was not much burdened on account of the stipendiary magistrates, whose salaries, with the exception of 100*l.* per annum, were paid by the Home Government. Unless the Board was disposed to recommend that certain persons legally educated should be appointed to act as chairmen of quarter sessions, at a handsome salary, he did not think her Majesty's Government would allow the laws alluded to.

"The Treasurer seemed to doubt whether any advantage would result from the alteration that would be made in the magistracy for this purpose. It would encourage litigation to a great extent.

"Mr. Burnley.—In Jamaica it was found to work perfectly well. This colony had lost much from want of precision in the administration of law. This arrangement would be eminently calculated to correct that evil. It would be advantageous in every point of view. The planters especially would be greatly benefited by it; and any additional expense that might be incurred by the colony would be amply repaid by the advantages that would result from it. It was quite possible that, at the commencement, some litigious parties might endeavour to gratify their propensity for law, but that was an evil that would soon correct itself; when they found that they gained nothing by such a course, they would soon give it up. They would at last get a set of gentlemen who would know how to do the business of the country. He should say, looking at the subject in every point of view, that it would be a matter of economy, a considerable saving of time and money.

"His Excellency.—It seemed to be the wish of the Colonial Secretary ultimately to get rid of the stipendiary magistrates. Since emancipation, the wish at home was that the local magistrates should have nothing to do with the people who had been their slaves. As the circumstances are now altered, it is now considered that the local magistrate can take his former place. The Colonial Secretary found it to be desirable to watch with jealousy the working of the new system, and the least approach to coerce the people so far without a higher tribunal to which they might appeal. He did not think on this occasion they would object to meet the wishes of the Colonial Secretary. He hoped to see the time when the stipendiary magistrate would no longer be required.

"The Attorney-General, at his Excellency's request, gave notice that he would introduce three ordinances respecting contracts of masters and servants—regulation of labour—and recovery of rents of lands and tenements. The honourable gentleman also gave notice that he would further introduce an ordinance for establishing a court of quarter sessions, and for regulating appeals."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—HEAR!—“I have just been informed of a case which fully illustrates the proposition that slavery subverts the moral government of God, by rewarding vice and punishing virtue. A coloured woman is now lying in a dungeon in Virginia, under sentence of death, to be executed in the ensuing month. Her crime is, that she struck, and happened to kill, a young man who attempted a brutal assault upon her person! It is not pretended that she aimed to kill. In her wretchedness and degradation she still dared to aspire to the dignity of a pure soul, and of honourable womanhood; and the blow which was merely intended to repel the rasher, by an unhappy fatality, proved mortal. D.L.C.”—*Anti-Slavery Standard*, Feb. 22, 1844.

MARYLAND.—The state legislature have a proposition now before them, to relieve the state of its bankruptcy by a sort of a star-chamber exaction, or levy, upon the 65,000 free citizens of colour. The plan is to compel all free coloured persons in the state, between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, to be registered and taxed. The *Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, one of the most independent journals we know, exclaims loudly against the iniquity of such a measure. It points out the great difficulty that would be experienced by hundreds really free, and yet unable to produce the testimony (not to say the money) required by law, owing to the death or removal of their former masters, or their distant wanderings in search of that employment which of late years has been so precarious. The result would be the re-enslavement of freemen.—*Emancipator*.

HOPE H. SLATTER AGAIN.—A case of considerable interest, which involves several important points, is now before the Baltimore county court. Hope H. Slatter, of that city, a large slave-dealer, purchased a bright mulatto girl in Winchester, La., as a slave. He subsequently disposed of her to a Dr. Buckner, of Mississippi, residing in Baltimore. The sale in Maryland of a slave brought from any other

state is illegal, and the person attempted to be sold is free. The girl, believing herself to be illegally detained in bondage, petitioned for her freedom. Mr. Slatter, the original purchaser, came forward, claiming the petitioner as his property, alleging that she had not been sold by him to Dr. Buckner, but only given on trial, that if she should prove suitable, he might on his return to Mississippi become a purchaser. The price put upon the girl by Mr. Slatter was 500 dollars; and it appears, as far as the trial has progressed, in allowing her to pass from his custody to that of Dr. Buckner, he received in exchange, or as he alleges collateral security, a check for 300 dollars, on the Farmers' and Planters' Bank of Baltimore, and a small coloured girl, a slave for life, valued at 200 dollars. The object of the petitioner is to show that the sale here in Baltimore, for which the 300 dollars check and the slave were rendered as an equivalent, was actually intended as a *bond fide* transaction; and, if so, she claims her freedom. The case may not be decided for some days to come.—*Emancipator*.

CATCHING RUNAWAYS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.—During the debate in Congress on the Indian Appropriation Bill, Mr. Giddings moved to strike out the item of 2,000 dollars for the benefit of the Florida Indians. He said he had made the motion to call the attention of Congress and the country to the object of this appropriation. He called on the clerk to read the article in the treaty by which the United States stipulated to pay this sum to the Indians—and then the next article, containing a stipulation on the part of the Indians to perform certain services in return, which was as follows:—"The chiefs and warriors aforesaid, for themselves and their tribes, stipulate to be active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to, or passing through, the district of country assigned them of any absconding slaves or fugitives from justice; and further agree to use all necessary exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to the agent, who shall receive orders to compensate them agreeably to the trouble and expense incurred." Mr. Giddings remarked that in this way this subject of southern slavery is, year after year, forced upon the consideration of members here. In this way, the Government is annually interfering with slavery to support it. In this way, they are annually taking money from the pockets of the northern labourer, and paying it over to southern Indians to pay for catching slaves. He denied the constitutional power of the Government thus to interfere. Resistance to the unconstitutional and shameful appropriations of money for such purposes was denounced as "abolition." He should like to see the member of Congress that would come out boldly, and defend them as right.

Mr. Levy hoped the item would be struck out, but for a very different reason from that of the gentleman from Ohio. These Indians had been engaged in hostilities against the United States, and the violation of this article was one of the causes that led to hostilities in Florida. It was a very just and proper stipulation, which the Government had the right and the power to enter into; and one which the Indians were bound to perform.

Mr. Giddings.—This, sir, is the very point which I wish to see discussed. I am anxious to understand gentlemen on this plain doctrine. For the first time on this floor it is now avowed and proclaimed. The right of the Government to tax the labourers of the north to catch runaway slaves is now, for once, and the first time, distinctly put forth in a plain and intelligible form. I deny it in the most explicit manner. And the issue is thus placed in a clear manner before the country.

Mr. Giddings was mistaken. No report of this discussion was ever permitted to appear in a Washington paper; nor have we seen any report by a single Washington correspondent, except by David Lee Child.—*Emancipator*.

TEXAS.—WILL TEXAS BE ANNEXED?—Conjectures vary. The Daily Advertiser of yesterday says it was informed, from a trusty source, "that a meeting of the Whig members of the Senate had been held, at which the subject was considered, and it was unanimously agreed that that body would make use of its constitutional power to *reto* any such proposal of the president, should it be made."

On the contrary, the New York Tribune has a letter "from a special correspondent at Washington," dated the 17th, giving an estimate that there are thirty-eight senators for it, and only thirteen against it.—*Emancipator*.

Washington, March 18th, 1844.

The great subject of conversation for two or three days past has been the treaty of Texan annexation. It is now pretty generally believed that the treaty was nearly arranged at the time of Mr. Upshur's death. No one doubts that it is now completed, and that it will be sent to the Senate soon for ratification. It cannot pass that body, I think. Our friends, who have taken much pains and gathered the most correct information, rest with great confidence in the Senate. You will see by the papers that Mr. Winthrop asked a suspension of the rules in order to introduce a resolution declaring the sense of the House in regard to the annexation. It created great sensation. Mr. Payne and several others objected, and moved to lay the resolution on the table, even while it was being read for information. His motion to suspend the rules, however, was in order, and there were friends of the measure sufficient to call the yeas and nays. Southern Whigs and northern Democrats were alarmed, and voted against the suspension, generally. But the horror of northern Democrats was truly amusing. Many members were dissatisfied. They said they did not wish to stop all the business of the House to discuss the question of annexation, &c., and many thought Mr. Winthrop was hasty, and very imprudent, and all that sort of thing. Indeed, I did not know but some of them would introduce a resolution of censure, as they did upon Giddings, for introducing a resolution upon the subject of the Creole while it was in a train of negotiation, the same as the Texan treaty now is; but the House adjourned, and Mr. Winthrop has thus far escaped. It is said the whole subject is arranged, and that northern democrats are to sustain the annexation, cut down the tariff, and support the gag rule, as the consideration on which the Calhoun party are to support Mr. Van Buren for the presidency. This is rumour, but it comes from a source entitled to much credit. I now think it is to be the great absorbing question for the coming election, and that no candidate will be supported

by either party whose opinions are doubtful on this subject.—*Emancipator*.

TEXAS ADMITTED.—The papers of this city, and of other cities, especially the Whigs, have been regularly astounded by the news that a treaty is actually negotiated, and probably already submitted to the Senate, by which Texas is made an integral part of the United States of America. Read the following editorials from leading Whig papers:—

We hear to-day, directly, and in such shape as to command our belief, that a treaty for the annexation of Texas, unfinished at Mr. Upshur's death, between him and the Texan minister, has been hurried to conclusion by the acting secretary, Mr. Nelson, and signed, and that, to-morrow, or Monday, it will go to the Senate, where noses have been counted enough, it is said, to ensure its ratification.—*New York American*, March 15.

So far as the president of the United States and the president of Texas are concerned, the Treaty is all but made. This information has, we confess, filled our minds with humiliation and apprehension; humiliation at the unauthorised and almost clandestine manner in which, after having heretofore solemnly rejected, for unanswerable reasons, a proposition for annexation, when sought by the government of Texas, our own government has gone a wooing to that of Texas, and solicited its favours; and apprehension of the consequences of the consummation of the treaty, which the president at least has been made to believe will be promptly ratified by a constitutional majority of the Senate of the United States. It is a question of peace or war, of self-preservation, of national existence, in comparison with which the ordinary topics of party controversy dwindle into absolute insignificance.—*National Intelligencer*, March 16.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—It is stated in the Philadelphia North American of Thursday Morning, on the authority of a gentleman who assures the editors of the accuracy of his information, that Mr. Tyler has signed a treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Should this be true, the monstrous act requires still to be endorsed by two-thirds of the Senate, before it becomes possessed of vitality and the power to do mischief.—*Atlas*, March 18.

There is a great breeze in Washington about the annexation of Texas. It is said that the president has already signed a treaty for this purpose, and that it is immediately to be submitted to the Senate.—*Boston Post*, March 18.

Mr. Calhoun, the new secretary of state, it is understood, is in favour of annexation, and a majority of the cabinet. Indeed, only one of the heads of department, Mr. Spencer, is a citizen of a free State. On this subject, in Massachusetts, and indeed in all the free States, especially those of New England, there will be but one opinion. Party lines will be thrown aside, and the people, we trust, will move in solid phalanx to prevent the admission of Texas into the Union.—*Mercantile Journal*, March 18.

We had hoped, and we still hope, that such a question was to be reserved for less troublous times. The project of the annexation of Texas, commanding itself at once to the apparent interests of a part of our community, and furnishing so commanding a watchword for political effect, is one which must sooner or later be met by this country. Emphatically, this is not the time. With an executive who has the confidence of no important party in the country; with political parties so balanced that each claims the majority, and on the eve of an important national election; with a majority of one of the leading parties in one branch of Congress, and of the other in the other branch, at a time when responsibility is thus divided we are in no situation to meet a question, the discussion of which goes to the very root of our political system. We cannot yet believe that it will be demanded that it be settled now.

But if this question is to be pressed upon us; if it is true that Mr. Tyler has linked himself with this measure as one to make himself remembered by a fatal memento; if for this reason a southern man has been called to the cabinet to supply the place of those taken by sudden death from his executive council, we cannot too much rejoice that the opinion of the North has been decidedly expressed on this topic.

It is said that this is proposed to be effected by the treaty-making power. The North, which has protested against the annexation, will feel still more indignant at this arbitrary means of accomplishing it.

If President Tyler has committed himself to this measure, the Senate of the United States may be depended upon to defend the integrity of the Union it represents.—*Daily Advertiser*, March 18.

The expectation that the Senate will reject the treaty, after the course pursued by the legislatures of Massachusetts and New York, seems to us wholly gratuitous. We do not know that the senators of these two States will vote in favour of the treaty. Probably it will not be necessary. If, by one accident and another, some ten or a dozen northern senators should happen to be out of their seats at the moment of taking the question, the treaty will be carried by "two-thirds of all the senators present," which is all the constitution requires. If it is necessary to give a colour of decency, five or six slave-holding Whigs may even be allowed to vote against it, while the unscrupulous Democrats of New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and Illinois, would jump at the chance of filling their places and securing to their party so much extra merit by the deed.

But suppose the plot succeeds—what next? Why, nothing. When it is done, it is done, and cannot be undone. No repeal, no amendment, no reform, no change of parties, no denunciation of those who did it, no political sacrifice of the men who have betrayed liberty, can dissolve that bond. "Sink or swim, survive or perish," the Union and Texas are committed unalterably to a common destiny.

Should the success of the conspiracy at length satisfy the people of the North that they have nothing to hope for at the hands of the present race of politicians, and should such an onward impulse be given to the Liberty Party as will enable us to extend our operations at once into all the border slave States, and thus speedily move Mason and Dixon's line to the south of Virginia, great good will be wrought out of this terrible evil.—*Emancipator*, March 21.

CUBA.—From the Madrid Correspondent of the *Times* :—

Madrid, April 15.

Your readers are doubtless aware already of the shocking cruelties inflicted lately on the slaves in Cuba: but it will be instructive to read the report of a Spanish looker-on, and to hear his opinion of the effect of such cruelty.

"Harana, February 28.

"In my last letter I informed you of the movements of the negroes, and in what an unsettled state we find ourselves here, where fear and distrust are augmenting every day, because we do not see the Supreme Government take any measure capable of saving us; on the contrary, we clearly perceive that we are conducted towards a precipice. It would be endless if I were to relate to you, one by one, all the facts daily brought to light; and to avoid being tiresome, I will only say that the whole island is undermined, that the conspiracy of the blacks is very extensive, and that it is easy to see that they have a settled idea of emancipation, which they will soon or late accomplish. Since my last letter no settlement (*fincia*) has been in a state of rebellion, but every day new accomplices are discovered in the sugar mills, (*ingenios*), and the negroes seem determined to carry the conspiracy to the end. The punishments of every kind have been horrible, we may say barbarous. Besides those killed in action, the masters of the negroes have been allowed the discretionary power of inflicting any punishment they please, and many have perished under the lash. To my knowledge there are sugar works in which as many as nine of these unfortunate beings have expired during the continuation of this barbarous treatment. I do not seek to exculpate the owners of the slaves who have acted in this manner, but what else can they do? The Government leaves the negro conspirators at their mercy. If these are not severely chastised, how can the masters maintain subordination? Can they suffer the other slaves to witness the impunity of their crime? Eleven were sentenced lately by the court-martial to be shot, and afterwards burnt. Horrid scenes! which, however, neither awe nor cause any effect upon the conspiring masses. I will relate a fact which proves this. The negroes of the sugar mill of Quevedo (an establishment situate near Guines) were to rise on the 11th instant, but the unexpected arrival of several white people who came to sleep there hindered the breaking out. This conspiracy was discovered by accident; and after the slaves had confessed their plan, which was (as everywhere else) to murder the whites, and destroy everything by fire and sword, they were asked where they had concocted the plan? Their answer was, 'At the Savanilla, while witnessing the execution of their comrades.'

"In the establishment of one of my brothers, whose slaves have seen all the executions, and among others that of the celebrated Jose Dolores, (a negro the terror of all that district,) eight of them are compromised in the conspiracy; and we know that in the settlement there still exists a Negro King and war standard, but they cannot be detected. What does all this teach us? That measures of terror are insufficient, that the thought and the desire of liberty are superior to all, and that other steps must be adopted for the white man's safety."

"You will naturally ask what plans have the Government pursued? The authorities say that measures have been taken; but nobody knows them—nobody sees them, and the peril augments every day. It is not sufficient to find out and chastise the guilty, the evil must be prevented, and still we do not see that this is done. Meanwhile the introduction of slaves is increased; 1,004 blacks have been entered at once. I have been assured that the English have withdrawn their cruisers, and that the negroes arrive here already instructed by them; and it has been told me as positive that among those who arrived lately many speak English."

The writer is apparently ignorant that the Carolina slave-breeders speak English, and that slaves are not bred in England.

Miscellanea.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA.—We have been favoured with a sample of cotton produced in India from Sea Island seed, which appears to be of an exceedingly promising character. It formed, we understand, part of a small parcel of two bags, shipped from Bombay, (the exact place of growth not being stated,) and sold last week at Liverpool, where it fetched the high price of 1s. 2d. per pound. It is of an exceedingly beautiful colour, and generally fine and strong staple, and appears to have been the produce of healthy and luxuriant plants; but, as it seems to us, not very carefully picked, being slightly mixed with the produce of inferior pods. It is, however, as the price justly indicates, an exceedingly valuable description of cotton; and, if it can be grown in sufficient quantities, will be found highly important to the manufacturers of this country. The following is the account given in a Liverpool broker's circular of the parcel sold in that town:—"This week, two bales of cotton of a new growth, imported from Bombay, have been sold at 14d. per pound. This cotton is much superior to the average of Sea Island, Georgia, cotton, being fine, silky, very long, clear, regular, and strong in staple, perfectly clean, and of beautiful cream colour. This is an important fact; for, if the culture of this cotton be extended, it will render Great Britain independent of the supply of Sea Island American cotton, and possibly, by proper attention, may bring about a supply of cotton that will supersede the use of Bowd and Orleans. The cotton was thought cheap at 14d. per pound. Further inquiry into this matter should be urged on Government by the British manufacturers and spinners."—*Manchester Guardian.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—Her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra* had arrived in Simon's Bay, bringing with her two slave-rigged vessels, captured in Mozambique while deserted by their crew. The *Sociedade*, condemned by the mixed commission at the Cape, had been sold, with her cargo, for £2,650.—*Patriot.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—MURDEROUS OUTRAGE IN BRAZIL.—By the accounts which have just reached us, it appears that Captain Willis, of her Majesty's ship *Frolic*, having official business to transact with the American States Consul and British Vice Consul at Santos, previous to his return to Rio de Janeiro in the *Frolic*, ran in and anchored at the entrance of Santos Bay, about noon on the 5th of January, taking in his

gig with him the acting master of the *Frolic*, Mr. H. May, also his (the captain's) steward: they proceeded with pendant and ensign flying, and in the usual uniform worn by naval officers. Leaving their gig, they proceeded about three miles across a flat and uncultivated jungle. Having finished their business at Santos, they were making their way back to the beach, when, it being dusk, they were suddenly attacked by several ruffians, who beat them in a shocking manner; the captain having his left arm broken, his scull fractured, and other extensive injuries on the scalp, and on various parts of his body. The steward was found perfectly insensible, his life being despaired of; and Mr. May was dreadfully mangled, and thrown into the jungle, after having been, with the others, robbed of all they possessed. While on the ground, they were saluted in broken English with dreadful imprecations, and taunted with "trying to take the schooner." Happily the wretches were disturbed in time, and some persons came to the assistance of the sufferers, and rendered all the aid they could, under the direction of an English surgeon, who was soon on the spot.

The odious traffic in slaves is carried on with more vigour than ever in the Brazils. Seven thousand slaves are known to have been landed between Campos and Santos within the last ten weeks, and I fear many more that are not known to us. The *Frolic* and *Dolphin* are the only cruisers that have captured any slave vessels for a lengthened period. The *Frolic* has captured and driven on shore two brigs and a schooner, with 350 slaves in, at sea; the *Dolphin* one schooner, with 350 slaves in, at sea: she also captured one brig with 570, and two smaller vessels, supposed to have landed their slaves. It is supposed that the outrageous attack on Captain Willis was instigated by people in a better class of life than the ruffians who so nearly murdered him, as the *Frolic* has, for the last three months, completely stopped the Santos (staple) slave trade, not allowing any suspicious vessels to pass her without risk of seizure—keeping four of their vessels, ready for sea, blockaded, at a ruinous expense to the owners, two of which are now seized, and thus preventing not only the importation of some thousands of poor negroes, but even their embarkation in Africa, and, consequently all the horrors of the middle passage.—*Abridged from the Hampshire Telegraph.*

THE SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Havana, of the 25th ult., published in the *New Orleans Bee*, says a ship arrived on the coast last week with upwards of 1,000 negroes, and it is said that 13,000 dollars was paid to the captain-general, so as to allow the landing of them.—*Times.*

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The slaver *Josephine*, Lieutenant Jamie-son in charge, one of the three slavers captured by her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt*, arrived at Table Bay on January 29, having on board 457 negroes, viz., 240 males and 217 females. The other two slavers had not reached port, but were daily expected.—*Ibid.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Pontefract—Barker, Francis	1 1 0	
Chesham—Pryor, Samuel	1 1 0	
Stoke Newington Ladies' Auxiliary	12 0 0	
Bristol—Hunt, Henry	5 0 0	
Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-slavery Association	3 0 0	
Wigham, Anthony	0 10 6	
Balance of a Fund for the relief of aged and worn-out slaves in the island of Antigua, not now required for that purpose, by Thomas Christy, Broomfield.....	36 4 6	
Newcastle Emancipation Society	10 0 0	
Liverpool—Thompson, Mrs., per H. Sterry....	1 0 0	
Stoke Newington—Johnson, William, ditto	1 0 0	
Peckham—Harris, John, ditto	1 0 0	
Southwark—Rosling, Alfred, ditto	1 1 0	
Kennington—Hooper, John, ditto	1 1 0	
Peckham—Norton, Thomas, ditto	1 1 0	
Rochester and Chatham Auxiliary	7 0 0	
Tatum, William	1 0 0	
Dublin—Malone, William	1 0 0	
Bewley, Henry	1 0 0	
Bewley, Samuel	1 0 0	
Russell, Henry	1 0 0	
Bristol—Burder, Rev. John	0 10 0	
Woodbridge—Thompson, Philip	0 10 0	
Liskeard Anti-Slavery Association	1 0 0	
Ladies' ditto	3 10 0	
Allen, John	1 1 0	
Allen, Frances	0 10 0	
Elliott, Mary	0 10 0	
Rundell, Samuel	1 1 0	
Wadge, John	0 10 0	
Tideford—Fox, Ann	0 5 0	
Looe—Jackson, Clement	0 5 0	
St. Austle—Veale, John E.	0 10 0	
Veale, Richard	0 5 0	
Veale Brothers	0 10 0	
Hazlewood—Peek, Richard	1 1 0	
London—Masters, H. W.	1 1 0	
Peek, James	1 1 0	
Post, Jacob	1 1 0	
Lister, J. J.	2 2 0	

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, Holt-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 1, 1844.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXVI. VOL. V.—No. 10.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 15TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

FRANCE.

An important and interesting debate in the French Chamber of Deputies has arisen out of the petitions of the artizans of Paris for the abolition of slavery. The presentation of these petitions we have already recorded. They were, according to the usual form, referred to a committee to report a recommendation thereon; and the report was brought up on the 4th instant. The following account of the proceedings is abridged from the *Moniteur* of the following day:

M. DENIS brought up the report of the committee on the petitions of the artizans of Paris, for the immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies. The report, at much length, recommended that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day.

He was followed by M. DE GASPARIN, who made an animated and eloquent speech on the other side, which evidently produced a lively sensation in the Chamber.

Admiral D^E MACKAU, Minister of Marine and the colonies, then rose, and, in the course of his speech, referring to the Duke of Broglie's Commission, he said—The Government have given the most serious attention to that report. They have often deliberated on it; and they are of opinion that the time is not come for proposing to the Chambers either of the schemes detailed by the Commission. At the same time, the Government are convinced that they ought to do everything possible to ameliorate the condition of the slaves—(ironical cheers from the left)—and to prepare them for entering hereafter on a condition of well-regulated freedom. For this end the Government have determined on carrying out the beneficial arrangements of the ordinances of January 5, 1840, and September 16, 1841, on patronage, on schools, on moral and religious education, and on the management of estates. Gentlemen, we shall proceed with firmness and constancy in this path, because we are persuaded that it is the only one which, at this moment, can lead to salutary results. The Government do not object to the petition being referred to them—(ironical cheers from the left.)

M. LEDRU ROLLIN succeeded the Minister of Marine in a powerful speech on the side of abolition; and after him came M. JOLIVET, the ignoble receiver of 25,000 francs a year from the Colonists for being the advocate of slavery.

M. GUIZOT, Minister of Foreign Affairs: Gentlemen,—after this discussion there must not remain, either among ourselves or in the colonies, any doubt as to the intentions of the King's Government. No one must be able to say that to-day the question has been thrown back, instead of advancing. (Cheers.) The King's Government are firmly Resolved to effect the abolition of slavery in the colonies. (Cheers). The King's Government are not called upon, at present, to discuss the different modes of abolition. That which the petitions now reported on recommend, actual immediate abolition, in mass, is so impracticable that I do not believe any one in this Chamber would venture to propose it. If it were practicable, it ought to be demanded; and I myself would be the first to propose it. If the King's Government do not propose it, it is because they are convinced that, both for the colonists, for the slaves, and for the mother country, measures must be taken in order to prepare for emancipation—to lead to it—and to ensure its success. Several of these measures have already been taken; considerable progress has already been made; it is not correct to say, as has been said in this tribune, that no ground has been gained. Yes, gentlemen; in the colonies, both for the moral and religious instruction of the slaves, for the formation of family ties, for the physical welfare of the slave, for his connexion with his master, already many salutary measures have been adopted; and we have found in one class of colonists, the magistrates charged with the administration of the colonies, useful assistants.

It is true that we have encountered, and that we shall always encounter, great obstacles. Who can be surprised at it? Can such a change be effected without serious resistance? With time and vigorous measures we shall overcome this opposition; partly by such measures as it may be competent to the King's Government to adopt, and partly by asking of you (which we shall shortly do) the necessary powers. (Cheers.)

This is what I call the preparation. It is not by doing nothing that we intend to play our part, or by waiting for the abolition of slavery to be brought about by Providence alone. No; it is necessary that our whole strength, both at home and in the colonies, should be exerted—and exerted effectually. I have the satisfaction of informing the Chamber that much is already done, that much remains to be done; and that we shall shortly demand the powers necessary to accomplish what remains: among other things, to give to the authority of the magistrates more practical efficacy than it has at present. We hope that by such measures, earnestly and sincerely followed out, we shall arrive at an end, which is—and I repeat it aloud, that no one may doubt it—the abolition of slavery

in our colonies. And we hope, also, that if we are firmly supported by the Chambers, with the determination which we ourselves cherish, we shall reach a better conclusion than the English Government. That country has obtained an immense result; yet it leaves much to be desired; and, although no one admires more than I do the greatness of the work, and the noble spirit in which it has been accomplished, I think it important to our national welfare to avoid the errors which have been committed. We shall profit by the experience of England, and shall attain the same result—(cheers, and “question.”)

M. DE TRACY: If the time were not so far advanced, I should ask leave of the Chamber to refute some of the objections, so often adduced and so often answered, in which the Minister of Marine wrapped up his dilatory propositions. As I think that in a Government there ought to be unity of sentiments in all circumstances, and as on so important a question unanimity is indispensable, I am not afraid to say, I confess, that I have heard, with pleasure, the Minister of Foreign Affairs proclaim that the question had not retrograded. And when I recollect that hither, to this tribune, all the organs of the Government have come to declare that emancipation in our colonies was a determined question; when I recollect that the instructions sent to all the governors—and we have had sufficient communications with them, in the colonial commission of which I had the honour of being a member, for more than two years—when, I say, all the instructions sent to the governors and the colonial councils have implied that the measure was determined on by the Government; when it has been said to the colonists and the colonial councils, that they had only to inquire into the best means of effecting it, it would have seemed strange to me had it been possible to draw back from such a position.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, has told us (and I take particular notice of his words) that the arrangements are not altered; and further, that in a short time (and I beg to observe that, as the session is far advanced, he has not much time to lose) he will demand of the Chambers sufficient powers, so far to mature this great measure that no one (if I understand him) can make it void, in one or two months; but thenceforward to await the effect of certain preparatory measures which do not now exist in the colonies, although it may be said there is room for them.

I pause, then, upon this cheering and gratifying thought, that all my friends may enter into it, and that the honour of the whole Chamber may be committed to it; for, in truth, after having said in the face of Europe, and in the name of the Chamber, that this project had been irrevocably adopted, it would be incredible that, by dilatory measures, its execution should be interminably delayed.

I accept the assurance which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has just given us in the name of the Government, and I support the reference of the petition.

M. DE LA ROCHEJAQUELIN said a few words amidst cries of question. The recommendation of the committee that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day, was then put and negatived, and the petition was referred to the Government.

LETTER TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

New York, April 2nd, 1844.

Rev. Messrs. Cunningham, Burns, Lewis, and Chalmers, and H. B. Ferguson, Esq., Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN.—You have come from a land distinguished throughout Christendom for the stand it now maintains, and has often, during the last three centuries, maintained, against ecclesiastical tyranny. You come to seek the sympathy and solicit the aid of the friends of freedom in this land, in your noble struggle against civil dictation in sacred things. The abolitionists of the United States are also engaged in a struggle on behalf of the down-trodden in this land, whose rights, natural, civil, and religious, are taken from them. We respectfully tender to you, and the Church you represent, our sympathy; and we shall be glad to give you our cordial support, if we can consistently do it.

You are probably aware that, as Presbyterians, you have, in the southern part of this Union, between thirty and forty thousand of professed brethren and sisters in Christ, whose situation is far more pitiable than that of the oppressed in your land. The Christian peasantry of Sutherland,* grievously as they suffer, know little of the iron despotism of their coloured brethren in the southern part of this country. The duke who bears that title insists that his tenants shall listen to the preachers whom he selects for them; or not build their Dissenting churches on his land; and the civil courts sustain him in his alternative. The Free Church appeals to God,

* One of the most northern counties in Scotland.

and to every God-fearing man, against this tyranny. In this republic there are no dukes, but there are thousands of tyrants, some of whom are styled "honourable," who will not allow their slaves to learn to read the Bible, or attend upon preaching of their choice, and the civil courts sustain them in their prohibition. These honourable men insist on the right of seizing the wives of the slaves at any time, and of beating, or selling, or humbling them, as to them seems best; and of selling men, women, and children; and the law authorizes it. If they even murder one of their slaves, (and God only knows how often this is done,) though twenty or one hundred, instead of "two or three," are ready to prove the fact, they only run the risk of being murdered in their turn; for the law does not suffer them to testify against men whose skin is whiter than their own. But it may be said, It is "Caesar" who does these things, and what can be expected from Caesar? What does the Church? She declares, from her highest to her lowest judicatories, that these things shall not be interfered with; that the system is legal—nay, even scriptural; and that they who declare it is an outrage against republicanism and the Bible are fanatics and incendiaries.

We have reason to believe that neither the Free Church of Scotland, nor yourselves, are wholly ignorant of these things. It is, therefore, with astonishment and grief that we have learned that you have commenced a tour through the slave-states of this Union, with a view to solicit funds as well of slave-holders as of other persons. Doubtless you will be warmly greeted by the people, and especially by that portion who hold their fellow-men and fellow-Christians in bondage. While they proffer you their sympathy and money, you will be invited to occupy the pulpits of the ministers, and the kindest attentions will be lavished upon you. But it will be only while you seal your lips against any condemnation of slaveholding, and preach the gospel according to the usages of Southern ministers, and the restrictions of the slaveholding members of their churches, that your preaching will be listened to with approbation, or even tolerated. Should you determine to preach, as you have been accustomed to do on your native hills, with special reference to the sins of the people to whom you preach, and with exhortations to all classes to act out the great principles of the gospel, "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear," you will speedily learn that the flattering attentions with which you were welcomed will cease; that no more offerings will be made to your treasury; that you will be notified to quit the district where you sojourn, "peaceably or forcibly."

You may exhort from the text, "Servants obey your masters;" but, unless you are prepared to have your tour abruptly terminated, speak not of the "image in which man was made;" of Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" of Moses' law, "In righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour;" of David's challenge, "What hast thou to do to declare my statutes? When thou sawest a thief then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers;" of Solomon's sayings, "The righteous considereth the cause of the poor, but the wicked regardeth not to know it. So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter;" of Isaiah's commands, "Cease to do evil: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow;" of Christ's rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;" and his question, "How much better is a man than a sheep?" of Paul's exhortation, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal;" of James's upbraiding, "Go to, now, ye rich men; behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth." Discuss any of these texts as men representing a *free* Church ought to discuss them, as ambassadors of Christ are bound, everywhere and in all places, to discuss them, and you will find that the congratulations of the Presbyters of the south and their people will be turned into execrations.

Lest you should imagine that we have imputed to the presbyters of the slaveholding states sentiments and feelings so utterly repugnant to the character and profession of Christian ministers that you cannot credit the statement, we will state two or three things known to the whole country to be facts, that you may be convinced that we have used no exaggeration. A distinguished Presbyterian clergyman of Virginia has threatened death to any avowed enemy of slavery, who can be caught where the system is in force. Another Presbyterian clergyman, of Alabama, disgraces the name he bears by hinting that the fate of Haman may be that of the advocates of human rights, if they cross the Potomac. Another clergyman of Virginia, writing to his presbytery, winds up his epistle with a ludicrous imitation of the exhortation of the Apostle, mixed with the barbarism of the Lynch code—"Now, dear Christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men; if there be any stray goat of a minister among you tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and *left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.*" These men are presbyters—leaders among their brethren—*primi inter pares*. Wherein, we demand, do they differ from the priest of the Inquisition? Torquemada and his successors did no more than ferret out those who denounced their unrighteous gains.—Silence, and excommunicate, and then leave them to the public to dispose of them in other respects! They did not do it, kind, holy men—oh no! they only excommunicated, and then delivered over to the secular arm.

We must say, respected brethren, in Christian fidelity, that your

present position strikes us as singular and unfortunate. What! leave Britain because Parliament insists on intruding unacceptable ministers into vacant parishes, and go to the slaveholding states in America to tell your grievances, and get the sympathy of men, who, like a Senator of South Carolina, threaten hanging in spite of all the governments on earth, against those who merely say that their fellow men, including the thirty or forty thousand of your Presbyterian brethren, should be allowed to read the Bible, and not be robbed by law of their wives and children, and just wages! At home you complain of Sir Robert Peel because he will not consent that your *Scotch* brethren shall *always* have the preacher of their choice, and you are actually going to tell the story of the wrongs of the Free Church of Scotland to men, who, like Governor McDuffie of South Carolina, clamour for the blood of abolitionists only because they have insisted, and still insist, that your Presbyterian brethren in the South, with other Christians and fellow-countrymen, shall call their bodies and their souls their own!

You come to us complaining of oppression, which, however severe and cruel, has not crushed you, and pleading a poverty which is indeed your highest honour. Will you then court the sympathy of those tyrants whose little finger is thicker than the Duke of Sutherland's loins? You are now actually labouring that your most honourable poverty may become less, by contributions which are the price of "slaves and souls of men"—nay, the price of those of your own brethren for whom Christ died. You contemplate carrying that impious gold, that adulterous silver, to lay the foundations of FREE Churches, and raise roofs which are to re-echo the voices of the successors of Wishart and Hamilton, of Melville and Henderson! Is not this acting in such a way as to seem at least to give occasion for the application of these words of solemn import to you, and the Free Church of Scotland which you now represent in the slave communities of these states? "Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high; that he may be delivered from the power of evil! Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul. For the stone shall cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city with iniquity." What system has cut off so many people, in every sense, as slavery—sent so many myriads out of the world before their time, trampling them down out of the rank of men to that of beasts, before it dismissed them to the bar of the Eternal? The Moloch of the South stands ready to pay you for your silence on the subject of his bloody deeds while you sojourn in his domains, and for your virtual sanction of his atrocities. He knows full well that a corrupted Christianity is the real bulwark of his kingdom. God, in his wonder-working providence, has recently set the Scottish Free Church on a high place, and given her an influence that will be felt for good or evil throughout Christendom. Hitherto, dear brethren, the ministers of your land have sent their rebukes to this nation, especially to that portion of it engaged in the murderous system of slavery, and expostulated with those here professing the same Christianity, on account of their participation in a crime that sets at defiance its holy precepts.

Will you now, as you are eye-witnesses of the iniquitous system that filled you with such disgust and abhorrence at a distance, make common cause with that Christianity? Clasp hands with its defenders, and accept their blood-stained offerings? The Fiend can well afford, we know, to pay you tens of thousands, for he knows that your countenance is worth millions to him. If he can purchase the silence of the successors of John Knox and Andrew Thomson, if he can number them among his allies, he may well think his victory complete.

It is possible that you may allege, in the language of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when they receive, nay, solicit the donations of slave-holders, and number among their members those who hold their fellow men in slavery, that "you sustain no relation to the system that implies approbation." Let us briefly examine this. In 1832, Ann Pray, of Georgia, left a legacy to the A. B. C. F. M., of one fourth of certain negro slaves. The Board declined the bequest: why, unless they thought it wrong to own such chattels? Suppose, instead of leaving the slaves, the testatrix had bequeathed their value in silver dollars, directing the bones, and muscles, and immortal minds to be brought to the hammer, and one fourth of the proceeds to be handed over in the shape of a cheque on a bank, would the Board have declined the offer? If not—if they would have received the cash, why turn from the human flesh? If they would have sent the money back, why solicit the money of slave dealers? Is it not well known that slaves are continually bought and sold at the South, that professors of religion of all denominations—ministers of the Gospel, even—traffic in human flesh? The committee of the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, in 1834, declared, "Brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, parents and children, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. *These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us.*" They say besides, "Cases have occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile. Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed such conduct." In the year 1835, Mr. Stewart, of Illinois, declared in the Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States, "Ministers of the Gospel and doctors of divinity may engage in this unholy traffic, and yet sustain their high and holy calling. Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity are, with both hands, engaged in this practice." A minister of the Amita Presbytery, Mississippi,

who is a public defender of the system of slavery, declares, "If buying, selling, or holding a slave for gain, is a heinous sin' and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians are of the devil."

How then can any Missionary Board, or other benevolent or religious association or body of men—how can *you*, solicit money from American slave-holders in a way implying that you recognize them as Christians, and say, *We sustain no such relation to slavery as implies approbation of the system?* Actions speak louder than words. Are not the donations of slave-breeders, slave-dealers, and slave-holders, received as readily and gratefully as the earnings of honest industry? Why demur about receiving Ann Pray's legacy, and solicit money from those engaged in holding men, women, and children in bondage? It is true, that the amount given by professing Christians in the slave states falls very far short of the amount given by an equal number of Christians in the free states of the same means, but it is the principle against which we contend, and not the amount of the sums received. It was not the size of Achan's wedge that troubled the camp of Israel.

Should the fact that the Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies of this country solicit funds from slave-holders be considered as a justification of your making application to such persons on behalf of the Free Church of Scotland, allow us to say, that the example of these institutions, in this respect, is no proper precedent, unless the practice is right in itself. We observe farther, that those societies, as has been often urged, are not held to be guiltless in this matter. You may not be aware that they are composed in part of slave-holders and pro-slavery men, who have ever maintained an influence in their councils which neither their numbers, their contributions, nor their principles have justified; and that, for several years past, there has been a growing sentiment in this country, that it is wholly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity for religious or benevolent associations to solicit money from slave-holders, which is but the price of blood, for the purpose of converting men to the religion of Christ. Because the societies above-mentioned will not refrain from fellowshipping slave-holders as Christians, and soliciting their money for religious purposes, a considerable number of the friends of the Redeemer have declined contributing to their treasuries, and new organizations have been formed in the missionary department, and are contemplated in the other departments, to be free from "the wages of unrighteousness."

The Christian abolitionists of this land need your aid, dear brethren, in pulling down the strongholds of oppression; and they feel that you will not be sustained in your consciences, or by that numerous and venerated body which you represent, if you directly or indirectly oppose them, by strengthening the hands of their opponents. You will hear the abolitionists of this country denounced by ministers, elders, and private professors of the Presbyterian Church, as well at the north as at the south; but, in order to judge how far the denunciations are correct, you will naturally compare their doctrines and measures with the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists in Great Britain, and not take up an evil report on hearsay, and without due investigation. Our doctrines and measures, you will find if you personally investigate the matter, are identical with those of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Andrew Thomson, and the other worthies who, amidst threats, calumny, and violence, carried the anti-slavery cause in our father-land, under the Divine blessing, to a glorious consummation. For twelve years the abolitionists of this country have been contending with great earnestness—amidst reproach and contumely, not only from the slaveholding states, but from interested politicians and professing Christians of every denomination—for the poor slaves, our brethren and fellow-countrymen; and for their own rights and privileges, as intended to be secured to them by their constitution of government. Believing that the American church is the bulwark of American slavery, they have laboured to arouse it to a due sense of its sin, to repentance, and works meet for repentance. Some progress has been made. Our Christian brethren in England, Ireland, and Scotland, have aided in the good work by their prayers to God, and their remonstrances with the American church. With this aid we have sought to sever the unholy alliance subsisting between the slave power and the professed followers of Christ.

Now we know that, if you, the commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland, solicit gold of southern slave-holders to build up your cause, you will weaken our hands, strengthen incalculably the prejudices which are the bane of the coloured man, soothe the South in her mad career, deaden still more the already portentous apathy of the North, and disappoint the friends of human rights and of a pure Gospel throughout the world. If you obtain the slave-holders' money, if the Free Church of Scotland accept it, it is certain that you will look with more tolerance than you would otherwise do on the great iniquity of slavery; the lips of your Church will be sealed; no more remonstrances will be sent over from your land to the slaveholding ministers, elders, deacons, and private members of the American Churches; and an alliance of sympathy and interest will be established between the Scottish Church and the slaveocracy of this Union. That tolerance, that sympathy, that alliance, will be the beginning of mischief. Who but God can trace its course and close?

We have said that some progress has been made in arresting the triumph of slavery over our free institutions, and in saving the Churches from unqualified acquiescence in its soul-destroying pretensions. The Presbyterian Church in this country, at the commencement of the anti-slavery movement already alluded to, had well-nigh surrendered to the claims of slavery. In 1794 she de-

clared slave-holding "man-stealing;" but, unfortunately, to doctrine she did not add discipline—to her faith, *virtue*; and therefore the plague spread from the day of her decision up to 1816, when the declaration was removed from her Confession of Faith. In 1818 she made what seemed a dying struggle to free herself from the deadly embrace of her enemy. She then called slavery "a gross violation of human rights," and exhorted the violators "to remove it totally, *as soon as the public welfare would allow*. The exhorters forgot that public welfare would not justify, even for a moment, "a gross violation of human rights." This exhortation was tainted with the infidelity that expediency would justify sin—that it was right to do evil "that good might come." No wonder the good never came. Accordingly, in 1819 she declared, "it was impossible for her to deliberate and to decide judicially on the subject of slavery in relation to the Church." Thus, in forty-two years the Presbyterian Church of this country lost the power of even speaking against slavery; the power of acting had, no doubt, departed long before. But, although the Presbyterian Churches of the United States, as represented in the General Assemblies, have stopped their ears against the groans of the slave, and the expostulations of the abolitionists, a spirit has been aroused in some of the Churches in favour of freedom, and we fain believe it is increasing. Will you aid us in spreading this light, or will you aid the enemies of freedom in extinguishing it?

Respected Christian brethren: Be warned! You are now sojourning in the home of the serpent. We have, it is true, his slime and his folds in the north, but his head and his fangs are in the south. Are you in no danger from the fascination of his eye? Beloved guests from our mother country, suffer our friendly and frank exhortation. Is not the Free Church of Scotland virtually here in you? Can you fall into grievous error without injuring her? And will not the magnitude of the mischief be in proportion to the greatness of your mistake? Consider, you left the establishment with nothing but your characters. Houses, lands, salaries—all was left behind except Christian character. Never did that jewel of your souls shine so brightly as in the dark hour when you went forth bearing the reproach of Christ. You are at war with oppression, and you come to us for the sinews of war. Can you suppose that the wages of iniquity are of any value to you?

Now, suppose a Presbyterian minister or elder of Virginia, of South Carolina, or New Orleans, whose money is the fruit of slavery, should offer you a hundred dollars, can you consistently receive it while the donor advocates slavery, justifies himself in holding slaves, or threatens the friends of freedom? Should he fling some of his dollars to you, because forsooth he affects to sympathise with the oppressed condition of the men of Ross and Sutherland, will you, *can you*, DARE you stoop to pick them up? Oh! instead of this, why not assert the dignity of your calling and country, and say to him, 'Friend, we seek not yours, but you. We could not have believed, until we came among you, that in this Christian Republic there are nearly three millions of human beings in the condition of heathen, and, in some respects, in a worse condition. We must believe this, because your Presbyterian brethren of South Carolina and Georgia say so. That heathenism is owing to slavery. Slavery will not allow its subjects to read the Bible, or testify where white men are concerned. Slavery allows the slave members of your Presbyterian church to live in adultery without discipline. It even recommends such to sister-churches, as members in good and regular standing! That system you and your brethren recommend by your example—never preach against—nay, even palliate, and defend from your pulpits. Out of your own mouths, then, you are condemned as the abettors of the worst heathenism under heaven. We dare not recognise you as brethren. God forbid we should touch your money! When shall we open our mouths for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction, if not now? We see them drawn to death, and the chain in your hand—they 'are ready to be slain,' and you hold the sword. Shall we forbear to deliver them? Shall we say we knew it not? 'Doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? And he that keepeth thy heart, doth he not know it? And shall not he render unto every man according to his work? Friend, we will not take your money!'

What will the enemies of the Free Church—the state hirelings—say, if you carry home the slave-holders' bounty? Will they not taunt you thus: These are the men who could not swallow the bread of their sovereign as the price of their submission to tyranny, but their consciences, honour, and Christian principle did not revolt in begging a pittance from the pulpits of tyrannical oppression, in Washington, Charlestown, and New Orleans? What O'Connell refused to touch when brought to his hand, Dr. Chalmers sent, and Drs. Cunningham and Burns went, 4,000 miles to solicit!

This, Christian brethren, is a deed we devoutly deprecate, and we respectfully and earnestly implore of you not to fellowship slave-holders as Christians, not to solicit their "filthy lucre," not to dishonour the Free Church of Scotland by flattering American Presbyterians in their sins; not to have your lips sealed here or on your return by those who bind you to silence on the sinfulness of slavery by their courtesies or benefactions; not to weaken the hands of American abolitionists and strengthen the bands that bind the poor slaves; not to offend God, by using "the wages of unrighteousness" obtained in this country to build up His cause in your own land. But should you, despite of our friendly warning and urgent Christian remonstrance, solicit money acquired by the sale of American Christians, and men made heathen by the cruel system of slavery, we can only express our firm confidence that your con-

stituents, the Free Church of Scotland, will refuse to receive the polluted silver and gold, and return it to those who gave it.

ARTHUR TAPPAN,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,
WILLIAM SHOTWELL,

LEONARD GIBBS,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
SETH W. BENEDICT;

Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGH-
OUT THE WORLD.**

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the above SOCIETY
will be held in EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, the 17th of MAY,
1844.

The Right Hon. LORD BROUGHAM will preside.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock precisely. Tickets may be had at the Office of the Society, 27, New Broad-street; of James Nisbet, Berners-street; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; Jacob Post, Lower-street, Islington; Henry Sterry and Sons, High-street, Borough; and of Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,
THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and
FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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, MAY 15, 1844.

We are happy to find that the approaching Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which is to be held at Exeter-hall on Friday, is regarded with great interest, and is likely to be fully attended. The aspects which the anti-slavery cause presents in various parts of the world are truly deserving of this warm regard; and we cannot anticipate for a moment but that the meeting will calmly and firmly direct its immense moral power to the great objects for the promotion of which it is convened.

The venerable Thomas Clarkson, whose infirmities preclude him from attending at the meeting on Friday, has addressed a letter to Mr. Sturge, with the view of its being read as his address to the assembly. We are permitted to insert the following portion of it:-

"There is another topic, on which I mean to say a few words. Our Committee have been censured because they have opposed the introduction of slave-grown sugar into our market on the same terms as sugar from our colonies where slavery has been abolished. I do most conscientiously approve of their conduct in this respect. For what was the object which they pledged themselves to the public to promote, when they were called together as a Committee? Was it not to secure, as far as they could, the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade? Now, wherever plantations are worked by slaves, they owe their existence to the slave-trade. To allow, therefore, the importation of slave-grown sugar into our market, would be to give a powerful encouragement to the slave-trade, and to spread desolation and bloodshed wider and wider in Africa—in Africa, already bleeding at every pore. Well has Lord Brougham observed, that, 'by admitting the Cuba and Brazil sugar into this country, we should immediately and directly commission some scores of slave-trading vessels to assail and haunt the African coast; and that, if an act of Parliament were passed for this purpose, it would be as inevitably an act for the more effectual encouragement of the African slave-trade, as if it honestly and shamelessly bore that name.' Can our Committee, then, after the language of such faithful and indefatigable friend to our cause as Lord Brougham, and having at their formation pledged themselves to every legitimate practical means to suppress the trade in slaves, give such a large bonus, such a golden premium, as the diminution of duty would amount to, to continue it? But I have now the pleasure of informing you, that there is one thing which our Committee can do consistently with their honour, and the original intention of the institution. They can, and will, give their sanction to the opening of our market to sugar coming from any part of the world, on equal terms with sugar from our own colonies, provided it be the produce of free labour.

I have no doubt that, if a large bonus or premium were to be offered to Cuba or Brazil, such as that of coming with their sugar into our market on equal terms with our own, there would be planters in these countries who would make a trial of free labour on their estates. And, in my opinion, it requires only a beginning to be made to be followed up by other planters. What a bright prospect is here opened to us!—the prospect of having cheap and yet free sugar, of having a constantly increasing supply of that article, and moreover a constant augmentation of free, and constant diminution of slave labour."

We observe with great pleasure the effort made by the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, to supersede the employment of slave-labour at their works in Brazil, and we cannot doubt the sincerity of the "applause" which, according to the report in the papers of the half-yearly meeting, greeted this most gratifying announcement. That the measure they have at length adopted will be in the highest degree satisfactory to the proprietors at large, the Directors must be well assured, and we trust it will be (as the *Morning Herald* has it), "carried out in good faith." It was not necessary, however, that our contemporary should "recommend this fact to the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society." If that society were not too insignificant for its operations to engage the notice of the *Herald*, its humane editor would have known that their attention had been keenly fixed on this matter for several years past; and that, if it had been possible to obtain evidence fit to go into court, the Directors of some mining companies would not have enjoyed the "impunity" which seems so much to afflict him. However, we hope the evil will be at an end now, not only with the Imperial Brazilian, but with all the other mining companies who have either held or employed slaves.

The League is still fingering the Gordian knot. Ill contented, as it would seem, with the reasonings of their eloquent advocate, Mr. George Thompson, Mr. Cobden has now taken the matter in hand. This gentleman delivered himself of a somewhat grave attack on the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and those who act with them, at Covent Garden Theatre on the 1st instant. Allowing them to be "honest and well-meaning men," he will not call them "philanthropists," this being too good a designation for persons "of unreasoning, if conscientious, benevolence." No doubt, all the argument, if not all the humanity, is on the side of the ultra-free-traders; the would-be philanthropists being animated by "pure fanaticism," and assuming a "dictatorship" which must be "put down." By an orator of the Anti-corn-law League this is certainly well and decorously said.

But, since the Anti-Slavery Society has no arguments, what are the conclusive reasonings of the League, or of its mouth-piece on this occasion, Mr. Cobden?

Mainly, a misrepresentation—and a misrepresentation so often made, and so often pointed out, that one might be almost tempted to regard the repetition of it as a standing artifice in this controversy. He alleges, that the Committee have "petitioned Parliament not to allow the people to consume sugar, unless they could prove it had not the taint of slavery." Not so, Mr. Cobden. The argument of the petition is, that the admission of Brazilian sugar would aggravate the miseries of the slave and the atrocities of the slave-trade. Of this allegation the speaker takes absolutely no notice; leaving us, like Mr. Thompson, to infer from his silence, both that he knows it is true, and that he feels it is unanswerable. At a later period of his speech, indeed, Mr. Cobden seems to approach this subject, by disclaiming any wish to continue slavery—a wish which, he may be fully assured, no one for a moment imputes to him—and by saying, "if you could show me that it (free trade) would promote slavery, I would abandon it at once." But what effect free trade (understanding by this term the universal abolition of all restrictions on trade) would have, is not now the question. What we maintain is, that an increased demand for slave-produce will aggravate the sufferings of the slaves, and, wherever the traffic is carried on, will supply a stimulus to the slave-trade. And this is precisely the point of which no notice has been taken.

Mr. Cobden thinks that he settles the whole question by adducing the now universally admitted axiom, that, in equal circumstances, free labour is cheaper than the labour of slaves—a principle which all the world knew, before he proclaimed it to the League, that the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 took much pains to elaborate and establish; and he bids us, with an air of triumph, have faith in our principles. Suppose, then, we gird ourselves up to this gigantic effort, whether will our principles conduct us? The principle in question is, that, in equal circumstances, free labour is cheaper than slave labour. And what follows from it? This, and no more,—that when free and slave labour shall be in equal circumstances all over the world, the produce of slave labour may be undersold, and the disadvantage at which the labour of slaves will be employed may favour the abandonment of slavery, where that system rests on the basis of pecuniary advantage. But the cheapness of free as compared with slave labour is no bar to the conclusion which we have already stated, and on which we lay the whole stress of our position—that an increased demand for slave produce will aggravate the sufferings of the slaves, and supply a stimulus to the slave-trade.

Mr. Cobden tries his hand at reasoning on a large scale, and discourses boldly on the philosophy of the Divine ways. "Would it not be a monstrous thing," he exclaims, "if we were to find that the moral government of the world was so contrived that man should

find his profit in doing injustice to his fellow man? Plenty and abundance," adds this enlightened theologian, "were promised from the beginning of time to those who do well; but if greater abundance and plenty are to be the reward of him who snares his fellow man, and compels him to work under the terror of the whip, it would be at war with all our ideas as to the moral government of the universe." We have quoted this passage at length, that our readers may assist us in determining for which of two qualities it is most remarkable—its inconsistency with sound philosophy, or its contrariety to matters of fact. What Mr. Cobden's "ideas as to the government of the universe" may be we know not; but we are surprised that a man who must have exercised himself so much thoughtfulness as he, should not know that it is altogether indecorous and unsafe for any one to frame a theory for the administration of the world, and then to insist on making the ways of the Almighty Ruler square with it. As to the matters of fact, we beg to be informed in what chapter and verse of the Bible the promise stands, which, "from the beginning of time," ensured plenty and abundance "to those who do well;" and we beg further to ask whether it is not notorious that, throughout the entire history of mankind, the greatest secular advantages have been generally obtained by systematic oppression and wrong?

Nothing in Mr. Cobden's speech is either more thoughtless or more unfair, than the point he attempts to make against the Anti-Slavery Committee in relation to the proposed reduction of the coffee duty. If this had been done at their suggestion, or had met with their approbation, the hit would have been fair enough; but neither of these is true. On the contrary, the earliest opportunity was taken in this journal to express the deep regret and chagrin of the Committee on this subject.

We have given, in our first page, an account (abridged from the *Moniteur*) of what we cannot but deem the most important step which has yet been taken by the abolitionists of France on the great question of emancipation in the French colonies; we mean a debate, of nearly five hours in length, in the Chamber of Deputies, brought on by the petitions of the artizans of Paris for the immediate abolition of slavery. The Committee to whom the petitions were referred, made a long report entirely adverse to their prayer, and recommending the Chamber to proceed to the order of the day. The reporter, M. Denis, was followed by MM. de Gasparin and Ledru Rollin, who, in vigorous and effective speeches, (which we are sorry to be obliged to reserve to our next,) refuted his statements, and urged that the petitions should be referred to the Council of Ministers—the most honourable destination they could receive. The Minister of Marine and the Colonies, Admiral Mackau, spoke on the part of the Government, proposing to lose the whole subject in an interminable postponement, but saying he should not object to the petitions being referred. The tone of the Admiral's speech seems to have called up M. Guizot, who stated emphatically, that it must not go forth from that Chamber, either to the colonies or to the mother country, that the question of abolition had retrograded. From the tenor of these two speeches, it is evident that, upon the question of emancipation, the French cabinet is divided; M. Guizot and his friends wishing to go forward, at least with preparatory measures, while M. de Mackau and other ministers (supported, we fear, by the highest influence) wish to go backwards. We learn from our correspondent, that M. de Tracy's allusion to this subject was responded to, on the part of M. Guizot, by a significant gesture.

On the part of the friends of abolition, M. de Tracy replied to the address of M. Guizot, bringing prominently forward his declaration, that the abolition of slavery was a settled point, and accepting the pledge which had been given. Had time permitted, Messrs. Delamartine, Barrot, Roger, and Isambert, would have taken part in the discussion; but, as the hour was far advanced, and as the Chamber was eager for a division, the vote was taken, and the petitions were referred to the Government by a large majority.

Satisfactory as it is to us to hear M. Guizot declare so loudly that, with the French Government, the question had not retrograded, and should not retrograde, we are nevertheless far from being satisfied with the measures by which he proposes to advance it. There is, it seems, no probability that the Government will adopt either of the plans proposed by the Royal Commission, short of the demands of justice as both of these plans are. The country is to have nothing but undefined preparatory measures. M. Guizot, we are sure, expects too much from these measures; but we believe that he is far too sincere on this great question to attempt to amuse the Chamber and the French nation with trivialities, or, in the words of our correspondent, to lull them to sleep.

We are assured, that the friends of abolition in France would not be affected by any such soporific. They will see that they have gained an important point in having brought on this discussion, and we cannot doubt but they will pursue their advantage. Let them prepare petitions on a still more extensive scale, for the next session of the Chambers. They have insinuated successfully the thin end of the wedge, and nothing but a few resolute blows is wanted to carry it triumphantly through.

THE last arrival from New York has brought the important, but not unexpected intelligence, that the treaty for the annexation of Texas has been signed, and will speedily be presented to the Senate for ratification. We have given elsewhere all the information which is to be gleaned from the papers. It is understood that the matter now lies at the disposal of Mr. Clay, and in the answer to

the question, whether he, as the head of his party, and with a view to the ensuing presidential election, will court popularity in the south. The result of the next thirty days will be regarded by all parties with the deepest interest.

We copy from the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, a letter addressed by the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland, who are now soliciting contributions in the United States, on the subject of receiving money from slaveholders. The document is ably written, and the subject of great importance. We commend the letter to attention.

SUPPLY OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

RESERVING the expression of any opinion on the Government measure for increasing honestly the consumption of sugar until the plan is enunciated in its details, which have obviously a most important bearing on the slave-trade, let us cast a glance at those countries in which sugar is cultivated by means that do not promote that accursed traffic. They are Java, Manilla, Siam, Cochin China, and China—countries teeming with industrious, enterprising, and active populations, blessed with most prolific soils, and importing, more or less, British manufactures. The first two are, as every one knows, colonies of European states; Java, belonging to the Dutch; and Manilla, under which name is included the ten larger as well as the smaller Philippine Islands, to the Spaniards. The three others are independent states, with two of which, Siam and Cochin China, though they have strong and well-ordered governments, we have at present no commercial or political relations. The population of China is estimated at not less than three hundred and fifty millions; the population of Java is said to be upwards of eight millions, and, inclusive of the adjoining island of Madura, reaches nine millions. The Philippines contained, in 1837, three millions and a half of inhabitants; and, though we have no approximating estimate of the population of Siam and Cochin China, we do know that those states form, in populousness, no exception to the adjacent countries. As, therefore, they possess, in ample abundance, the primary elements of sugar production, labour and soil eminently suitable to its culture, there can be little doubt, that, through the instrumentality of increased demand, their supply of sugar for exportation will quickly augment. And though the system of cultivation in these countries is unfavourable to the establishment of large plantations, the *métayer* system of cultivation that prevails, and the highly commercial spirit of the people, will, to a great extent, make up for any want of capital for the erection of great works, and stimulate the culture of sugar in small patches of the soil.

They are all at present sugar-exporting countries. The production of sugar in Java is calculated at not less than 60,000 tons, or 10,000 tons more than one-fourth of our whole consumption. By far the greater part of this quantity goes to Holland; not, however, for home consumption, for Holland does not consume an eighth part of the sugar she annually manufactures, but for re-exportation in its refined form. Undoubtedly, the Dutch Colonial Government have forced the cultivation of sugar in Java, just as the Home Government have forced the sugar-refineries of Holland: the inhabitants of the island are obliged to cover a fifth part of their estates with sugar; and further produce is encouraged by bounties from the Government, and money is advanced by the Government to stimulate production. But in spite of this high pressure, there is no reason to believe that the maximum amount of sugar has yet been cultivated in Java; on the contrary, it is probable that, through legitimate and healthy demand, Java could, with its present population, easily produce one-third more sugar. The attempt of the Dutch to engross, by means of bounties, the market of continental Europe for refined sugar, has failed; the revolution of September, 1830, deprived them of the consumption of Belgium; Russia prohibits the importation of refined sugar; Germany, to raise up sugar-refineries of her own, and to protect her beet-root sugar, imposes high duties on refined sugar; England is a refined sugar exporting country; and France, until very lately, discouraged the admission of Dutch manufactured sugar. Yearly the Dutch export less and less refined sugar; and their high internal duties and their frugality limit their own consumption to an amount much below their ability. Extended markets for Java sugar are consequently an object of first-rate importance for Holland; and it seems but reasonable that any advantages we may confer on her in that respect should be productive of large concessions to our commerce in the Indian archipelago.

The export from Manilla, in 1843, is said to have reached 20,000 tons, of which nearly one-third went to the Australian colonies, about one fourth to the United States and Singapore, and the remainder to Europe.

Sugar has long been a staple production of Cochin-China; but hitherto it has been principally exported to China. A small quantity has, however, of late found its way north of the straits of Singapore, though it is believed none has yet reached England.

A small quantity of the 10,000 tons Siam is said to export has reached Europe; but, though of a superior quality, its price is, owing to the king monopolising its export, high; but, with an open market to attract it, some 5,000 or 6,000 tons are anticipated, by the Mincing-lane brokers, to be annually imported.

Of the Chinese trade in sugar we know very little: as far as we can learn, China seems to export small quantities of her own high-priced sugar, and to import largely the cheaper sugars of her neighbours. We have seen the export price stated at 30s. a cwt., a figure which, if about the general rate, would totally preclude its importation here.

Such is the amount of what is known of free-labour sugar. And now, in conclusion, a few words on the fears expressed, that the importation of free-labour sugar will encourage the slave-trade, by transferring part of the quantity now sent to the Continent, and replacing it with slave produce. It is apprehended that the United States will, under the proposed arrangement, introduce Cuban sugar as their own produce into our markets. But here two extremely important facts are overlooked; first, that the

United States are dependent on foreign countries for 50,000 tons of sugar, or nearly one-third of their consumption; and, secondly, that foreign sugar imported into the Union pays a duty of 2½ cents a lb., or 11s. a cwt., so that any Cuban sugar travelling through America to England would, in our ports, have 21s. a cwt., besides freight to New York and thence across the Atlantic, added to its prime cost—an amount totally prohibitory of its consumption here. But Jonathan may, we shall be told, abolish his import duty on foreign sugar, to gain the profit of inundating our markets; if so, he would thereby ruin all the sugar planters of Louisiana, as well as the maple-sugar growers—a trick he is not likely to perform to "realise" Lord John Russell's prediction.

PINANG SUGAR.

(From the *Indian News.*)

IN the year 1836, the sugars of Bengal were placed upon the same footing with those of the West Indies and Mauritius, and of course a prohibition issued against the importation of foreign sugars, as the latter pay a differential duty. The act, however, left it at the discretion of the Governor-General to except from the operation of this measure such portions of the presidency as he thought fit; and he accordingly excepted the Straits' settlements from the prohibition of foreign sugars, thus leaving them, as regards that product, *in statu quo*. Now the Straits' settlements consist of several colonies, widely separated from each other by foreign territories, and each absolutely distinct from the rest in natural productions and commercial interests. Singapore, for instance, is the great dépôt of the Archipelago, and carries on a lucrative trade in sugars with Siam, the Philippines, Java, and Cochin China; and to have suffered the act to extend to that place would have been a sentence of ruin, perhaps of utter extinction. Pinang, on the other hand, with the annexed territory on the main called Province Wellesley, is a sugar colony, small but exceedingly fertile, which, after supplying its own 100,000 inhabitants, has been accustomed to export the article in considerable quantities: to it, therefore, the act would have been a boon of the highest importance; while, as regards England, it would have contributed *pro tanto* to diminish the difficulties with which the straitened supply, except from slave countries, invests the general sugar question. The proceedings of the Indian Government, therefore, shielded the admirable settlement of Singapore from the injury its growing prosperity would have received, but at the same moment arrested, as if with a hand of iron, the march of improvement in Pinang.

It is impossible to conjecture what reasons could have influenced the Government in turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrances which were made upon this subject. In ordinary cases it is customary to state what the difficulties are, so as to give the petitioners an opportunity of explaining, or at least to satisfy them of the wisdom of the legislative power. No ingenuity, however—no urgency—no questions, direct or indirect, could ever elicit more than a flat denial. We are always unwilling to attribute interested motives; but it really looks as if the suspicions loudly expressed by the Pinang planters had some foundation, and that an influence quite unconnected with public or general policy had been exercised against the island. At all events, we submit that this is a proper case for the interference of Parliament, where some steps ought to be taken immediately to induce the Indian Government at least to give their reasons.

It was conjectured that the difficulty might have arisen from a supposition that the prohibition of foreign sugars would be rendered partially inoperative by smuggling; but the reply is, that the inland frontier is easily protected, being only about forty miles in extent; that the article is too bulky and too cheap to repay the risks of illicit trade; and that the colonists offered to submit to a tax on sugar sufficient to defray the expense of the preventive service.

We ought to mention that Malacca, another of the Straits' settlements, suffers likewise by the injustice, if injustice it be, which we have pointed out. Malacca does not at present, we believe, export sugar, but it is capable of doing so with proper encouragement, and at all events it does not import a single ton. This article, however, is evidently destined to be the great staple of Pinang and Province Wellesley; for in a late *Pinang Gazette* we find it stated, that, notwithstanding the obduracy of the Indian Government, the manufacture goes on rapidly, two additional steam-mills being about to come into operation. A considerable shipment for England from Province Wellesley had been tested, and found quite equal to the West India or Mauritius sugars. By the last accounts we have seen, it was confidently anticipated that, in a very short time, the production would reach the extent of from twenty to twenty-five thousand tons; and, in order to show the comparative value of this branch of the trade (if Government will consent to accept of it!) we beg to call attention to the few following statistics:

The whole of the sugar retained for home consumption in Great Britain, is about 192,000 tons in the year.

The portion of this received from Mauritius in 1841, was 35,800 tons.

The portion received from the West Indies and British Guiana collectively, was 107,560 tons.

Of this quantity, Jamaica, Demerara, Trinidad, and Barbadoes, contributed the greater part, and in the following proportions:—Jamaica, 26,429 tons; Demerara, 20,763 tons; Trinidad, 14,230 tons; Barbadoes, 12,855 tons.

It thus appears, that the little sugar settlement for which we are pleading is equal in importance, in so far as that article is concerned, to Jamaica and Demerara, the most productive of our western colonies; and we confidently trust, therefore, that either the Board of Control or Parliament will immediately institute a rigid inquiry into the subject we have now laid before the public.

THE DEBATE IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

(From *La Réforme.*)

THE Saturday sitting in the Chamber of Deputies will have its place in the history of negro emancipation. It will not be forgotten that it was by a petition of artizans that the attention of Parliament has again been called to this great question. The liberation of the slaves has not pro-

ceeded from the philosophical and political regions in which it has been discussed. The people have, at length, taken their part—a real and effective part, the importance of which interested persons have vainly endeavoured to diminish. It originates, in fact, with some artizans on whom no philanthropist would have exercised a direct influence—from a small number of workmen, who signed, without knowing what they did. The number of signatures (and it is well to mention it, for one might be surprised that it was not mentioned in the speech of the reporter,) amounted, in Paris, to 7,126. In the country, the workmen of Lyons, always sympathising with every noble and generous movement, learning the initiative taken by their brethren in the capital, hastened to combine with them; and sheets, bearing 1,704 signatures, have been forwarded, to show the Chamber their adhesion to the request of the Parisians. There are, consequently, 8,830 persons, who have formally demanded the abolition of slavery. Such a number is instructive. It is impossible to find here anything factitious, or anything but a perfectly free and spontaneous movement; especially since it proceeds from a population, not perhaps the best educated, but assuredly the most intelligent in Europe. The Chamber has properly estimated it. The sustained attention which it gave to the noble words of MM. Gasparin, Ledru-Rollin, and De Tracy, and the immense majority which rejected the order of the day, are happy and undeniable proofs of it.

The echo of the sitting of Saturday will reach even those distant territories of France which slavery still stains. The masters will draw from it a new lesson, and the negroes some consolation. This drop of water, thrown into the arid desert of slaves, will refresh their afflicted souls. Let French artizans rejoice. Forgetting their own distress to think of still greater sorrows, they have not merely done a good action; their cry for mercy will sustain, in the midst of an enslaved population, the hope which they cherish of approaching deliverance.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

(From the *Morning Chronicle.*)

THERE seems to be no doubt that the Government of the United States, personated by its new Secretary of State, Mr. Calhoun, has actually signed a treaty with the Envoy of Texas, for the annexation of that country to the Union. There seems to be as little doubt that the aim of the Government in solemnly signing this treaty, preparatory to its being submitted to the Senate, whose sanction is requisite to give it validity, is merely to create popularity for Mr. Calhoun, to enable him to stand forth eminent, if not successful, in the ensuing election, and throw upon the Senatorial Whigs the odium of rejecting a national and a popular measure with the South and West. The northern states, too, are sought to be propitiated by the terms of this agreement—mock terms to be sure—such as Texas being but a territory, having but one member in Congress, and the question of slavery being passed over as if, annexation once agreed upon, such terms as these could be kept to. Such a crude, impracticable, and absurd scheme would not be worthy of credit, if the Government prints did not announce the signature. Signed it appears to be, and certainly a more audacious political puff never emanated from the fertile brain of an electioneering agent.

The temptation is, unfortunately, very strong, which prompts a statesman to forget at once his dignity and the prudent tenor of policy, for the sake of clap-traps to catch popularity. Van Buren, the foremost candidate for the Presidency, has experienced unexpected defeats in some of the states, especially in Connecticut; and, it is said that, should Virginia declare against him, he will abandon the field. It is also alleged that, were Mr. Clay to declare for annexation, whilst Van Buren held back, Virginia would prefer the former. And accordingly Mr. Clay does come forward to coquet with annexation, in a manner strange enough for a Whig leader. "He is for annexation," it appears, "if the people desire it, but not at present. He must be certain that the whole people desire it, and he would refer it to them." This mere adjournment of acquiescence on the part of the great Whig leader, should it prove true, argues badly for the future fate of the question of annexation. His followers are, however, staunch; and at a great public meeting held on his behalf at New York, annexation was loudly denounced, as an inevitable dissolution of the Union.

The grand reason, for the twentieth time put forward, is the eager efforts of England to get possession of Texas, or at least to enter into close alliance with that state, and evidence of this fact is even promised in a clause or preamble of Mr. Calhoun's bill. The same journal, however, which is enabled to disclose the terms of the Government bill respecting Texas, reveals also the following:—

"Mr. Pakenham has received a despatch from Lord Aberdeen, in which the latter distinctly and emphatically denies that the British Government has any—the slightest—design or intention to take any steps, or receive any overt or proposition from the Texan Government, or from any quarter, for making that country a colony of Great Britain, or for acquiring anything in the shape of territorial power or government over Texas. The words of the despatch are to this effect—that Great Britain or the British Government has no desire to maintain any closer, stricter, or more intimate political relations with Texas than those which she now holds towards that country."

One of the strangest features of the case would be, if true as reported, the acquiescence of the Mexican Minister, Almonte, in the alienation. But Santa Anna, once more menaced by France, and unsupported by England, has every reason, even in the affair of Texas, to be disgusted with the maritime powers of Europe, and to hope that, by the sacrifice of what he cannot hope to reconquer, he may make sure friends of the Anglo-Americans. Such a junction of circumstances, all tending to the absorption of an anti-slave country into a slave-holding one, seems the result of that complete *laissez faire* and negligent system of policy, the wisdom of which consists in neither foreseeing nor preventing a hostile influence of any kind, but in going to sleep with an optimist conviction that all would go right of itself, worthy of Voltaire's *Candide*.

Since our last publication, petitions for the admission of all produce raised by free labour have been presented to the House of Commons from the following places—Dodbrooke, Kingsbridge, St. Austell.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—April 30.

EMIGRATION.

Lord SANDON wished to put a question to his noble friend, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as to emigration from the western coast of Africa. The House would recollect that there were two points which appeared to be left in some doubt. The book that was laid upon the table was the one from which he understood his noble friend had since received information; and he now wished to ask him whether the proportion between the sexes was to be preserved as first laid down; and, next, whether those parties who were allowed to emigrate from Sierra Leone were to spend six weeks in that colony before they were allowed to emigrate?

Lord STANLEY (who was almost inaudible at our end of the gallery) said the question had been put before by the honourable member for London; and it was then the opinion of the Government that the decision must depend, in a considerable degree, on the report which they expected to receive from the Governor. They had since received that report, but (as we understood) required some time to consider it before coming to a final conclusion.

SUGAR.

Mr. BERKELEY wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was his intention to admit Java sugar under the new regulations? It was generally known that the government had imposed heavier duties on the produce of industry coming from Java than from other countries in the East; and he wished to know whether it was the intention to put that island on a footing with Manilla and Siam? At this period, when the overland mail was just going out, it was very desirable that such a doubt should be cleared up. He also wished to know whether, with respect to free-labour sugars, those admitted under the differential duty of 10s., a certificate of origin would be required?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER could assure the honourable gentleman that he had very great difficulty in answering the variety of questions that might be put to him with respect to the sugar duties previous to the time when he should be called upon to make his official explanation as to the whole of the details. This he would take the earliest opportunity of doing; till then he trusted the House would excuse his answering any question as to details; since, if he answered one, he must necessarily answer every question that might be put to him.

Home Intelligence.

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.—The half-yearly meeting of the shareholders was held in the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, on Thursday, JOSHUA WALKER, Esq., in the chair.

The report for the past half-year having been read, and the routine business transacted,—

The CHAIRMAN said, he had only one observation to make, and that was in reference to a suggestion that had been made to the directors by their worthy deputy-chairman, Mr. Gibson, of sending out boys or young men from this country to the mines in Brazil, in order to do away with the necessity for the employment of slave-labour. (Hear.) Mr. Gibson himself had taken the trouble to go into Cornwall for that purpose. He had been quite successful, and had engaged a number of young men, who were to go out at a moderate rate of wages, and who, it was confidently expected, would speedily acquire that proficiency in mining which would render the employment of negro labour quite unnecessary. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the chairman and the directors was passed, and the meeting separated.—*Herapath's Journal*.

We recommend this fact to the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society, in order that they may see that this resolve is carried out in good faith. Every person acquainted with Brazil is aware that it is the most common taunt of the slave-dealers and planters, that, whilst the English profess to be making large sacrifices for the extinction of slavery, they allow perfect impunity to the employment of slaves by the mining companies, who are exclusively composed of British capitalists. It is a question certainly worthy the deepest attention as a corollary of the sugar duties.—*Morning Herald*.

WORCESTER.—At the request of the Anti-Slavery Committee in this city, we insert the resolutions adopted by them:—

At an adjournment of the Worcester Anti-Slavery Committee, held the 18th of 5th Month, 1841, it was resolved,

1st. That this Meeting feels obliged to dissent from the views of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, as embodied in their circular dated May 5th, and consider their opposition to the liberal and enlightened policy of her Majesty's Ministers in relation to the reduction of the duties on sugars, as betraying a want of confidence in the efficiency and cheapness of free, as compared with slave labour; and thereby calculated rather to retard than promote the great cause of emancipation throughout the world.

2nd. That this Meeting would suggest to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, when questions of great importance, and involving varied and conflicting interests arise, the propriety of ascertaining, as far as possible, the opinion and wishes of their country auxiliaries, before pledging themselves to any particular line of conduct, as the most likely means of preserving unanimity and good feeling generally, throughout the Society.

3rd. That this Meeting cannot therefore adopt the recommendation of the London Committee in their recently received circular, and that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary without delay. Signed on behalf of the Committee, RICH'D. EVANS, Chairman.

True copy, SAM'L. DARKE, Secretary.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—IMMIGRATION.—The *Glen Huntley*, Lieut. Leary, arrived at Annotto Bay on Friday, the 8th, with 118 immigrants from Sierra Leone, 24 delegates returned, making in all 142.—*Falmouth Post*.

THE DROUGHT.—We learn that the want of food and water continues to be severely felt in the Pedro district of St. Elizabeth. The distress, we are told, has become fearful, the people being destitute of water. In most places the tanks have been drained of their last drop. Supplies of food, we learn, had reached Alligator Pond, but that place is too distant for a great many.—*Falmouth Post*.

There is an intimation in the papers that, notwithstanding the drought, the crop is likely to be larger than last year.

LEGISLATION.—The style in which the art of legislation is carried on in this island may be judged of by the following, which is the 3rd clause of the New Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act:—

“3rd.—*And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That before any hawker, pedlar, or other person shall carry about for sale or expose for sale any goods, wares, merchandise, or other articles of traffic, (except such as are herein excepted,) he shall take out a license for such purpose, and pay for such license, to the clerk of the common council in the city of Kingston, and to the clerks of the vestries of the several parishes in this island, *not exceeding the sum of four pounds sterling for the use of the parish, and the further sum of three shillings sterling and no more, as a fee to each of the clerks aforesaid for their trouble in making out such license, and such license shall only continue in force for the space of one year from the date thereof: Provided always, That no license shall be granted to any person unless he shall produce to the said common council of Kingston, or the justices and vestry of the other parishes, at the time of making his application for a license, a certificate of good character signed by two justices of the parish wherein the person so applying shall reside, and provided also, that such license so granted shall extend only over the parish for which the same was granted and no further.”*

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—The crops are said to be most promising, and the weather delightful.

BARBADOES.—Some months have elapsed since we edited our last agricultural report, in which we stated our fears that the present crop would not be larger than that of last year; we, however, have now great satisfaction in stating that the present one will be a far better crop than the last. For several months past we have been favoured with a fine growing and ripening season; the canes planted in June have had every advantage of weather; and we understand that these, generally, are looking healthy, and likely to ripen soon, without any loss either in growth or quantity of saccharine matter. The making of sugar is in rapid progress; and the yielding, both in the field and boiling-house, gives the planter sanguine hopes of realising more than he expected. The plants already put in for the ensuing crop are beginning to assume a very green appearance; and we perceive large tracts of land are now undergoing the usual process previous to planting.—*Globe*.

ST. LUCIA.—“Every thing,” says the *Independent Press*, “is going on smoothly and well in this island at present. The labourers are everywhere actively and industriously engaged in making sugar, of which there will be an excellent crop. The complaints to the stipendiary magistrates are few in number, and trivial in themselves; indeed, some of these magistrates have almost a sinecure, except where they cut out business for themselves to show that they are doing something.”

TRINIDAD.—IMMIGRATION.—The following “Emigration Return for 1843” was laid before the Council on the 1st instant:—

TRINIDAD.—Return of the number of immigrants arrived during the year 1843, the expense of whose passage has been paid from the island treasury, and the amount paid on account thereof:—

Whence emigrating.	Fourteen years of age and upwards.		Between seven and fourteen years of age.		Under seven years of age.	Total.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.			
Grenada	224	152	4	12	4	9	405
Dominica.....	57	31	..	2	4	1	95
Barbadoes	21	15	..	1	4	5	46
Nevis	187	178	21	22	18	30	456
Tortola.....	6	5	1	12
Carriacou.....	43	29	1	7	1	5	86
Montserrat	229	142	32	17	18	33	471
Antigua	4	6	..	1	1	2	14
St. Lucia	5	5	10
St. Kitts	137	81	6	5	7	14	250
St. Vincent	105	75	11	6	4	4	205
Anguilla	12	7	3	3	25
America, U.S....	2	1	3
Sierra Leone ...	331	91	35	2	7	7	476
St. Helena	125	71	56	31	289
	1488	898	166	106	71	114	2843

Amount paid in 1843, £11,449 7s. 8d. sterling.

(Signed) THOMAS F. JOHNSTON,
Agent-General of Immigration.

A TRINIDAD MAN ABOUT TO BE SOLD AS A SLAVE IN NEW ORLEANS.—We have been informed that a coloured man, named Henry Bennet, who says he is a British subject, and native of this island, is now lying in jail in New Orleans, where he has been for the last two years, in consequence of his not being able to prove himself a freeman. He is a short stout-made man, and much marked with the small pox, and says

that he was for some time in the employment of Mr. Gibbs, formerly of Port of Spain. The British consul informed the gentleman through whose attention to the cause of humanity this information has been brought to this island, that there are three other persons, who claim the privilege of British subjects, in the same unfortunate circumstances, and who will soon be sold as slaves to pay expenses, if not speedily liberated from their imprisonment.—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION.—The brigantine *Zuilmira*, under the command of Lieutenant Hobart, R.N., arrived in the river this afternoon, in thirty-five days from Rio Janeiro, with 135 captured Africans on board. These strangers consist of 103 boys, 4 men, 9 women, and 29 girls. Lieutenant Hobart captured on the 24th December last, while in command of the boats of her Majesty's brig *Dolphin*, the *Zuilmira*, and a brig called the *Anna*, off the coast of Brazil. The *Zuilmira* had no slaves on board when seized by the Lieutenant, having landed the whole of her cargo immediately previous. The damning evidence she contained of her being engaged in the accursed slave traffic, of course, caused her forfeiture. The 135 people who have been brought among us were taken from the holds of the latter vessel, the *Anna*. The original number of the captives was 145: the other 10 have been sent with others to Trinidad. A fact worthy of notice in these seizures is, that so overwhelming a proportion of the intended slaves were boys, almost to the entire exclusion of members of the other sex of a corresponding age. As it is natural to suppose, in a mercantile point of view, that the cargo of the *Anna* was laid in to order, it is hence clear that the Brazilian planters, perhaps in the hope of the British markets being shortly thrown open, are playing a desperate game. They would seem to be seeking by every means to augment the effective strength of their gangs, and consequently the cultivation of their estates; thoroughly reckless of all distant consequences, whether as affects themselves or their wretched dependents. To attain this twofold object, no means are more obvious than to procure, if possible, none but male slaves. The claims of nature or posterity are overlooked; nay, even their own enlarged interests. Present gain is the grand end.—*Royal Gazette.*

Foreign Intelligence.

TEXAS.—THE TREATY SIGNED.—From the *Morning Chronicle*, Liverpool, Sunday.

The New York packet ship, *New York*, Captain Cropper, with dates to the 17th ultimo, arrived here to-day at noon.

Mr. Tyler and Mr. Calhoun's policy, no doubt with views to the next presidential election, have brought about the extraordinary step of a treaty for the annexation of the territory of Texas to the United States. The details are not fully known, but the fact is confirmed by statements in the *Madisonian* and the *Washington Globe*, government papers.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NEW YORK HERALD.

"Washington, April 13.

"I am glad to be able to give you the facts; it matters not whence I get them. It is enough that implicit credit may be given them. The leading terms of the Texian treaty are as follows:—

"1st. The United States are to discharge or assume the debts of Texas, to the amount of what the sale of Texian lands will pay, and no farther. The assumption will only equal the sale of lands.

"2nd. Texas is to be admitted as a territory, and to be allowed one delegate in Congress. I am not positively informed as to the matter of the delegate, but have no doubt as to the truth of the statement.

"3rd. Nothing is said about slavery; and on this point I suppose will be the only issue in ratifying the treaty.

"4th. The accompanying correspondence (which will all be laid before the Senate) will develop the fact that England has been making overtures to Texas of an alliance. The Government of the United States has been apprised of the fact. Mr. Upshur entered into correspondence with Mr. Everett upon the subject. Mr. Everett replied. Mr. Upshur wrote again. Since his death an answer has been received; and the whole correspondence will be submitted to the Senate.

"5th. The treaty must be ratified, in order to take effect, within thirty days after it shall be sent into the Senate.

"The facts respecting the interference of England with Texas, are of an astounding character, and cannot fail to exasperate the people of this country, who will not allow a foreign power to interfere in a family quarrel between the United States and Texas."

The latter part of this statement is quite a satisfactory proof that this measure has been brought forward to advance the private interests of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Tyler; it is utterly unworthy of credit.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Sun* of the 16th says—

"At last we are to have the treaty for the annexation of Texas. The President and high contracting parties signed the treaty yesterday. It is of course impossible to get at the terms of the treaty with anything like accuracy—as every one has been sworn to secrecy that has had anything to do with the drawing up of the treaty. But still some facts will leak out in relation to it. Among others, these are alleged to form certain features in the matter. There is nothing inserted in the treaty about the boundary. The public lands of Texas are to be surrendered to the United States, and the United States is to pay the debts of Texas. These are to be all limited to a sum somewhere about ten million dollars. Texas is to be admitted as a territory, to enjoy equal privileges with Florida and no more; to send one representative to the next session of this 28th Congress and to every other Congress until Texas has either been admitted into the union as a state, or else divided into two or more territories. These are the main features of the treaty as they are talked of in the House of Representatives to-day."

The same paper of the following day adds:—

"Out of doors and in Congress it is universally stated that Texas is to come in as a territory, with one delegate to Congress, to be elected next October. That a Board of Commissioners is to be formed, who are to examine all claims and evidences of debt against Texas, and to allow only the just claims; that is, if a man received a piece

of Texas scrip of the nominal value of five dollars for one dollar, he is to be allowed only one dollar for it. The boundary line is to be left open for future negotiation; and Mexico is to be paid several millions—say five or ten millions—as an equivalent for her claim on the territory. These are the current rumours out of doors. I give them for what they are worth."

HAYTI.—The following lamentable account of the insurrection at Hayti we copy from the *Jamaica Gazette* of the 8th of April:—

"The French brig *Adelina*, Captain Tahet, arrived in this port on Saturday evening, bringing disastrous intelligence, and no less than 140 passengers, including twenty-five children—all persons of colour, and compelled to fly from their native land, to seek refuge under the flag of foreigners.

"Our readers remember that the new president, Herard, had marched with a large army for St. Domingo city, to quell the insurrection in the eastern portion of the island. Taking advantage of the absence of the general and troops, the black people rose *en masse* on Sunday, the 31st March, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the brown population. On Wednesday the National Guards of the town of Aux Cayes went out with two pieces of ordnance to suppress the rebellion and punish the rebels; but, as we have learned, their own general commanding delivered up the cannon to the blacks, and joined them himself. Thus strengthened, they drove the National Guard back again to Aux Cayes, entered the town, and commenced a relentless butchery—murdering every brown person, without regard to sex or age. The wretched inhabitants had no means of defence, no refuge, save on board the few foreign ships lying in the harbour—French, American, and English. Into these they crowded in confused and huddled batches—men, women, and children literally covering the decks, and exhibiting a distressing spectacle of misery and sudden destitution. But the decked vessels were not sufficient to hold the number of wretched refugees; the port was dotted over with small open boats, each containing as many human beings as it could hold, who dared not remain on land to await certain massacre, and yet could have little hope of escaping by sea. Captain Tahet, a man worthy of his country and of humanity, could not for a moment think of leaving to a miserable fate those who had fled to his protection and the guardianship of the tri-colour. He was bound for France, and had but provisions sufficient for his crew. To Cuba or Porto Rico, which would have been on his route, he could not bring his poor protégés, for there they would not have been received. With disinterested generosity, therefore, he sailed for Jamaica, and here has safely landed his unhappy freight. Most of these made their escape from shore without any other property than their wearing-apparel—some, indeed, with scarcely that. At eight o'clock on Thursday evening, Captain Tahet set sail, and at that time the work of blood was going on, and the port crowded in the manner mentioned. We shall probably have some of the other vessels with the refugees arriving here to-day. When the *Adelina* left, her commander had just got his letters from St. Domingo; and, though rumours were rife, there was no certain information of any encounter having taken place between Herard and the Spanish revolters."

IMPORTANT FROM HAYTI.—The *General Marion*, Captain Shepherd, arrived last night from Port-au-Prince. We are indebted to Captain S. for *Le Progrès* and the annexed. It seems that the recent outbreak has a wheel within a wheel—that the French are at the bottom of it—owing, probably, to their late defeat in the negotiations with the existing Haytian government. But the following tells the whole story:—

"General Herard, the president, was at Arah, within thirty miles of St. Domingo, with one division of his army, consisting of 15,000 men. Several schooners have gone round with artillery. The insurgent force is estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000. The President's son, Colonel Deo Herard, who commanded one of the regiments stationed at St. Domingo, with all the force that sided with him, were liberated on parole, and the colonel had arrived at Port-au-Prince, *rid* Jacmel. A Colonel Pimentel took possession of a town bordering on the Spanish part, in the name of the insurgents. The town was mostly inhabited by mahogany-cutters, who were away. On hearing of the march of the President, they assembled by night, and took the colonel prisoner, with his papers, and sent him to head-quarters. Amongst these papers was one purporting to be a negotiation between the insurgents and the French Government, through the French consul lately stationed at St. Domingo; the French offering to supply money and arms, with the aid of 10,000 men, if necessary, on condition that they were to receive the island Samana (at the east) as a naval dépôt, and to have the original French part of the island restored to them. This, of course, had excited a vast deal of indignation."—*Morning Chronicle.*

CUBA.—TRAGICAL EVENT.—We understand, that shortly before the R. M. S. *Trent*, now in harbour, sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, a very fine-looking black slave went on board, who, on being reported by the purser to the captain, was told that he could not be taken off the island without a passport, and therefore must go on shore again. To this he strongly demurred, and on being urged, he replied in broken English—"Me no go ashore again!" and drew a knife from his pocket, with which he nearly severed his head from his body. The unfortunate man had in his possession 200 dollars, three boxes of cigars, and a copy of "El Blas," which were taken ashore along with his body by the Spanish authorities. It was understood, adds our informant, that he had the misfortune to belong to an unkind master, and that, finding his hope of escape thus balked, he had committed the fatal act above described.—*Jamaica Times.*

It is said that the Spanish Government intend to transport upwards of 3,000 blacks from Havanna to Africa, and shoot 200!! And that upwards of 140,000 free persons of colour are resident in Cuba, who are in favour of the slave population and freedom.

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 15, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXVII. VOL. V.—No. 11.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 29TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT EXETER HALL,
LONDON, MAY 17, 1844.

In presenting the fifth annual Report of the Society to its supporters and friends, the Committee would call attention in the first place to the present state of the African slave-trade.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The powers which stand before the civilized world pre-eminent in guilt for the part they have taken in this nefarious traffic of late years, are Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Had they acted in conformity with their own laws, and with treaty stipulations, the slave-trade would long since have disappeared. But deaf alike to the calls of humanity and honour they have shamelessly persisted, in peopling their own territories, or supplying others with slaves. Spain, utterly reckless of consequences, allows the traffic to be carried on as a means of enriching her treasury, of keeping the Creole population of her colonies in check, and of rewarding the adherents of her changing governments for their services. The present Captain-General of Cuba, is an avowed partisan of the slave-trade, and is represented as uninfluenced by the counsels, and remonstrances of the resident population who dread the further increase of the African race, as an element of weakness and decay, rather than of strength and prosperity. The parties most interested at the present moment in continuing the slave-trade with Cuba are the slave-traders, foreign adventurers, and the Captain-General. Portugal is chiefly devoted to the conveyance of slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies and Brasil; and is as apparently reluctant to forego this employment for her mercantile marine, as they are to discontinue the guilty traffic. Brazil is now the largest slave-importing country in the world; and, it is believed, that, during the last two years the number of unfortunate Africans introduced has been immense. The horrors of the slave-trade continue unabated under the existing system of repression, and the profits fully proportionate to the risks incurred in carrying it on. The experience of every year strengthens the conviction of the Committee, that the abolition of slavery is the only effectual means for extinguishing the execrable commerce in human beings.

HOME OPERATIONS.

British India first claims attention. At the last anniversary of the Society, the Committee had the gratification of announcing the important fact, that slavery had been abolished in that part of the British Empire. The millions that were there enslaved are now legally free, the act of the governor in council, which secures that great end, having received the sanction of the Court of East India directors, and of the British Government. Henceforth, it will be the duty, and should be the aim, of the Society to see that the emancipated slaves are free, in fact, as well as in law; and this becomes the more imperative in consequence of the general ignorance of the peasantry, the habits of their masters, the paucity of European magistrates, and the vastness of our territory in Hindostan. The preservation of human liberty is usually more difficult than its attainment, the Committee, therefore, trust that the correspondents of the Society in various parts of that great country will aid them in their important task. The same general remarks apply to Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley, in all which settlements slavery has been abolished.

In reference to Ceylon, the Committee regret that they are not yet able to say, that slavery has been wholly abolished there. A few hundred slaves yet remain to be emancipated in the interior of the Island; but there can be no doubt, that were Her Majesty's Government to intimate its wishes to the holders of these slaves for their liberation, they would be complied with. At all events an order in council might issue, the propriety and justice of which no one could dispute or deny, these slaves being undoubtedly entitled to their liberty.

The Committee are informed that some slaves still remain in bondage at St. Helena. Their number and the nature of their servitude have not yet been ascertained.

At Hong-Kong, slavery, if not actually permitted by the authorities, is found to exist. It cannot, however, be supposed that the British government, when the facts are officially known, will allow of its continuance. Nothing more injurious to our influence in China could be imagined.

The Committee have also learned that at Gibraltar the inmates of the houses of the Moorish residents are held as slaves, and sometimes sent thence to the Coast of Barbary for sale.

To these points—the removal of the remnants of slavery from Ceylon and St. Helena, the abolition of slavery at Hong-Kong, and the prevention in future of Gibraltar becoming a depot for slaves—

the anxious attention of the Committee has been directed, and the most vigorous efforts will be made to complete the great work of slave-emancipation throughout every part of the British empire.

BRITISH SHIPS EMPLOYED IN THE CONVEYANCE OF SLAVES.

The Committee have further become aware of the fact that British vessels are sometimes employed in the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea in transporting slaves from one port to another for sale. Among the recent cases brought under the attention of the Committee is that of certain slaves conveyed in December last from Gibraltar to Tangier by the English packet-boat, a British ship of war having previously brought them from Malta to Gibraltar. Of course they lost no time in laying the facts before her Majesty's Government, who, they feel persuaded, will institute the most rigid inquiries into such abuses of the British flag, and apply the necessary constitutional remedy.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The Committee have watched the progress of emigration from the British settlements on the coast of Africa to the West Indies with the greatest care, and have to report that, whilst on the one hand they rejoice that the British Government have resisted the solicitations of the West Indies to extend the range whence the supply of labourers might be drawn, beyond these settlements, lest it should afford foreign powers a plea for covertly carrying on a slave-trade, under the pretext of supplying the colonies and possessions with free labourers; they deeply regret, on the other, that they have given way on a vital point, that of a due proportion of the sexes. It was understood that at least one-third of the emigrants from Sierra Leone to the West Indies should be women; but the agents from the colonies departed from this arrangement from the beginning; and although a law was enacted at that settlement to prevent the abuse in future, it has not received the sanction of the Government, and now the emigrant vessels may take whole cargoes of men without let or hindrance. Looking at the consequences which must inevitably ensue upon such a system of emigration to the West Indies, in which no regard is had to the morals and happiness either of the emigrants, or of those among whom they may be settled, or to economy in the supply of labour, and the permanent increase of the labouring population by natural means, the Committee feel it to be their duty earnestly to protest against its continuance, especially as it is found the cry for more labour is fictitious rather than real, and that capital rather than labourers is required to extend and improve the cultivation of the colonies.

EMIGRATION OF COOLIES TO MAURITIUS.

The removal of the prohibition laid on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius, has led to a vast influx of these people into the island. The market has become glutted; and probably the further introduction has been suspended in whole or in part, except in the case of women and families. The expenses connected with the importation of Coolies has been very heavy, and they will be increased by the additional sum required to return them home at the expiration of five years. As in the case of the Africans introduced into the West Indies few were women, so in that of the Coolies imported into Mauritius the number of the female sex has not been more than eight per cent. of the men, if so much. Such an utter disregard of the great principles which should govern the introduction of labourers into the British colonies, is, in the judgment of the Committee, deserving the severest reprobation.

EMIGRATION OF CHINESE TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Not content with opening the British Settlements on the Coast of Africa to the West Indies, and India to Mauritius for the supply of labour, the Government, on the suggestion of the West India body, have determined to allow the importation of Chinese, under certain arrangements into the British colonies. These Chinese will be drawn from Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, and will be unaccompanied by women; and it is very evident from the Official Correspondence, that in this scheme for supplying labour to the West Indies, as well as in those which have preceded it, the welfare of the labourer is less considered than that of his employer, while the great questions of his moral elevation and social happiness have been entirely overlooked. The Committee are of opinion, that this forced system of supplying adult male labour to the colonies will prove a serious drawback to their development and prosperity; as they hold it to be impossible that schemes, however well-intended, which violate the first principles of morals, and are opposed to a healthy system of colonization, can be permanently beneficial. On the entire question of Emigration to the British colonies, the Committee have laid before the Government their matured opinions, and they trust, not without producing some useful effects; and they earnestly call upon their friends to sustain them in their heavy and responsible labours.

FUGITIVE SLAVES WITHIN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

The intense interest felt in the security of slaves who had sought and found refuge within British territory, during the discussions on the Ninth Article of the Washington Treaty, was wound up to the highest degree, a few months since, by the escape of seven slaves from Florida, who stood charged with murder. That interest was reciprocated by the abolitionists of the United States. As soon as the Committee were in possession of the facts of the case, they put themselves in communication with the Government, and with one of their friends at Nassau, Bahamas, whither the slaves had fled, with the view of preventing the catastrophe, so much dreaded, of placing these persons within the reach of their infuriated masters. The demand was formally made by the American Government for their surrender; but the document on which it was based was held to be insufficient to justify it, and consequently they are free. In the course of their communications with the Government on the operation of the Tenth Article of the Washington Treaty, the Committee have pointed out the abuses which may arise from the working of the second clause of the Act giving effect to the treaty referred to, unless strictly guarded against by instructions to British functionaries residing abroad relative thereto.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The beneficial effects resulting from the Act 6 and 7, Vict., cap. 98, for extending the provisions of the 5th Geo. IV., cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act, to British subjects residing in foreign countries, shows the wisdom of that measure. The Committee are gratified to perceive, that one of the Anglo-Brazilian mining companies has announced its intention of substituting free for slave-labour at its establishments. The rest must follow, as it is now illegal for British subjects to purchase slaves. Important, however, as the measure is, it is defective. The penalties should have reached slave-holding as well as slave-trading, and the aiding and abetting of slave-trading by British subjects on the coast of Africa. The Committee do not despair that a measure embracing these points may yet receive the sanction of the legislature. To the Right Hon. Lord Brougham, and to Sir Thomas Wilde, M.P., the grateful acknowledgments of the Committee and the public are due, for the able assistance given by these distinguished persons in passing the measure referred to, through both houses of Parliament.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The Committee continue to receive the most gratifying intelligence from the West Indies, of the general improvement, in intelligence and sound learning of the emancipated classes, and of their advancement in moral and religious knowledge. There is no diminution in the amount of labour performed by them, but a steady increase, as the returns of exports evidently show, and its price is gradually lessening. Although during the last half year distressing accounts of the prevalence of droughts, in some of the colonies, have reached this country, by which large quantities of canes have been entirely destroyed, it is hoped the quantity of sugar exported, during the current year, will equal, if it do not exceed, that of the last. Capital and a resident proprietary, however, are still wanted, to develop the resources of the colonies, and to prove, in every direction, that free labour is less costly in price, and better in quality, than slave labour.

LEGISLATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The Committee regret to perceive a disposition in the Colonial Legislatures, and on the part of the Home Government, to retrograde in legislation. They trust, however, that every attempt to place the emancipated population of the British colonies in a worse position than they recently occupied, to put upon them a heavy and unequal portion of the public taxation, and to obstruct them in the purchase of lands, will be firmly resisted, both by their friends in the colonies, and by their friends at home.

In the Crown colonies there is some reason to fear that the Government have been induced, by the persevering application of the planters, to allow of the modification of the orders in Council regulating contracts for labour, and affecting the existence of the stipendiary magistracy. The Committee need scarcely say how important it is that no change in these particulars should be made, and how much it becomes the duty of the Society to watch with vigilance every attempt to withdraw from the emancipated slave, and the emigrant labourer, the protection which their peculiar circumstances require.

INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN PRODUCE INTO THE BRITISH MARKET.

In pursuance of the duty imposed on them by the original constitution of the Society, not less than by the mature convictions of their own minds, the Committee have strenuously opposed the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; not, however, as some affirm, for the purpose of limiting the supply of sugar to the public, for they have used their best endeavours to obtain the unrestricted importation of free-grown sugar, from all parts of the world, at the same rate of duty with that from the British possessions and plantations abroad; but for the sole purpose of preventing the extension and consolidation of slavery, and the consequent increase of the slave-trade, which would inevitably ensue were the opposite course followed. The Committee regret that any of their members should have been otherwise advised. They trust, however, that when the excitement consequent upon the present mode of discussing this important question shall have passed

away, a calm review of the principles which should ever govern the actions of abolitionists, will prevail, and that the Society will not lose the benefit of their hearty co-operation in promoting the noble object it has in view.

The Committee feel that this is not the place to argue the question with those who oppose their views: they, therefore, respectfully refer their friends to the documents published by the Society, for their defence, as containing a full and candid exposition of the matter at issue.

ZULUETA'S TRIAL.

An event of great importance, though not originating with the Society, merits a record in its report—the trial of Pedro de Zulueta, Junior, for aiding and abetting the slave-trade. A true bill having been found by the grand jury, he was tried at the Old Bailey, and barely escaped conviction, the petty jury having acquitted him, contrary to the summing up of the learned judge, who presided over the court. The facts brought to light by this trial prove clearly the artifices to which the traffickers in human flesh and their agents in this country, resort in the prosecution of their nefarious and inhuman deeds. To the courage, talent, and zeal of Sir George Stephen, the public are indebted for this exposure. In testimony of the importance which the Committee attach to the criminal proceedings against Zulueta, and as due to the Anti-slavery cause, they have published an authentic account of the trial accompanied by such additional matter as throws light upon the more obscure parts of the evidence. This publication is earnestly recommended to the attention of the friends of Africa, throughout the country.

PORT NATAL.

Another event which deserves record is, that the British Government, in taking possession of Port Natal in 1843, issued a proclamation declaring slavery in any shape, or under any modification, as absolutely unlawful. This was rendered necessary by the fact, that the Dutch Boers, who had withdrawn themselves from British authority, had not only carried slaves with them to Port Natal, but had reduced some of the Africans, with whom they came into contact, to the same condition. The interposition of the British Government has now put an end to the disgraceful system, and has laid the foundation of the future prosperity of this settlement in the personal liberty and civil equality of all subjected to its control.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HELD IN SLAVERY.

In Foreign Slave-holding Countries, particularly in the Spanish and Dutch Colonies, the Committee have reason to believe that several thousand British subjects and their descendants, are held in bondage at the present time. Some few have been rescued after great exertions; the remainder await their deliverance from the efforts of the British philanthropists. In struggling for their liberty, the Committee are aware of the great difficulties to be overcome, from the determination of the Spanish and Dutch authorities to prevent inquiry, and to refuse their aid in doing justice to the unhappy part of their countrymen. The facts of the case, however, will, they trust, be made known to the British Parliament, and every means, sanctioned by the principles of the Society, be resorted to, to restore them to their liberty and their homes.

LAWS OF FOREIGN STATES AFFECTING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

So jealous are the authorities of some slave-holding states, especially those of the United States, of men of colour from other countries, that they have passed the most rigorous laws, to prevent the from resorting thither. British subjects of this class, whether sailors or others, are liable to seizure, under some circumstances, and to be cast into prison, there to remain for a certain time, and then to be sold to pay jail-fees; and under others, to be kept in prison until the departure of the vessels which brought them to these states as parts of their crews. This treatment of British subjects is contrary to our treaties with these powers, and with the amicable relations which should exist between their people. In seeking the repeal of laws of this kind, the Committee are persuaded they will be aided by the friends of human freedom in the United States; and in following out the policy of the late Mr. Calhoun, when Minister of Foreign Affairs, they trust her Majesty's Government may secure to every British subject, whatever may be his colour, the right to the protection of every friendly power whose country or colonies he may visit on his lawful occasions.

MORAVIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

It had long been a source of painful reflection to many of the sincere friends of the Moravian Missionary Society, that a body distinguished for its self-denying zeal and noble labours, in promoting the diffusion of the Gospel among the heathen, should be implicated in the charge of slave-holding. Yet such is the fact. In their establishments in the Danish and Dutch colonies, it was found that body held slaves. Under these circumstances, the Committee felt it to be their duty to address them a friendly remonstrance, which was well received, and they have now the pleasure of being able to state, that measures have been taken to secure the emancipation of the slaves possessed by them in the Danish colonies, to be followed by a determination to give liberty to all the slaves they possess, whether in the Dutch colonies or elsewhere. It is due to the Moravian Brethren to say, that, previous to the general emancipation of the slave population in the British colonies, they voluntarily enfranchised the slaves possessed by them; and had resolved in the event of emancipation taking place in other slaves colonies where

bey continued to hold slaves, to refuse any compensation that might be awarded them. Having said thus much, the Committee trust the society will feel it to be their duty without hesitation or delay, to emancipate the slaves which still belong to them. The Christian public will expect this at their hands.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION OF 1843.

During the past year the Committee, in addition to the ordinary duties which have been devolved upon them, have endeavoured, as opportunity presented, to carry into practical effect the various important decisions of the late Anti-Slavery Convention; but much yet remains to be done: the Committee, however, are cheered by the indications which are already manifest, of the Divine blessing on that noble gathering of philanthropists, and cherish the hope that the seed scattered by it will bring forth, in due time, an abundant harvest.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

UNITED STATES.

The progress of the Anti-slavery cause in the United States is most cheering. Every communication the Committee receive from the abolitionists of that country, contain new and striking illustrations of their energy, zeal, and success, in combating with the foes of human freedom. It is manifest, that the power of the pro-slavery party in weakening in every direction, in Congress as well as in the State Legislatures, town and country, among those who make the sacred Scriptures as their guide, as well as those who regard 'the Declaration of Independence,' as the foundation of national greatness, and the great charter of their political liberties. The progress of the cause, however, is most strikingly exhibited in the formation of the liberty party, and the influence which it ready exerts in the several states where it is organized. This party is operating through the ballot box, giving its support to those, and those alone, who hold and will maintain the great doctrines of the abolitionists. It has not, however, been content with giving an abolition character to the members of the State Legislatures, where it had the power; but is also actively engaged in securing the return of abolition members to Congress. It aims at great things, and will, under the divine blessing, accomplish them. It has put in nomination for the presidency of the United States, the Hon. J. G. Birney, a man loved and honoured on both sides of the Atlantic; and, although it does not calculate upon placing him, in the forthcoming election, in the position which his principles, abilities, and character eminently qualify him to adorn, it will be able to demonstrate, when the election takes place, a unity of purpose, and a strength of numbers, which augur well for success at a distant day.

Each succeeding year, whilst it demonstrates the necessity for anti-slavery efforts, brings out, in all its hideousness, some fact of peculiar atrocity, revealing to the public gaze and indignation the hidden horrors of the system. Probably nothing has recently occurred which has created a deeper feeling of abhorrence of the system of slavery in the United States, than the condemnation to an ignominious death of a young man of the name of John L. Brown, for aiding a slave woman, to whom he was attached, to escape from bondage. In his case, not only were the first principles of justice violated, and the forms of law prostituted, to give effect to an atrocity unparalleled in modern times, but the solemn verities of Christianity outraged by the terms in which sentence on the unhappy individual was pronounced. What effect the spontaneous burst of feeling in this country, and the United States, may have had in staying execution, the Committee know not. They are happy, however, in being able to state, that the penalty of death has been commuted to the infliction of corporal punishment by the cow-skin, and probably banishment from the state. South Carolina occupies the enviable eminence of being the scene of this revolting affair; and to Judge O'Neal belongs the dishonour of pronouncing a sentence such in turpitude was perhaps never exceeded. The fact has now become known, that the slave system of the United States is execrated on every side by the penalty of death. It is death for the victim of oppression to attempt his escape from bondage; and it is death to aid him in escaping. In the one case, the slave may be hunted by blood-hounds, and persisting in flight, may be shot like a dog; in the other, if the offender does not fall a victim to Lynch law, he may be executed by judicial sentence. The law of slavery is written in blood; its exposure becomes a solemn duty in vindication of the rights of humanity, and the laws of God.

TEXAS.

Intimately connected with the question of abolition, in the United States, is that of the continuance of slavery in Texas. The intrigues of the great body of slave holders in the former republic, have, for their end, the annexation of the latter to their country. Should the union of the two republics occur, a country, larger in extent than France, would be open to the extension of slavery on the American continent; and, humanly speaking, the abolition of slavery in the United States, would be indefinitely postponed, unless, in the movements of Divine Providence, some great political convulsion should arise, or the northern and western free states should resolve to separate themselves from the slaveholding states. On the other hand, should Texas maintain her independence, and abolish slavery, the severest blow would be struck at the institution of slavery in the United States; and, peopled by a free and enterprising race, Texas would become a mighty nation, possessing a territory wide extent, and boundless in resources, to benefit her own citizens,

and to bless the world. The Committee have used every means in their power, both at home and abroad, to promote this great object, and now wait with anxiety the determination of the Senate of the United States, the Government having signed a treaty of annexation, on this mighty question, so full of hope or of despair to millions of the human race at this moment groaning in bondage, and sighing to be delivered.

FRANCE.

The great work of the abolition of slavery in the French colonies yet remains to be effected. It may be said, however, that, in principle, it has been resolved upon both by the French Chambers and the French Government, and that it is now simply a question of time and mode. Events are hastening the question to its solution. The French people are beginning to interest themselves in the matter. A noble petition has been presented to the Chamber of Deputies praying for the immediate emancipation of the slaves. This petition was signed by upwards of seven thousand persons, chiefly the workmen of Paris. Pressed by the friends of the slave, the government has promised a measure during the present session of the chambers, the precise nature of which has not yet transpired.

A recent visit of the treasurer and secretary of the Society to the metropolis of France has not, the Committee trust, been without useful results. The private meetings they have held, and the information they have imparted, it is believed, have awakened the attention of many influential persons to the importance of the Anti-Slavery cause. In this department of labour they were, during the part of their stay in Paris, greatly encouraged by the presence and assistance of William Forster and Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, and Josiah Forster, of Tottenham, a member of the Committee.

Though the difficulties to be surmounted in France, before the work of emancipation is fully completed, are great, the future is full of hope. Among the encouraging circumstances which have come to their knowledge, the Committee would mention the gratifying fact that the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery have determined upon issuing a monthly publication, under the title of "The Abolitionist," as its official organ, in which every question touching the condition and the rights of the slave will be discussed, and the necessity and duty of emancipation enforced. The Committee venture to recommend this important publication to their friends throughout the country, and would express the hope that it may powerfully aid in promoting the great cause it is intended to subserve. Besides this, they would state that a body of gentlemen, deeply sympathizing in the wrongs of the slave, composed of Catholic clergymen, members of the French bar, men of letters, and others, have determined to issue, at short intervals, small publications, advocating the immediate abolition of slavery. The first of these tracts has appeared, under the title of "Appeal of French Slaves to the French Clergy." It is an eloquent production, and has been distributed gratuitously both to the clergy in Paris and in the provinces.

HOLLAND.

In Holland the cause of the slave is steadily advancing. With a view of awakening the public sympathies, and enlightening the public mind on the anti-slavery question, a periodical has been commenced at Utrecht, to be issued every two months. This work was much wanted, as few persons in the Netherlands appear to be aware of the nature of the slave-system in the Dutch slave colonies, of which Surinam is the principal, or of the atrocities perpetrated on the slave population there. The Treasurer and Mr. B. Wiffen, Honorary Corresponding Member of the Society, recently returned from a tour in Holland, report most favourably.

Facts of the most revolting nature have been brought under the attention of the Committee, which show that the barbarities practised in past times are not without their parallel in the present day. Englishmen should feel a particular interest in this branch of anti-slavery exertion, inasmuch as, probably, one-third part of the sugar estates in that colony are in the possession of our countrymen.

The Committee learn that there are many British subjects held in slavery in Surinam, for whose liberation Mr. Schenley, her Majesty's commissioner there, is making the most strenuous efforts. This gentleman, as his official reports show, merits all the support the country and the Government can give him. As might be supposed, he is subjected, in pursuing his official duties, to every possible annoyance, to the loss of property, and to threats which affect his life. He can obtain no assistance from the local authorities; and unless his statement of facts can be contradicted, which they cannot, as they are matters of public notoriety in the colony, it becomes the duty of the British and the Netherlands Governments to aid him in securing the liberty of those held unlawfully in bondage, whether they are British subjects, or Africans illicitly introduced into the colony, contrary to the faith of treaties; for both classes are the subjects of his official reports.

DENMARK.

During the past year, Denmark has also been visited by the same estimable friends who recently visited Holland, and with cheering results. As a proof of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in that country, the Committee call attention to an ordinance recently issued by the King, to the effect that the slave population shall be henceforth exempt from labour on the sabbath-day, except under urgent circumstances; that fairs and market-days, usually held on the sabbath, shall be abolished; that neither the masters of slaves, nor persons directly or indirectly interested in them, shall, in future, be

allowed to sit in judgment upon them; and that schools shall be opened in the several Spanish colonies, for the instruction both of adult and infant slaves. This is a beginning, a small one, it is true; but, combined with other measures which are contemplated, will, the Committee trust, issue, at an early period, in the complete emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of Denmark.

SWEDEN.

The Committee are also happy to announce the promulgation by the late king of Sweden, of an ordinance for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in the island of St. Bartholomew; that ordinance secures the right of self-redemption to the slaves, and of their enfranchisement to any other persons willing to pay for them at an appraised value. It also provides that immediately on their manumission, they shall enter on all the rights possessed by other citizens, and be equal with them before the law. It further forbids their being taken out of the island without their consent. It enacts that the slaves shall have a right of property in all they may acquire by gift, purchase, or labour in their own time; that their testimony shall be received in criminal cases upon production of a certificate of their knowledge of Christianity; that the masters shall be punished for the ill-usage of their slaves by fines, and in some cases by the forfeiture of their slaves, who shall be declared free; that healthy and sufficient food and clothing shall be provided for them; that the aged shall be carefully provided for; and that the penalty of murder shall attach to the killing of a slave as well as to that of a freeman. However short this ordinance falls of the complete emancipation of the slaves in the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, it must be regarded as an important step towards it. The present reigning Prince, the Committee trust, will complete the work his royal father began. Sweden has been also visited by their friends, Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, during the past year.

BRAZIL.

The Committee deeply regret that they have nothing favourable to their cause to report in reference to Brazil, but the contrary. It is certain that during the last year a larger number of wretched Africans have been imported into that country, contrary to its own municipal laws and the faith of treaties, than during many of the years which preceded it. Great Britain continues to be mocked by diplomatic evasions and shallow subterfuges. Her remonstrances and protests are vain. The Brazilian functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, with few exceptions, derive too many advantages from the guilty traffic to allow the hope that they will listen to the voice of humanity and justice. To them the national honour and the national safety are made to bend to personal gain and present advantages. Brazil has a vast debt to pay to outraged humanity, which, it is feared, will be wrung from her by the hands of the oppressed millions who groan beneath her iron yoke.

SPAIN.

However little was expected from the late Government of Spain calculated to advance the cause of humanity and freedom in the Spanish colonies, still less is to be hoped for from the present. General Valdez, the late Captain-General of Cuba, was personally hostile to the slave-trade, though he was powerless in curbing the rapacious spirit of his subordinates in office, has been superseded by General O'Donnell, who is notoriously its partisan. This military adventurer is bent on following the steps of the infamous Tacon, and to realize a fortune by countenancing the horrible traffic. How far he may be impeded in his designs by the recent insurrections of the slaves in that colony, cannot be ascertained. It is, however clear that, at present, the dread of still further outbreaks has suspended, to a considerable extent, the operations of the slave-dealers. But it is feared that, when the present excitement has passed away, and the terror-stricken slaves shall be again reduced to a state of passive obedience, the importation of slaves will be as rife as ever. The communications which the Committee have received from Cuba describe the tortures inflicted on the miserable slaves as of the most atrocious description; in short, every punishment that refined malice, urged on by guilty fear, can invent is resorted to for the purpose of putting down the tendency to revolt which has sprung up among the wretched victims of oppression.

With respect to the diplomatic intercourse of this country with Spain, so far as the suppression of the slave-trade is concerned, it has been useless. Despatch upon despatch has been written to induce the Spanish Government to fulfil its solemn engagements to this country: proof upon proof has been accumulated of the corruption of its Colonial functionaries and of the extent of the nefarious traffic with its foreign possessions, to no purpose; and finally, the British Government has begun to relax in its demands, and to yield to the wrong doers. It is with deep regret the Committee are compelled to make this statement, yet they would be guilty of a dereliction of duty were they to withhold the fact. The people of this country have a right to expect, that no demand, founded in righteousness, should be relinquished by their Government.

PORTUGAL.

The Committee entertained the hope last year, that a measure for the Abolition of slavery in Portuguese India, would by this time have received the sanction of the Cortes, to be followed by another having for its object the extinction of slavery in Portuguese Africa. That hope has not been realized. A discussion on the subject has taken place in the Chamber of Peers, but the question has been postponed *sine die*. Notwithstanding this termination of the affair, the Committee are informed by their correspondent, of some cheer-

ing indications of the progress of Anti-slavery sentiments among enlightened and distinguished individuals. This, it is expected, will lead to the formation of an Anti-slavery Committee, and to the vigorous prosecution of the question in the Chambers, at an early date.

The Portuguese flag still covers the slave-trade between Africa and the Brazils, and the Spanish colonies. In the African colonies there is a great slave-traffic, carried on, of which the Portuguese Government are well informed, but which they are unable or unwilling to put down.

RUSSIA.

The Committee deeply regret that, notwithstanding the noble intentions and exertions of the reigning Emperor of Russia, in reference to the serfs of that vast country, the great seigniors offer resistance to their gradual improvement, and liberation from bondage. A recent case of an atrocious character inserted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will illustrate the wretched condition of this part of the Russian population, and the fearful punishments inflicted on them, when the public safety is thought to be compromised by the desire for liberty. The serfs on the Imperial domains are reported to be in a much better condition than others, in consequence of the determination of the Emperor ultimately to give them their freedom. In reference to the slave-trade, a ukase has been issued of a prohibitory character, and of great severity in its penalties.

AUSTRIA.

The soil of Austria Proper has long been free from slavery, and penalties have for many years past existed against the slave-trade; yet in some parts of its acquired territory serfage exists. Transsylvania, however, is reported to have determined on the emancipation of its bondsmen; and there are indications that Hungary will follow her example.

GREECE.

Greece, after a bloodless revolution, has settled the terms of her constitution on the basis of the personal freedom of all her subjects, and has provided that slaves, come from what country they may, are free, on touching any part of her soil. Her subjects are also forbidden to engage in the external slave-trade, which exists to a great extent in the Levant, under heavy penalties.

GERMANY.

The Committee are gratified in being able to state, that the freedom of the slave has begun to excite attention in various parts of Germany, and has already found some powerful advocates. This is more important as large bodies of the German population are leaving their father-land for countries in which the blighting influence of slavery is felt. To carry with them correct impressions and right principles in reference to the hateful system, the Committee trust, will save them from its power, and range them on the side of those who are earnestly contending for human rights. The United States, in particular, German literature and love of freedom cannot fail of usefulness. A voice from their countrymen at home, will find an echo in the hearts of the German population already settled in that country, and powerfully aid in the deliverance of nearly three millions of slaves, who are "robbed and spoiled" by the oppressor. In a recent tour of the treasurer, and Mr. Wiffen, to promote the Anti-slavery cause, they found, among others, Caroby of Frankfort, and Dr. Worms of Hamburg, deeply interested in the great question, and cordially disposed to devote themselves to the cause of the suffering and oppressed.

HAYTI.

In reference to the great question of human liberty, the Haytian Constitution, recently promulgated, leaves nothing to be desired. A restriction, however, exists on the resident white population, that they cannot become landed proprietors. A recollection of sufferings and dangers is the occasion of this. It is believed, that this law will be modified in favour of whites, the citizens of countries which are free from the taint of slavery. The recent insurrection in the Spanish part of the island, is reported to have been fomented by foreigners. The Committee sincerely trust, that the effusion of blood which it has unhappily occasioned, will have ceased before this time, and that a lasting peace, and a large measure of prosperity, will be enjoyed hereafter by the Queen of the Antilles.

NORTHERN AFRICA.

Anxious to obtain information respecting the extent of the slave traffic in Northern Africa, the Committee availed themselves of the offer of a gentleman, Mr. James Richardson, late Secretary of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Society, who wished to proceed thither to aid them in their researches, and to promote, as far as circumstances would allow, the great objects of the Society. This gentleman took with him a supply of tracts, done into the Arabic language by that eminent scholar, Professor Lee, of Cambridge, to whom thanks of the Committee are due for his valuable services, distribution among the chiefs and others of that part of the African continent; and an address to the Emperor of Morocco, inviting him to follow the example of the Bey of Tunis in abolishing slavery and the slave-trade throughout his dominions. Although Mr. Richardson has not realized in Morocco the principal object he had in view in going thither, his mission has been attended with beneficial results. His unwearied activity and great interest have obtained for the Society a knowledge of facts of great importance to the cause, which the Committee trust will lead to the suppression of practices disgraceful to British subjects and honouring to the British flag.

The Committee have also had the advantage of the valuable assistance of the Hon. Wm. Jay, late one of the Judges of the State of New York, in carrying forward the objects of the Society in the Mediterranean, and various parts of the East. This distinguished friend of the human race has given circulation to a large number of the Committee's Arabic tract, and has performed an essential service to the Anti-slavery cause, in exposing a practice, found to be common to certain ships of war, both of England and France, namely, the transport of slaves from one port to another, contrary to the laws and regulations of the two countries. The communications made to the British and French Governments on this important matter will lead, the Committee have reason to believe, to the prevention in future of this disgraceful practice.

CONCLUSION.

Although the triumphs of the Anti-slavery cause, during the past year, have not been so numerous as during the preceding year, they have, nevertheless, been solid in their character, and most important in their results.

The nature of the evil to be overcome—the enslavement of the human race—coupled as it is with the power of inveterate habits, engendered by centuries of despotic authority, the pride and prejudice of caste, arising out of superiority of condition; the lust of gain, stimulated by the desire of power, which wealth confers; and the love of domination, so dear to the oppressors of mankind, present the most formidable, though, happily, not insurmountable obstacles, to the accomplishment of the great object which Christian philanthropists, in this and other lands, have in view. Yet, strong in the righteousness of their cause, cheered by past successes and by present appearances, and trusting to the Divine blessing, they confidently anticipate the time when the yoke of the oppressor shall be broken, and the millions of the human race who now sigh in bondage, shall be free.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The fifth annual meeting of this Society was held at Exeter-hall on Friday, the 17th inst. At an early hour large numbers flocked for admittance; and by eleven o'clock, the time appointed for the commencement of the meeting, this spacious hall was crowded by a highly respectable audience. Among the company present we noticed the Bishop of Norwich; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P.; Sir George Strickland, Bart., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; T. C. Grainger, Esq., M.P.; Sir George Stephen; Col. Nicolls; Col. R. Wright; Major-General Briggs; Don Liberato Alguia; Captain Sweetland; Professor Wright, of the United States; Rev. Drs. Townley, Potter, Bunting, Campbell, Collyer, Jenkyn, and James B. Thompson, of Damascus; Rev. Messrs. John Cantley, James Hughes, W. Barton, H. Young, W. Arthur, R. W. Stewart, R. Robinson, G. J. Adeney, T. Rowson, J. Branch, T. H. Squance, T. Williams, J. Brown, G. Wright, E. J. Woodman, G. B. Hunter, J. Bunter, R. M. Wilcox, E. Bramford, Geo. Wood, C. Williams, J. White, R. Wood, B. S. Hollis, A. Hogg, J. C. Pengelly, H. R. Wullschlaghehn, John Walsh, F. W. H. Layton, —Kingsford, J. Harding, Adey, Lewis, Binney, Aldis, Ferguson, Young, Cumming, Angus, Wailes, James Crofts (from the South Seas), Kennedy, Dubourg, Stowell, Rose, Ainslie, Wright, Woodman, Bickerdike, Muscett, W. M. Bunting, Carlile, Green, Garvey, Evans, Beecham, Sherman, Hinton, Hill, Kellogg (of the United States), Grosier, Pritchard, Manering, Smith, Burnet, Richardson, Woodward, Gilbert, Archer, Stovel, Francis Wills, G. Moyle, David Thomas, J. Jefferson, Thomas Finch, John Pearsall, R. G. Le Maire, B. Woodward, T. Moore, C. Prust, G. Rogers, Dickinson, W. Tyler, J. Jeula, J. T. Jeffery, George Rose, C. Wollacott, R. Philip, George Scott, J. C. Burns, J. Burns, J. Pulling, T. Smith, W. Dovey, Thomas Smith, M.A., J. Farrar, F. W. Gotch, A.M., J. Stoughton, W. Owen, R. Young, J. Raban, H. Richard, J. Mason, H. L. Berry, J. Lyon; Messrs. James Cropper, of Liverpool, Edward Smith, of Sheffield, John Budge, of Truro, J. M. Cross, of Dublin, W. Lee, of Exeter, Thomas Dicker, of Lewes, E. P. Deane, of New York, E. N. Buxton, of London, J. J. Gurney, of Norwich, G. W. Alexander, of London, Josiah and Robert Forster, of Tottenham, Joseph Eaton, of Bristol, G. W. Anstie, of Devizes, Edward Smith, of Sheffield; Josiah Conder, George Thompson, Joseph Cooper, Henry Sterry, and John Scoble, of London; John Beaumont, of Ufford, William Ball, of Glen Rothay, Henry Coleman, of the United States, Joseph Beldam, of Royston, D. W. Wire, of London, &c., &c.

In the absence of Lord Brougham, who was announced to take the chair, it was occupied by Samuel Gurney, Esq.

J. SCOBLE, Esq., then came forward, and read the following extract from a letter received from Lord Brougham:—

"TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

"Privy Council, May 16, 1844.

"GENTLEMEN.—I feel truly concerned to state that I shall be unable to have the satisfaction of meeting our friends to-morrow. I had, as you are aware, been reluctant to break through my general rule against attending public meetings. But having, in consideration of my ancient connexions with the anti-slavery question, overcome that reluctance, I felt gratified with the prospect of once more finding myself among our abolition friends, and I had received the thanks of our venerable Thomas Clarkson. But the constitution of this court renders it impossible to find the requisite number of judges for to-morrow, when important causes come on to be heard, insomuch that we are obliged to ask the attendance of an unprofessional member of the judicial committee. My being here, therefore, to preside over the business, is necessary to prevent public inconvenience, and detriment to parties.

"Believe me, your faithful servant,

"BROUGHAM."

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said,—In having consented to occupy the chair on the present occasion, I am sure I shall receive the kind feelings of all present in taking it instead of the nobleman whose com-

pany we had reason to expect. There is one marked difference between us. I do not possess his brilliant eloquence, and therefore I shall not detain you many minutes. But it may be due to you to state why I am willing to undertake a duty which I do not feel myself fully able to discharge, and which I regard as of a very high character. In reviewing the short history of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I have observed the very useful result of its operations, whether it relates to the spread of sound, true, and unanswerable information on topics which from time to time have arisen in many quarters of the globe; whether it relates to the protection which it has always been prepared, and has always given, to the black population in our own colonies, and which population, without that protection, would undoubtedly have been again deeply oppressed; whether it relates to its watchful care with regard to the course that has been pursued by our present government with reference to slavery and the slave-trade; whether it relates to its great service in furnishing the government with information, and using all its influence that it shall be well applied; or whether it relates to its great service in diffusing information on this subject in other countries, whose colonies still retain so many human beings in a state of slavery; it appears to me that the Society has fulfilled with very great judgment and energy the duty imposed upon it, and it was therefore impossible for me, even with my feeble powers, to refuse to give it my assistance (cheers). Our business, I apprehend, is to receive from the committee an account of the proceedings of the past year. Many present, I dare say, have read that well-conducted periodical, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Those who have read that periodical will be well aware that our committee have been actively engaged for the past year, and I have no doubt whatever that we shall receive high satisfaction from the report about to be read to you.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., then came forward and said,—I need not offer any apology for reading a letter to the meeting, when I state that it comes from Thomas Clarkson (loud cheers), who, though now in his eighty-fifth year, and having devoted about sixty years of his life to the great cause which this meeting has assembled to promote, has shown, during the last year, so much energy in working for it, that I thought it barely possible he might on this occasion have been with us. I wrote two or three weeks ago to ask the question, but I found, from his reply, that we must never more expect to see him in a public meeting. He stated, however, his willingness to write a letter. This letter I hold in my hand; and though it relates to only one point of this great question, it shows his devotion to our cause. I may venture to say he has written, during the past year, not less than a hundred letters, of considerable length, to men of eminence upon it (cheers).

"TO JOSEPH STURGE.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I can truly say, in answer to your letter, it is with grief that I am again hindered, by the infirmities of old age, and the painful diseases often consequent upon these, from attending your meeting which is to be held on the 17th inst. You may easily conceive, knowing, as you do, my entire devotion, during a long life, to the sacred cause which it is the object of your meeting to promote, that nothing would have given me more pleasure than to have attended it, and to have seen so many friends whose hearts have long beaten in unison with my own on this great subject.

"It is very pleasing to me, on reviewing the occurrences of the past year, to be able to state, through you, to the audience, an event which I consider to have been a prodigious gain to our cause. I allude to the defeat of the application of the American slaveholders, under the tenth article of the treaty lately made at Washington, between our government and the United States. It was evident to me, on reading the treaty, that it was intended to be applicable to the refugee slaves, as well as to the white population who might have fled from justice there; hence there was reason to fear that the American planters would take advantage of it to go into Canada and search for, and claim, such of their fugitives as might be found, and thus get them restored to slavery; and this was afterwards found to be the case. Now who were these poor fugitives from the horrors of slavery? They consisted originally of about twenty-four thousand persons, who escaped at different times. Some of them, when they fled, were pursued by blood-hounds, and torn to pieces. Others were taken alive, and carried back, and subjected to torture, even to death. And others, during their journey of many hundred miles, perished by hunger, fatigue, and disease contracted in their way, so that not more than twelve thousand, or one half, reached their destination. These settled themselves, by permission of our government, in Canada, where they have erected villages, cultivated the land, built schools for their children, and places of worship for themselves and families, and conducted themselves, upon the whole, in such an exemplary manner, as to gain the esteem of the inhabitants among whom they lived. It was to be feared, then, that the American planters (and so it turned out) would, under the treaty now mentioned, claim these fugitives by charging them with crimes, often fictitious, and thus that all their industry would have been lost, their villages broken up, their land left desolate, and themselves taken back to a cruel slavery. I do not remember a time, during all my anxiety for now nearly sixty years on this subject, when I felt so much and such continued pain for the fate of the poor people now described. I well know the tortures to which they would have been exposed if given to their enraged masters.

"I was brooding over these melancholy presages, when, on a more minute examination of the tenth article of the treaty, my mind began to be relieved. It seemed to me, on looking over those articles which related to the mode of restoring fugitive criminals, that they were so worded as to afford something like a safeguard to the liberty of the victims. These victims were happily to be examined before a British magistrate, in conformity with British law, before their delivery to the demand of the American government. It now only depended upon what sort of instructions her Majesty's ministers would give to their Governor of Canada and the West Indies, as to their interpretation of certain words in the treaty, to make it more favourable to the unhappy persons to be claimed; there is great reason to believe that they performed this part of their office in a spirit highly honourable to themselves: for since the ratification of the treaty seven fugitive slaves from Florida escaped to Nassau, who were charged with murder. These were soon followed by the marshal of the United States, with orders to claim them and bring

them back. Their case was immediately brought before the proper authority of the island; and the evidence not being such as British law required, they were not surrendered. I hope and believe that all such cases will terminate in the same manner; not that I desire the really guilty to escape punishment, but that slaves who run away from cruel masters should not be charged with fictitious crimes to occasion their surrender. I cannot, therefore, help thinking that this defeat of the objects of the Washington treaty is to be considered as one of the most important occurrences, as a gain to our cause, in the past year.

"But I fear I have trespassed too much upon the time of your audience; I will therefore only add, that I do earnestly wish that the intended meeting may prove highly satisfactory to yourself, as well as highly advantageous to our common cause.

"Yours affectionately,

"THOMAS CLARKSON.

"Playford Hall, near Ipswich, May 14th, 1844."

I am sure the fact, that our venerable friend has long outlived those early coadjutors in this great cause who first joined him, will insure for him the sympathy of this meeting. I would ask permission to say a few words in reference to one of his most zealous coadjutors for many years, who has been removed from works to reward, since we met here on the last occasion—I mean my friend William Allen (hear). Far be it from me to pass a eulogy upon William Allen. He always deeply felt that in anything he could do to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, he was only an instrument in the hands of God; and now he is, we humbly trust, through the mercies and merits of our adorable Redeemer, safe in those regions where the praise or the condemnation of mankind cannot affect him. But I do wish to take this occasion to express my earnest hope, that while we see the tomb closing on our friends one after another, we may be permitted, with their descending mantle, to catch not only a double portion of their zeal in the cause of suffering humanity, but a double portion of love and forbearance towards those who may differ from us in opinion, as to the best means of obtaining our great object; in this respect our friend William Allen was indeed a bright example (cheers).

J. SCOBLE, Esq., then read the Report, which we have given at length elsewhere.

The Bishop of NORWICH then rose, and was received with great applause. It is, he said, with some inconvenience to myself that I attended here this morning—in fact, I must be at another meeting at twelve o'clock; but I could not allow such a cause as this to pass over without, at all events, being present to show my good-will and best wishes towards it (cheers). It is a cause that connects itself with the best feelings of society, and must vibrate in the breast of every one who knows what British feelings are (cheers). I am persuaded there is not a single Englishman present—not a single Englishman throughout the world—whose heart is not with you, and, though absent in the body, still present in spirit; and I am persuaded that, of all the causes which are supported beneath this roof, none is more worthy of consideration and patronage than this (cheers). It is not connected with any party or with any politics (hear, hear). It goes beyond that. It is Christian in its foundation; Christian in its progress; and it has Christianity for its object, from beginning to end (cheers). With these feelings, therefore, I need not say that it gives me the greatest pleasure to be present on this day, and to have an opportunity of moving, in these few words, this resolution. Other speakers more conversant with the subject will enter into details. I am merely here to show that I am anxious to promote the anti-slavery cause, wherever slavery shows itself, in every shape, under every form, and to promote the freedom of the human mind, and the freedom of the human form (loud cheers). I beg to move:—

"That the report, an abstract of which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the committee; that G. W. Alexander be treasurer, and John Scoble be secretary, and the following be the committee for the year ensuing, with power to add to their number:—(Names read.)

Mr. J. KENNEDY was sure that he should best consult the satisfaction of the meeting, and his own feelings, by simply seconding the resolution.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., prior to the resolution being put, rose and said,—Though not wholly unaccustomed to address public assemblies, I can with the utmost sincerity and truth affirm that I never felt a larger amount of reluctance to present myself before a public meeting than I do on this occasion. I rise with considerable pain, because I rise to submit to the meeting a proposition which I am bound to say is not brought before the meeting with the concurrence of those respectable gentlemen who constitute the committee of your Society, whose right it is to arrange the business to which you are to direct your attention. I am sustained, however, by various considerations as I proceed to attempt at least the discharge of what I conceive to be an imperative duty. I need not say that I stand before this meeting with feelings of most entire and cordial sympathy in the great objects which you are assembled to promote (cheers). If asked for my anti-slavery creed, I refer to my past life, and shall attempt no justification of myself for an instant from any imputations that might, by possibility, be cast upon my zeal in this great undertaking. I am sustained by this conviction, that I am second to no individual in this assembly in a strong desire to see the universal and speedy extermination of slavery. I am sustained by another conviction; it is this—an honest one and a deep one—that I came here this morning, accompanied to this hall by others, in the capacity of a promoter of peace, a promoter of union, a promoter of harmonious action upon the great question which is now before us (hear, hear). We deprecate disputation—we deprecate still more distraction—we deprecate, most of all, division and desertion. We desire that the friends of emancipation should be one, and that, if they cannot see eye to eye upon every question of policy and of means, that they should find at least some great, and sound, and unexceptionable principles of action upon which they may all stand, all combine, and act together without division in their counsel or separation in their work (cheers). It would be, I think, to neglect an opportunity that will not occur again for a year, and to be censurable in so doing, if we were not, on the present occasion, to look in the face of a fact, viz., that there is at this moment among the best friends of the anti-slavery cause, a division of sentiment as it regards the policy, and consistency as it respects

another and fundamental principle of the society; the consistency of the committee in interfering, through the medium of the government, and by means of fiscal regulations, on the subject of slavery (hear, hear). I concede to those who differ from me the most perfect honesty of intent (hear, hear). I claim not for others any larger measure of sincerity. I will not, on this occasion, claim for them a larger measure of enlightenment upon this question than that which is possessed by the friends who differ from us; but I do conceive it most important, standing on the threshold of another year of labour, that there should be something like an attempt made to stir up the feelings and opinions of this vast body of constituents, that the committee may know for the future whether or not in pursuing that course which they have honestly and firmly pursued for some time previously, they carry with them the opinions and the suffrage of those whose public contributions, and whose public voice, are necessary to sustain them in their noble career (hear, hear). It appears to me, still further, that it is necessary that there should be on behalf of some who are not here, and a few who are here, an explanation of the views which are entertained, for I must take exception to that part of the committee's report, which declares there has been a full and candid discussion on this entire question (hear, hear). I am not here to complain that I, who in another place and on another occasion, did calmly discuss this great question, have not been permitted, through the medium of the accredited and authorised journal of the society, to speak to the anti-slavery public of this country. I will not complain that others are not permitted to put in their statements, and explain their sentiments, except so far as some honourable conductors of the journal may please to place in the centre of a short editorial notice, some detached sentences of the speech. I will not complain that, while every letter on the other side has been published in the organ of the society, and distributed through the length and breadth of the country, I have not yet seen, with the exception of a letter bearing the signature of three gentlemen—Mr. Blair, of Bath; Mr. Anstie, of Devizes; and Mr. Spencer, of Hinton—one statement embodying a calm elucidation of the views of those who differ from the committee on this question (cheers). I will not complain of this, though I must, in stating this fact, take exception to those particular words which have been inserted in the report, and which go to declare that the committee have been anxious that a full and candid exposition of the views entertained on this great question should be put before the public. Let me as I take it that the fact is as I have stated it, it appears to me on the account the more necessary that in this hall to-day some individual—and I deplore the circumstance that I am that individual, or the individual that should first appear to expound the views of an opposite party, that some individual, though he be no abler a one than myself, should put the views before this great body (cheers). What are these views? Let me state the grounds of difference; and here let me do justice to the committee. I accuse them not of dereliction of duty: I honestly declare that they have acted up to their constitution (hear, hear). I state that they have not for the course they have taken; I could not blame them, under any circumstances, for putting their own views before the public, and they pleased, before the government, in their official capacity; nor will I blame them for having done it as an anti-slavery committee, with their own constitution constantly under their eyes, pledging them to adopt measures in favour of free labour by means of fiscal regulations (cheers). But it is necessary that we should on the present occasion discuss this question—a question vital to the integrity of the Society and its future harmonious action—this vital question, whether that part of the constitution be a sound portion of its constitution; whether it be the best policy and whether it be a consistent policy, for a society that has in a previous article declared that its fundamental principle is this, that its main action should be exclusively of a moral, of a religious, and of a pacific character, to have immediately following upon that statement of a general fundamental principle, from which the committee cannot, without being accused of a dereliction of duty, depart, another instruction given them and another principle of action laid down for them, viz., that they should carry out their object by means of discriminating duties, which can only be attained by an appeal to government, only be maintained by a resolute force (applause and cries of "No"). My honourable friends say, "No." I know that many laws are made which are carried into operation and are complete fulfilment without the application of force; but I ask, if His Majesty's ministers should at some future period pass a law excluding the produce of a certain portion of the world from this country, a law which I feel confident in saying would be abhorrent to the feelings of a vast majority of this country—whether, seeing that law was everything in itself to command it to the judgment, and to the esteem, to the reverence, and to the voluntary support of the country—whether that law would have any sanction, any force, but through the maintenance of a coast blockade and a standing army? (cheers and cries of "No"). What is the law for? To prohibit the landing upon these shores, for the consumption of the population of Great Britain, certain articles grown in particular parts of the world. I know that sugar will not be smuggled into this country, that its bulk precludes the possibility of illicit traffic in that article; but then it is not the righteousness of the law that supports it, but the practicability of maintaining it. How do our friends get rid of it? The law is fulfilled because it is not practicable to evade it, or it would be evaded. Let the anti-slavery committee poll the whole of the country, and I will venture to say they would find ninety-nine out of a hundred, at the very least, declare that such a law—being as it was the maintenance of monopoly—was wrong (cheers). Ninety-nine out of a hundred people of this country would repudiate that law, and deem no crime in the sight of God to evade it. But what gives it its tremendous power? Suppose it were practicable to evade it; suppose sugar were like lace, or jewels, or other commodities that can be brought to this country, how would its entrance be prevented? How is the entrance of other prohibited articles prevented? Have we not a coast blockade, a constabulary force, a standing army, an exchequer force, and dungeons (cheers)? Suppose sugar were an article that could be illicitly introduced, are the anti-slavery committee prepared to be the agents employed in enforcing the law? I put that to their conscientious friends. Let every man among them lay his hand on his heart, and having done so, for the purely pacific principle, let him ask, Could I, or would I, or could I be the agent in forcing that law (cheers)? Would I man the vessel, or would I board the vessel? would I destroy those, if they resisted,

had charge of the contraband cargo? would I hale those who are left alive to prison? would I appear before the ermined judge? and would I, by my evidence, consign them, as violators of the law, to the dungeon? and all this for what? why, to promote the cause of humanity—the cause of freedom. I say, it is doing evil that good may come (cheers). Our friends take two objections; and I can find but two. I will state them honestly. The first objection is this—that the introduction of Brazilian sugar—for we may as well be explicit—and Cuban sugar, and sugar from Porto Rio, and, it may be, from other places, would lead to an aggravation of the horrors of slavery, and increase the traffic in slaves (cheers). That is their first objection—a strong one; it appeals directly to our humanity, and will be appealed to to-day, far more successfully, I am afraid, than I can hope to appeal to those great principles in which, if you have faith, you will exercise your dependence, and never be seen again within the precincts of a government office, or parliament, asking for fiscal regulations to promote the extinction of slavery (cheers). The second objection is this, that the consumption of produce, the result of labour coerced and unremunerated, is a crime; and though it is not a crime self-evident to the community, though they are not conscious of doing a wrong, or perpetrating an offence, when they buy and consume that commodity, yet it is a wrong. We believe it to be wrong, and not satisfied with proclaiming it to be wrong; not satisfied with sending tracts and preachers through the length and breadth of the country to declare it to be wrong; not satisfied with appeals to reason and conscience, and to the universal standard of righteousness in this Christian country, we, the minority, believing it to be wrong, and some of us acting—though not universally, as it regards our own conduct, for we cannot, and we say we cannot, on principle, abstain—yet we, believing it to be wrong, we avail ourselves, of what? the arm of secular power—the standing army—the coast blockade—the fines of the Exchequer court. And we will avail ourselves of this machinery, for the purpose of what? Of making the whole of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland abstain from the consumption of slave-grown produce, while they have no conscience on the question; or if they have a conscience, one which is not grieved when the parties consume slave-grown produce. I will venture to declare to you my opinion to-day, that if you select, from amongst the religious societies of this country, the élite of the pietist, and knowledge, and theology, and sound doctrine, of these societies, from the establishment of this country to your own Society, sir, which will embrace, I believe, all others that are worthy of serious attention, and propound the question in solemn meeting assembled for the express purpose of considering that proposition, whether, when they buy an article in the London or Liverpool market, for which they pay an honest price, they are participants in the guilt of the chief of Africa, who sells slaves—or with the raider in the interior, who steals them—or with the planter at Rio Janeiro, who buys them—or with the man, who, for consecutive years, withholds wages from his labourers? So far from such an assembly being agreed with you, they would not agree with you. How can you, then, when men of the highest attainments, of the most sincere and enlightened conscience, disagree with you on this question—how can you, as the representatives of the anti-slavery feeling of Great Britain, go to government and say, "Give us discriminating duties, put the whole physical force of this country at our backs to restrain honest people from purchasing that which they do not think it would be a crime in them to buy or to consume" (cheers)? Now, I deny that you can prove it to be wrong. You may prove it to your own satisfaction, but you have not proved it then. There is not a lawyer on this platform who will admit it is proved because he says, "The proof to me is satisfactory." Prove it to the satisfaction of the country, and, when you have proved it to the satisfaction of your country—the only jury to which you have to appeal—then the question returns, whether to promote this principle which you have established—the crime of consuming slave-grown produce—even then, whether you would have a right to go to the government in order that you might work out a religious question of this nice character? I venture to say that, in the whole range of public duty, there is not a question more difficult than that of the guilt of parties in consequence of wearing, and consuming at the breakfast table, the produce of negro slavery. But I come back to the first argument, that it would aggravate the horrors of the slave trade. My verdict on this part of the subject is, "Not proven" (interruption). I say you have not proved that, by admitting Brazilian sugar, you would aggravate the horrors of slavery. You beg the question as to whether it is your duty to go to government—you assume that you ought to do it. You appear practically to cast aside your ancient motto, "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*,"—let justice be done to all parties, though the heavens should fall (cheers). You seem to forget that there is a principle besides your own, and that the right of the people of this country to freely barter that which they make for that which is offered, is as sacred a principle as the right of the negro. I put a case to the gentlemen:—I have made ten yards of cloth; I want with that ten yards of cloth to go and purchase sugar. Whatever government has imposed in the shape of a tax for the Queen's revenue I am willing to pay, but I find I can purchase fifty pounds of sugar—(cries of "Question," and confusion).

The CHAIRMAN.—May I venture to say that I beg no interruption may take place with respect to the remarks of my friend George Thompson, but that he has the full, undisturbed opportunity of relieving his mind—(cheers).

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., resumed:—I would meet the gentlemen who cry question, and say this is the question. I find that I can obtain 50 lbs. of sugar with the cloth in the warehouse of one man, and but 25 lbs. in the warehouse of another; I prefer to take the 50 lbs. (laughter). I find a member of the Anti-slavery committee at the door of that shop, and he says, "Do you know that it is the produce of slave labour?" I might not know before that it was, but now being informed of it, I say I will still take it. But, says the individual at the door (confusion), "You will thereby aggravate the horrors of the slave trade and of slavery." Nevertheless, I reply—I am putting a case, I am not stating my own opinion—nevertheless, I reply, "I will prefer the 50 lbs. to the 25 lbs.; I will take that which is offered in the market." "No," says this gentleman that remonstrates with me, "it is my duty to inform you, that there is a government officer that will not let you do it." I ask whether the anti-slavery gentleman, who gives me that information, is prepared to step into the shoes of the government officer, and take me by

the throat (cheers and disapprobation), and hale me to prison, if I should dare to violate the law which prohibits me from buying the commodity? I do not believe that he would; but if he does, he is as bad in principle as the man who made (cheers, in which the conclusion of the sentence was drowned). It is wrong to capture the slave—it is wrong to take his labour without giving him his hire—I grant it. It is wrong to say to a man who has fabricated twenty yards of cloth, "You shall not exchange that" (hear, hear). Who made you a judge of my conscience? I ask. And I ask you another question, Who made you a tyrant over it (cheers)? Convince my understanding, and I will abjure this polluted produce. Fail to convince my understanding; and then I say, hands off (cheers). But I say that you fail to prove that it would aggravate the horrors of slavery and the slave trade. There is a certain amount of sugar required, not by yourselves alone, but by the whole of Europe, of which you are but a small portion. This sugar comes from Brazil, the West Indies, Java, Siam, Cochinchina, Manilla, and other places. You resolve that you will not take Brazilian sugar. You say to Siam, Manilla, Cochinchina, Give us sugar. They reply, We have sugar, we had intended to send it elsewhere, but as we can possibly get 1s. per cent. more from you, we prefer sending it to you. What do you do? You leave the European market without its accustomed supply; and Brazil, whose sugar you will not take, goes and sells it elsewhere (hear, hear). That, it strikes me, is the whole political economy of the question—at least, that branch of it. Why, consume as much sugar as you will, you do but withdraw it from another market; and the vacancy you occasion is immediately filled up by sugar from Brazil. What have you done therefore? You have denied yourself a right which I conceive you possess; and if you have this conscience upon the question, then you will not consume it. If the nation will consume it, it is a proof that the nation has no conscience upon the subject. If the nation has no conscience upon it, I deny the right of this confederated Society to go to the government (cheers). You beg the question, when you talk of aggravation, and say that so many more hogsheads of sugar would be manufactured, for which so many more slaves would be required, and so many more slaves would be stolen. Prove it to-day, and let us see that you are sound on that part of that subject (hear). I have already touched on the second objection—that it is wrong in itself. Now, there are many things wrong. I dare say there are twenty things in England, which we in this hall should agree to be wrong (hear, hear). Do we go to parliament and ask a law to prevent the doing of these wrongs? We do not. How do we seek to put an end to wrong-doing? Why, by the best of all means; by the means which you constantly prescribe—moral means—religious means—pacific means; and you would, if the government were to volunteer their aid, implore them to keep that aid away. You would say, "Leave us alone; we want not the secular arm; our principles come from heaven; our dependency is in the arm of the Almighty" (cheers). There are those who take the opposite view of this question, who nevertheless declare, that not a man in England should be taxed till he has the franchise. I know that the unenfranchised classes are amongst such persons; I know that the great mass of the enfranchised classes are among them (cries of "Question," and uproar). I am sorry that gentlemen do not see that this is the question. I say that the great body of the unenfranchised classes are against you; the great bulk of the enfranchised classes are against you; the real opinions of a large proportion of parliament are against you. You are a minority yourselves—a still weaker minority in parliament. Your minority in parliament are men whom you know to be shamelessly inconsistent upon this question (cheers). You are weak in numbers yourselves, weaker still in power and honesty in parliament; and knowing that accident, combined with fraud, enabled you to get a law, do not you go to parliament and ask a law? Do not you use such instruments as those who take their arguments, not from Thomas Clarkson—not from Joseph Sturge, but who say, Let us pocket the arguments about class legislation, and come forth strong in the principles which the Anti-slavery committee have put in our hands, and call upon parliament, on the score of humanity, to pass this law (cheers)? Now what have you done when you have got this? Say it is right, what have you done? I beg the special attention of my friends to this question. You have established it as a principle in parliament, that produce, on paying a trifling differential duty, though it does not come from British possessions, shall be consumed in this country; but if it be proffered by a slave-holding country, it shall not be consumed—that is to say, if it has not been introduced before; for you all know that we have an abundance of slave-grown produce. It is in this hall (hear, hear); it is on this platform; it is upon your person, Sir, and on the persons of those around me (hear, hear). The monster is here; he is round your necks (laughter); he has manacled your feet; he is about your ankles; he is in your pockets in the shape of precious metal. Where is he not (cheers)? Well, what have you done when you have got a law? You have established, on principle, that slave-grown produce not previously introduced, shall be excluded till slavery in those countries is abolished. Very good; let us see what will be the practical working of such a law? Who are the West Indians in parliament? who are the West Indians in the cabinet? They are the West Indians that are known to be the most ancient, the most talented advocates that slavery has ever had (hear, hear). Can you forget the time when the premier voted against you on the question of the abolition of the flogging of women in Jamaica? (hear, hear). Can you forget that in times past, in this hall, we have often met to denounce the pro-slavery measures of these men? But what have you done by their aid, and their aid alone—not through the popular voice, not through the voice of the religious community, but in consequence of the personal application of a few individuals, and letters that have been put forth signed by certain names? You have obtained a law establishing this principle—that free-labour produce should be admitted on the payment of a differential duty, and slave-grown produce (sugar, mark you, only sugar) prohibited. Humanity has leaped from the coffee-pot into the sugar-bowl (laughter). Why so? Because these gentlemen live in the sugar-bowl, and do not have much to do with the coffee-pot. They say, We will put 25 per cent. on coffee, and with the same pen and dip of ink, we will proscribe sugar from the same places. We will give a stimulus to coffee, that employs three-fourths of the capital and labour of Brazil, and we will exclude sugar. Well, they have done it, and what have you done? They have done it upon the affected principle that it is to serve the cause of humanity. Now, then, you want to

abolish slavery in the Brazils; do you think these men, who know that their sugar monopoly lives by the Brazilian slavery, will aid you? Will they aid you, when they know that the extinction of slavery in Brazil would lead to the introduction of sugar to compete with their own plantations in the West Indies? You have bound them, by their interest, to be pro-slavery men for ever. So far as their interest preponderates over principle, and leaves them to neglect their duties as statesmen, they are bound to thwart you whenever you ask government interference to overthrow slavery. Have our friends looked at the question in this light? Has it been put before them with candid feelings in the report? Have those who have taken the opposite view of the question appeared side by side, in juxtaposition with the letters you have published? No! therefore we are here to-day. And now, I beseech you to pause. Our friends may try to evade that great point to which I referred a while ago—the employment of force: they cannot evade it. What are the laws of this country, unless sustained by physical force committed to the government? It may be concealed; it may be unnecessary; it may never appear; but it is in existence notwithstanding. The sun is not blotted out because the clouds obscure his effulgence; and the law has a standing army to support it, though you see not the bayonet, and hear not the thunder of its artillery (cheers). Now, I ask you to go through the pages of your own reports for the last fifteen years on the question; especially read the documents which have been published during the last twelve years on this subject. See the purely religious character which these writings bear, the purely religious character which your efforts have assumed to the eyes of the people of this country. Now you should have been educated far beyond the adoption of those principles which have been so eloquently denounced here, namely, that government have no more right to interfere to sustain slavery than they have to interfere by force to put it down in foreign countries. You are called upon in defence of your own fundamental principles, binding you to specific measures to refuse all government aid. I may speak of that principle. I remember well in the lower House when the articles of the constitution were brought forward. I remember the observations of certain members of parliament, one of whom is on the platform, who said they did not agree with the pacific principle. I know the applications made to them to sustain that pacific principle; I know that I then repudiated in the name of those who now go to Downing-street, the employment of any force, of any appeal of any kind to coercion. And when in this hall there was a proposition to send out the expedition to the Niger, the same party appeared, and because those steamers did carry arms, and those arms might be used for the injury of the natives of Africa, they did not co-operate with that scheme, but opposed it. The scheme is gone to the ground, and their measures will go to the ground too, if they are not upheld by the principles which they have hitherto maintained, but which they now, in this particular instance, repudiate (hear, hear). These are the views which I have deemed it right to put before you on the present occasion. I come not here as the organ of a party, I solemnly announce that; neither am I here as the representative of any man but myself, save those with whom I have come in contact here to-day. The course which I recommend to the committee is this, that the question be an open question; do not act officially on the subject; reconsider your constitution; see whether you can combine the pacific policy of the third article with the coercive and forceful policy of the fourth. Act not till you have the country with you. Whom do you desire to represent? Do you not answer, The country. You will not, I am sure, say merely those who subscribe are your constituents. They may have the right legally to control your proceedings and votes in this house, but when you want to urge government to leave undone something they desire to do, or to do what they are not desirous to do, when you want to urge government to do that which you have a right to urge them to do, namely, to undo by law what they have created by law—then you appeal to the public at large. I say, then, leave this question an open question, and do not take any action upon it until you have, as you formerly did, gathered up the feelings of the community at large. Your petitioners are not all subscribers. All honour to the men who, by the liberal contributions of their purse, sustain this society (cheers). They deserve our thanks, and in proportion as we are unable to give our contributions, should be our gratitude to those who do; but they must not on that account assume the right to represent to the government that the anti-slavery feeling of the country is with them. Are the friends of freedom in other respects to hear their names quoted, and a practical misrepresentation given of them in the House of Commons? I say, No. Suspend your action—reconsider your constitution. I ask no more. Every lover of freedom would deprecate everything in the shape of division. I say the intention of my amendment is that you shall suspend your judgment and your action till you have reconsidered your constitution. The amendment I have to propose is this:

"That while this meeting awards to the Committee its most hearty commendation for the activity and zeal it has evinced in the cause of universal abolition during the past year; yet, considering the honest differences of opinion which prevail amongst the friends of that cause, on the subject of discriminating duties on slave and free produce, and on the propriety of a society restricted by the constitution to the use of those means only, which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character, interfering through the medium of government in the question, deems it right, for the purpose of preventing disunion among the friends of emancipation, to instruct the committee to be hereafter appointed, to abstain from acting in their official capacity on that part of the constitution which pledges the society to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour, until a special meeting has been held to reconsider the articles of the society as they bear upon that question."

If a pledge be given to me that this subject will be reconsidered, I have accomplished the object I had in view—a reasonable object, —a necessary object—considering the present aspect of the anti-slavery question. I have presented these views, that you might know why and wherefore I and others think at least that you have not done the wisest thing, though you have been supported by your constitution, in making an appeal to the government. We say, have faith in your principles (loud cheers). If you deem it right, individually abstain from the use of every article, if you can do it, that is slave-grown, commend this duty to others; but go not to the govern-

ment, whose aid you cannot get in the shape of a law, without an appeal in the last resort to force. Go not to the government to ask them to maintain the principles of liberty for one class of men, while you violate the equally sacred liberty of your countrymen at home (loud cheers).

G. W. ANSTIE, Esq. briefly seconded the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN—I would venture to suggest to the meeting the extreme difficulty in which we shall be involved if we wholly take the proceedings out of the course which was arranged.

A Person in the hall.—Let us hear both sides—fair play, sir, fair play,—we want the truth (cheers and cries of "Order"). After considerable interruption

Mr. STURGE rose and said—I venture to ask for the sake of trying to promote peace, if we could not very much fall in with George Thompson's proposition (hear, hear, and cries of "Order"). Will the meeting allow me a few words? (cries of "No" and "Go on.") I conceive that the subject before us is of such immense importance, that a right decision upon it affects the welfare of millions of our fellow-creatures, and while I am sure I give my friends who differ from me credit for the same sincerity which I claim for myself, I would implore all present to look at it with calmness (hear, hear); not under excitement, but as an important matter of fact (cheers). I did understand that the resolution which George Thompson has proposed, would be a little differently worded. Mark I am one of those who go the full length in favour of free-trade in all legitimate commerce—but I do think that in the present case, if it were a proper time to go into the question, I could, without any great inconvenience, show that the known produce of the stolen man ought to be treated as stolen property (cheers). What I would suggest is, that the amendment now proposed be adopted, with this alteration, that we shall not suspend our proceedings till a decision be come to (hear, hear). My objection to this is upon the principle that it is prejudging a question upon which even George Thompson himself gave an opinion some years ago in the affirmative; for he tells you he was present when the constitution was passed (hear, hear). All I ask is, that our friends who take this view of the subject would make this alteration in the amendment, and that there shall be an appeal to the members of the Anti-slavery Society throughout the kingdom, to take their sense upon the question—an appeal to a general special meeting, to be held anywhere our friends may think satisfactory and fair (cheers). Perhaps I may be permitted to make a remark upon one or two points stated by George Thompson; because I do think we have been a little hardly treated. The conduct of the government has been imputed to the Anti-slavery Society. We only assert our principles as far as we can; we do not inquire who it is who supports that principle, if they do what we think to be right (hear, hear). It is said "Appeal to the opinion of the world," and "Appeal to the country." We never profess to be more than representatives of the Anti-slavery Society. Would Thomas Clarkson have ever moved in the anti-slavery cause if he had stopped till the whole kingdom was with him? (cheers.) I confess I am so generally in the minority that I have sometimes said, if ever I got into the majority, I should begin to think I was wrong (laughter). All I want is a fair, calm discussion of this very great and vital question (hear, hear). I have no wish to be one of the representatives of the anti-slavery body in any shape whatever, if the great majority of my constituents do not think with me; but let us consider the matter carefully, calmly, and honestly, and do not let it be demanded of us to suspend our exertions till we come to a decision upon it. I therefore beg our friends to make the alteration suggested in the resolution (cheers).

Mr. HINTON.—I understood Mr. Thompson to say, in moving this resolution, that on receiving a pledge on the part of the committee, that they would consult the constituency of the society as to the revision and alteration of the clause that relates to fiscal regulations, he would withdraw the motion. Mr. Thompson, I think, said so; and he consents it. Now, I am quite sure, as a member of that committee, and from what has passed in committee, even this morning, that there can be no difficulty in its being fully understood that the committee will convene the constituency of the society for the calmest possible reconsideration of the article (loud cheers). If that be not a thing fairly done, the committee will be responsible to another meeting of this sort, which I, for one, shall never dare to face, if there be any unfairness in the matter (cheers). And this pledge being now thus given, with, I am sure, the acquiescence of the other members of the committee—at least they are here to say they differ from me—I ask our friend to withdraw his motion, that we may have an amicable settlement of the question upon all hands (cheers and cries of "No, no.")

A GENTLEMAN ON THE PLATFORM—Mr. Thompson, do you withdraw your motion?

Mr. THOMPSON: Only one word in explanation and self-defence. do not wish the Anti-slavery committee to go to the public at large to learn their principles, but I do not wish them to impose a tax, directly or indirectly, upon the people at large by going to government in reference to fiscal regulations (cheers). Thus much in explanation. And now, with the explanation you have heard from the members of the committee, in reference to their willingness to undertake the re-consideration of this question, I am sure that they will act as honest men. I therefore consent to withdraw my amendment (loud cheers).

The CHAIRMAN: The amendment that has been proposed by George Thompson is on the ground of conciliation, and on the ground of a better settlement of the question than can be had on the present occasion. think I may assume these words withdrawn.

The original resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. BURNET, of Camberwell, then rose, and was received with loud applause. The resolution which I have been called upon to move is this:—

"That this meeting deplore the continued existence of slavery in different parts of the earth, especially by professedly Christian nations, which, as in the case of Brazil and the Spanish colonies, is the fruit of the African slave-trade, with all its attendant horrors; and, that of the United States, of an internal slave-trade of the most revolting and cruel character.

"That, deeply sympathising with the victims of slavery in their suffering and wrongs, this meeting assert their right to immediate and entire

freedom, and emphatically call on the friends of liberty and justice throughout the world to use their best efforts for the extinction of a crime which has so long outraged humanity and religion, and which at this time oppresses and degrades millions of mankind.

"That this meeting, nevertheless, sincerely rejoice in the steady progress of the anti-slavery cause in the United States of America, and in France, Holland, and other European nations, where the friends of humanity are nobly exerting themselves in behalf of the wronged and suffering slave.

"That, in tendering to their fellow-labourers their warm congratulations on the present aspect of their common cause, this meeting would cherish the hope that the agency employed and the information diffused by them may be constantly and perseveringly directed to promote the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in those parts of their respective countries where it unhappily exists, and generally throughout the world."

Now, sir, lest it might be supposed that I intend to offer comments upon such a long resolution, I shall lay it down, and that will relieve the assembly from the fears, under which they might otherwise labour, of my inflicting a speech upon them anything in proportion to the length of my resolution (laughter). This is a large, and I should say an awful, assembly. What an immense concourse of thinking beings—what a great variety of conflicting sentiments upon many subjects—what a diversity of intellectual tone, and character, and genius, have we assembled in this hall! What a splendid assault has our friend made on the Anti-slavery committee—what an uproarious reception and rejection all this met with—and yet, here we are, with all these diversities of acceptance and rejections, in perfect peace and lamb-like tranquillity (laughter and cheers). Now, this most assuredly augurs well for the anti-slavery cause. I like to see persons who, if they should start into a storm, can come back again into a calm, causing the storm to pass away just like an April shower, the result of which is only to refresh more and more the thirsty soil (hear). I like to see such assemblies carrying on the great objects of Christian philanthropy, humanity, and patriotism; I am not afraid of these objects in the hands of this meeting; and let storms be multiplied on storms in such assemblies, there is no permanent antipathy associated with them (cheers). All the noise that we have here is the noise of every one trying to keep his neighbour right (laughter and cheers). It is the noise of downright affection, and dear mutual regard (laughter). I may say, however, for the committee of the Anti-slavery Society, that before they left the committee-room this morning they agreed to all they had consented to, but you see we must have something going on. These are the days of agitation (laughter and loud cheers). Indeed agitation has now become the fixed and settled habit of our natures, and we must have something doing whilst good works are going onwards. But, coming more to the subject of the resolution before us, after the assembly has listened so attentively throughout to the proceedings of the day, I should say, to what does the resolution direct our attention? It directs our attention to a great and important work. I should be sorry to think that anybody came here for the mere purpose of being amused; I should expect that they came for the purpose of being instructed and stimulated, and therefore if there are any here who wonder that an anti-slavery society continues to exist when we have no slaves, I can only say to such,—and we must repeat this at every anti-slavery meeting; for I have heard some persons out of doors, as they say in another house, ask, for what do you want an anti-slavery society now?—if these persons, or any of them, happen to be within doors, I would just take the opportunity of telling them, that all the efforts made for the purpose of setting free 800,000 of our fellow-creatures—efforts nobly directed to that noble purpose—and, at last, we were obliged to buy their freedom—are still required. The number in our colonies, that was set free, was but a small minority of the slaves that were held in bondage. You have two millions and a half in America; you have two millions in the Brazils; you have 600,000 in Cuba and Porto Rico. Think of six or seven millions of individuals or thereabouts, still labouring under the lash, notwithstanding the number that you freed. I will not dwell upon the horrors of their slavery. You have been so long accustomed to hear of the terrible proceedings, when we had slaves of our own, that they must be fresh in your recollection. But what we lament is, that what was going on in the case of less than one million of persons, is now going on in the case of six millions labouring in bondage. What an overwhelming idea! Ask me now, What do you want of an anti-slavery society (hear, hear)? I don't want it, because I live in a free country, and if I were a slave I am afraid I should be a very troublesome one (laughter). I do not want an anti-slavery society; but millions of my suffering fellow-men want an anti-slavery society. And will you refuse the millions groaning in bondage if they ask you for an anti-slavery society? Can you refuse them (cheers)? Is there any principle upon which you can listen with indifference to their cry and if their cry cannot reach you directly, can it not come round you indirectly? Oh, but you may say we must leave it with the government, and let them negotiate treaties with all those powers. They have treaties with the Brazils; they have treaties with the Spaniards; they have treaties with the Portuguese; but they are of very little value. And let me remind this meeting that if they leave matters in the hands of the government they will find very little will be done (cheers). Governments care more about sitting still in their office chairs than about doing anything. They never do, except when they are disturbed (laughter). You must set the community about them like a nest of hornets if you would get government to act. They only act as individuals do against the mosquitos abroad, in self-defence—when they are stung into their work, they are up and doing. But who is to sting them to it in the question of slavery? An anti-slavery society to be sure. They get information from abroad. There are humane individuals abroad—there are travellers and there are parties abroad—there are protectors of slaves abroad—having different shades of character, but some of them are the friends of man, and the rights of man—these all communicate, with whom, think you? with the government? If they did, their communications would go to the state paper office, or some place where you would never hear of them. But when they have an anti-slavery society, they communicate with that society, who come and tell the thousands that assemble here, and the government are up and doing; their papers get into the blue books,

reports are delivered to parliament, and you will see what these worthy men in office have been doing. This is the way to keep them at work; we like them to feel the effects of slavery; we whip them to their work, and if you do not do that, they won't do it. We do not like to whip the slaves, but we do like to whip cabinet ministers (laughter); at least, I do (laughter). They are well paid for bearing the lash, and they may just as well take it, and keep at their work (laughter). But what can we say to America (hear, hear)? There are Christian men in America, and they visit our country; they laugh at our royalty, which they reckon a pageant, and glory in the freedom of an independent republic. But, oh! they forget the poor black men, two millions and a half of whom they have left under the lash of the whip. If you like, Sir, call the crown a bauble; but I would rather see a crown—bauble as it is—on the head of a free woman, reigning over a free people (loud cheers), then see the Declaration of Independence waved over that Congress by the hand of president of a nation of slaves (loud applause). The independency, in such a case of the boasted republic is shorn of all its glory; and I see a halo round the crown—humble as they may think it—that commands it to me as the emblem of a nobler use of power than that which (loud cheers, in which the speaker's voice was lost). Can we forget the case of Brown? (hear, hear). I can only glance at it. It is more horrible than the execution of a slave. Think of a judge taking his place upon the bench, and, because a poor man aided a woman in her escape from degrading bondage, dwelling upon what he considered his crime, as if it were one of the greatest enormities; and what raised all the scorn that I am capable of feeling for a degraded man who was recommending that man to the mercy of the Redeemer, as if he intended to profane the language of religion itself, and solemnly to abuse the great work of a Saviour's mediation, in recommending that man to that mediation as the only means by which the crime he had committed could be taken away. What a profanation of the revelation of God was this! (cheers). I trust, however, that enough has been said from time to time on this subject, to prevent again such a desecration of the language of our sacred Christianity. But let us look for a moment to the circumstances in which the committee of the Anti-slavery Society are placed. They have acted well—they have sent men, some of them have gone themselves, to Spain, to France, to Holland,—have left their business, have run all hazards, some of them have committed themselves to the perils of a foreign climate—the destructive influence even of a West India climate, for the sake of carrying out their grand object. Some of them have met all the rebuffs that could be poured upon them in the soil of blood-stained America itself—for blood-stained it is daily and hourly, while it has slaves; and those men now come after all their labours to look for your aid. Shall it be withheld? If they should have differences of any kind between them, these differences arise out of conscientious scruples, and a high resolve that man shall indeed be free. I will not, however, much longer occupy your attention, because the day waits not, though the subject is long and large; but when I get up I always remember that I am not the only one that is to speak, and I feel that to be a very good recollection to keep in one's mind. I shall therefore say, Go on with your work, sustain the Society, listen to them, even in any instance where you think they may be mistaken. They say they will not be receivers of stolen goods; there are some that say others will receive them if you will not; and so, again say we cannot inquire after these things; and therefore, every thing should be free—and I believe that is the best way after all. Whatever, therefore, may be the course you may take with regard to any question that may arise relative to the doings of the Society, but not involving its bigness, treat it with the judgment of charity, hail it with confidence, and even if you should sometimes hiss it, just remember that hissing is off, the language of geese (laughter). It will do the Society no harm, and you no honour, therefore you had better not do it all (loud cheers).

Mr. H. H. KELLOGG (from America): It has been announced that I am from the United States, and, viewing the remarks which have fallen from the gentlemen who moved this resolution, it will of course be expected of me that I should in my observations have respect particularly to the United States. I do not suppose, however, that it is the object of this meeting to discuss particularly the public institutions of Great Britain, or the United States (hear, hear). I do not suppose that we are met here to dwell upon the merits or demerits of royalty or republicanism; nor do I suppose that this meeting will consider, or that my reverend friend who preceded me considers, the institution of slavery, as it exists in the United States, any more a part of our republicanism than it was a few years ago a part of your royalty (hear, and cheers). If we have not yet got rid of the excrescences from which you have happily freed yourselves, we beg you to remember that you are old, and we are young (hear, hear). And if it took you centuries, or if it took you many years to get rid of that object, that excrescence, you must not regard us as being wholly obdurate, and unwilling to learn, if we take a few years before we become converts to your practice in this respect. With these remarks in reference to the allusions made to the democratic institutions of the United States, I will pass from that portion of the subject, with merely proclaiming that we do not regard slavery as any part or parcel of our democratic institutions (cheers). It is an excrescence, and one which some of us most deeply deplore; and against which we are exerting ourselves, if not according to the utmost of our ability, yet according to the light which God has given us. If there are others who, when they visit Great Britain, choose to laugh at your royalty, and regard slavery as innocent—if there are such religious persons, I say, into their company I, for one, beg not to approach (cheers). I regard slavery in the United States as I regard it when I visit Great Britain (hear, hear)—I speak of it there as I speak of it here (hear, hear)—I deplore it there, as I deplore it when I am among you—for I cannot treat this subject, when I meet the Anti-slavery Convention, merely with feelings of exultation. Although this country is freed from it, when I remember that its blighting influence exists to such an awful extent in my own country, I am oppressed with feelings of sadness, and I feel constrained to weep, not only over the sins of that portion of my country who cherish slavery, but over the condition of the poor, enslaved, and helpless family. It is to us in the United States, however, it may appear to those who have freed themselves from its influence, a subject that calls forth the deepest affliction and which excites to the most strenuous efforts (cheers). This resolution appeals to

our sympathies, and I assure you, that we who view this subject in the light to which I have referred, are constantly appealed to as we meet the poor slave at almost every step we take in some portions of our country; and when we hear his sighs and his groans, and know what is in the human heart; when we know full well the aspirations that the human being must have for freedom, we are constrained to feel the deepest sympathy for his condition. We are, however, assured that in some cases he is already so degraded, so embruted, that he does not desire his freedom. One part of this resolution speaks of rejoicing in view of the advance of the cause in the United States. I presume the committee have referred to facts in their report (which is to be published), which will abundantly present evidence of this advance. I will not, therefore, dwell upon them, but merely beg to assure you that there are evidence of a decided, though not of so rapid an advance as we could desire. I will refer to the political agitations which are now in every part of the United States mingled up with the question of freedom or of slavery. In no portion of our country can a political question be looked at, but one of the first, if not the first question asked, is, what is its bearing on slavery? what is its bearing on this institution? (hear, hear, and huzzas.) Look at the question which has so fully occupied the public mind, the question of the annexation of Texas. Why is it that the annexation of that extensive and fertile country has been so strenuously opposed? Upon no other ground, or mainly upon no other ground, than that it is calculated to promote the perpetuation and extension of slavery (cheers). And the intelligence we have received by the last packet, which reached this city yesterday, is most striking evidence of this. I will admit it was more satisfactory than I had anticipated. It shows that the cause is advancing in the public mind, when our political leaders feel constrained, from the state of public sentiment, to come out with either even avowing or publicly declaring, that they are not prepared to go for the annexation of that extensive country (cheers). Although the question has not been fully set at rest by the decision of the senate of the United States, yet such is the present state of the subject, that it affords the most gratifying evidence which we can have without an ultimate decision on the question, that the progress of freedom is such as its friends have earnestly desired (hear, hear). I know very well, and in the United States I feel deeply, that it does not become those who put on the harness, to boast themselves as those that put it off. We, therefore, cannot speak in language of exultation, as you may in this country; but while we rejoice in what has occurred in your own colonies, and rejoice in what is occurring in our midst, as evidence of the advance of this cause, we do beseech you that you will continue to exert that influence which you may exert for the promotion of the cause of freedom among us. Be assured that it is not a struggle that will immediately terminate with us (hear, hear). You struggled long to deliver eight hundred thousand human beings from a condition of slavery. We have, as has been remarked by a preceding speaker, 2,500,000 slaves in our midst. Yours was a slavery at a distance of three thousand miles—ours is a slavery in our very midst. Slavery exists with us most intimately interwoven in its interests with the relations of society. The struggle there we must expect to be one not easily to terminate; and the friends of freedom among us desire that the subject may be most calmly and earnestly discussed, and that it may be presented in all its bearings before the minds of our fellow men. There is there a conscience which responds to truth, and there the human mind can be brought to receive, as well as elsewhere, that a condition of slavery is inconsistent with the relations of human beings to their Creator—that it is a condition which, in the language of the resolution, "not only degrades man, but outrages him in his dearest rights and relations;" and if there be those who, having delivered the slave in your own colonies, are prepared to say, as Mr. Burnet has remarked, "What have we to do with slavery?" I would ask such individuals to remember the six millions to whom he has referred—the six millions of your own mothers' children, of your brothers and sisters; for every one who has been made in the image of God is your brother and your sister (claps). And if, from your own father's hearth, or from your own circle, one of the beloved objects of that circle was to be this day, while you were absent, borne away to a land of slavery, would you not feel, though that slavery should be in the United States, Brazil, or Cuba, would you not then feel deeply exercised that the system of slavery might be abolished throughout the world (cheers)? And if this would be the case, I beseech you to remember these your poor brothers and sisters; and, if the conviction of your common brotherhood with the human family does not excite this lively interest, I then say, Retire to your bed—sleep upon your bed of down—dream that you are yourself in slavery—dream that you are yourself under the influence of the lash—that you are separated from the wife of your bosom, from the husband, the companion of your youth, from the child of your body, or the parents who gave you birth—dream, I say, that you are in this condition, and that you hear the clank of your own chain, and feel the iron entering into your own soul, then you will not say, "What have we to do with slavery?" I beg to second the resolution (loud cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried.

Sir GEORGE STEPHEN said:—I came here to-day to listen, not to speak, therefore I shall not occupy your time more than two minutes, nor would I do it even for that short period, if it were not that I feel it right, as an individual long connected with your cause, to say at once, to say it openly and boldly, and the rather because I perceive, from the reception that was given to my friend Mr. Thompson, that the feeling of a considerable portion of this company is against me; that I, as an anti-slavery man, protest entirely against the admission of sugar or any other article of slave produce or manufacture to this country, whatever may be the political or commercial interests which it may involve (cheers). I know of no commercial principle in an anti-slavery convention. I know of no political principle on an anti-slavery platform. I conceive it to be the duty of every individual whose name is connected with this cause; and who feels as I do, instructed in its principles, I must say, from rather higher authority than Mr. Thompson, under the auspices of Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Wilberforce; brought up, I might also say, in anti-slavery doctrine by Mr. Macaulay; confirmed in that by Sir Fowell Buxton, with whom I have learnt for years past; in such a school I have not learnt the principles which Mr. Thompson has in-

troduced among us to-day (cheers). If I forbear, to the extent of inability, from dissecting the arguments with which he has introduced his principles, it is only because this is not a proper arena for this discussion. It is utterly impossible, a question so delicate, mixed up with many points and principles, can be discussed here with satisfaction. It is on that ground alone—not because I am afraid of it—not because I should fear to meet Mr. Thompson, talented and eloquent as I know him to be, in the discussion—but because I think the occasion is one that would justify me in so doing. I have but one more remark to make. It might possibly be expected, in reference to a particular clause in your report, that I should say something; but I am tired. There is yet an individual to be tried (hear, hear). One has been acquitted, and God grant he may stand as honourably acquitted in his conscience. But I do say this, that no one can have read the Report of the Committee on the western coast of Africa, without being satisfied in his own mind that the accursed thing still remains among you—that even in this country a slave-trading principle exists, and while anything in the nature of a slave-trading principle exists, an anti-slavery society must exist to exterminate it (cheers). I have the honor to move—

"That this meeting are deeply impressed with the urgent necessity of adopting efficient measures for securing to the emancipated slave population of British India, and the British settlements in the East, the full enjoyment of their newly acquired rights, and would suggest the formation of anti-slavery committees in those parts of the British empire, to watch over and protect their infant liberties, with the view of securing them their freedom in fact, as well as in law."

"That this meeting feel it to be due to the national character that the remnants of slavery, as at present existing in Ceylon, and alleged to exist in St. Helena, should be forthwith abolished, and recommended to government, and the court of East India directors, to complete the great work of slave emancipation throughout the wide extent of the British dominions."

E. N. BUXTON, Esq., said:—I can promise you that I shall detain you but a very short time. I know you are anxious, and very properly anxious, to hear the honourable gentleman who will succeed Mr. O'Connell (cheers); and I must, as I have alluded to his name, just say this, whether we may agree with Mr. O'Connell in his politics, and so on, not, yet there is not a man acquainted with the anti-slavery question who remembers what was going on ten or fifteen years ago, who would not candidly and freely say, that no man in this country was more truly faithful, and has always been more truly faithful, to that great cause than the honourable gentleman who is about to address you. My only motive, however, in rising on this occasion, is just to say, that though my father, Sir Fowell Buxton, is not here on the present occasion, has abstained only because the state of his health is such that it was impossible for him to attend (hear, hear). Though he is absent from on this occasion, yet he feels, as deeply and as warmly as he ever did, the sufferings and the wrongs of his brethren and sisters in Africa and America (cheers). I shall not detain you longer, but simply second the resolution.

The resolution was then put and carried, after which the collection was made.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P., on rising to move the next resolution, was received with long-continued cheering, mingled with hisses, from one part of the room, which were speedily drowned in the general acclamation. Order having been restored, he said:—The resolution which was entrusted to me to move is in these words:—

"That this meeting, in common with the great mass of their countrymen, have read with feelings of indignation and horror the sentence of death pronounced by Judge O'Neal, of South Carolina, on John Brown, for aiding and abetting a slave woman to escape from the intolerable yoke of bondage, by which sentence, and the terms in which it was pronounced, not only were the sacred principles of justice violated, the forms of law prostituted to the most atrocious of purposes, but the Divine system of Christianity itself grossly outraged and dishonoured."

There is no one who has heard of that trial and sentence, but must incur in every word of this resolution. That being so, I really have little to do. At one time I apprehended I should have to address at considerable length on the most unpleasant topic—a topic which created something like a division amongst ourselves. Fortunately division is healed. An appeal is to be made to the proper tribunal, all I have to say is, that I beg not to have my opinion on this subject judged of by the fervid eloquence of my friend Mr. Thompson (cheers). I rejoice, however, in being allowed to raise my voice in an assembly of the old and tried friends of human liberty (cheers); amongst the enemies of slavery in every country, and in every clime; amongst the advocates of morality and of Christianity, which can never be perfect in a country where there is master and slave. I rejoice to stand among you, and whatever be my lot, I shall have the gratification of recollecting that I have joined in one more effort to give freedom to the slaves. I don't know whether you understand the causes of the quarrel a short time ago. It seemed to me that we were in the situation of a wretched countryman of mine, Sir Lucius O'Trigger, who, having sent a challenge, and, on being asked to explain the cause, answered, "It is mighty pretty quarrel, and an explanation would spoil it" (laughs). Now, I am bound to say I am a free trader, perfectly attached to the principles and the practice of free-trade, convinced that it is an injury to prevent a man from buying food in the cheapest market, and that it is a crime to make the rich richer, at the expense of increasing the poverty of the poor (cheers). I am a free trader in corn especially, though I stand here to represent 750,000 of the agricultural population of Ireland, that have no means of paying their rents, and supporting their families but by the produce of the land; and yet that people taunted me, and joined me in asserting for the labouring classes of Ireland the privilege of having their food as cheap as they possibly could (Applause.) It is upon the anti-slavery question differ from those who join me upon the principles of free trade, they, I think, will do me justice of saying, that though I may be mistaken, yet I am not designating wrong (cheers). The question between us to be discussed before the committee, before whom I shall not have the opportunity of appealing,

and therefore I state it distinctly, is this, whether slave-grown sugar ought to be more taxed in coming into this country than free-grown; whether the produce of free labour ought not to have the preference over the produce of slave-labour (cheers.) That is all. I am for giving the preference to the produce of free labour, but I do not think there is anything against free trade in that. If more is to be paid for slave-grown sugar, recollect the mode in which that sugar has been produced. Remember that no wages were paid for its production; that no gratuity was given to the men who fainted, even under that labour; recollect that it was not half-a-crown, or a shilling a-day, but lashes of the whip that were to be his reward if he did not work heartily. I confess I cannot bring that to my notion of free trade. We had a slave-trade once in England; it was openly carried on by the sanction of law; there is not here one human being that would be for a free trade in slaves (hear, hear, and cheers). I do not see accurately the distinction between being for a free trade in slaves, and being for a free trade in an article that would create slavery and augment the sum of human misery (cheers). As to your fifty per cent. cheaper, I think honesty is a still better policy. There was a man transported a few years ago of the name of "Moody Moses," who was in the habit of receiving all the stolen plate that could be brought to him, giving the thieves a small sum. That man would have sold you £50 worth of plate for twenty-five sovereigns, and the consequence would be that you would have had a free trade in plate; but it might have been that instead of finding yourselves in Exeter Hall, you might have found yourselves elsewhere (laughter and cheers). Free trade is a good thing, but honesty is better, and especially in a country that has given you a sublime example; for without murmur, from one end of the land to the other, from Land's End to the north of Scotland, and from Cape Clear to Giant's Causeway, there was no dissent or reprobation when you gave twenty millions in the sacred cause of humanity, and cheaply purchased the liberty of 800,000 human beings (cheers). We have heard the distinction drawn between royalty and republicanism; royalty has beat republicanism in the race altogether, and has at least the advantage of having totally abolished the horrible crime of slavery. Wherever the English flag waves, wherever the command of the Queen can be heard, there slavery is at an end, and man is a fellow-being, upon an equality with his fellow-creatures, throughout the British dominions (cheers). No, I cannot bring myself to do anything that shall have the least appearance of augmenting slavery. It is said that if you do not buy the slave-grown sugar, that others will—that you will have it in the markets of other parts of Europe; it is said, if you carry out your principles, why do you not apply them to cotton and tobacco? I think I have an answer to that—because it is not in my power to do it (laughter and cheers). If I could possibly prevent a single pound weight of slave-grown cotton, or an ounce of slave-grown tobacco, from coming into the country, I would sacrifice my existence, and perish on the scaffold, to be able to attain an end so useful to humanity; but, if I cannot prevent it, is that a reason why I should participate in another crime? It is not like wealth, that is better by accumulation; it is really a crime, and every diminution of crime is an advantage gained to humanity and Christianity. I beg, therefore, to say that I stand upright amongst my brother free-traders, although I cannot consent to augment the chance of increasing the importation of slaves into Brazil. So long as they have slavery, they will have the slave trade, and all the horrors of carrying the African to South America. From these remarks you will see that I have come here tolerably well prepared to defend my opinion: and, if I could attend the committee, I should defend my opinion there. I am sure I have not said one hard or disrespectful word to my able and talented friend who has advocated another view; but I hope that this society will never be pro-slavery in England or out of it; and though the other markets of Europe should be open to slave-grown sugar, England never will. England is the best market in the world for sugar, and there are two reasons for it: there is more money, and more certain payment (laughter). In other countries it is not quite so certain, and even that preference I would give to free-grown over slave-grown produce. I fear that I have detained you too long, but I was brought up in abhorrence of every adjunct of slavery, of everything that can assist slavery, of everything that can increase slavery; and I have spent too long a life in struggling against tyranny and oppression of every kind (loud cheers) to be participator in anything that can augment the evil against which I have devoted all the energies of my life (cheers). I now come to the resolution. I heard with great pleasure the American gentleman, who spoke with so much intelligence and good sense, so much moderation and firmness, and who condemned so emphatically slavery in his own country. Oh! but was there anything ever equal to the trial of John Brown? He was accused of what? Of assisting a person to escape from bondage, and he was convicted of it. I wonder what kind of a jury he had (loud cheers). Judgment was pronounced against him, alas! by an Irish judge (cheers), an odd article in America—there are strange ones nearer home (loud applause). But why do I mix any other consideration with it? Oh, pardon me! Humanity is so outraged, morality is so trampled upon, Christianity is sought to be so defiled by being touched with this persecution, that I wish I had power and utterance of language to pour forth a torrent of my scathing indignation and contempt. I mean you, Sir (Mr. Kellogg), no disrespect; but what other Christian country is there where such a horrible crime as this could be perpetrated in the form of law? Tried for his life—what for? An act of humanity—for that which ought to have been rewarded—for purity, for nobility, and manly virtue and bearing, and for feeling compassion to a wretched female. These men—brave in battle and wise in council in America—are they human beings, when they can be guilty of horrors of this description? Then the manner in which he pronounced sentence—it has been already referred to by my rev. friend, in strong terms. The judge defiled the book of God; he used the holy Scriptures to aggravate the bitterness of the sentence of death. I will not repeat it; but he introduced the name of the ever-adorable Redeemer, the only Mediator between God and man, as if he were making him—pardon me, I cannot continue it. Oh! the heavens are looking upon it—

"Just Heaven! what must be thy look,
When such a wretch before thee stands,
Unblushing, with thy sacred book,
Turning its leaves with blood-stained hands,
And wresting from its text sublime
Its law of hate, and blood, and crime!"

Something must be done. I would no more speak to a New Orleans man than to a pickpocket, or a villain, or a thief: they deserve to be placed in the same order. Stay at home—come not amongst us. Monster! pollute us not with the presence of beings who can belong to a country in which there is a law to make it death to exercise the plainest dictates of humanity. We have no other mode of reprobating such a people than by public opinion. Republicans are naturally proud; there is a tendency to pride in their institutions. Let us mortify their pride by showing them that they shall have nothing but our indignation and our reprobation. Pour out your indignation upon them. Let them know that they are out of the pale of society; that they are excommunicated from all intercourse with Christian men, while they have a statute book stained with so bloody a law. The blood which is in their statute book shall flash in their countenances, and they shall be marked as men of blood throughout the civilized world (cheers). The wretched man who pronounced this sentence was O'Neal. Oh! how I abhor him for his name (cheers). Let his "O" be blotted out at any rate (renewed cheers), and then nail the rap to the counter as soon as you can. Our public press is to blame (hear, hear). They have had, to be sure, some measured phrases upon the subject, some good sentences of reprobation, but they have not repeated them often enough. They have not uttered with sufficient scorn and infamy, the iniquity, the abomination and scoundrelism of it (cheers). Representing a large mass of my countrymen, I denounce the miscreant who draws his pedigree, if not his birth, from my native country. This is a meeting commenced in the cause of humanity. How could such a meeting be got together? Not for individual interest—not for the promotion of any scheme—not to increase any man's wealth. It has been convened by the impulse of generosity in the British heart, and the simple desire to make the cause of humanity triumphant throughout the world. It is a glorious meeting; it is delightful to make part of it. I am passing away from O'Neal. It has been stated that Brown has not been executed; that is true. It has been boasted that he has been pardoned; that is false: his sentence has been commuted—to what? A flogging by the common hangman at the foot of the gallows (sensation). I think that is worse than the death to which he was consigned. Many a man has suffered the penalty of death innocently, but he was subjected to that which you would not suffer your dog to endure, nor your enemy's dog (cheers). It was a canine punishment, and worse than wolves were the men who inflicted it. The words I utter will be conveyed on the wings of the press. Let them go up the Missouri, ascend along the Ohio, let them pass through the states of America, and let the miscreant O'Neal, and the wretches who joined with him, know the shout of indignation with which their conduct was received (cheers). The excellent and patriotic gentleman from America, who spoke to you a while ago, seemed, from his anxiety, to entertain stronger hopes than I have respecting the annexation of Texas to the American republic. Recollect this, that if Texas be united to the northern states, three more slave states will be created (a voice, "Nine"). I hear a gentleman, who has better authority than I have, say "Nine," and therefore I will take it nine. Hitherto the progress of slavery in America has been retarded by the northern states being free from that taint, and having nearly an equal number of representatives with the non-slave-holding states, and sometimes a majority over them. But if there be nine new slave-holding states added, there is an end to any check whatever; the northern and eastern states will be completely swamped by the new states. Texas, in which there have been scarcely any slaves hitherto, is to be peopled by them. How is that to be done? By the hideous process of raising slaves, bringing up human beings as if they were cattle from the stalls, in the same absence of morality and religion; bringing them up in defiance of law and of morality. I would not pollute the meeting by describing the system in which they are reared. You would not allow it, and I can hardly pollute my thoughts by thinking about it. Are we to have no anti-slavery society when this is to be done? I do not want to go to war; I abominate it. I don't think that in all my reading I ever read of three wars that would justify Christian men in entering into them. But I do want that the British government should be stimulated to take more active measures in preventing the annexation of Texas. Let us not delude ourselves. There is opposition, but is there not this fact, that the President has signed treaty for the annexation of Texas; it is laid on the table, and the question is, whether it shall be ratified? The first step is taken. Do I know who will hinder the giant stride of the next step that may be fatal to humanity, and render slavery perpetual? Pardon me for detaining you on these topics, strange to you. They come within the object for which we are met, and they come within the province of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; and I am only a feeble advocate of humanity while I continue to trespass on your attention, to rouse your hearts, to inspirit your zeal, and to call you to become apostles in this cause. These circumstances call for the enforcement of the rules of humanity and morality. Let the first duty of the British government, and of British subjects, be to promote and stimulate them into exercise. Remember that we are engaged in this mighty struggle; recollect that our object is to make man his own property, to leave him within the scope of education, for it is contrary to the laws of the southern states of America to teach a negro to read or to write. It is our duty to endeavour to have the book of God open, and the book of science never closed. It is our duty to prevent the father being separated from the mother; the child from being taken from its mother's counsels; to prevent the wretched mother from weeping, not rejoicing as others do, because a man-child is born into the world; but she weeps with sorrow at her dusky-coloured babe, by recollecting that she has not produced a man for the purposes of humanity, but a slave to be the subject of torture. It is our business to heal these divisions amongst ourselves; we require strength. There never was a period so fit to have the anti-slavery ranks increased, to have those who stand upon the steps of the throne, to have ministers and their supporters, to have every man en-

gaged in the government, rally to prevent the annexation of Texas with murderers such as O'Neal—to rally round humanity, to cheer one another on in the cause; that we may open the door of Christianity to the ignorant and uninstructed, and, above all, place this society in the first ranks of those who struggle nobly and manfully for the happiness of the human race (the honourable and learned gentleman then sat down amidst loud and long-continued cheering).

Mr. ALDIS seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN briefly moved—

"That this meeting would earnestly call the attention of the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the United Kingdom to the fact, that a large portion of the existing slave populations of Brazil, the Spanish colonies, and Dutch Guiana, entitled under treaties with this country, as well as by the municipal laws of the states into whose territories or colonies they have been illicitly introduced, to their liberty, are nevertheless subjected to an atrocious system of bondage."

"That to this large and unhappy class of persons must be added many thousands of Africans, manumitted at various times by the courts of mixed commission established in these countries, in a state of slavery of the most cruel character."

"That in the Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies there are many British subjects, estimated to amount to several thousands, illegally held in bondage, who ought to be free."

"And that, therefore, appeals should be made to her Majesty's government, promptly and perseveringly to urge upon the Brazilian, Spanish, and Dutch governments, the duty of removing every obstacle to their immediate and entire emancipation."

"That this meeting, having further learned the existence, in countries or the dependencies of countries at peace with Great Britain, of laws which affect the rights and liberties of British subjects, being persons of colour, who may have occasion to resort to them on their lawful business, they would, in this case also, urgently call on the government to obtain the repeal of such laws, as at variance with friendly relations and the stipulations of treaties."

Mr. T. SMITH, of Sheffield, in seconding the resolution, said—I feel myself highly gratified this day in being present at an assembly like this. I have joined in this cause in the country, when we had to bear the burden and heat of the day; but I never was present in London at a meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, until now. I do rejoice, and ever shall rejoice, in having had a privilege so great. I wish that it were in my power to respond, as my heart would have inclined me, to the sentiments which have resounded in your ears from the honourable gentleman from the sister isle, as to the domination of slavery in America. I regret with you that there should be a difference of sentiment among those who support a cause so great and divine. I trust, however, that the observations of Mr. Burnet will be realised—that it will only be one of those quarrels of lovers which end in increased affection (laughter). I rejoice in the prospect of the influence which this meeting will have on their exertions. I deplore deeply that, at this day, there should remain slavery on the earth. I long for the time when all shall be made free with the liberty which is in Christ, and, next to that and along with that, civil liberty, which we so happily enjoy, and which I trust will speedily be diffused throughout the world. With these sentiments I second the resolution (cheers).

J. BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., who had been repeatedly called for by persons in the meeting, then rose and said,—I had no intention of taking up any of the time of this meeting; but I feel extremely glad that I am permitted the opportunity of making a few observations, particularly after the speech which has fallen from the honourable gentleman who sits next to the chair (Mr. O'Connell). I agree with him entirely in every word of reprobation which he has used when speaking of the atrocious trial and sentence which took place in the United States; but I do think there was something too wholesale in his manner of speaking of that country, and, from what I have known of many of its citizens, I am prepared here to say that there are hundreds and thousands of men among them who would be worthy to stand on any platform in this country where the interests of humanity were being vindicated (cheers). We must bear in mind that in America abolitionists are not in the same position that they are in this country. Recollect that with us slavery was at a distance, its horrors probably were exaggerated, (loud cries of "No, no,") if that be possible (no, no). At any rate, being at a distance, the difficulty of abolishing slavery was greatly diminished. If slavery had existed in Ireland or in Scotland, would you have had the union of parties here that has taken place for the purpose of abolishing that accursed system? No! you would have had all the bitter party feeling which arises here on the consideration of every other great political question, and year after year must have rolled on before you would have achieved that great triumph that public opinion has effected with respect to slavery in the British colonies (cheers). Who planted slavery in the United States? It is not the love of freedom, or the real lovers of freedom who perpetuate it there. There are in the northern states such men as Tappan, Leavitt, Garrison, Wright, Kellogg (cheers), and others. All the best men, and nearly all the men who came to this country from America, of whom I have any knowledge, express their horror of the system with which their country is accursed. Now, when we see a judge like O'Neal taking such a part as he took with respect to that unfortunate man Brown, let us execrate his crime, but let us, at the same time, remember that, in a country where such a thing is at all possible, it must be an action of the greatest courage and daring to stand up and defend abolition at all. I equally deprecate all use of that sort of clap-trap argument which is occasionally brought forward, by which superiority is ascribed to crowns, over the institutions of America (loud cheers). The Americans are pursuing their own interests in their own way, according to the dictates of their honest convictions (cries of "No, no"). I speak of their political institutions (cries of "Hear, hear," hisses and applause). In this country we are pursuing our national interests through the means of those political institutions amongst which we live; and it is not wise of us to ridicule their institutions, and it is not wise of them to speak harshly of ours. What is wise for one cannot and may not be wise for another. But there are in America millions of men descended from

your own ancestors—men who are carrying on the great and glorious work of civilising that great continent, and who are doing deeds which are equal to any you have done here ("No, no," and cheers). I think our object at this meeting, and all others, should be to counsel the Americans kindly, but firmly, to get rid of all that is bad among them and to endeavour to draw closer the ties which can never be dissolved without doing injury to humanity—the ties which bind America to its mother country. Whilst I am speaking, perhaps I may be allowed to make one or two observations with respect to the question which has nearly divided this meeting in opinion (hear, hear). I agree with the amendment which was moved by George Thompson, inasmuch as it ascribes honest motives to the anti-slavery committee. I believe that they have risked much popularity—that they have encountered a great deal of odium from the course which they have taken; and, from what I know of them individually, I am quite sure they would not have done what they have done except it were from the belief that they were doing, not only that which the constitution of the Society empowered them to do, but that which they believed most likely to subserve the great ends of universal abolition (hear, hear). They say things now and then harsh of some of us, and we may have said things harsh of some of them; but I believe them truly honest, although I believe them to be mistaken. But if we grant for a moment that they are right and we are wrong, I would put it to them, and to this meeting, whether the principle which they have adopted is essential to the working out of the objects of the Anti-slavery Society? I believe it is not essential. The leaning on a government, whether it be this, the last, or the next (laughter), is leaning on a broken reed (cheers). The moment that it serves the object of the party in power for the time being wholly to sweep away all differential duties between slave-grown and free-grown produce, those duties will inevitably be swept away; and then the great argument which Sir Robert Peel derives from the memorials of the committee will be looked at as valuable only for what they have done for party purposes, and wholly useless for the future (cheers). But I am persuaded, and I think every man who looks at the course of the public opinion of this country must be persuaded, that the public opinion is going on to the overthrow of such duties as those we are now discussing. But be it so or not, I would ask the anti-slavery committee whether, even though they should succeed for a short time, I believe but for a short time, in preventing the abolition of those discriminating duties, is it worthy of the sacrifice they are making? I know they have—I will not say they, but the adoption of this principle has weakened the anti-slavery party in this country. I know that in some towns where anti-slavery efforts have been greatest, some of the most zealous of that body have declined to co-operate in the measures which the anti-slavery committee have recommended. I know that some whole societies and committees have entirely dissented from that principle. Now, we are anxious, and I think our conduct here to-day proves it, to prevent disunion. If it were a principle which was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of anti-slavery efforts—if it were one which, if it were overthrown, all anti-slavery efforts would be valueless for the future, then I might be disposed to fall in with the recommendation of the committee. But when I see it is not essential to the working out of your objects, that it is a principle about which the best men are compelled to hesitate, then I say it would be wiser for the committee not to allow the apple of discord to be thrown among anti-slavery advocates. Let it be an open question for every individual to do as he likes—let the committee pledge themselves not to act upon it in their official capacity, and then I believe that throughout the country there will be a healing, a cementing of the opinion of the anti-slavery community, and it will give to the society strength which at present it does not possess (cheers). Daniel O'Connell said that he was of opinion that the most powerful instrument to be used was the public opinion of the nations of the earth (hear, hear). I agree with that. A proposition is now before parliament—that proposition is, that free-labour sugar shall come in at 3d. per cwt. duty, and slave-grown sugar not under 6d., a duty which is prohibitory. Now, what will be the effect of it? I believe the principle is one about which good men may doubt, but the effect which is charged on our view is that—it would stimulate slavery and the slave-trade in the Brazils. But will not this circumstance equally stimulate it? The whole amount of the sugar which the free labour countries of the world can export is about 93,000 tons a year. Now with the present or prospective reduction of prices, it is our belief that more than 40,000 tons additional will be consumed in this country. If, then, by the partial opening of the market we admit Java sugar—if we give a higher price for it than is paid on the continent, that free-labour sugar must come here till the price is reduced to the same amount as on the continent, with the exception of the 10s. duty. Now the simple effect will be, that if we consume 40,000 tons more sugar a year than we do now, the consumption of the world will be increased by so much, and Cuba and Brazil will compete to supply this 40,000 tons, which will just as efficiently and effectually stimulate slavery as if they had free access to the markets of this country (cheers). I have put it to members of the committee, I have put it to many persons, and every man with whom I have conversed on the subject admits that the effect, in degree, will be the same; but I am prepared to say that the effect, in extent, will be the same; and not only that a serious evil will arise from the mode of proceeding which the government has adopted, based principally upon the scruples which the Anti-slavery committee have felt—

J. SCOBLE, Esq., rose to order, but great confusion having ensued he resumed his seat.

J. BRIGHT, Esq., continued:—I will not detain the meeting more than a few minutes, and then the gentleman can give any explanation I was going to say that, so far as I can perceive, no effect will be produced to prevent the stimulation of slavery and the slave-trade. That is one great evil that will be produced, which no man can deny; we have, as you know, an extensive trade with the Brazils and Cuba—an extensive commercial relation—many persons from this country live there, and many of them come here. Put yourselves in the position of a Cuban or a Brazilian—what is the effect upon your mind of such legislation in England? Is it not to exasperate you against England? Is it not to

mind, the Brazilians and Cubans are not here,—they do not know what sacrifices you would make for liberty in any form—all they see is a government composed of men who lash their own negroes (loud cheers). They do not judge of the English nation by the honest and the humane, but they judge of it, by their representatives the government, as hypocrites (loud cheers, in which the conclusion of the sentence was lost). I will not go into the question of the terrible distress which the population of the county from which I come will suffer, if their great trade with the Brazils is to be overthrown, in order to establish a principle of doubtful policy. I will not talk of the necessity of our increasing population, that there should be a constantly extending trade with extended means of employment; but I will merely put it upon this,—your public opinion cannot act on the public opinion of Brazil, unless Brazil knows you to be honest, and unless they have some friendly relations with this country. I am persuaded that there is, in this country, an amount of anti-slavery opinion which, joined with that of the northern states of America, must succeed in overthrowing that hideous mass of execrable evil which exists under the system of slavery (cheers). But I never was more convinced of anything in my life than I am of this, that it is a mistaken policy, a weak policy, and a policy unworthy of your great and glorious principles. I ask the members of government—men who will make use of you and everybody else—I speak not of this government, but it has been so with all governments for a century past in this country—I say nothing can be more unworthy of your great and glorious principles than that you should ask these men to tax some portion of your fellow men in order that these principles may be carried out. And looking at this meeting—an awful meeting it has been called—knowing how much you love the principle—knowing how much these men laboured for the exaltation of that principle—knowing how much they have spread the love of liberty throughout the world, I trust the result of the meeting will be to find the question of a universal abolition of slavery is consistent with the universal abolition of monopoly (long-continued cheers).

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said,—A resolution has been moved and seconded, and it has been spoken to by John Bright, who has dilated a good deal into matter that does not apply to the resolution before the meeting; therefore I trust I may be excused for expressing a very few sentiments before I put the resolution to this meeting. I have no doubt whatever, it is my firm conviction, that if the differential duties proposed to be adopted are not adopted, and that Brazilian, Cuban, and other slave-grown sugars are admitted on an equal ground with others into this market, I am certain, as far as I know anything of the commerce of Great Britain, and there are few men who have been more connected with it than I have, that there will be a greater quantity of sugar consumed in this country than will be brought both from Cuba and Brazil. I am equally certain, that if it be brought from these countries, it will be produced by the force of the lash, and the lash alone (cheers). I am certain it will be the means of consuming—I use the word advisedly—the sinews and lives of the unhappy slaves in those colonies (hear, hear). I am certain these consumed sinews and these consumed lives, will be followed up by a traffic in slaves from the coast of Africa; it admits of no dispute (loud cries of "Hear, hear"). I am astonished at the assertions and the declamations of my two friends on my right hand. I do therefore most fully—

G. THOMPSON, Esq., in a state of great excitement:—I rise to order. I withdrew my amendment, with the understanding that my speech and my propositions were not to be canvassed by every man. You have taken upon yourself, Sir (confusion)—If the Chairman had simply put the resolution, I should not have risen. After the remarks of Mr. Burnet, Sir George Stephen, and Mr. O'Connell, you have no right to complain of me or my friends beside me: I shall now put my amendment before the chair. I shall put, as an amendment to the resolution now before the meeting, the one I put before. I do not consider this fair play. I will put my amendment, because terms have not been kept with us (uproar). You have spoken to my amendment, sir—why did not you bring up these men to meet my amendment (cheers, cries of "Chair," and confusion.) I gave up my amendment—I am not going to give it up now—I will put it before the chair at this moment (continued uproar).

Mr. O'CONNELL: I do not wish to intrude upon the meeting, but I would remind Mr. Thompson that there has been no violation of any pledge.

G. THOMPSON, Esq.: I beg pardon; I have yet to reply to you, sir; you have misrepresented me; I shall put my amendment, and reply to you while there are twenty persons to hear me—ay, and to the Chairman too (confusion).

Mr. O'CONNELL: If there were hard expressions upon individual opinions, you have had ample revenge. My honourable friend (Mr. Bright), a much more able speaker than either of us, has been heard at full length. I understood him to have sat down, having closed his speech. He vindicated his opinions—we vindicated ours. In doing that we call for no resolution from the meeting. Two persons expressed their opinions upon one side, and most ably were we replied to.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall put the question.

G. THOMPSON, Esq.: I rise to move an amendment (great uproar, and cries of "Spoke")—I agreed to withdraw my amendment on the ground that the committee would re-consider the subject. I had a distinct pledge that it should be the case. I did not expect that I should sit here to hear my statements misrepresented, without the opportunity of replying, and putting my amendment. I would have tolerated all but the chairman (cheers and uproar). He takes upon himself to designate that which I submitted to you at the beginning, as inconsistent declamation; that is not fair play; this is not honourable dealing. Mr. O'Connell misrepresented every argument I put before you; he takes advantage of a subsequent stage of the business—when my amendment was, by myself and my friend, honourably withdrawn, as the lovers of peace—to misrepresent my arguments, to attempt to carry away the meeting to the opposite point from that to which I have been directing their attention. The honest way for the committee would have been to have brought out speakers to reply to me, or there should not have been any additional reference to the question. I am now, after I have

been ensnared into the withdrawal of my amendment (cheers, and cries of "No, no")—I am to sit and hear that I have not learned my anti-slavery principles in the same school with a gentleman who moved a resolution. I came here with a view of reconciling the differences that existed in the minds of my own friends, with the differences that exist in the minds of gentlemen near me. I pursued a course which I deemed likely to effect that object, by submitting an amendment, which I withdrew on the understanding that there was to be a future and ultimate reconsideration of the constitution. Now, as the terms have not been kept on this platform, I submit my original amendment (uproar).

Mr. BURNET: I do think this motion should be considered. You will never make anything out in confusion. I only want you to know what you are about: I am not going to make a reply or a remark, but merely to point out order. If the amendment is to be put, understand it. Do not let things get into such a state of confusion that our Chairman can never tell when the question comes, or whether it is carried in favour of free trade or of anti-slavery principles, or both (cheers). Do not let us be in this state. It is unmanly. Let there be no passion. We have a great work that cannot afford passion. An amendment was offered to the meeting; it was agreed that it should be taken under consideration. The meeting agreed to that—they have not taken away the agreement. No man should be so tender skinned that he cannot bear a little chafing (laughter and cheers). I was told that my observations were clap-trap; but the idea of causing a collision between two societies, because I have been referred to, would never have come into my head (laughter). I hope my friend will leave the question where it was. But if he carries the amendment, he will only effect what was to be done without a division (cheers).

Mr. RATREY: There was a complete understanding at the time the amendment was withdrawn that there was not to be any further reference to the subject. When Mr. O'Connell stated that the principle on which the committee was acting was that of giving a preference to free over slave-grown produce, it was an infringement of the understanding (cries of "No"). I have a right to advocate the opposite principle. When Mr. O'Connell says that the people must give preference to free-grown produce, it is at variance with the principles of liberty. I am surprised that he, whom the great majority of the people have looked up to as a leader—a humane man—should allow himself to be contaminated by the touch of government (laughter and great uproar). I would not open my lips in such an assembly, did I not consider that there was a vital principle at stake. I tell you, as a working man, that the principle of government commenced by the committee of the Anti-slavery Society is considered as cant and hypocrisy (great laughter). It is because I regard highly the labours of this society that I would recommend you to be careful that there is not a split out of this room. By the continuance of differential duties, you are exacting from this country, from this over-taxed people, the interest of twenty millions—the price that bought the negro population.

Mr. O'CONNELL: I do not understand how what I said could be a violation of an agreement with any gentleman. If it were the case, he should have rose and interrupted me, and I would have sat down (cheers), and not persevered, though my own opinion was otherwise. My friend, Mr. Thompson, says that I misrepresented his argument; I did not purport to state his arguments at all. It is quite true I may have made a bad argument in reply (laughter). It would be better for us to come to the good humour we were in before. Mr. Bright was heard at full length, and no gentleman better deserves to be heard. He was even heard in his statistical calculations. He brought in vulgar arithmetic (laughter), and having made a powerful speech I would submit that he has had sufficient revenge for our speeches. I am quite ready to apologise if I have violated any agreement (cries of "No, no"). I did not intend it. If I have, I hope Mr. Thompson will accept my apology (cheers).

The CHAIRMAN: Permit me to say that, however warmly I may have felt on the subject, I feel more warmly at having caused confusion. I am convinced that this is a question so important that it cannot be settled in this assembly. The only way in which this subject can be fairly discussed, reasonably looked at, and a sound conclusion come to, must be in an assembly of a somewhat different character to the present; therefore I think, as John Burnet would say, that we had better assume our good temper, and I will put the resolution without the amendment, and quietly finish the business.

G. THOMPSON, Esq.: It is easy for the chairman to say let us return to our good humour, when there is a host of misrepresentation to be removed.

J. BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.:—After all that has taken place in connexion with this unfortunate subject, I am disposed to recommend George Thompson, if he have no great objection to it, not to press the amendment. The terms upon which I would recommend it are these, that I am quite sure the opinion of this meeting cannot be mistaken (cheers). I am quite certain, also, that many of the committee have a strong opinion contrary to that of others; if there is a difference of opinion amongst them, I think none of us are determined to pursue a course so as to go rashly on in spite of the great expression of opinion which has been seen to-day (cries of "No, no," and cheers). I do not mean to say that the committee should be absolutely bound by what they have seen; yet I do think that there is enough to cause them most seriously to re-consider the decision to which they have come, and to act with very great caution in any future steps they take in connexion with this part of their labours. I think the whole of the disturbance arose from my excellent friend the Chairman (cries "No, no," and cheers), who inadvertently, in the warmth of his feelings, spoke upon this question. We are all warm, I trust, upon some question. He took upon him to express the opinion that our speeches were rather declamatory. Very likely it was true; but still it was not necessary that we should have his sanction. I think it would meet the views of all joined in the cause of this society throughout the world, if the question were to be put at rest now. I think that great good has been done by the discussion which has taken place.

J. STURGE, Esq.:—Recollect, it is the liberty of millions that we come here to advocate. I hope, whatever our decision may be, we

shall not come to it in heat on either side. If my friend, the chairman, has been betrayed by his anxiety for the cause into saying a word or two too much from the chair (cries of "No, no;" "yes, yes,")—he is quite ready to retract them. Do not let us mar a good cause for this.

Mr. THOMPSON:—It is with great reluctance that I concede to the wish of those near me to withdraw this amendment. I feel myself fully justified as an individual in requesting that the amendment should be put from the chair. I came here with the expectation that the amendment itself would be the subject of an animated discussion on this platform. I was not averse to such a discussion; on the contrary, I stated my own views fully, little doubting that they would elicit a full exposition of the views of the gentlemen on the platform. To my surprise, when I moved it, a proposition was made that the matter should be referred for re-consideration, a measure that was before proposed and refused, but which, had it been accepted, I should not have spoken upon it to-day. I did not think, after I had withdrawn my amendment, that my style would have been animadverted upon; that, least of all, the chairman, from his lofty seat, should pronounce it inconsistent declamation. I do not perceive it to be so (laughter, and cheers). I thought that there was running through that speech something like truth and reason, and the principles of Christianity (cheers). If not, then I have only to remind honourable gentlemen that sit near me, that there was a time when they did not despise that declamation when they thought it helped them, and when they thought there was in it a recommendation of the principles of the Prince of Peace, and at the same time a repudiation of laying hold of the hand of war or force to help them. Now, I will venture to tell them, that they have not met one argument. Why did they not grapple with my peace principle? Why did they not grapple with my argument that they would make the government pro-slavery, by establishing the principle that slave-grown produce should be excluded? Why did they not grapple with the political economy of the question, as put forward by Mr. Bright? No; they did not do this, but by a contemptible sarcasm endeavoured to evade the gist of the whole matter, and then tell us not to come to a decision with heated minds (laughter.) I have been coming to the decision for the last twelve years. I have not a word to unsay that I uttered years ago. This was my language when I acted in conjunction with them—Open the ports, bring in corn to feed the hungry, cotton to clothe the naked, and sugar as a luxury, from all parts of the globe, and exert your influence over the consciences of men, to get rid of slavery (cheers). This is my doctrine to-day. I warn the gentlemen against repudiating such a sentiment. I warn gentlemen of a certain religious profession (great uproar) against coming here in the teeth (renewed uproar)—I was going to warn them against pursuing a line of argument that would lead to the establishment of a doctrine which, in common with myself, I know they repudiate. I was not about to bring an accusation myself against these gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN:—I think that is rather arguing the question again. We had better put the amendment.

Mr. THOMPSON:—I wish it emphatically to go forth.

The CHAIRMAN:—We must not have argument all upon one side.

Mr. THOMPSON:—I think it my duty to avoid disruption. I withdraw my amendment in deference to the opinion of those about me. I wish it to be understood, as I think it ought to be, that this meeting is decided in its favour (cries of "No, no," and "Yes, yes.")

The CHAIRMAN:—The wise course is simply to put the amendment.

Mr. STURGE:—If it is withdrawn under the assumption that the meeting is in its favour, I must protest against it. I believe it is better to take the sense of the meeting.

Mr. J. BURNET:—May I say one word about the amendment? Mr. Thompson has occupied the greatest portion of the time of the day, and he yet says he is not heard. Why none of us have spoken as he has done. We are not arguing the case at all, and the little by-play there has been, was nothing against him. Let the amendment be put, and then the resolution, and then we shall see how it stands—we only wish there may be no mistake about it. Let them take the amendment if they will, but let there be no mistake about it.

The CHAIRMAN (after some communication with Mr. Bright) then said—I consider, as the matter now stands, that I had better put the amendment and afterwards the original resolution, as that is before the meeting. I am now about to read the amendment (which he did).

Mr. STURGE then rose, but was met with cries of "Order," "Chair," and interruption. I am in order. I am not going to say a word against putting the amendment, but you will all agree it is important to know upon what we are going to vote. The committee have agreed upon everything else except the suspension of operations until they have taken the opinion of their constituents. We are ready to re-consider the subject, but we think it would be prejudging the question to suspend our operations until this is done. Therefore, we divide against the amendment, because it requires us at once to cease to promote fiscal regulations.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment; and declared, that as far as he was able to judge, it was carried. Some doubt being expressed, he repeated his opinion that it was carried (loud cheers).

Mr. JOSIAH CONDER:—There is one consequence of your having passed the amendment, which I am sure you did not intend—namely, to set aside the resolution which has been moved by Mr. Sherman and seconded by Mr. Smith; and I have, therefore, to urge it afresh in connexion with the sixth resolution, which I will merely read, and not make a single observation upon it, hoping you will place sufficient confidence in the committee as to give your assent to the resolution, upon which I should have been well prepared to speak, if time would allow me.

"That this meeting, whilst objecting to the various colonial and governmental schemes already propounded for supplying the British colonies with labourers, admit the wisdom and necessity, so long as the present plan is permitted to exist, of confining emigration from Africa to the West India colonies, strictly to the British settlements under the control of government."

"That this meeting, however, offer their decided protest against the regulation which authorises the shipment of male labourers alone to

these colonies, as manifestly injurious to the moral elevation and religious culture, both of the emigrants themselves and the emancipated classes, among whom for time they will be settled."

"That whilst this meeting loudly protest against this permission, in reference to Africans imported into the West India colonies, they would especially reprobate it in its application to the export of Coolies to the Mauritius: and the contemplated emigration of Chinese labourers to the British colonies generally, as fraught with the most melancholy consequences; and would earnestly call upon the imperial legislature to interpose its authority, to prevent the further occurrence of so great a social evil."

Mr. G. EVANS cordially seconded the resolution.

Professor E. WRIGHT, jun., (of Boston, America):—Perhaps I am a little out of order, but I could not go home to America, and say to my abolition friends that I had been to this great meeting, and said not a word to certain things I have heard here—some things especially that dropped from the honourable and learned gentlemen from another island whom I have been taught from my childhood to admire, and whom, from a letter of his to our friends in Cincinnati, I felt myself impelled to love. In his speech, which, as he well says, will go all over our country on the wings of the wind, he has done us, I am afraid, more harm than good. I have laboured in the anti-slavery cause in the United States for the last twelve years, through thick and thin; and what is the obstacle we meet with in regard to the sympathy we ask from our British friends? "Oh," say our friends, "these people are rank monarchists—they hate no republicans, and want to break down our institutions, and we will have nothing to do with you as long as you have correspondence with these British abolitionists" (cries of "Oh"). I don't believe this (hear, hear). It has been said it was the monarchy that abolished your slavery. I understand this is not a despotic, but a mixed, a limited monarchy. What is that? Why, it has a little spice of republicanism in it. Now I put the question, whether it was the republicanism or the monarchy of Great Britain that abolished slavery (hear, hear, and cheers?) I do beg of you, as abolitionists, not to mix up the question of our institutions, and teach our people that you despise them—for you do not do so (hear, hear). You love our institutions; and in the case of Brown, which has been referred to (and it did my soul good to bear that horrible judge dealt justly by, who, if he is abominated anywhere, it is by the 57,000 abolitionists in different parts of America), don't let this throw a shade of despair over our enterprise, with regard to the fact, that this man was tried by a form of law under which, a few years ago, he would have been hung upon the next tree, or have been burnt alive, and the thing would have been justified judicially. It is not so. This man was condemned: how? Under republican law? No, I beg to state it was under a law enacted in 1754, when America was a colony of George III. (loud cheers). It has been said that there is great danger of the annexation of Texas, because the government of Great Britain recognises the political independence of that valley of rascals (laughter). But Texas will not be annexed to the Union, and if it should be, it does not decide the question against abolition; but on the contrary, we have now in the United States the liberty party, which numbered 7000 voters in 1840, when it was as much as a man's life was worth—certainly his political life; that number has been increasing, until last year 57,000 voters were polled; and the reason why the two candidates for the presidency carried the mass of the people with them, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, against poor Tyler, was the increase of abolition feeling throughout the country (cheers).

Mr. O'CONNELL:—I hope I may be excused, but this gentleman has totally mistook me, I am happy to say, and I know he is an excellent abolitionist. My censure was on the American slaveholders, and those who countenanced slaveholders in America; and a word of that censure I will never retract; but I made a distinction between them and the abolition party there, and in the very letter he alludes to that discrimination was most completely marked. An abolitionist in America is a man to be highly esteemed, and I never meant to throw them overboard; and, as to my attacking the democratic principle, no man goes beyond me in embracing it. Indeed, one gentleman a while ago suggested that I was taking part with the government. I suppose he thought there was a conspiracy between me and the government (loud laughter and cheers).

The resolutions were then put and carried.

The Rev. J. CARLILE moved, and **J. SCOBLE, Esq.**, seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and the meeting then separated.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 29, 1844.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society has been held; and our columns to-day contain an extended and accurate report of the proceedings. As was generally anticipated, it was a very crowded and excited meeting; the interest always awakened by the occasion having been raised to an extraordinary pitch, on the one hand by the hope of seeing two such distinguished men as Lord Brougham and Mr. O'Connell, and, on the other, by the expectation of a debate on the sugar question. The former of these sources of gratification was only partially realized, the noble Lord who was to have presided having found it impossible to attend, in consequence (as his letter states) of pressing business in the Privy Council. Mr. O'Connell, who, we are sorry to say, looked somewhat aged since we had last the pleasure of seeing him, was greeted with more than the customary enthusiasm, and received from Mr. Buxton the just compliment of having been throughout his public life a firm and unflinching friend of the Anti-slavery cause. The diversion on the sugar duties came on at an early period of the day. On the motion for the reception of the Report being put, Mr. George Thompson rose to propose an amendment, in the following terms:—

"That, while this meeting awards to the Committee its most hearty commendation for the activity and zeal it has evinced in the cause of universal abolition during the past year; yet, considering the honest differences of opinion which prevail amongst the friends of that cause, on the subject of discriminating duties on slave and free produce, and on the propriety of a society restricted by the constitution to the use of those means only which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character, interfering through the medium of government in the question, deems it right, for the purpose of preventing disunion among the friends of emancipation, to instruct the committee to be hereafter appointed to abstain from acting in their official capacity on that part of the constitution which pledges the society to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, until a special meeting has been held to reconsider the articles of the society as they bear upon that question."

We pass over for the moment the contents of Mr. Thompson's speech, in order to trace the course of his motion. The amendment having been seconded without remark by Mr. George W. Anstie, of Devizes, Mr. Sturge said he had had reason to expect that the amendment would have been differently worded; and he made a suggestion which would have been exactly adapted to the motion which he had anticipated, but which did not strictly apply to the actual form of the amendment. Under these circumstances, the Rev. J. H. Hinton rose, and, taking up Mr. Thompson's offer, that, if a pledge were given him that the constitution of the society, in what relates to the adoption of fiscal regulations, should be reconsidered, he would withdraw his motion, gave, with the acquiescence of the gentlemen around him, the pledge required; on which the motion was accordingly withdrawn. We then hoped that the attention and interest of the meeting would have been directed to the general aspects of the anti-slavery cause. This, however, was only partially the case. The sugar question having been alluded to by Sir George Stephen and Mr. Buxton, spoken to at some length by Mr. O'Connell, and, after a speech on the other side by Mr. Bright, M.P.,) touched with some force by the chairman (Mr. Samuel Gurney,) Mr. Thompson fired, and, affirming that this mode of discussing the question was a breach of the pledge given him, insisted on retracting his offer, and on placing his amendment again before the chair. This somewhat unusual incident naturally produced a strong sensation in both the parties who were in force in the Hall, and the excitement for a time ran very high. At length Mr. Thompson, relieved in a measure by the utterance of his feelings, and justified by a public request from his friend Mr. Bright, consented a second time to withdraw his motion; accompanying this consent, however, with an intimation that the majority of the meeting was with him. Not prepared to make such admission, some members of the Committee thought it would be better that the sense of the meeting should be taken; and, after a brief pause, the Chairman put the amendment accordingly. The show of hands was large on both sides, and many persons doubted on which part the majority lay; but the chairman decided that the amendment was carried. The interest of the meeting was now over, and the remaining business was speedily disposed of.

Passed as Mr. Thompson's amendment was at the annual meeting of the Society, the Committee have not resented, and do not mean to evade it. A special meeting of this body was held on the 22nd instant, for the consideration of the whole subject as it now stands; and the resolution to which they came has been sent forth in the form of the following circular:

*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad-street, May 23rd, 1844.*

SIR,—At a Special Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at No. 27, New Broad-street, on Wednesday evening, the 22nd instant, it was resolved:—

That a Special General Meeting of the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be summoned, in conformity with the 8th rule of its constitution, to meet at Exeter Hall,* London, on Monday, the 3rd of June next, at 11 o'Clock in the Morning, "to consider that part of the Constitution of the Society which pledges it to the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour."

As a member of the Society, according to the 5th rule of its constitution, you are respectfully invited to attend.† This circular, which is not transferable, will be your ticket of admission to the said Special General Meeting, on inscribing your name and address, in a book to be prepared for the purpose, at the Hall. I am, sir, yours respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

To such a reference to their constituency the Committee have not, and never have had, the slightest objection. They make the appeal without fear; but whatever may be their anticipations, they will not prejudge the issue.

ALTHOUGH we have thought it better not to interrupt our narrative of the proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society by any remarks on the speech of Mr. Thompson, we cannot permit ourselves to pass it over without notice. It has partly a personal claim on us, inasmuch as it prefers some grave complaints against the conductors of this journal; but more particularly is it important as constituting what may fairly be deemed the

manifesto of the ultra free-traders attached to the Anti-slavery body. Whether we shall succeed in our attempt to do it dispassionate justice, our readers shall say when we have done.

We will dispose of the personal matter in the first instance. It is contained in the following passage:—

"I must take exception to that part of the committee's report, which declares there has been a full and candid discussion on this entire question (hear, hear). I am not here to complain that I, who in another place and on another occasion, did calmly discuss this great question, have not been permitted, through the medium of the accredited and authorised journal of the society, to speak to the anti-slavery public of this country. I will not complain that others are not permitted to put in their statements, and explain their sentiments, except so far as some honourable conductor of the journal may please to place in the centre of a short editorial notice some detached sentences of that speech. I will not complain that, while every letter on the other side has been published in the organ of the society, and distributed through the length and breadth of the country, I have not yet seen, with the exception of a letter bearing the signatures of three gentlemen—Mr. Blair, of Bath; Mr. Anstie, of Devizes; and Mr. Spencer, of Hinton—one statement, embodying a calm elucidation of the views of those who differ from the committee on this question (cheers). I will not complain of this, though I must, in stating this fact, take exception to those particular words which have been inserted in the report, and which go to declare that the committee have been anxious that a full and candid exposition of the views entertained on this great question should be put before the public."

Mr. Thompson's complaint—for this is evidently his meaning when he says he does not complain—is, that neither he nor other gentlemen of his way of thinking "have been permitted" to express their sentiments in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. We beg to ask in reply, whether Mr. Thompson, or any of his friends, has ever been refused this opportunity? Has any one of them ever sought it? If this has been the case, the fact has never come to our knowledge. As a medium of expressing their sentiments, this journal has been as much neglected by this whole party as though "the Anti-slavery public" were the last people in the country by whom they wished to be heard. Nothing more can really have been intended by Mr. Thompson, than that the reports of speeches delivered at the meetings of the League have not been inserted in the *Reporter* without solicitation. Whether this be a high crime and misdemeanour we must leave our readers to judge. We really thought—but foolishly, perhaps—that we paid some respect to these speeches when we made them the topics of leading articles, not generally the obscurest things in a newspaper. Will any one tell us into what part of the League our articles have been transferred? No copy even of the circular of Messrs. Blair, Anstie, and Spencer, was sent for insertion in the *Reporter*; and we can afford to ask, we think, whether the spontaneous insertion of that paper did not show some desire for "a full and candid exposition" of the views of various parties in the Anti-slavery body?

But let us come to the general subject, in relation to which, as we have said, the speech of Mr. Thompson is an important document. Under the circumstances in which it was delivered it must be taken to be a complete statement of the case of his party; and, although Mr. Thompson pitied himself for being the man chosen to make it, the friends in whose name he spoke no doubt—and justly—congratulated themselves on having engaged so powerful and eloquent an advocate. We may fairly assume, therefore, that we have here the case in its strength, and that we shall find in the *exposé* before us whatever it has of the conclusive or the convincing. We proceed, then, to a careful examination of it.

Mr. Thompson begins by an admission which at once does credit to his candour, and clears the ground for his argument; namely, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have acted correctly according to the constitution of that body, which both directs and binds them. The constitution itself he impugns, in that article of it which sanctions the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour. What are his reasons for disapproving this article? Reasons, did we say? We must alter our phraseology, and say *reason*; for he states only one. But this, perhaps, is a direct and conclusive one. Let us see. It is, that fiscal regulations "can be maintained only by a resort to force." And this argument Mr. Thompson elaborated (as he well might, seeing it was his only one,) with much eloquence, and many fervid appeals to the conscience. But, whether there be any force in this argument or not in the direction in which it bears, it is evident that it is wholly beside the mark, and that it misses altogether the real question. The real question relates, not to fiscal regulations universally, but to fiscal regulations *in favour of free labour*. Mr. Thompson, however, at once diverts us from fiscal regulations of this or of any other class, and fixes our view on fiscal regulations at large—since they must all of them be "maintained by a resort to force," whether for or against free labour, or for whatever other purpose. This part of his speech, consequently, is neither more nor less than an argument (of more or less weight) against fiscal regulations altogether; it is no argument at all against such a modification of fiscal regulations as shall favour free labour. The true question for discussion is—fiscal regulations being in operation, is it improper so to frame them as to encourage free labour? On this question Mr. Thompson said not a word. The argument he did use would sweep away duties for revenue (which even the Leaguers uphold) as well as duties for monopoly, together with all those innumerable and multi-form applications of force, seen and unseen, which prevent human society from being a curious and somewhat perplexing exhibition of the fruits of the voluntary principle.

* Ground Floor, No. 6,

† Any subscriber of Ten Shillings or upwards, annually, or donor of Five Guineas to the Society, has a right to attend, and should it happen that by mistake, the circular has not reached the party, on its being intimated to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad-street, one will be immediately sent.

We have said that on the real question—namely, whether, fiscal regulations being granted, it is improper so to frame them as to encourage free labour—Mr. Thompson uttered not a word. His silence, however, is expressive. It permits judgment to go by default. It is a tacit admission, that, apart from an objection which applies to fiscal regulations universally, there is no objection to be made against fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

Mr. Thompson then adverted to the objections to which his views are liable. He said he had found two: the one, that the introduction into the British market of Brazilian and Cuban sugar "would lead to an aggravation of the horrors of slavery, and increase the traffic in slaves;" the other, "that the consumption of produce the result of labour coerced and unremunerated is a crime." He applied himself in the first instance to the second of these objections; but, as this is a ground which the Committee have never taken, we do not feel ourselves concerned with its defence. We confess, however, that we were on the alert to hear what this eloquent advocate might say on the first of the two points he had brought up. "But I come back to the first argument," said he; "that it (the introduction of slave-grown sugar) would aggravate the horrors of (slavery and) the slave-trade. My verdict on this part of the subject is, 'not proven.'" We acknowledge that we were struck with astonishment when we heard this announcement. Not proven? Does Mr. Thompson then mean to say, that, if it were proved, he would give up his case? And will he admit hypothetically, that, if the admission of slave-grown sugar would aggravate the condition of slavery and the extent of the slave-trade, it ought not to be allowed? So it seems to us his plea of 'not proven' must be understood; and we rejoice in this outbreak of a generous heart, a sign by which we recognise our old friend and fellow-labourer in the Anti-slavery cause. Here we are in a moment agreed. If the consumption of slave-grown sugar would not have this effect, we do not wish it excluded; and he does not wish it introduced if it would. There is no longer, therefore, any question of principle between us. The controversy relates henceforth to a mere question of fact, and, happily, to a question far from being difficult of solution.

When, in relation to the alleged influence of the admission of slave-produce in aggravating slavery and augmenting the slave-trade, Mr. Thompson exclaimed "Not proven," one might have been ready to utter the counter exclamation, Was it ever doubted? But we are not to suppose Mr. Thompson either ignorant or inconsiderate of the obvious influence of an increased demand for produce in increasing the sufferings of labourers who are slaves, or in requiring an enlarged supply of slaves for the augmented toil. All this he understands very well. But his argument is, that the same result will be arrived at in either direction. If we open our ports to all produce, including the slave-grown, he admits that we shall aggravate slavery and augment the slave-trade; but so we shall, he affirms, and to the same extent, if we open our ports to the produce of free labour only: since we shall in this case, by abstracting free-labour produce from the general markets of the world, leave a chasm which will be immediately filled up by the produce of slaves.

What there is of truth in this representation is not merely true, but obvious, although it has been brought forward with an air of sagacity—we might almost say, an air of discovery—somewhat amusing. It did not require a Solon to acquaint us that, if we take a quantity—say 40,000 tons—of free-grown sugar out of the continental market, this amount will be supplied out of the general sugar produce of the world, including that of slave labour as well as free. Nothing can be plainer than that such a result will and must take place. Everybody, except perhaps the gentlemen of the League, saw this from the first, and nobody—none of the Anti-slavery party, at least—is taken by surprise by it. It is just one instance of a great and universal fact, which admits of no exception, that an increased demand for any article tends to stimulate the production of it wherever it is produced or producible throughout the whole world.

Admitting this fact, however, do we admit the argument which is founded on it? By no means. We may admit, indeed, that this element of the world's commerce restricts the benefit to be derived from fiscal regulations in favour of free labour within narrower limits than might otherwise be attained, and than we could desire to attain; but we cannot allow that the drawback is of so great an amount as to render such regulations useless and void.

For, in the first place, the value of such regulations is not to be estimated merely by their effect on the actual culture of sugar, but also, and more especially, by their moral power as the utterance of a great national sentiment. The use of them is to tell the world that Great Britain abhors slavery and the slave-trade, and to serve as a method of practically discouraging them. It is a mode of employing the force of public opinion; and may be regarded as especially obligatory on a nation whose opinion, on the one hand, is of more weight on all questions than that of any other country in the world, and whose opinion, on the other, has been so often and so energetically expressed on slavery and the slave-trade in particular. Slaveholders and slave-traders *may* share in the universal improvement in the sugar trade which the partial opening of the British market must inevitably produce; but they will still quail under the loud and indignant rebuke which the refusal of Great Britain to admit the produce of their wickedness into her ports will administer in the presence of the world.

The consideration we have now stated will apply, whatever be the amount of the stimulus incidentally ministered to slave-culture by our admitting free-grown sugars; even supposing it, for the sake

of argument, to be as great as would result from our admitting sugar indiscriminately. But—and this is our next point—we do not admit this. Mr. Thompson argues as though the whole vacancy in the European market caused by British consumption of free-grown sugar would be filled up by the produce of slave-labour—if the stimulus applied to the culture of sugar by the consumption of 40,000 tons more of it annually in England would be confined to slave-holding countries! This is an obvious mistake. The culture of sugar will be quickened everywhere; and the produce of free labour will come, in full proportion, to supply the vacancy created in the general market. Besides, of all the markets in the world, that of Great Britain is the most valuable to the sugar grower. If this were open to slave-grown sugars, it would supply a greater stimulus to slave-culture than any that can arise from a participation in the impulse which will be given to the foreign market at large; while on the contrary, the limitation of the British market to free-grown sugar will give to free labour a ready-money superiority over slave-labour, and thus tend to promote its extension and improvement. In this way a second important object will be obtained by fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

There is yet a third. The annexation of a pecuniary advantage to the employment of free labour, will be a standing and influential argument for the abandonment of slave-labour. As it is certain that pecuniary profit is not the universal basis of the system of slavery—we take Turkey and Africa to witness—so it cannot be confidently expected that slavery will be promptly abolished by all parties who find it to be a pecuniary loss. Nevertheless, people generally feel rather tenderly in their pockets; and as the fact that slavery is gainful contributed powerfully to a firm grasp of it, the discovery that it is no longer a money-making, but a losing system, must strongly lead towards its abandonment. Is it not desirable, therefore, that the Brazilians and Cubans should have to say "If we use free labour, we can carry our sugars direct to the English market, and this will give us so much more per cwt. for them now let us abolish slavery?" Will not this be better—more humane, more sound in morals, more noble and more generous a policy—than to put into their mouths such words as these:—"The English will take our slave-grown sugar. Now for the lash. We can now enrich ourselves by a rate of labour which will kill off the slaves with double speed, and may depend upon the double diligence of the slave-traders will supply the vacancy?"

We have thus noticed, we believe, every part of Mr. Thompson's argument against fiscal regulations in favour of free labour. It needless now to say that to us it was altogether unconvincing. To us, indeed, his reasonings were unexpectedly feeble; and, if we had before been doubting, his speech would, we think, have determined us on the opposite side. The commonplaces which occupied the rest of his address, and the whole of Mr. Bright's, scarcely require notice. It is perhaps true, that the humanity of the Queen's Ministers "has leaped out of the coffee-pot into the sugar basin"; but Mr. Thompson knows that this gibe is not applicable to the Committee. It is perhaps true also, that the Queen's Ministers are as hypocritical as the orators of the League represent them; but the declared principle of the abolitionists has always been, to pursue their own object without regard to the character of political men or political parties. Mr. Bright affirms that "many of the Committee have a strong opinion contrary to that of others;" to which we reply, that this is utterly unknown in the Committee itself. Be we stop ourselves, as we fear we have already wearied our readers. We trust the critical importance of the occasion will be our apology for remarks so extended, and that those who are interested in the great question in debate will give to them a serious and candid perusal.

THE necessity of devoting almost the whole of our present number to the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, precludes us from more than a very brief notice of other important topics, to which we must do more justice in our next number. We must, however, just name one of them.

On the 14th instant, Admiral de Mackau, French Minister of Marine, introduced into the Chamber of Peers, a project of law relating to the Abolition of Slavery in the colonies. This step, we suppose, is one of the fruits of the late debate on the petitions of the artisans, but the measure itself is altogether unsatisfactory. It merely proposes to amend a law of 1833, so as to make it more clear that certain powers to issue royal ordinances for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves are conferred upon the king. It takes, consequently, no step in advance. If the law should be adopted by the Chambers during the present session, (of which, in this advanced period, there is little probability,) nothing is done to enable the king to issue royal ordinances. No one knows what the ordinances will be issued, or what they will contain; while it is quite certain that they will meet with a determined opposition in the colonies, and leave the question of abolition practically where it is now. We cannot help regarding this as a scheme for consuming time, a plan for throwing the real question of emancipation a year or two further off. The abolitionists of France can certainly not consent to be so trifled with.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the 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; published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of Mary-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid.

Wednesday, May 29, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXVIII. VOL. V.—No. 12.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

INIQUITOUS AND ARTFUL PROCEEDINGS IN BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the *Guiana Congregational Record*.)

"Most earnestly do we entreat the immediate and special attention of the friends of religion and liberty to two bills which have been suddenly introduced, and, with almost unprecedented haste, hurried through by our Colonial Legislature.

"We have been taken by surprise. The advocates of ecclesiastical domination seem determined to entail on us and our posterity, if it be possible, all the miseries of bondage, oppression, and want. If their well-laid schemes succeed, by the bills in question receiving the royal sanction, then is their object secured, and the long, loud, interminable cry of 'Ruin' is at last accomplished;—not, indeed, through the noble act of emancipation—not by the predicted return of the half-civilised to barbarism—not by the indolent habits of the emancipated race—but by their own suicidal proceedings and schemes to entail on us and our descendants expensive and oppressive ecclesiastical establishments, and a *twenty years'* insupportable burden of extra taxation by an Immigration Loan Bill of *five hundred thousand pounds sterling*!"

"Nothing whatever, we are persuaded, can be done here to avert the threatened calamity. Our hope of deliverance rests solely on the Divine benediction accompanying and succeeding the strenuous exertions of the friends of unfettered freedom in Great Britain. We do, therefore, most fervently beseech them to interpose without a moment's delay, seeing that neither of the bills has full effect until confirmed by the Queen in council. To their philanthropic efforts we owe a former deliverance from the fearful trammels of a £100,000*l.* Immigration Loan Bill, in 1841; which, had it been suffered to pass, would, at this moment, have left us to grapple with an annual amount of extra taxation of nearly 40,000*l.* for 40 years.

"If that bill was to be dreaded, the present bill is vastly more prejudicial to the true interests of the province; not only on account of its having been grafted on another bill, concocted for the occasion, for the prolongation of ecclesiastical injustice for eleven long years to come—but on account of its superadded extravagance, and the proposed method of securing it at whatever risk.

"It proposes to tax the imports so as to meet the interest and principal of the said Loan to the annual amount of 50,000*l.* sterling, over and above the ordinary taxation for the civil and ecclesiastical expenditure of the colony, for twenty years to come. But on whom will these heavy duties fall? On those for whom the immigrant is expected to toil? No! but principally on the labourers themselves, who are the chief consumers of imported goods.

"The bill is so constructed that the burdensomeness of the Loan shall not fall on colonial produce, nor on the incomes of the aristocracy of the province; nay, the high rate of interest is such as to furnish them with a strong temptation, as they might find it more to their advantage to speculate largely in Immigration Loan Bonds, than to trouble themselves much about the cultivation of the sugar-cane. Especially might we anticipate this, since it requires not the gift of prophecy to foresee, as in the case of their former immigration projects, that the whole amount of this Loan will be vainly expended—that their anticipations of successful immigration will be wholly disappointed—that willing labourers will be fewer instead of more abundant, from causes which have heretofore operated to depopulate their plantations. Then, having been induced to embark largely their spare capital in so profitable an investment as five per cent. per annum, many of them may be disposed to think it far more advantageous, and far less troublesome, to retire from their ruined plantations to enjoy the interest of the Immigration Loan!

"But, it may be asked, if this prediction of a deteriorated, yea, ruined province shall result, will not they also share in the general calamity? Will not their loan (principal and interest) fail together? No! The framers of these bills have effectually rendered themselves and their class secure against this danger. For, besides enacting the destruction of the liberties of any future representatives of the people, by making it unlawful for them, under any circumstances, 'to abolish, decrease, or impair' the present high duties on imports, so long as the Loan shall continue unpaid, they have enacted—

'that all sums of money to become due and payable in this colony by virtue of this ordinance, whether the same shall consist of principal or interest, shall be, as they are hereby declared to be, chargeable on the general revenues of this colony, and to be preferential thereto to all other claims and debts, except those payable by the colony in virtue of the present or any future Civil List Ordinance.'

"We esteem the remarkable and equally unlooked-for introduction and passing of the Civil List Bill above adverted to, as not the least important part of this scheme. This bill secures to the privileged clergy of the two establishments no less a sum than £430*l.* annually, independently of the enormous exactions which,

year by year, are secured to them by direct taxation on the incomes and industry of the community, the greater number of whom share not in their ministrations, but offer their large and willing contributions to uphold the ministry and ordinances of their own voluntary preference.

"The said Civil List was first settled under Sir H. M'Cleod, in 1840. We were patiently awaiting the expiry of its term in 1848, in the humble hope that means might be presented for relief from the ecclesiastical apportionment thereof. Instead of this, a further seven years' security is sought to be guaranteed, for special reasons:—First, that our present legislators are fully aware of the prevalence of cabinet favouritism to episcopal domination, so that almost any scheme will be sure to succeed if but the church of the state be secured as its base. Next, that seeing the import duties are chiefly, if not wholly, devoted to the discharge of the Civil List, it would be useless to propose raising an Immigration Loan to be repaid chiefly out of import duties, unless they should guarantee a non-interference with the provisions thereof. And, further, they are aware that through the import duties alone shall they be able most efficiently to secure the planting interest from the present and future burdens of the said Loan, and more effectually reach the humblest and remotest consumer of imported goods.

"To this bill we urge the utmost vigilance of the friends of civil and religious liberty. It is more than probable that the present cabinet will be perfectly willing to confirm the Civil List Bill, even if the remonstrances of our anti-slavery friends should prevail to neutralize the injustice of the Immigration Loan Bill. By both our liberties and our future prosperity are greatly endangered, and on your activity and zeal, ye British philanthropists, must we mainly rely, as the only efficient instrumentality whether for our safety or our rescue."

Such is the stirring appeal which has just reached us, and which we feel it our duty to present entire to our readers.

The substantial grievance consists of two parts,—a Civil List Bill, and an Immigration Loan Bill.

The present civil list ordinance of British Guiana was obtained with great difficulty from the combined court in 1840, on account of its extravagant and oppressive character. It was, however, made certain for seven years. Under these circumstances, the expectation of the people has been fixed on the year 1848, as affording, at all events, an opportunity for a new expression of their sentiments; an opportunity which is snatched from them by the present bill, which saddles them with the objectionable civil list for seven years more, that is, until 1855.

It is obvious that the passing of such a bill by the combined court, reluctant and intractable as they have shown themselves in former years, is a direct endeavour to gratify and coax the government at home; "a sop," as one of our correspondents expresses it, to induce her Majesty's ministers to swallow some less agreeable morsel. This accordingly presents itself in the shape of an Immigration Loan Bill, by means of which the Guiana planters want to borrow in this country half a million sterling to spend on the importation of labourers, making the principal and interest, with all expenses (not less than a quarter of a million more) payable in twenty years, out of the duties on imports into that colony.

To say nothing at present of the merits of this bill—which, however, are obvious enough on the face of it—the very fact of its being presented to the government in company with such a bill for the civil list, (the validity of this bill being made contingent on the royal sanction being given to the Loan Bill,) is *prima facie* evidence of its being vicious and unjust, and such as the Guiana planters themselves know they have no chance of securing, except under the influence of a bribe. And if the Queen's ministers should be induced to advise their royal mistress to give her sanction to it, they will subject themselves to an imputation, from which they will never be able to clear themselves, of having sold the welfare of the colony for an extravagant civil list. Things of the same sort, perhaps, have been done before, but there has usually been some little regard to decency. A bribe so openly offered we do not remember to have seen.

The same consciousness of injustice on the part of the planters is indicated by the crafty and indecent manner in which the bills in question have been passed. The public were not furnished with the usual notice of the introduction of new measures. The bills were introduced into the combined court on Thursday, April 25, by the Hon. Peter Rose,* and on the following day they were read a second

* It is stated in the *Guiana Royal Gazette* that this gentleman is the manager of the branch of the Colonial Bank in that colony, but for which lucrative post he would be ill able to maintain his standing in the country; and that the parties appointed, on his nomination, as agents for the loan in London, are all more or less closely connected with the same institution. Our contemporary justly says that these things "bear an ugly aspect."

and third time, and passed; thus being hurried through all their stages within twenty-four hours. And while every opportunity for the expression of public opinion was denied, the organ of the government (the *Guiana Royal Gazette*) says, with a coolness which we think has never been surpassed, that the measure evidently meets with general approbation, no voice having been lifted up against it!

A voice, however, was very soon lifted up against this iniquity in the heart of British Guiana. On Monday, April 29, a meeting of the committee of the Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in Georgetown, and a series of resolutions passed, which we insert below.

1. That this Committee is filled with surprise and alarm at the sudden enactment of two bills by the Combined Court, the one to continue in force the Civil List Ordinance of 1841 for seven years after the term for its expiring in 1848, declared to be contingent on her Majesty's allowance of the other, having for its object to raise on colonial security an *Immigration Loan* to the surprising amount of *Half-a-Million sterling*! wit out affording the community any opportunity of expressing their sentiments thereon. In each of which, also, the province is laid under the most stringent obligations to discharge the preferent claims of both, which claims on the Immigration Bill alone, will amount to 50,000/- per annum, exclusive of the ordinary heavy expenditure of the province for purposes civil and ecclesiastical, for the space of at least twenty years to come.

2. That, seeing the local legislature has made the Civil List Bill contingent on her Majesty's sanction of the Immigration Loan Bill, this Committee considers it necessary to direct attention to the latter.

3. That this Committee painfully observes that both the bills are designed to be honoured by the increase of the import duties—the fixed annuities of the one being upwards of 39,000—the interest and gradual liquidation of the other to the extra annual sum of about 50,000/-, through period of at least twenty years—which will fall with almost exclusive weight on the labouring population themselves; while the exports of the country are excluded from the burden.

4. That the lamentable failure of former attempts at Immigration to this colony on an extensive scale (to wit, the Hill Coolies, the Portuguese, the Irish, the German, the American deputation, the Island immigration, and the importation of Africans, with the failure of the Venezuela steamer, &c., which have already occasioned an immense outlay of the public revenue, as well as of private property, without conferring the anticipated benefits,) this Committee presumes, ought to guard the country against any lavish expenditure of public money; and is calculated to arouse the whole population of Guiana to consider the disastrous consequences which must otherwise inevitably result to the future interests of this magnificent province.

5. That among the evils to be anticipated, were these bills to receive the Royal sanction, may be enumerated—

First—The temptations which the high rate of interest, and the extraordinary security on which it rests, present to such of the planting body who have spare funds, whether in this country or Great Britain, to speculate in the bonds of the Immigration Loan.

Second—The awfully ruinous consequences which must ensue, should the scheme fail, of which this Committee entertains no doubt, after the stupendous outlay of the Immigration Loan:—when, with a pauper community, abandoned plantations, lost credit, and ruined prospects, the owners of the Loan are secured their interest money, on claims preferential to all other demands on the province, internally or externally considered!

Third—The impossibility, in such a case, of ever finding means to be relieved of the principal of the Loan: so that the owners of the soil, and the speculators in the bonds, will be able to keep all the inhabitants in a state of vassalage.

6. That seeing the local legislature have, by introducing, thrice reading, and finally passing these bills, all in the space of about twenty-four hours, afforded no opportunity for the expression of public opinion—and that the said bills cannot take effect until her Majesty's pleasure has been signified by the Colonial Minister—this Committee accounts it an urgent duty to request his Excellency the Governor kindly to forward a copy of these Resolutions to his Lordship, with his Excellency's recommendation of the same to his Lordship's special attention.

7. That, as it is of the utmost moment to this country's welfare that his Lordship should not imagine these bills to have passed the local legislature with the concurrence of the people, a copy of these resolutions be likewise forwarded to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society in London, beseeching them, without delay, to seek an interview with Lord Stanley on this important business.

8. That these Resolutions be advertised in the first impression of the *Guiana Congregational Record*, soliciting other publications to admit the same to their columns.

(Signed) JOSEPH KETLEY, Chairman.

These resolutions exhibit so fully the demerits of the obnoxious bills that we need not enter further into that branch of the subject. It is enough to say that a copy of them was communicated to the governor in time to be forwarded by the same mail which would convey the bills. Whether his Excellency has done his duty in promptly transmitting them is, of course, unknown to us; but we are enabled to say that they will be promptly laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who have already taken up this matter with great seriousness. It is one of the petty and contemptible tricks employed upon this occasion, that the bills were passed on the eve of the departure of the mail, evidently with a view of getting them into the hands of Lord Stanley a fortnight before the indignant remonstrances of the people could reach him. If the noble lord suffers himself to be cajoled in this manner, he will become, *par eminence*, not only the slave of the platoocracy, but their toy.

The importance attached to these bills by the West India party is evident from the inquiry after them made in the House of Commons by Mr. Grantley Berkeley on Thursday last.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ON Monday, June 3rd, a special general meeting of the Society was held in the second room of Exeter Hall.

The following members of the Society were present:—

Abdy, E. S.—Leamington	Gibson, W. G.—Saffron Walden
Albright, Nicholas—Charlbury	Hooper, John—Kennington
Allen, Stafford—London	Head, G. H.—Carlisle
Allen, John—Liskeard	Harriss, Henry—Calne
Alexander, G. W.—London	Harriss, John—Darlington
Alexander, M. B.—Stoke Newington	Hinton, Rev. J. H.—London
Alexander, Ann—Ditto	Hubberts, John—London
Alexander, S. A.—Ditto	Holdsworth, J.—Wakefield
Anstie, G. W.—Devizes	Horsnall, W. C.—Stroud
Ashby, William—Hounslow	Jowett, Robert—Leeds
Ashby, Frederick—Staines	Jacob, George—Reading
Ashby, Thomas—Ditto	Jeffrey, Russell—Peckham
Ashurst, H. N.—London	Kitson, M.—Brixton Hill
Atkins, James—Northampton	Lucas, Samuel H.—Croydon
Bowly, Samuel—Gloucester	Lee, William—Exeter
Baggett, Jonathan—Croydon	Lefroy, C. E.—Basingstoke
Baggett, Richard—Ditto	Langford, William—Hitchin
Budge, John—Camborne	Lister, Daniel—London
Blair, W. T.—Bath	Moline, Lydia, jun.—Stoke
Beaumont, W.—Newcastle-on-Tyne	ton
Burgess, William—Leicester	Masters, H. W.—London
Bright, John, M.P.—Rochdale	Morland, John—Ditto
Braithwaite, Isaac—Kendal	Norton, William—Peckham
Barclay, J. G.—London	Norton, Thomas—Ditto
Ball, Wm.—Rydal, Westmoreland	Nicolls, Col. E.—Woolwich
Beale, Abraham—Cork	Norton, Thomas, jun.—Gr
Brewin, William—Cirencester	Oliver, James—London
Bass, Isaac—Brighton	Pease, John B.—Darlington
Bassett, J. D.—Leighton Buzzard	Price, Joseph T.—Neath
Buxton, E. N.—London	Peek, James—London
Ball, Ann—Rydal	Place, Richard—Chelsea
Backhouse, Edward—Sunderland	Pollard, William—Horseshoe
Brown, H. N.—Shadwell	Pollard, William—Hertford
Crewdson, William—Manchester	Pace, John—Bury
Cooper, Joseph—London	Post, Jacob—Islington
Crowley, Abraham—Alton	Richardson, John—Newcas
Crowley, Henry—Ditto	Robarts, Henry—London
Crowley, C. S.—Croydon	Ransome, Robert—Ipswich
Clark, Joseph—Southampton	Rosling, Ann—Stoke Ne
Camps, Henry—Cheltenham	Southall, Thomas—Bird
Cash, William—Peckham Rye	Sturge, Joseph—Ditto
Canning, Sophia—Kensington	Sterry, Joseph—Kenning
Carlisle, Rev. James—London	Sterry, Richard—Croydon
Crewdson, Margaret—Manchester	Sterry, Joseph, jun.—Lo
Clark, J.—Moorgate-street	Sterry, Henry—Ditto
Cash, Samuel—Peckham	Stuart, Capt. C.—Bath
Doyle, James—Norfolk	Stacey, George—Tottenham
Dent, Wm.—Marr, near Doncaster	Struthers, William—Lon
Dent, Elizabeth—Ditto	Swaine, Edward—Ditto
Dawes, Phoebe—London	Smith, Edward—Sheffield
Dickinson, Barnard—Colebrook Dale	Sturge, Samuel—Newington
Eaton, Joseph—Bristol	Squire, H.—Amwell
Fox, Thomas—Ipswich	Southall, John—Leominste
Fowler, Thomas—London	Sturge, Edward—Birming
Fowler, R. B.—Tottenham	Scoble, John—London
Fox, Francis—Ditto	Thomas, George—Bristol
Fox, Samuel—Ditto	Tatum, William—Rochester
Fox, Charles—Falmouth	Tuke, Samuel—York
Fox, Charlotte—Ditto	Taylor, Charles—Stamford-hill
Forster, William—Norwich	Thompson, George—London
Forster, Josiah—Tottenham	Woodward, Rev. John—London
Forster, Robert—Ditto	Wiffen, Benj. B.—Woburn
Ferguson, S.—Carlisle	Wheeler, Samuel—Stroud
Grimshaw, Wm., jun.—Peckham	Warner, C. H.—Chelsea
Gurney, Samuel—London	Wheeler, Frederick—Rochester
Gurney, J. J.—Norwich	Wheeler, Daniel—Bristol
	Young, Joseph—Chatham

About a hundred persons also were present in the gallery, as spectators.

Mr. SMITH, of Sheffield, said, as it was very desirable that, considering the peculiar circumstances under which the meeting was held, there should have a chairman who had not expressed any opinion upon the subject to be discussed, he would move that Samuel Tuke, of York, be requested to preside.

Mr. J. J. GURNEY seconded the motion with much satisfaction. It was put and agreed to.

Mr. TUKE accordingly assumed the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said it was not without feelings of great reluctance and hesitation that he took the seat, which upon that occasion had been assigned to him by the too favourable opinion of his friends; but nevertheless, as they were, under very peculiar circumstances connected with the constitution of the Society, and seeing himself surrounded by those who had been connected with, and long interested in the success of the Society's objects, and who had been engaged in the great struggle which they had carried on with such a large measure of success, he did not apprehend that his post would be one of any difficulty. The sentiments of union were much more powerful in such a body than those of dissonance—all had met there as friends, not as opponents. They had been engaged together in a long and most important struggle. They had not yet arrived at their goal, and nothing would give pleasure their enemies as to see that important Society divided among

themselves. They would say, "Divide and conquer!"—let the motto of their Society be "Unite and conquer!" Although some of the friends of the Society differed on some points, and although they might be important ones, still there was no division amongst them on the great object the Society had in view; therefore he presumed they had met there as a deliberative assembly for the purpose of elucidating truth, and arriving at that conclusion which would be most to the interest of the Society. Impartiality in the chair he ventured to promise, but nothing more. Before sitting down, would they allow him to state what his opinion was as to their meeting? First, he trusted they met not as combatants but as friends, anxiously seeking the truth; secondly, he trusted that every one who engaged the attention of the meeting would be considerate of the feelings of others, and not occupy more of the time of the meeting than was necessary for the elucidation of the purposes of their meeting; and, thirdly, met as they were, a body of men who had been for a long time engaged together in a great moral struggle, and having been always fighting under the banners of love and peace, he trusted that those who addressed the meeting would be careful not to compromise the character their meetings had hitherto borne, but would let Christian spirit confine themselves to the strict business before the meeting. He begged only further to say, that whatever might be the moment at which the meeting might arrive—whatever directions they might give the committee, he would still firmly adhere to the Society. He stated that at the conclusion of their discussions, the line of the right be found to be verified—

"Love's quarrels oft
In pleasing concord end."

BRIGHT, M.P.—Before the proceedings of the meeting went any further, he wished to ask, what the body there assembled was supposed to represent? Was it to be understood that they represented the great anti-slavery feeling in the country? Was it a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of London? Or was it merely a meeting of those who were members of the Society? The proceedings of the day would go forth, and it would be well that they should understand the exact position they

SCOBLE, the Secretary, having been called upon to answer the question, said, the friends of the Society would remember that at the annual meeting of the Society, an amendment was proposed and carried, calling upon the committee thereafter to be appointed, to call a general meeting of the Society, for the purpose of considering the alteration in the constitution of the Society. The Committee accordingly met on Wednesday, the 22nd ult., and the question of convening a general meeting of the members of the Society was amply discussed; and it was resolved that such a meeting should be called, in conformity with the wishes of the annual meeting. Accordingly a circular had been sent round to every person in Great Britain who was a member of the Society, according to Rule 5, the circular to entitle him to a ticket, upon the member subscribing his name in a book provided for that purpose. The most liberal interpretation had been given to the rule, and 900 circulars had been sent out; therefore he considered that as a special general meeting of the Society, consisting of all the members of the Society who found it convenient to be present.

BRIGHT could not allow that so thin a meeting could possibly represent the anti-slavery feelings of the country, and the mode in which the meeting had been called proved it. He meant to attach no blame to the Committee, or to any one, but a ten or eleven days' notice to collect the feelings of those deeply interested in the anti-slavery cause upon the important question which had been raised. In Rochester where there were many zealous abolitionists, and where much had been collected in furtherance of the good work, only two persons gave notice of the meeting, and he knew it to be the same in other places.

After a desultory conversation, in which Messrs. J. Forster, J. J. Gurcias, Wheeler, and Anstie took a part,

CHAIRMAN said it might be taken to be a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Bright dissenting, and saying whatever decision came to it, was too thin a meeting to bind the Society.

The SECRETARY then read the following paper on behalf of the Committee:—

PLANATORY STATEMENT OF THE COURSE PURSUED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, IN RELATION TO FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE-LABOUR.

At a meeting of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, held at Exeter Hall on the 17th, and by adjournment, on the 18th April, 1839, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the following basis, viz.:—

"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—that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Among the means specifically recognised for the accomplishment of its great object—the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade—was that of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour. On this important point the rule established by the Society was as follows, viz.:—

"To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable), in preference to slave-grown; and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour."

After two days of careful, serious, and deliberate consideration, the constitution of the society was unanimously settled, and a committee appointed, to carry its various resolutions into effect. Nothing, however, required the application of the rule relating to "fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour," until the 25th June, 1840, when a motion for lowering the duties on foreign sugars was proposed to the House of Commons, by William Ewart, Esq., M.P. In anticipation of that motion, and with a view of recording their sentiments on the subject, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the great Anti-Slavery

Convention, assembled in London from various parts of the world, on the 22nd June of that year, viz.:—

"That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this Convention is of the judgment that the British Government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market, and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view."

The rule of the Society, thus confirmed by the Convention, admitted of no doubt as to the correctness of the principle on which it was framed, nor of the duty of the Anti-Slavery Committee in relation thereto.

The House of Commons rejected Mr. Ewart's motion by a majority of 95, in a House consisting of 149 members. Mr. Labouchere, then President of the Board of Trade, and the exponent of the views entertained by the Government, said, in the course of his speech, in opposition to the motion of the Hon. Member for Wigan,—"No one, he thought, would entertain a doubt, (in the event of the motion being carried,) that the great mass of foreign sugar imported into this country would be from the Brazils. In the Brazils no sugar was produced, except by slave-labour. He felt it to be a painful duty to oppose this motion; but the question he had to ask himself was this, whether he would consent to give such a stimulus to slave-labour in the Brazils as would be produced by throwing open the market of this country to the reception of their sugar? He was not able to make up his mind, that this was a course which he ought to recommend to the House. He did not believe it would be agreeable to their constituents, when they understood the facts of the case." He, therefore, opposed the motion, which, he added, would "open the flood-gates of a foreign supply, and inundate the British market with sugar the produce of slave-labour!"

The liberal and religious press, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Patriot*, took the same view of the effect that would be produced by letting slave-grown sugar into the British market, and opposed it on the same ground.

Notwithstanding, however, the decision of 1840, it was strongly rumoured, in the early part of 1841, that Ministers contemplated such a reduction of the sugar duties as would let in the produce of Brazil and the Spanish colonies on favourable terms. Under these circumstances, the Committee felt bound to appeal to the Government, the Legislature, and the members of the Society against a measure which, in their judgment, they believed most injurious to the cause they were appointed to promote. In their memorial to Lord Melbourne, presented on the 26th of March, 1841, they say they cannot look on the contemplated measure as

"One of mere fiscal arrangement. They regard it as involving great principles and solemn responsibilities. In the relation which it bears to slavery and the slave-trade—in the strength it will give the one, and the impulse it will yield the other—the Committee find an argument which appeals with irresistible force to their convictions and feelings against it."

"It is not, and cannot be, a question with them, how far the political interests and commercial policy of this country may seem to require the measure; but whether the great principles of universal justice and benevolence may not be compromised thereby."

"That in Cuba and Brazil, the great slave-markets of the western world, the cupidity of slave-dealers will be stimulated to increase the number of their victims, and that the cart-whip of the slave-drivers will be plied with redoubled energy to extort labour from reluctant bondsmen, should the reduction take place, there can be no doubt; the Committee would therefore earnestly deprecate the measure, as involving a criminal disregard of the liberty and welfare of millions of their fellow-men, and of the sacred obligations of duty to the Most High."

Such were their views in reference to the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; but anxious to prevent all misapprehension as it respects free-grown produce, they added:—

"The Committee are far from being opposed to the principles of free-trade, in their fair and legitimate application. They are not in favour of monopolies. Hence they are desirous of seeing the produce of other countries raised by free-labour, introduced into this. But they conceive that, to admit the produce of slave-labour into the British market, on such favourable terms as those which, it is understood, have been proposed, would, under present circumstances, give a bonus to slave-holders, supply a fearful impetus to the nefarious traffic in human beings, and consolidate a system of iniquity, which has been branded with deserved infamy by the people, the legislature, and the government of this country."

The Committee, therefore, in concluding their memorial, respectfully, yet earnestly, entreated his lordship and his colleagues in the ministry.

"That in the contemplated alterations in the tariff of Customs' duties, provision may be made for the exclusion of the produce of slave-labour from the British market, and for the greater encouragement of free-labour by all practicable and legitimate means throughout the world."

In consequence of the public announcement in Parliament, of the intention of the late Government to lower the duties on foreign sugars generally, without excepting those grown by slave-labour, the Committee met at their office for the special consideration of the subject, on the 5th May, 1841, at which the following resolutions were passed unanimously, viz.:—

"That this Committee have heard with deep regret, the announcement lately made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the intention of her Majesty's Government to lower the Customs' duty on foreign sugars, whether the produce of free or slave-labour, to such a scale as will admit of the importation of a vast quantity of that article into the British market for home consumption, especially from Brazil and Cuba, in which countries the atrocious system of slavery is maintained in all its rigour; and the revolting traffic in human beings is carried on to an enormous extent."

"That the inevitable tendency of such reduction in the duties will be to stimulate the growth of sugar in those countries, by materially increasing the demand for it in this, by which the extent of the slave-trade will be fearfully increased, and its unutterable horrors aggravated and prolonged; while at the same time the condition of the wretched

and degraded slaves, already in bondage, will be rendered more grievous and intolerable than ever.

"That as the Legislature of this country has declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and the system of slavery to be inherently and essentially unjust, and has sanctioned a vast outlay of the national treasure in the suppression of the former, and the abolition of the latter in the West India colonies, it will be flagrantly inconsistent with its own solemn decisions, embodied in Acts of Parliament, directly or indirectly, to promote, extend, or countenance such enormous evils, or to seek an increase of revenue from sources so iniquitous.

"That the Committee would, therefore, urge upon the friends of humanity, both in and out of Parliament, to offer the most strenuous and decided opposition to the measure proposed by Government, in so far as it may affect the article of sugar, the growth of slave-labour, as a great duty which they owe to the principles of universal justice and benevolence; and, as they firmly believe, to the best interests of their country."

A petition embodying these views, signed on behalf of the Committee by the Venerable Thomas Clarkson, was presented to the House of Commons, the prayer of which was, that the House should "not sanction the proposed reduction of the duty on sugar *in so far as it is the produce of slave-labour.*"

In a circular of the Committee, dated 5th May, 1841, conveying copies of the memorial, resolutions, and petition referred to, to the auxiliaries and members of the Society, they say:—

"The Committee, in offering their strenuous opposition to the proposed reduction in the duty on sugar, are not to be regarded as inimical to the principles of free-trade, combined with free labour. A commerce with foreign countries in which such labour is employed, founded upon the most liberal principles, they believe to be essential to the ultimate prosperity and stability of nations, to their advancement in civilization, morals, and religion; and to the promotion of peaceful and honourable relations among mankind."

Up to this time scarcely a whisper was heard in opposition to the course taken by the Committee: but the publicity given to its proceedings, both in and out of Parliament, attracted the attention of political parties, then in the height of conflict for power, and by the one they were denounced as enemies, whilst by the other they were hailed as friends. The Committee need scarcely say, that both parties were equally in error.

It is proper, however, to state that, about this period, the Committee received intimation that the Liverpool and Birmingham Anti-Slavery Societies dissented from the principle laid down by the Society in relation to "fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour," these were followed by the Auxiliary Associations of Hitchin, Worcester, and Devizes, in the same direction. In reference to the decision of the Liverpool Committee, the London Committee received information that several influential members differed from the majority of their friends, among whom was Adam Hodgson, Esq., whose celebrated letter to M. Say has long been a text-book to abolitionists, on the comparative cheapness and excellence of free as compared with slave-labour. The Birmingham Committee, on reconsideration of the subject, reverted to its original position; Hitchin has done the same; Worcester occupies the same position as Liverpool, a minority dissenting; the Devizes Association became defunct. Besides these societies and associations, the Committee received no intimation that the course they had taken was viewed by others as either wrong in principle, or inexpedient in policy; on the contrary, the friends of the Society generally, approved of their proceedings, and encouraged them in their attempts to give practical effect to the rule under which they were required to act.

The great debate on the Budget, which involved the sugar question, terminated after nine days' discussion in a division against the ministerial project of 317 to 281, leaving the then Ministry in a minority of 36.

A change of Government having taken place, the Committee felt it to be their duty to lay before it, through the medium of the President of the Board of Trade, Lord Ripon, the following memorial, which in a short compass embraced their views on the question of "fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour":—

"In the prosecution of the great object which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in view—namely, the universal abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade, by means which are purely of a moral, religious, and pacific nature, they felt it to be their solemn duty to oppose the measure of the late Government for the reduction in the duties on foreign sugars, so far as it affected those which were clearly raised by the labour of slaves, on the ground that they believed the inevitable tendency of such reduction would be immediately to extend the slave-trade, and to aggravate and prolong its unutterable horrors, while at the same time it would render the condition of slaves already in bondage more grievous and intolerable than ever. On the same principle, and governed by the same motives, the Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present Government, through your lordship, as the President of the Board of Trade, with their earnest request, that the produce of the tropics raised by free-labour, come from what country it may, may be placed on such a footing in relation to the productions of the British colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same.

"In further developing their views, the Committee beg permission to suggest to your lordship, whether it would not be greatly to the advantage of the revenue to reduce the present duty on sugars, and other produce, raised in the British possessions in the East and West Indies. Such a measure, combined with an equalization of the duties on foreign tropical productions of a similar kind, raised by freemen, the Committee believe would have the further advantages of greatly increasing the comforts of the poor of the land, of leading to a rapid development of the resources of the British colonies and plantations abroad, and of opening new and extensive markets for British manufactures, whilst it would strike a heavy blow at the atrocious system of slavery, and consequently at the slave-trade, wherever it obtains, and would operate both as an economical and a moral argument, in favour of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

"The committee would still further venture to suggest to your

lordship the propriety of removing the remaining restrictions on West India commerce, so as to enable the planters and merchants of our own free colonies successfully to compete with the foreign growers of sugar by slave labour in the continental markets; and so as to admit of the complete equalisation of the duties on tropical productions, whether of our own or of other countries, grown exclusively by free labour.

"Coupled with a wise and judicious scheme of immigration into the emancipated colonies, which, on the one hand, shall throw open the labour-market to fair and honourable competition, and on the other, shall guard against the abuses which hitherto unhappily marked the course of colonial experiments in this way, and shall be exclusively under the direction of the government; the measures which the committee have ventured to suggest to your lordship will, they believe, in their combination, be one in the great order of means for securing the liberty of millions now held in bondage, for terminating the slave-trade, for greatly increasing the prosperity of this country, and for advancing the cause of universal justice and benevolence, of civilisation and religion, of freedom and peace throughout the world."

This memorial was presented to Lord Ripon on the 10th September, 1841; and, as no event of importance occurred, likely to affect the question, the committee took no action in relation thereto, until the 17th November, 1842, when the mission of Mr. Ellis to Brazil to negotiate a commercial treaty, (Lord Aberdeen,) setting forth the bad faith of that country in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade, and showing that it is probable, at least, one million and a-half of slaves had been imported into Brazil, contrary to the stipulations of solemn treaties with Great Britain, and to the laws of the empire. The memorial concluded in the following terms:—

"The time appears now to have fully come, when, in negotiating a new treaty with Brazil, means should be taken to secure the complete fulfilment of the slave-trade treaties, and guarantees should be obtained for their *bond fide* and prompt execution. By those treaties this country has obtained the right of demanding, not only the complete extinction of the slave-trade between Africa and Brazil, but the liberation from bondage of that vast mass of unhappy beings who have been unlawfully introduced into that empire; and, happily, in urging that demand, the British government occupies a position in which her claims are sustained by the laws of Brazil as well as by her treaties, by the voice of justice and humanity, as well as by the spirit of the Christian religion. The committee would venture to suggest that her Majesty's representative might avail himself of the present opportunity of urging on the Brazilian government the complete abolition of slavery as the most effectual means of securing, not only the permanent prosperity of the empire, and the development of its vast resources, but of opening the way to an enlarged commercial intercourse with this country. If the present authorities in Brazil are sincere in their reprobation of the slave-trade, which their own laws denounce as piracy; if they are determined to recover the honour of their country, which their predecessors in office have forfeited; if they desire to stand high in the estimation of the enlightened and the moral of all nations; if they are anxious to secure the future liberty and peace of the empire, they will fulfil their solemn engagements to Great Britain, and give force and efficacy to their own laws in relation to slavery and the slave-trade. But however this may be, the committee trust her Majesty's representative will be instructed not to conclude any treaty which shall either weaken its claims to the exact and immediate fulfilment of the conventions and articles referred to, or which shall leave in slavery those wretched beings, who, contrary to their stipulations, have been illicitly introduced into that country."

The committee now approach the period when an attempt was made to reverse the order of its proceedings. On the 16th June, 1843, at the sitting of the Anti-slavery Convention, held at Freemasons' Hall, on that day, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, one of the delegates, submitted the following resolution for its adoption, viz.:—

"That in the judgment of this convention, the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into competition with the free-grown produce of the British West India colonies and British India, rendered necessary as an act of justice to the people of this country and is in consistency with the principles on which this convention is constituted."

The motion was seconded by G. W. Anstie, Esq., of Devizes, and was discussed by various members of the convention. An amendment was proposed by E. N. Buxton, Esq., and seconded by J. T. Price, Esq., of Neath Abbey, viz.:—

"That the introduction of slave-grown produce from Cuba and Brazil is calculated to encourage the system of slavery in those countries, and to stimulate the African slave-trade."

The debate on this important question was finally terminated by the convention, on the motion of John Allen, Esq., of Liskeard, seconded by Joseph Sams, Esq., of Darlington, adopting the previous question.

Circumstances having come to the knowledge of the committee which rendered it necessary that they should again memorialise the government, they addressed, on the 9th February, 1844, the following communication to Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on the admission of free-labour produce into the British market:

"The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society deem it their duty at the present moment to lay before you their sentiments in relation to a subject intimately connected with the great object of their pursuit—the extinction of slavery, and the consequent cessation of the slave trade, throughout the world.

"Not to speak, on the present occasion, of the objections they entertain to the principle of armed intervention with the slave-trade, every year and every occurrence deepens their conviction, that it is by the extinction of slavery alone that the traffic can be brought to an end. The efforts of persuasion (which, in this case, are nothing more than appeal to the sense of interest) can arrest the trade, while there is a demand for slaves at so high a rate of profit; because no appeal to interest is strong as that which is made by the inhuman traffic itself. As for armed intervention and treaty stipulations, all experience shows, that, without having effected, and without holding forth any promise of effective

abolition of the slave-trade, they have immeasurably aggravated the ferocity and destructiveness of it.

"Most earnestly, therefore, do the committee desire, that the efforts of the British government should be directed towards the extinction of slavery in every part of the world, as the most effectual method for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"Great Britain has a market of unequalled extent and value for the productions of every country and of every clime; and she has it in her power, by opening this market on favourable terms, to connect advantages of large amount with the use of free labour. The duties imposed by our tariff on produce so raised might in such manner be reduced, as to present a strong inducement to all parties desirous of having access to the British market to prefer the free-labour system.

"The advantages of such a course appear to the committee to be great and many. The prompt and almost immediate success of it scarcely admits of a doubt. The happy result would be brought about by process of which no party could justly complain; while the act of effectuating it would be wholly spontaneous, and one of internal administration, not of dictation from without.

"Under the influence of these considerations, the committee present their definite and earnest request to you, Sir Robert, as the head of her Majesty's government, that a measure may be prepared for admitting free-grown produce from all parts of the world into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions.

"A collateral, but by no means an unimportant advantage of such a measure would be, that it would facilitate the settlement of a question by which the public mind has been greatly agitated—viz., the relaxation of duties on imports from countries where slavery exists. Should such a step as the committee have suggested induce in these countries the abandonment of slavery, this question would find at once the happiest possible solution. If otherwise, Great Britain, by being rendered less dependent upon them, might find the solution of it less necessary. In any event, however, the committee cannot but desire that no relaxation of existing duties on the produce of slave-labour shall be allowed. It is enough—the committee think it is far too much—that Great Britain now does, by her unparalleled commerce, to sustain and foster this gigantic evil, and it is time that her course was in the opposite direction; but, at all events, it may be hoped that this country will be spared the dishonour, and the world the misery, of any further aggravation of this horrible system by our means.

"Entreat your serious consideration of these remarks, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society respectfully submit them to you."

Subsequently to the debate on Mr. Labouchere's motion for an address to the Queen on the commercial relations of this country with Brazil, the committee presented a memorial to the President of the Board of Trade, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. This was rendered necessary by the references made in that debate to the opinions and movements of the Committee, and especially as the questions of slavery and the slave-trade occupied a prominent position in the discussions which took place. The House negatived Mr. Labouchere's motion by a majority of seventy-three. The following is a copy of the memorial referred to:—

"From the debate in the House of Commons, on the 7th instant, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are led to hope that, in the negotiations now pending with Brazil, a course may be pursued which will secure the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, so far as that country is concerned.

"No doubt whatever can be entertained, that a stimulus applied to the culture of sugar in Brazil, would be immediately and in a full proportion felt in the slave-trade, by the increased activity of which alone the additional labour in that case demanded could be supplied. But against the encouragement of the slave-trade the British government has been long and deeply pledged. Not less than twenty millions sterling, in subsidies, armed cruisers, courts of adjudication, and other appliances, has England spent, during the last thirty years, for the suppression of this guilty traffic. It is by a revolting course of national perfidy, that this trade is still carried on by Spain, Portugal, and Brazil itself. And it could not, in the judgment of the committee, be without gross and palpable inconsistency that, under such circumstances, the British government could adopt any fiscal regulation, the effect of which would be to annex a reward to the violation of treaties, and to lure thousands of men into a traffic in which British ships would hunt and capture them as pirates.

"The committee repeat their declaration, that they look with regret on all measures for the armed suppression of the slave-trade. Objecting to such measures on principle, they find their impolicy proved by experience. They cannot but think that a practical encouragement may be given to free labour, by which it may be made the interest of all parties to prefer it to the labour of slaves. Can a question exist, whether, if the produce of free labour from all parts of the world were made admissible into the British market, on the same terms as the growth of British colonies, 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' would not be dealt to the system of slavery? Most earnestly do the committee hope that the principle they have thus expressed may be incorporated with the policy of the British government, and that all commercial advantages henceforth to be conceded, may become practical arguments—to which even slaveholders will show a quick sensibility—in favour of the renunciation of a system of oppression and wrong, which admits of neither defence nor palliation."

In consequence of the decision of the House on Mr. Labouchere's motion, and the anticipated discussion on the sugar duties, Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, were induced to issue a circular address against "fiscal regulations in favour of free labour," with a view of obtaining signatures to show to what extent the Anti-slavery cause were opposed to the rule laid down for the government of the Anti-slavery Society. From this circular, Mr. Blair subsequently and publicly withdrew his name. A counter address was issued by Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, sustaining the rule. The committee did not deem it necessary to put forth any document in defence of the course they had pursued; but following up the object they had in view, they called upon

the friends of the Society throughout the country, to petition the Legislature, first, "to adopt fiscal regulations in favour of the produce of free labour; and more especially to pass a law which shall admit the produce of free labour of all kinds from foreign countries into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions and plantations;" and, secondly, "not to adopt any fiscal regulations affording facilities for introducing into the British market the produce of slave-labour; inasmuch as such a course would incalculably aggravate the miseries of the slaves, and supply a fearful stimulus to the slave-trade."

In the circular, dated 12th April last, which accompanied a copy of the petition, of which the foregoing was the prayer, the committee observe:—"The pending treaty between this country and the empire of Brazil, the late discussion in the House of Commons, and the probability that the policy of the government may speedily undergo some modification, combine to impress the committee with a deep sense of the importance and urgency of the step which they have taken; and to make them desirous that their example should be followed by the Anti-slavery cause throughout the country."

The short period of eight days allowed their friends to respond to their call, prevented many from forwarding petitions to the legislature, but in consequence of the appeal, petitions were sent for presentation to the House of Commons from Birmingham, Kendal, Carlisle, Hitchin, Colchester, Stratford-on-Avon, Exeter, Sunderland, Glasgow, Fakenham, Oswestry, Torquay, St. Austle, Helstone, Darlington, Newton-Abbott, Reigate, Kingsbridge and Dodbrooke, Chester-le-street, Ware, Alton, Dublin, Belfast, Stoke Newington, and many other places. Besides this expression of opinion in favour of the views entertained by the committee, a considerable number of letters from individuals and auxiliaries, with one exception only, cordially sustained the rule of the Society now brought into dispute.

From the foregoing narrative, it will be seen that, whilst the committee have steadily and perseveringly opposed the introduction of slave-labour produce into the British market; they have, with equal zeal, advocated the introduction of free-labour produce from all parts of the world into that market, on the same terms with that from the British possessions and plantations abroad; and that they have not neglected other branches of the question, bearing upon the same point.

Such is a brief statement of the course pursued by the committee, in giving effect to the rule in favour of "fiscal regulations in favour of free labour." That rule is now subject to the re-consideration of the members of the Society. In their hands they would leave it, with an earnest hope, that a measure which, they believe, affects the liberties and lives of millions of their fellow-men, may have that calm and Christian consideration which its magnitude and importance demand.

As a sequel to the foregoing statement, the committee would add, that on Wednesday afternoon, the 15th April, a communication was received by the committee of the Society, from George Thompson, Esq., as chairman of a provisional committee in favour of the Rev. Thomas Spencer's resolution for the admission of the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil into the British market, requesting the committee to submit the following proposition to the meeting of the Society, to be holden in Exeter Hall, on Friday morning, the 17th April, viz:—"That the latter part of the second paragraph of the fourth article of the constitution of the Society, consisting of the following words:—'and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour,' be taken into consideration by the Society, at a special meeting of the Society, to be called for that purpose, and that in the meantime the committee be instructed to suspend action thereupon." To this proposal the committee replied, that "they did not feel it to be consistent with their duty to submit the proposition to the meeting;" but on the morning of the annual meeting of the Society, they made a proposition to Mr. Thompson and his friends, that a special general meeting of the Society should be summon'd for the purpose of considering the part of the fourth rule referred to, provided that, in the meantime, they were not called upon to suspend action in relation thereto, as that, in their judgment, would be tantamount to a condemnation of their past course, and a pre-judgment of the question to be submitted to a special general meeting of the Society. This proposition, it is understood, was not acceded to by Mr. Thompson and his friends, but an amendment was brought under the attention of the public meeting, on certain resolutions of the committee, referring to the general business of the Society, which was finally carried.

The committee make no comment on the mode in which the amendment was proposed, nor the circumstances under which it was carried. They beg, however, their friends to recollect, that they were neither heard in explanation, or defence, of the course they have pursued; and they trust they may be permitted to hope, that it will not be drawn into precedent in future.

27, New Broad-street, 3rd June, 1844.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON.—Mr. Chairman, I rise, not in forwardness, but by desire of those with whom I usually act: not, however, in such sense that my friends shall be committed by my words, but I hope to represent their sentiments with a general fidelity. The occasion is an interesting and an important one, as is anything connected with the Anti-slavery cause. But this is more especially so, because there is brought under consideration, not a particular measure merely, but an entire class of measures—a principle of action; a principle already adopted and acted on—long since discussed, considered, affirmed, and incorporated into the constitution of the society. This being brought into question, throws us back on first principles, and makes us learners of our alphabet again. Much depends on our decision. The dearest interests of multitudes are at stake, and we should all of us deplore it if this day's meeting should issue in their injury. I hope to be calm, grave, and thoughtful. I am sure that I address myself to calm, grave, and thoughtful men, and that I shall receive a candid hearing. The consideration of the question is happily unembarrassed. There is a sufficient occasion for our meeting. A change of greater or less extent has come over public opinion since the formation of the society, and an instruction of the annual meeting has directed us to reconsider. We proceed with

perfect technical propriety. Here is the constituency of the society, duly and regularly convened. There is among us fundamental harmony. We all desire to promote the anti-slavery cause, and are only asking, *how?* The accidents also are favourable. Here are no excited feelings; we are all coolness and good temper, and we are going to continue so. The subject is not new; it has been much pondered already; our minds are open to information, and not far, perhaps, from ripe for a decision. I proceed to the question, therefore. To prepare the ground, however, let it first be narrowed to its proper dimensions. 1. The question does not relate to the conduct of the committee; either as to the principle they have acted on, or the manner in which they have acted on it. It is admitted on all hands, that the committee have acted according to the constitution of the society, and that they have carried it out to its proper length in seeking the abandonment of all discriminating duties on the produce of free-labour. 2. The question does not relate to any particular measure, but to a principle of action—a class of measures—of which one, the sugar question, for example, may be prominent as an illustration; but we are considering the class—the propriety of using fiscal regulations at large for anti-slavery purposes. 3. The question does not open a course of general and unlimited argumentation. We ask, whether the propriety of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour can be maintained or overthrown—not by alleging the importance of cheap sugar, by descanting on our duty to our poorer fellow-countrymen, or by affirming the righteousness and utility of free-trade, but by arguments drawn exclusively from their bearing on slavery and the slave-trade. These are the only objects contemplated by the society, and supply the only topics with which we can properly occupy ourselves here. What, then, are the appropriate arguments by which fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour may be supported? 1. They are a direct and powerful expression of opinion against the opposite system. It is like a private person saying to a disreputable shopkeeper, "I will not deal with you." Even if the person who says this is so obscure that his opinion carries no weight, it clears his own breast; and this has its importance. But if the person be publicly known and highly respected, his opinion will carry weight, and constitute a mode of practical disownment. Still more powerful is this effect, if the same course be pursued by many or by all respectable persons, as in the case of certain profligate houses. Now, no opinion in the world is so influential as England's—as our own. And England is deeply committed to the use of her opinion, both by the attitude she has already assumed, and the vast expenditure she has incurred. 2. Add to this the pecuniary disadvantage attached by fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour to slavery and slave-trading. England has a market as well as a name. To favour free produce in her market is to exhibit a standing and most influential argument against slave-culture. If this instrument were used to its full power, it might effect a material, if not a decisive, crippling of the system of slave-labour, which, it is known, already labours universally under many difficulties. 3. Fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour foster the growth of a natural and commercial element directly antagonistic to slavery and slave-trading. Other things being equal, free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour. Consequently, if the two can be brought into fair competition, slave-labour will be gradually driven from the field. I say *the field*, emphatically, because I do not mean *the house*. I do not think it safe to say, that free-labour would ever destroy slavery and the slave-trade universally. Exceptions to such a sweeping assertion are required by facts. Gain is not the basis of *all* slavery—Turkey and Africa to wit. It is conceivable, also, that domestic slavery might continue after slave culture should have ceased. The spirit of tyranny might uphold slavery, even at a pecuniary loss. But although free-labour might not be competent to the universal extinction of slavery, much would result from its extension that is worth achieving. Therefore *foster free-labour*: or, which is the same thing, adopt fiscal regulations in its favour. Here are three reasons for fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour, not altogether wanting in plainness and common sense. I now ask, what reasons may be adduced against them? 1. That to which the greatest prominence has of late been given is, that they require to be maintained by force; and this is affirmed to be inconsistent with the rule of this society which pledges it to the use of "*pacific*" measures alone. This objection is open to the remark, that it is at all events but incidental, and does not touch the real question. I think also, that the manner in which it has been brought forward indicates rather a readiness to play with popular feeling, than a desire to seek after truth. But let us ascertain its worth. It contains two points: one of general rectitude; one of constitutional consistency. On the point of general rectitude it is obvious to observe, that fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour no otherwise require force than all other fiscal, and even social regulations. To object to them on this ground is equally to object to taxation of all kinds; to the policeman, the judges, and even the jury—for no jury can give effect to its verdict without force. On the point of constitutional consistency, my reply is, that the word "*pacific*" is, by this objection, strained into a meaning never intended, and not fairly applicable. *Peace* is the antithesis of *war*, not of *force*. Holders of the peace principle are not therefore no-government men, nor is the use of force for social purposes inconsistent with it. The word *pacific*, in our constitution, simply separates us from the system long pursued by the government for the armed suppression of the slave-trade. The preventive-service and the coast-guard, indeed, are armed; but so also are the policemen. Let us therefore be consistent. If fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour are to be swept away by the allegation that they require to be maintained by force, let all other fiscal and social regulations be swept away too. There is clearly no reason why this besom, which (like all new brooms) can sweep so clean, should stop at a particular point. We shall wait a long while, however, before we find many of those who adduce this objection willing to allow it its full sweep. 2. To fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour it is objected, in the next place, that they are inconsistent with the assertion of its superior cheapness, as put forward by ourselves. A rather amusing spectacle of giants at unnecessary toil has been presented by the trouble which certain gentlemen have taken to convince the public that we have made this assertion. No doubt we have; and, if it had been possible to make the public hear anything, they would not have heard this for the first time at Covent Garden theatre. We do make this assertion, and we are willing to act consistently with it. But

we do not see the inconsistency alleged. Such inconsistency could not fairly be inferred, even from a stronger ground than that on which the objection rests. If we had maintained (which we have not) that in the proportion and circumstances in which free and slave-labour now exist in the world, free-labour was competent to the expulsion of slave-labour, still we might consistently say, "*Foster free-labour—increase its capabilities—hasten its triumph!*" But we have never said this. We have only maintained an abstract proposition; namely, that, *other things being equal*, free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour; and we arrive at this inference only, that *slave-culture* might be driven from the world, if free-culture could be brought into full and fair competition with it. But are these two elements in full and fair competition now? Would they be so, if restrictions of all kinds were abolished? Clearly not. Slave-culture, possesses at this moment many positive and important advantages. And besides, slavery has a capability of availing itself, far more rapidly than freedom, of any gainful openings for the extension of human labour. The despotic power which the master possesses over the slave enables him to compel, on the instant, an amount of toil which never could be extorted from a freeman; and while he thus kills off his human cattle with unusual rapidity, the eager and reckless slave-dealer furnishes him promptly with a new supply. Production by free-labour can make no progress to be compared with these rapid strides. In such a race it must be beaten; and hence fostering care is due to it. And the more imperatively is fostering care due to free-labour, because the strife on this ground must in any case be long and severe. The vast interests which slave-holders have at stake would induce, on their part, a resolved and desperate spirit. They would not easily forego the oppressor's gains, and there must ensue an amount of suffering on the part of the slaves altogether beyond calculation. To abridge such a conflict seems to me to be among the first duties of humanity. We cannot too carefully nurse our young Hercules for his task. 3. A more direct objection to fiscal regulations, in favour of free-labour, is that they will not answer their end; that they will, in fact, contribute nothing to the downfall of slavery. This objection is forcible, if it be true. It is made out on the general ground, that commerce, like the ocean, finds its level; and that the consumption of produce anywhere stimulates production everywhere else. Before proceeding to answer this objection, I avail myself of it as admitting by implication, that the further introduction of slave-grown produce will aggravate slavery, and stimulate the slave-trade. For the argument is, that these effects will also be produced, and to a great extent, if we admit free-produce only, inasmuch as this will indirectly, as is alleged, give an equal impulse to slave-labour. The very structure of the argument, therefore, implies an admission (of what, in deed, is obvious enough,) that the introduction of slave-grown produce would aggravate slavery and stimulate the slave-trade. On this objection itself, I remark in the first place, that, to whatever extent this commercial argument may be true, it leaves the moral argument untouched. There are still to be considered the advantage and the duty of employing the force of opinion for the discouragement of slavery and the slave-trade. Even commercially, however, the argument is exaggerated. For example, if we abstract 40,000 tons of free-grown sugar out of the continental market, it is said it will be supplied by sugar slave-grown. But this is an over-statement. The deficiency will clearly be supplied out of the general sugar culture of the world. And although slave-grown sugar may share in the general stimulus arising from increased demand, the article itself will be shut out from the best market in the world—the market presenting the largest consumers, the highest price, and the best pay-masters. Hence the stimulus applied to the two kinds of culture will not be equal, but very unequal, and free-labour will receive the greater share. Besides, the stimulus applied to free-labour would be still greater comparative amount, if fiscal regulations were carried to their proper length. It is important to observe here, that the government measure annexing a discriminating duty of 10s. per cent. to foreign free-labour sugar, is not the measure of the committee. They have pleaded, and still plead, for the admission of free-produce on equal terms with that of British possessions. In this case a very marked and powerful encouragement would be given to free-labour, beyond any that could extend itself to slave-labour. It is by such a result that the principle of applying fiscal regulations is to be tested. The objection, therefore, is not true. But, if satisfactory answers could not be given to these objections, and if it were found to be impossible to promote the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade by fiscal regulations, the strongest objections might be adduced against any further admission of slave-grown, which, it is acknowledged on all hands, would aggravate slavery and stimulate the slave-trade. And in this case there would be the mortifying adjunct, that the effect was produced without any expression of opinion against the system which produced it. If I am so unhappily placed that I must be indebted to the slave-holder, and minister to his gains, let me, at all events, occupy a position in which I may give vent to my abhorrence of his crimes. But do not call upon me to join hands with the oppressor, or to fraternize with the trafficker in men. It has been alleged, indeed, and this is the only available plea in abatement, that an unrestricted commerce would, by promoting intercourse among nations, and effecting openings for the diffusion of knowledge and opinion, be at once the surest and the shortest road to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. I believe I must put in here a plea which has already become celebrated in this controversy, and say, *not proven*. I would that it were, or that we were capable of proof. But proof, unhappily, and damning proof, is on the other side. As though gentlemen did not know that *interest* is the chief spring—the *fons et origo*—of the world's opinions, the main impulse and guide of the world's pursuits. The anti-slavery opinion in England, we are told, will diffuse itself in Brazil, if you open your ports to their sugar! It is kept out by your prohibitory duties! Why, Sir, the anti-slavery opinion of England does not pervade the whole of England itself. Still manufacturers at Birmingham make shackles; manufacturers at Glasgow make cottons; and the Zulueta and the Forster send out ships from the Mersey and the Thames; all conspiring to nourish the slave-trade, although there are no custom-house vexations to impede their imbibing anti-slavery principles. And as to foreign countries, the cotton-trade of America teaches us that the lucrative commerce of England does more to rivet the chains of the slave, than all her wisdom

generates a love of humanity and justice. The free trade in American cotton has doomed a beautiful country, that once did not contain a slave, (Texas,) to cruel, and perhaps perpetual bondage. No, Sir; unrestricted commerce never has tended to release the slave, and it never will. While it touches as with a magic wand every spot where the labourer is free, and converts the desert into a garden, it glowers like a fiend over the tear-washed abode of the slave. It will add shrillness to the conch—thunder to the whip—fierceness to the master's eye. It will lengthen the hours of labour, and shorten those of repose. It will, in what might be called mercy if the process were not so terrible, abbreviate the period in which even now the sinews of man are worn out with toil, and his heart crushed with despair. It will drive more slaves on board British ships, to cut their throats in desperation when they cannot find shelter under the flag of the free. It will generate fresh insurrections for the now trembling planters and inhabitants of Cuba. It will throng the harbours with noble vessels and gay equipments bound for the African coast; and, over many a blood-stained league of that desolated continent, it will bid every man rise against his fellow, by murder and treachery to stoke the hold of the slave-ship with her expected victims. Free trade, Sir! In respect to regions cursed with slavery, its beneficent nature is altogether destroyed, and it becomes prolific of curses. There it is oppression rampant—or you may call the misnamed phantom Moloch, for Moloch himself never loved blood so well, or was so incapable of being satiated with it. Unrestricted trade with all the world! Why, in the name of common sense, first have unrestricted trade in your own streets. Let the known thief expose in open day the produce of his midnight violence, and let no man be punishable for purchasing his plunder. Unrestricted trade! Then let slavers go forth again from the ports of England undisguised, and put on board their accursed cargo without hurry or concealment. Ay, let the Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian *merchants!*—it is almost profanity to call them such—be unrestricted too, and the traffic in men, like all other branches of commerce, arrive at the zenith of its glory under the banners of Free Trade! No, Sir; trade must have its restrictions. And long, long will it be, I am confident, before this assembly, or any other assembly of considerate Englishmen, will consent to its release from those salutary restrictions which hold in some small check those twin children of the worst passions of mankind—slavery and the slave-trade. Considerations of a different kind have found a place in this discussion. You see (it is said) that the Society is divided: avoid disruption, and concede a little in what is not essential to your object. But what is essential is matter of opinion. We are desirous to avoid disruption: but if it threatens on the one side, it threatens also on the other. It is a subject, therefore, better mentioned on neither. No course seems to be left to us, but to seek the light of truth, and follow the guidance of principle. Whatever may result, some way of acting for the good of the cause will be found, and a benign Providence, in whose hands we are but feeble instruments, will, we may hope, overrule all for good. The speaker concluded by moving, That in the judgment of this meeting that portion of the fourth rule of the Society which requires it "to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour" ought to be confirmed.

J. J. GURNEY, Esq., seconded the resolution. He must say that he doubted whether the discussion was at all in order. He doubted whether the subscribers had any right in themselves to alter the constitution of the Society, upon which they had all agreed, or to enter upon the discussion without the consent of all the members of the body. That was one general ground of objection; but what pressed upon him with much greater force was, that there could not be the least question, and they must all unite in that opinion, that the abolition of these fiscal regulations would introduce into that country a large amount of the sugar of Cuba and the Brazils; and there could be no question in the mind of any man, that that amount of sugar would represent so much of the blood, so much of the sinews, and so much of intolerable torture inflicted on their fellow-men, (hear, hear). He spoke upon that point with some depth of feeling, because he had witnessed the sufferings of these unfortunate men. He had visited the barracoons of Cuba after an importation of slaves. He had stood by and seen them examined, thirty or forty young men at a time, like so many cattle; and he had known many of these estates without a single female. He believed that nothing could be more abominable than the whole system (hear, hear). The great object they should have in view was to endeavour to diminish the sufferings of their unhappy fellow-creatures; and he maintained, therefore, that it should be one of the fundamental principles of the institution of which they were members, to promote those fiscal regulations which were in favour of free trade, and which would have an undoubted influence on a large scale in diminishing the stimulus to the production of slave-grown produce, and increasing the stimulus to the production of free-grown produce (hear, hear). He was fully aware that there were many difficulties in allowing the introduction of foreign free-grown produce. For his part, if he found that it would be the means of increasing the sufferings, or aggravating the evils of slavery and the slave-trade, he would not support the introduction of foreign sugar from the East Indies. If he found that he had made a mistake in the first instance, he would not go further in the same direction, and aggravate the mischief. It might be said, what was the use of excluding the sugar of the Brazils while they admitted the cotton of America? Did the Anti-Slavery Society approve of that? Was there any one who denied that slavery had been immensely aggravated by a free trade in cotton? (hear, hear). He did not deny, however, that the efforts of his friends near him in the promotion of free trade were for a noble object, and they came recommended to his support and admiration; but all those great principles had their limitations, and more especially with regard to articles which were sinful or injurious in their nature. For instance, no one would advocate a free trade in blasphemous publications. (Hear, hear). Another case was where the article was produced by crime, and he thought the argument of their friend Daniel O'Connell as to a free trade in stolen goods was extremely appropriate to that which was the produce of slave labour. It was in the nature of things that the owner of the soil and the labourer should have a divided right to its produce, and that was settled by the fair wages paid to the labourer; but if the grower deprived the labourer of that which was his

rightful property, it was manifestly stolen from him (hear, hear). In his view the produce of slave labour had its foundation in crimes of the most abominable nature. There was tyranny, torture, bloodshed, war in its most horrible form, and murder to its most appalling extent, and by those immutable laws which were written in the heart of man, it was excluded from the principles which regulated free trade. He must say that he could not go the length of continuing his support to the Anti-slavery Society, if they adopted the reverse of what had always been their guiding and fundamental principle. He thought it would be the death-blow to its utility, and that it would be folly to continue a crusade against slavery, when, by their own act, they had overturned the great principles upon which they ought to proceed. He had lately travelled in France, and from what he had there observed he could assure them that there never was a time when united exertions were more necessary. If the anti-slavery public would now come forward with increased liberality, and with all the heartiness of the good old times of Wilberforce and Clarkson, and Buxton, he was satisfied that they would soon find a great change in the minds of the people of France on the subject of slavery. If France abolished slavery, Denmark and Holland must follow, and the United States could not then remain very long behind—and then, when all the world could raise up their voices and declare that they were free, they could give unlimited scope to the principles of free trade (hear, hear).

Mr. EDWARD SMITH, of Sheffield, said the question involved a great principle, and he need not conceal it from them, that whatever their decision might be, out of doors there was a strong feeling against the exclusion of slave-grown produce by fiscal regulations. The present question was not the support or rejection of anti-slavery principles, but the best mode of carrying out these principles, and it was for them to say whether they were justified in appealing to the government to lay on fiscal regulations and to maintain them by a pecuniary burden upon those whose opinions differed from their own. Another question was, whether it was fitting in a philanthropic society to appeal to the government. He thought it an unholly alliance, and he believed there never had been such a union without a sacrifice of independence and the introduction of political disunion; and if deadness did not come over their operations they were sure to be losers by their connexion with the government. He thought the government had no right to interfere in such matters—it was not their province, and they had had too much of government in the church—too much of government interference with education, and too much of its meddling in every man's private trade. If they went to the government with such views they must bear in mind that every other philanthropic society had the right to demand that their views also should be carried out by a tax upon their fellow countrymen. Such a precedent would be most dangerous to all civil and religious liberty. He would maintain further, that their objects could not be carried out by the course they proposed to pursue. Much care had been taken by the friends who preceded him to narrow the line of argument, by saying that they had nothing to do with the question of free trade; but free trade was philanthropy on its noblest basis. Mr. Smith then referred to the suffering and distress which would be produced upon the already half-starving operatives of Manchester and Sheffield by a stoppage of their trade with the Brazils, and declared that he for one would be no party to entailing so great an amount of misery upon his fellow countrymen. Mr. Smith then referred to the position in which Great Britain stood with regard to the slave-grown sugar of Louisiana, and contended that there would be no difficulty in introducing it, or the produce of Cuba, as Louisiana sugar, into this country; besides the principle was already daily violated by those who took the slave-grown cotton and tobacco of America, the tallow of Russia, in payment of Brazilian sugar and the wool of Saxony. Mr. Smith concluded by moving the following amendment:—

"The clause in the constitution of the society which pledges the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, having been seriously considered, it is resolved—that whilst, as individuals, every member of this society is left to pursue his own course, yet seeing the principle involved in the above resolution has given rise to great diversity of opinion, and cannot be considered as absolutely essential to the working out of the objects of this society, this meeting, with a view to secure the harmonious co-operation of all the friends of the slave, deems it best to annul the aforesaid clause of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

Mr. J. BRIGHT, M.P., seconded the amendment. He believed there had been a general recognition of the principle that *prima facie* an unrestricted admission of sugar was to be desired, as it would benefit the public and the trading community; it would increase the wages, and consequently, the comforts, of the working classes, the great bulk of whom depended upon the maintenance and regularity of their trade with other countries. But the produce of slave labour was, it would appear, to be excluded on the ground that they were stolen goods. If they were not to trade with nations who held slaves, that would appear to be a ground why they should refuse to trade with any nation which committed a crime of any other kind. If that principle were to be maintained, they must refuse to receive the beans, and the wheat, and the cotton of Egypt, because the oppression under which the people there groaned was not less galling than the slavery of the Brazils. There were few there who were not perfectly aware that nearly all the produce we received from Russia was raised by serfs, who were publicly sold in the market. Now, if they would apply the rule—if they would apply the term of "stolen goods" to the sugars of Brazil—why not carry it out, and apply it also to the produce we received from Egypt and from Russia? Again, was land which had been wrongfully and forcibly wrested from the hands of its original possessors as much stolen property as the goods produced upon it—if so, then why not apply the principle to the whole of the lands of America and even of Jamaica? These were not his principles, they were those of those who opposed the view he took of the question under discussion, carried out to their full and legitimate length. It was said that because of such traffic we incurred national guilt. Who were to be the judges of that? Not the gentlemen of the committee, who, however respectable in character, were but few in number; and he denied their right to say to 27,000,000

of people, that they must become more moral in their dealings with foreign nations ; and he denied even more strongly the right of those few gentlemen to go to the government and ask them to enforce that more strict morality. Now, it was well known that we sent cottons to Brazil. No one opposed that trade—every one, even the government itself, all were most anxious that we should greatly increase that trade. Now, let them look at the Liverpool shipping lists, and they would see great numbers of ships advertised to sail for Rio, and but very few, or nearly none, coming to Liverpool from Rio. Now, those ships which went out did not return in ballast; they brought home sugars, part of which was refined in this country for exportation, and the remainder was taken to foreign parts. Russia took many goods from us. For the purpose of the argument, say that she took to the amount of 1,000,000*l.*; but we took 2,000,000*l.* of produce from Russia. We must give her another 1,000,000*l.* in another way. Why, those very ships which brought the sugars from Rio, sugars which were bought by our cottons, took them to Russia, and for them received tallow, hides, hemp, &c. Now, would any man refuse to light his candle which was made of Russia tallow, or to wear his shoes, or put on his shirt, because they were the produce of Russian hides or hemp, yet they were bought with slave-grown sugar, which again had been purchased with our cottons ; or would he suppose he incurred individual guilt in consuming those things which were the produce of, or which had been obtained by, slave-labour ? It was almost a waste of argument to state these things over and over again. But let him then come to the argument put forward by Mr. Hinton, that the reception of Brazilian sugar must give a great stimulus to slavery and the slave-trade. Mr. Hinton said that he and the friends who thought with him admitted the fact—he (Mr. Bright) did not know where or how he had ever done so. He could not admit it in reality, because it was untrue, but he would admit it for the purpose of the argument. The committee had already memorialised the government for the admission of sugar the produce of free-labour from countries other than our own colonies. Now he maintained that it did not matter one iota which—so far as the stimulus went—which proposition, his or that of the committee, were carried, and if so, there were other and cogent reasons to prove that, for the labouring population of this country, his proposition ought to be agreed to. If the admission of the sugars of Brazil would stimulate slavery and the slave-trade, then the admission of sugar from any place other than our own colonies must have the very same effect (hear, hear). The committee proposed to shut out the sugars of Cuba and Brazil—what became of those sugars now ? Why, they were to be found in every market in Europe, with the exception of that of England. Free-labour sugar was now sold in Germany. Let us open our markets to that sugar. Prices here were higher than in Germany for the moment ; all that sugar would be thrown upon our market. Prices would be equalized, but the place of all the sugar sent from Germany would be replaced by the slave-grown produce of Cuba or Brazil. His friend Smith had touched upon what was to be expected from Louisiana. The calculation was that 50,000 tons were made in the southern states. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the measure of the government, he said it would be impossible to bring that sugar into the market here because of the heavy duty on importation into those states : but he had either kept in the back ground, or was not aware of the fact, that for every ton the American planter exported, he might import another, from Cuba or elsewhere, duty free. Then see to what a height the certificate system must raise the crimes of fraud and perjury ; it had always done it hitherto, and would do so again ; so that, let them see, when they were trying to avoid one crime, they did not raise up others of a deep dye, and, at the same time, took away the valuable and inalienable right of the great mass of the community of this country. The committee had allowed themselves to be made the tools of the government—a government which contained a Goulburn, a Gladstone, both West India proprietors, and therefore deeply interested in keeping up slavery in other parts of the world, because it protected the monopoly they shared in. There was a strong feeling in support of his views at the general meeting (“no, no”). He had no hesitation in saying that fully three-fourths of the meeting were opposed to the views of the committee. He said then, that if they succeeded in carrying their own views, they would lose the support of both Lancashire and Yorkshire. Scotland and Ireland, and great part of England were against them ; why, then, was it for them to force their opinions, even to the breaking up of the society ?

Mr. LEFROY supported the original resolution. He had come up from Hampshire to hold up two hands, if need were, against any proposition which would have the effect of restricting the committee, or in any way tying their hands, in their intercourse with the government.

An adjournment was now moved ; then an adjournment for an hour ; but both were lost. A separation for ten minutes was agreed to, after which,

The CHAIRMAN having read the amendment,

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER would, in the first place, advert to the question that had been raised respecting the introduction of Louisiana sugar, and if he thought that the terms of the treaty with the United States would permit the introduction of Louisiana sugar, he should, for one, decidedly object to any alteration of the existing duties. It was said by Mr. Bright that the present ministry had done nothing to abolish slavery ; but, although he was no partisan of that ministry, he must say that he thought that they were entitled to the thanks of the community for the efforts they were making to abolish slavery in the East Indies. He was not surprised that a large portion of the people of England did not sympathise with them, because they did not yet fully know the principles upon which they were proceeding ; and if, as he believed, a large portion of them were influenced by the opinions of those who advocated free trade and the League principles, he did not think they would be readily induced to give them their sympathy and support ; but he had little doubt that if that society had the same means of publishing and diffusing their opinions as the League, they would have every working man throughout the country raising their voices in support of the society (hear, hear). The great argument that had been used by Mr. George Thompson was, that free trade would destroy slavery and the slave trade throughout the world ; and he did not mean to deny, if all other things were equal, that such would be the result. The great article of slave

labour was cotton, and he found that at the present moment only one-seventh of the whole of their consumption now was the produce of free labour, and yet in that article there was very nearly a free trade. The next great article was sugar, and in the slave island of Cuba the production in a short period had been increased sevenfold ; in Porto Rico and the Brazils there had also been a large increase, making the whole quantity produced by slave labour amount to 6,000,000 cwts., while the total produce of free labour did not exceed 2,000,000 cwts., and its consumption had of late years considerably increased on the Continent. In the same way, coffee was, to a large extent, the produce of slave labour, and it would be a work of much time and labour to beat down a system which had arrived at such large amount of production. It had been said that Brazil was the second best customer of England, as regarded their exports ; but, by looking at the returns, which he believed had been very carefully prepared, of the exports of that country, which amounted in the whole to 47,384,000*l.*, he found that their best customer was Germany, to the extent of 6,200,000*l.*; the next was the East India Company's possessions, 5,169,000*l.*; then came Holland, 3,573,000*l.*; France, 3,193,000*l.* ; and Brazil was actually the tenth on the list, the return being only 1,756,000*l.* (hear, hear). There was little doubt that if all sugar was admitted at an equal duty, three-fourths of their supply would be obtained from Cuba and the Brazils, and there was no question that they could not consume that very large quantity, without greatly strengthening the system of slavery in those countries, and of course greatly increasing the demand for slaves. On the other hand, there was no doubt that in the present year there would be a large additional supply of sugar from the West Indies, the Mauritius, and the East Indies, the supply for the East India colonies having gone on increasing for some years past. It might naturally be expected that those countries would, in return, take a larger amount of their produce ; but, whatever might be the result, he thought they were bound to adhere to sound Christian and anti-slavery principles (hear, hear). He was satisfied that the adherence to these principles would also produce the most beneficial results upon continental states, who believed that the anti-slavery party were almost omnipotent in that country. He hoped that while they were determined to adopt every means of a moral or fiscal nature to promote the objects of the society, that they would do these things in a Christian spirit ; and when they considered the nature and power of the parties whom they were opposed all over the world, he thought there could be little doubt that the society was justified in having recourse to something beyond merely moral efforts. It was of the greatest importance at the present moment that they should do nothing to prejudice their cause, and believing that the amendment proposed to the meeting would have that effect, he should feel it his duty to lift up his hand against it (hear, hear).

Mr. JOHN HUBBERTS here rose in the body of the meeting, and said he had attended to all that had been said that morning, but he regretted to find that two individuals who were capable of effecting so much good for the society had pursued a line of conduct which was calculated to promote slavery, and he should vote for the withdrawing their names from the society (hear, and a laugh).

Mr. J. J. GURNEY wished to say a word in explanation of what had fallen from Mr. Bright. He had said that he doubted whether they should continue in the ranks of the society if that constitutional principle were reversed ; but not in any spirit of petulance, but because he conceived to be a clear breach of the great anti-slavery principles of the society.

Mr. G. THOMPSON said they were about to affirm the principle that Christianity required that they should not consume Brazilian sugar, which 26 out of the 27 millions of the inhabitants of that country had given their opinion the other way. If to use the produce of slave-labour was sinful, why did they consume the slave-grown cotton of America, and wear it on their persons ? He denounced it as a wicked prostitution of power to call upon the government of that country to prevent 26 millions of their fellow countrymen from trading with the Brazils. He believed there never was so gigantic a fraud and robbery as the sugar robbery, and they now wanted to promote and assist in the robbery. It was not a combination in support of monopoly, to see the anti-slavery party on the one side, and the East and West India body on the other. The party who were most eager on the present occasion were themselves mixed up with slavery in a thousand ways, and were supporting the anti-slavery society with its profits ; and then they came and took a solitary country like Brazil or Cuba, and a solitary article, sugar, and they denounced its use or consumption in this country. He felt thoroughly convinced that they would damage their character and reputation by the course they were taking—they could not maintain their stand as Christian men, nor could they as a voluntary society rob their fellow-countrymen by interfering with their labour. He did not believe that it was a crime to purchase sugar the produce of slave-labour ; the slave-owner was the guilty man.

A Voice.—You encourage him.

Mr. THOMPSON.—Then let them be consistent, and refuse to encourage slave-produce when it came in the shape of cotton, tobacco, or coffee. There had been some touching appeals to the meeting that day on the subject of slavery, but they might have been spared, for he believed the meeting were agreed on that point. He regretted that in pressing his amendment at the former meeting he had exhibited any undue warmth, he had been told ; he was sorry for it, but he would not now repeat the reasons that had compelled him to press that amendment (hear, hear). He had come to the conclusion that while he would not interfere with a fiscal regulations for the purposes of revenue, he could not go the length of asking the government to put a tax upon sugar to which his fellow countrymen and country-women generally had not consented (hear, hear).

Captain STUART had laboured very hard to convince his friend George Thompson ; and though he had not succeeded in doing so, he had, at least, left him inexorable in error. (A laugh.) He had no hesitation in saying that any man who used slave produce unnecessarily was a sinner. He thought the Government would neglect its duty in the most vi-

point if it did not interfere, by fiscal regulations, for the suppression of slavery.

Mr. SAMUEL BOWLY contended that the views of those who agreed with him had been very much over-stated. They were not going to tell any particular views upon the Government or the country ; all they wanted was to lay those views before the Government ; and it was said that

cause they were in a minority, which had not been proved, they were not entitled to demand any alterations or improvements in the fiscal arrangements of the country. He would remind his friends near him that, although they said the majority of the people were in favour of a free trade in corn, yet they had not been able to procure its introduction. (Hear.)

Mr. SAMUEL GURNEY did not believe that the large majority of the people of that country were in favour of free trade in sugar. His friend G. Thompson had qualified that statement by an "if," and he would also add an "if," and it would be in this way, that if the people of that country really understood the question, their votes would be very different from what was assumed by George Thompson. (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt that, if the system of slavery was abolished in Cuba, the wealth of that island would rapidly increase under a system of free labour; and that, he believed, was the true cheapness of the principle of free labour as contrasted with slave labour. It appeared to him that the practical result of opening the markets of that country to Cuban and Brazilian sugar (and in that respect he differed from his friend John Bright, as to the result), would be, that, circumstanced as these two places were, the whole of their additional consumption would be obtained from them, and the result would inevitably be an increase in the number of slaves imported from Africa to these countries. The Germans and other continental countries would still obtain their usual supply of slave-grown sugar; but he did not think there would be any considerable increase in that supply. He had no doubt that ultimately the East India islands would produce a much larger amount than at present, and then they would come into fair competition with slave-grown sugar; but at present there is little probability of their being able successfully to compete with it.

Mr. G. W. ANSTIE, of Devizes, afterwards addressed the meeting in support of the amendment of Mr. Smith.

Mr. W. T. BLAIR, of Bath, addressed himself to the principle which had been laid down, that it was improper to appeal to the government, and adduced several considerations to show its fallacy.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE referred to a pamphlet of his deceased brother's, on the cheapness of free labour, which had been quoted by Mr. Thompson, to show that he also was an advocate of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

Mr. BEALE, of Cork, said it was not true of the Irish people, that the majority of them were for cheap sugar, although slave-grown. He was confident the contrary was the fact.

The Rev. Mr. HINTON, in reply, said, that the various arguments on the other side had been so effectually answered, that little remained for him to do. With respect to the number of persons present at the meeting, he thought it a very satisfactory representation of the society. It was certainly a larger meeting than that at which its constitution had been originally agreed on. As to the arguments adduced, he had had the pleasure of seeing the principal arguments on the other side thrown overboard by the principal speakers who used them. Mr. Thompson, for example, tells us that he allows of collecting duties for revenue, and he thus abandons his objection to fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, that they must be maintained by force. Again; Mr. Thompson tells us that we may go to government when we have the consent of the people; and thus he knocks down the argument, that it is wrong to appeal to government on the subject at all. One speaker (Mr. Smith) made a strong point of the right of private judgment, which he held the proceedings of the committee to invade. But there was no coercion. We merely laid our wishes before the government, and other parties might do the same, leaving government to learn the wish of the majority. Mr. Thompson claimed the majority for that side—26 millions (reckoning babies and all) out of 27; but he (Mr. Hinton) asked, where was the proof of this? Had any of them expressed their sentiments by petition? He should feel himself warranted in regarding the silence of the people on this subject as an indication of their concurrence in the views of the committee. (Mr. BRIGHT: The meeting at Exeter Hall.) He was glad he was reminded of it. It has been admitted by Mr. Thompson, that the show of hands in favour of the views of the committee was larger than he expected. It was larger than any one would have expected from the antecedent applauses. This showed that the noisy part of the meeting was on one side, and the quiet part on the other. Besides, if the meeting had been an ordinary anti-slavery meeting, the vote would in all probability have been different. Many persons had been attracted by the expectation of a debate (Mr. THOMPSON: By us it had not been made known to more than five persons) who were much more partisans of the free-trade than the anti-slavery cause. In concluding, Mr. Hinton said he anticipated the vote to which they were about to come with confidence. It would show that the efforts of that society should be directed, as heretofore, to the welfare of the slave. The letters which the committee had received from Cuba and Brazil expressed an earnest hope that Great Britain would not open her ports to slave-produce. He trusted that prayer would be heard, and that the course of British policy would show that it was for beneficent ends that Divine Providence had made this country the most revered, as well as the most powerful of the nations.

The CHAIRMAN put the amendment, for which 7 hands were held up, and 82 against it.

The original motion was then put and agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated the meeting upon the temperate manner in which the discussion had been conducted; and thanks having been unanimously voted to him, the meeting separated at six o'clock.

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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A JAMAICA PLANTER, is gratefully acknowledged; but the subject of it is out of date.

We have several letters off the Sugar question and the late meeting, for which we cannot possibly find room.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 12, 1844.

We are again obliged to trouble our readers with a double number, and again are we constrained to fill even a double number almost entirely with close and heavy matter, to the exclusion of many articles of general intelligence of great interest. We trust, however, that the peculiar character and importance of the contents of our present number will be deemed a sufficient apology for us, and that the patience and kindness of our friends will facilitate our emergence from our editorial difficulties.

The Special General Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society announced in our last, for the revision of that part of its constitution which relates to fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, was held, according to announcement, on the 3rd inst., in the lower room, Exeter Hall, and was attended by 135 members. Mr. Tuke, of York, was called to the chair, which he filled with eminent propriety and unquestionable impartiality. After an attempt by Mr. Bright to depreciate the character of the meeting (of which we shall say more presently), an explanatory statement of the course pursued by the Committee was read by the Secretary. The discussion was then opened by the Rev. J. H. Hinton, who, on the part of the Committee, moved the confirmation of the clause in question, and Mr. J. J. Gurney followed, seconding the motion. A proposition of a contrary tenor was brought forward by Mr. Edward Smith, of Sheffield, and seconded by Mr. Bright, M.P. The discussion after this became general, Mr. George Thompson, and Mr. G. W. Anstie, of Devizes, speaking on behalf of the amendment, and Messrs. Lefroy, G. W. Alexander, C. Stuart, W. T. Blair, Samuel Bowly, Samuel Gurney, Joseph Sturge, and some others, in favour of the original motion. After a few words in reply from Mr. Hinton, the vote was taken, when there appeared for the amendment, 7; against it, 82, several persons not voting. The original motion being put, the show of hands in its favour was evidently larger than that against the amendment, but the numbers were not taken. The discussion occupied nearly seven hours, with merely an interval of ten minutes for refreshment, and was conducted throughout with a calmness and propriety placing it altogether above rebuke; in a manner, to say all in one word, truly worthy of what it was designed to be, a deliberative assembly. For further details we refer to the report which we have inserted elsewhere.

So far as concerns the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, the question of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour must now be considered as finally set at rest. The meeting of which we have given an account was in the strictest and completest sense a General Meeting of the Society, a summons having been sent to every person who could, by the most liberal interpretation of its rules, be deemed a member. To the remark made by Mr. Bright on the shortness of the notice, it may be replied, that, while the period of "ten or eleven days" was not in any sense insufficient, delay, even for a single week, would have done more to thin the meeting by allowing persons then in London to depart, than it could possibly have done in any way to augment the attendance.

Upon this point, however, we do not see that any stand is made. The stress of Mr. Bright's observation was, that, with whatever propriety it might be said that the meeting represented the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, it could not be said to represent "the anti-slavery feeling of the country." We do not see that we have any occasion either to admit or to deny this. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society never pretended to monopolize the anti-slavery feeling of the country. They have been quite aware from their formation that they proceeded on principles too peculiar to allow them to hope for universal co-operation, and they have accordingly seen that some distinguished abolitionists have kept aloof from them, and have preferred acting by even a distinct organization. Of course, no meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society could have any adaptation to express or elicit the Anti-slavery feeling of the country: if such a meeting gave utterance to the sentiments of the Society, it was all that it was capable of, and all that could be expected of it.

To this it may be added, that an expression of the sentiments of the Society was the only object to which the attention of the Committee could with any consistency be directed. The members of the Society are their constituents; the body from whom they have received the instructions under which they have acted hitherto, and from whom alone they can accept any subsequent instructions. Besides, if they had so far violated propriety and common sense as to have sought, not for the opinion of their constituents, but for that of the country, can any one divine a course in which they might rationally have proceeded towards such an object? Was the late meeting at Exeter Hall adapted to utter the anti-slavery feeling of the country? Or would any similar meeting, however convened, have been so? Nothing can be more preposterous than such an idea; unless it be the notion that any such meeting could listen profitably, or even patiently, to a seven hours' discussion, in anything approaching to the spirit of a deliberative body. The idea of obtaining an expression of the spirit of the country on any subject, by any meeting, convened in any manner or in any place, is to us absurd. The only way of knowing the feeling of the country is to bring forward definite views in many places and on many occasions, and to see what degree of support can be obtained for them. To this process we are very willing to submit the principles of the Bri-

tish and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. We believe that, in relation to the point now in dispute, they are in harmony with the general voice; but, whether they be so or not, they are at all events distinctly affirmed by the Society itself, and they must be carried out with such measure of public support as may be afforded to them.

Having thus noticed the remarks made by Mr. Bright at the meeting, we shall now present to our readers the following observations on it in the *League*:

"The meeting of the subscribers to the Anti-slavery Society, alluded to in our last number, was held in the small room, Exeter Hall, on Monday last. As a meeting representing any important part of the Anti-slavery public it was a ludicrous failure, not more than ninety persons being present, including several ladies and some very young persons, and these, for the most part, were members of the Society of Friends, intimate connexions, and a large number of them personal friends or relatives, of the New Broad-street Committee. Of course, in such an assembly an opinion adverse to that of the committee was not likely to find much favour. The policy of the committee on the sugar question was approved, and the gentlemen who compose it seemed somewhat consoled that opinions utterly rejected by the thousands assembled in the great hall at their annual meeting should have found adherents in the snug family gathering to which they were on this occasion submitted. A facetious friend of ours who observed the parties entering the room, remarked that 'it was a nice little *Tottenham* meeting,' and the family compact was so complete that argument fell utterly harmless upon minds more disposed to be led by others, than to examine the question for themselves. We are curious to see what the committee will say on the matter; much exultation will be sorely out of place; they could scarcely have a smaller egg to cackle over. It remains in the public mind that a meeting of at least 4000 persons, the very strength of the Anti-slavery public, at the annual meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, condemned, by a very large majority, the mistaken policy which the committee has pursued. In the settlement of the question of the sugar monopoly, we suspect the committee will, for the future, have small influence; our only fear is that their readiness to furnish weapons to the abettors of one of the foulest monopolies which ever existed will shake the confidence which many have been disposed to place in them, and will impair their influence to work out the liberation of the slave."

Of the *animus* of this article we shall say nothing; except that it is just such as will reduce to the lowest possible degree its power to do injury. In its statement of facts it is throughout exaggerated, to the verge of falsehood. If there were 4000 persons at the annual meeting, certainly the amendment was *not* carried by "a very large" majority; while, instead of there being "only 90 persons" at the Special Meeting, there were 135, and the names of places from which the attendants came will show clearly that it was *not* "a Tottenham meeting." Whether the meeting did or did not represent "any important part of the Anti-slavery public," is a somewhat delicate question for us, and we shall give no opinion upon it; nor shall we care to inquire to how great an extent, or by what parties, the "ludicrous" was developed in its proceedings. One thing we happen to know; namely, that the course which the gentlemen of the League have taken is already no laughing matter to them. But, over so small an egg, we have probably "cackled" enough.

While the decision of the Special General Meeting must be altogether satisfactory as an expression of the sentiments of the Society, and while it will have the effect (as we trust) of preventing any further interference with the proceedings of the Committee by those who hold different opinion, our readers may be inclined to ask to what extent the view now technically affirmed has been approved by parties who, not being able to attend, have expressed their sentiments by letter. To such an inquiry we can give an answer on the whole most satisfactory. A large number of letters have been received, all of them from persons in their individual capacity, and of these only six are adverse.* We may state also, that the names appended to the address issued by Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, amounted only to 42, fifteen of these being of persons who did not attend the Convention. Mr. Sturge circulated his reply much more widely than the address; and the numerous letters he received in consequence contained not a single decided negative, and only two or three expressions of doubt. The belief may fairly be encouraged, therefore, that a very large majority of the old friends of the Anti-slavery cause are united in opinion on the important subject which has been brought before them. We have reason to know that the discussion itself has been useful in recovering some valuable friends from the first impressions made by the plausible representations of the advocates of unlimited free trade; and we have no doubt that further consideration will produce more effects of this class. The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will therefore resemble a tree rooted the more deeply, and shooting forth the more vigorously, through the salutary influence of the tempest which threatened to destroy it.

We perceive on all hands that the press is open-mouthed against us; and, as we speak only once a fortnight, and are assailed with almost daily misrepresentations, we fall much in arrear with our replies. The "gentlemen in drab" owe a courteous acknowledgement to the *Morning Chronicle*, as well as to the *League*; and we have to make our bow to our worthy friend, Mr. Abdy. This writer falls into the common but strange mistake that we "demand protection" for the West India interest, a blunder for him altogether unaccountable. On every side we observe a determination on the

* We had intended to give extracts from these letters; but, from their number, in the crowded state of our columns, we have found it impossible to do justice to them.

part of our opponents to argue the question on grounds which *we do not take*; and we can account for this only by supposing that none of them can tell how to contend with us on the ground which we do take. We offer a fair field, and ask for no favour; but no one has yet thrown down to us, on our own ground, a wager of battle.

The government measure on the Sugar duties is slowly making its way through the forms of the House of Commons. The debate on Lord John Russell's amendment, that the reduction proposed by ministers should take effect on all foreign sugar, and not be confined to the produce of free labour, we have given at as great length as our space would permit. The noble lord's proposition was negatived by a majority of 69. It seems, therefore, that the principle of differential duties in favour of free labour produce is decisively affirmed. On Monday last Mr. Ewart's amendment, proposing that the duties on British and foreign sugar should be equalised, gave rise to another debate, for which we have no room. It turned almost entirely on the protection alleged to be due to the West India interest. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 200. Mr. Miles's motion for a reduction of 4s. in the duty on British sugar, remains for discussion before the House can go into committee.

With the demand of the West Indians for protection we have no sympathy; although, if Mr. James is to be believed, "they are now treated ten times more harshly than they ever treated their slaves"! But in the introduction into the commercial policy of Great Britain of the principle of differential duties in favour of free-labour produce we most unequivocally rejoice. Could we see produce of this description released from all discriminating duties, and received at the same rate as the produce of British possessions, our happiness in this respect would be complete.

We earnestly direct the attention of our readers to an article headed, "Iniquitous and artful proceedings in British Guiana." The planters in that colony, it is evident, are far from being cured of their old malady. The spirit of infatuation and oppression is still rampant among them, and they must be met by a firm and watchful resistance. In addition to the information given in the article referred to, we may here say that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at their meeting on Friday last, adopted a memorial to Lord Stanley on the obnoxious measures, and that they will feel it their duty to offer the most strenuous opposition in their power.

SINCE we last had an opportunity of referring to the subject, some changes much for the worse have been effected by the Government in the colonial immigration system.

By papers laid before Parliament it appears that, after asking the opinion of Governor Doherty, at Sierra Leone, Lord Stanley has done away with the regulation which required a definite proportion of the emigrants from that colony to be females. No regulation respecting the proportion of the sexes now exists.

From similar evidence it appears also that the emigration of Coolies from India to the West Indies is about to be renewed. A blue book presented some time since contained Lord Stanley's letter to the Governor-General, inquiring after that right honourable functionary's opinion on the matter; and a subsequent paper furnishes us with the reply of the Governor-General in Council, stating, in effect, that they are willing to lend themselves again to the dreadful experiment. That great importance is attached by the West Indians to this concession, and that they contemplate Coolie and Chinese immigration to the extent of many thousands, is manifest from the references made to this subject in the late debate on the sugar-duties. We look on the prospect now opening with unfeigned and unabated alarm, as involving another immense sacrifice of human happiness and life—not to the welfare, but to the frenzied appetites of the planters. But the pages of this melancholy chapter in the volume of human misery will soon be open to us.

THE Texas annexation bubble makes a great splutter in bursting. We had to mention in our last a voluminous and somewhat startling correspondence which was about to be presented to the Senate with the treaty. By the most recent arrivals we are informed of another set of papers, sent down at the request of the Senate, astounding the nation by disclosing the warlike attitude which it has pleased Mr. Tyler to assume "pending the consideration of the treaty."

The documents laid before the Senate in connexion with the treaty, whether we regard the message of the President, or the correspondence of the Secretary of State, exhibit the most bare-faced political profligacy, and have been well shown up in some of the American papers. More particularly, however, they demonstrate an intense hatred and jealousy of England; unless, indeed, (what is probable enough,) all that is said on this subject is to be resolved into an artful endeavour to inflame the popular passions. Great prominence is given to a conversation which took place in the House of Lords in August last, between Lord Brougham and the Earl of Aberdeen, about which letter after letter is written; and, even after the most pacific and elaborate explanation of the noble Foreign Secretary, Mr. Calhoun and President Tyler declare themselves dreadfully uneasy that England should be always and everywhere exerting her legitimate influence against slavery. Either all this mere nonsense, employed as a mask for some political intrigue; or else it shows that the United States government is absolutely under the influence of the slaveocracy, and prepared to submit, in doing their dirty work, to any degree of infamy.

As to the documents which the Senate, sitting in secret conclave on the treaty, have been pleased to send for and to give to the world, they clearly show that Mr. Tyler has pitted his southern friends with too much haste and too little discretion. A more unprincipled, rash, and consequently feeble policy it is impossible to conceive; just such a policy as would have damaged a good cause, and as will, we may hope, destroy a bad one.

ALIKE in our private correspondence and in the public papers, the condition of the island of Cuba is represented as becoming more and more horrible. We had heard of revolts among the slaves in November and December last, and of the infernal manner in which public functionaries and private persons were wreaking their vengeance on their victims. Now it appears that a plot still more frightful, and of more extended ramifications, was matured for outbreak on Good Friday last, and that it actually broke out in two places, being however promptly suppressed in blood. On this occasion, it is said, two thousand Negroes have been shot, besides great numbers flogged to death; the lacerated human frame requiring in some cases the almost incredible number of three thousand lashes before this ardently desired consummation arrived. It is a new feature of this insurrection that a large number of Englishmen—the accounts vary from 400 to 1200—have been arrested, fourteen of whom are affirmed to have been shot. The Captain-General, O'Donnell, seems to out-Herod Herod.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Monday, June 3.*

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Although, Sir, I am addressing the house formed into a committee of ways and means, the object of which is essential to provide the means necessary to raise the supplies to be granted to her Majesty, I am well assured that there is not an hon. member who hears me who does not feel that the question which I am about to submit to them is one involving something more than mere revenue considerations; and that the revision of the sugar duties involves interests of vast importance to all classes of people, both of this country and of those which are interested in our possessions abroad. It involves the great principle of policy which this country has steadily and firmly maintained for a long period of years, from which I trust, after the repeated declarations which have been made by Parliament, this house will not be induced by this night's discussion to depart. The object which I shall have in view, in the proposal which I have to make, is to reconcile very conflicting points which arise out of a consideration of the question of the sugar duties. It will be my endeavour and my object, in proposing the resolutions of which I have given notice, to reconcile an ample supply of sugar with the maintenance of the principle of resistance to the continuance of the slave-trade, and with the encouragement of the abolition of slavery, and to reconcile both matters with due consideration to the interests of those who have vested their property in our colonial possessions. I have felt it my duty to submit the proposition, of which I have given notice, for the admission of free-labour sugar into this country upon the terms stated in the paper. The proposal of admitting to this country, or of giving preference to the admission to this country, of sugar, the produce of free labour, is one which is not now for the first time submitted to the consideration of the house; and on looking back to the occasions on which that measure has been under consideration, I cannot find that there has been, on the part of any hon. gentleman in this house, a disposition to offer any objection to the principle of such an arrangement. When brought forward on previous occasions, it has been met by an argument of a different nature, applicable to the circumstances of the times under which the proposition was made; and I am sure the right hon. gentleman the member for Taunton, who on one occasion resisted a measure which was proposed with this object, will do me the justice to acknowledge that, in the argument which he then used, he raised no obstacle to the introduction of free-grown sugar as a substantive measure, but grounded his resistance on the particular circumstances that we were then under the obligation of commercial treaties with the United States of America, and particularly with Brazil, which rendered it impossible for us to draw the distinction between sugar the produce of free labour and sugar the produce of slave labour; and that by professing to admit the former we might give an indiscriminate admission to the latter, and thereby encourage the slave-trade. Knowing the day upon which will terminate that treaty with Brazil, which gives her the right of introducing the sugar of that country here on terms of the most favourable competition, and considering the increase of price—the prospect of some additional supply being required—the facilities which we have given for the introduction of free sugar—I have availed myself of the earliest opportunity of submitting to the house the adoption of a measure which shall give effect to that arrangement, which, under other circumstances, would, I believe, have been adopted by the house at an earlier period. In regulating the mode in which the free-labour sugar of the world is to be introduced, I feel it essentially necessary that two points should be fully borne in mind—first, that we should effectually guard against the evasion of the principle upon which the measure proceeds, by providing that the introduction of free-labour sugar shall not be made a cloak for the introduction of slave-grown sugar; and I think it is also necessary that the admission of this article should be such as is suited to the probable exigencies of the country, and that it should be admitted at a rate which would secure its admission on the favourable terms of competition with the sugar of the West India market. With respect to the mode in which the precaution is to be taken against the introduction of other sugar than that the produce of free labour, I conceive little difficulty can arise. We have before had occasions on which it had been considered essentially necessary to the commercial interests of the country that a distinction should be drawn as to the produce of different countries being subjected to different duties; and in these cases we have found that certificates of

origin, coupled with the certificates of the shipper, have been sufficient; and as I intend them in this case to be coupled with the British authority at the port of shipment, I think there will be no difficulty in preventing any evasion of the law. It is unnecessary to refer to particular instances in which arrangements of this kind have been effected, or I might remind the house of the arrangement made with respect to coffee, which was subjected to different rates of duty. With respect to facilities of introduction into this country, I do not believe that any gentleman who has considered the subject will suppose that the protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. is more than is necessary to the legitimate protection of the interests of those with whom this sugar will come into competition. From the countries specified in the resolution which I am about to propose, and those to which a similar privilege will be extended by her Majesty, on sufficient proof being afforded of the absence of slavery and the slave-trade, the quantity of sugar to be derived is sufficiently ample to meet the exigencies which are expected to arise in this country. We know that the island of Java alone furnishes large supplies of sugar greatly beyond that which is required for the countries which are supplied from that quarter, and we know that the quantity produced in that colony is capable of very considerable extension. With respect to Manilla, also, sugar is raised in great abundance, and the supply is capable of still further extension. We can make no estimate of the probable quantity likely to be received from China, because our relations with that country with respect to sugar have been very trifling, and our knowledge is confined to the fact that China does export considerably to different parts of the world. The noble lord (Lord John Russell), is prepared to extend to all colonial sugar and all foreign sugar that advantage which, by this resolution in my hands, I propose to confine to sugar the produce of free labour. This is no new battle-field between the noble lord and those who sit on this side of the house. It was argued in 1841 with great energy. Parliament at that time decided against the proposition of the noble lord. They felt, and they recorded, that after all the efforts and sacrifices which this country had made for the abolition of the slave-trade, and for the improvement of the slaves, it would be inconsistent with the duty and honour of parliament to adopt a measure which was calculated to give direct encouragement to both. In that argument and in those views I entirely concur at the present moment. I shall be surprised, indeed, if parliament, having so constantly recorded its opinions upon these subjects, having expended the treasure and blood of the country in giving effect to them, and having so recently repeated their declaration that it was expedient to abide by them—I shall indeed be surprised if the House of Commons adopts a course which is at variance with those principles. If I was to make any comment on the resolution of which the noble lord has given notice, it would be to express my surprise that so far from showing any deference to the past opinions of parliament, and so far from showing any deference to what I believe to be the feelings of the country, he has aggravated the objections which existed to the course which he formerly recommended, by giving an additional encouragement to the introduction of sugar from that particular colony, and where he knows the slave-trade is most perseveringly carried on under a system most revolting to every feeling of humanity. When the noble lord, in the year 1841, supported the sugar duties, he maintained that the sugar of Cuba, being of a purer quality than other sugar, required to be subjected to a higher duty in comparison with other duties than the inferior sugar of other parts of the world was subjected to. He proposed, then, a discriminating duty of 40s. per cwt. upon the sugars of Cuba, with a view to guard against their unlimited introduction; and now, in the notice which he has given to the house, he is prepared to recommend that that very sugar which he then thought could not be introduced into this country at less than 40s. duty, should now be introduced at 34s., giving a benefit of 6s. per cwt. to the sugar of that particular colony, where we know the slave-trade has been carried on, and with respect to which the carrying on of the slave-trade is indissolubly connected. What may be the motive which has induced the noble lord to look so favourably upon one of the worst instances of the slave-trade which is to be found—what are the reasons which have induced him to extend his indulgence to sugar not merely the produce of slavery, but which has acquired its extent by the extension of slavery alone, it will be for the noble lord to explain. For myself, I am satisfied, that if you wish to extend that trade, you can find no more effectual mode of doing it than by giving it that encouragement which will raise the price of that commodity in the markets of the world, which must be the result of throwing the market open to them—you can give no greater stimulus to the slave-trade than by doing so, because it is only from the continuance of that trade that the sugar cultivation in these colonies can be maintained and extended. And what would be the inconsistency of such a proceeding? We have very recently been making great additional exertions with a view of interrupting the slave-trade, which, in spite of all our energies, had been on the increase. We have increased the expenditure to which we were liable; and what an inconsistency would it be, if, while we pretend we are anxious to put an end to the evil on one side of the Atlantic, we were to make our legislation here conducive in the greatest degree to the extension of that traffic, and afford every possible incitement to the inhabitants of that quarter of the globe to continue in the trade in which they have been so long embarked. The hon. member for Montrose, on a preceding evening, in a discussion on the estimates, said that we could not put down the slave-trade by any force which we might employ in opposition to it, but that it must be done by diminishing the profits of those who are embarked in the trade, and that that is the only way to get rid of that enormous evil. By excluding the sugar of those countries from this market, or at least by giving a preference to sugar the produce of free labour over slave labour, you do most effectually impose a check upon the value of the produce of that country where the slave-trade is pursued; and doing so, you employ the best means at the disposal of any country for the purpose of forwarding an object which it is the sincere desire of this country to see carried out—namely, the abolition of the slave-trade. I do not know on what ground the noble lord will recommend the adoption of his present resolutions. I have heard it stated, and perhaps the noble lord may be inclined to state, too, that by taking out of the world a proportion of free-labour sugar, and giving it the advantage of the ports of the country, you thereby create a vacuum in other countries which will necessarily be supplied by the produce of Brazil. Now if that be the view of the noble lord, I beg to differ with him entirely.

The natural consequence of encouraging a particular class of sugar in the world is a considerable extension of the production of that article to which encouragement is given—an increase of production not limited merely to that particular market into which the produce is to be introduced, but extending beyond it, and tending to give an encouragement to its production and introduction into other markets of the world, and at the same time operating in conjunction with this principle, we must remember that the difficulties which we still impose in the way of the slave-trade in these countries and Africa will necessarily tend to enhance the price of slave-grown sugar as contrasted with the other, and will not have the effect of introducing into the markets of England free-trade sugar. But even suppose the result were otherwise. Suppose that, while we refuse sugar the produce of the slave-trade, other nations should seek it with greater avidity, and make greater exertions to obtain it, would that be an argument with us for departing from our proposition? Why, what was the argument used by this country when the abolition of the slave-trade was in question? We were told, "Give up the slave-trade by Great Britain; you aggravate the evil, because you throw it into the hands of those who, carrying it on without any regard, or with less regard, to the interests of the slave, will inflict more misery upon mankind than could be inflicted by a continuance of the trade." The result was, that parliament said, that whatever guilt might attach to them, it would be no excuse for the crime to say that they carried it on more leniently than others, and that it was right to put away from them the opprobrium and reproach of continuing the slave-trade. Similar arguments were used when the question for emancipation was under discussion in this house. We were told that it would be better to continue slave-labour in the West Indies, because, if it were not continued, other countries would not be controlled by our beneficial legislation with respect to it. But did that motive influence parliament? No. Our answer on this point was the same as that which we gave before with respect to the slave-trade; and, as regards the question of slave sugar and slave labour, I believe the same result will happen, and that our proceedings will not lead to any increase of slavery. Whatever may be the extent of the evil, our consciences will on this point be free. I will now advert to that part of this subject which is referred to in the second resolution which I am about to submit to the committee. It relates to those countries which have commercial treaties with us founded on the principle that their produce shall be admitted to this country on the same footing as that of the most favoured nations. As I said before, Brazil is a country which had this particular privilege, and which was in a situation to use this privilege with effect. We have similar treaties with other countries—with the United States, Sweden, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. There is not one of those countries, however, which carries on the slave-trade, and there is not one of them which has not declared, by legislative enactment, against the continuance of the slave trade. With respect to slavery, the greater number of them—namely, all those republics in South America with whom we have those reciprocal treaties—have from their very foundation taken measures for the suppression of slavery within their territories. No doubt in some of them slavery, in a mitigated form, exists—the remnant of a former state of slavery—but in them either there is no sugar the produce of slave labour raised for exportation, or the slavery may be said to be so nearly extinguished that they may be taken out of the category of countries in which slavery exists. In some of the most considerable there is no pretence for saying that slavery exists. In Mexico and Colombia, for instance, slavery had been put an end to by legislative enactment, and even the slave-trade had been by them declared to be piracy. With respect then to these states, no apprehensions need be entertained, either as to the amount of sugar which they may furnish to the markets of this country, or as to any encouragement which the present proposal may give to slavery, by admitting the produce of these states. There are only two other countries to which I shall refer—the possessions of Sweden in the West Indies, and the United States of America. With respect to Sweden, I believe it is well known that its only possession is one small island, St. Croix, and that its produce was sent directly to Sweden. The amount of its produce is so small, that even were Sweden disposed to interfere in the markets of Europe, it could have little or no effect as regards the question of slavery. With respect to the United States, I admit that they do produce a very considerable amount of sugar. I believe that it varies very much in different years, owing to the sugar grounds suffering more from frost in one year than another, but taking the average, I believe the produce amounts to about 50,000 tons a year. But then the United States imported the largest portion of the sugar they consumed from other sugar-growing countries (hear); and I think it is capable of distinct proof that it would not be for the interest of the United States (and this is the point to which it is necessary to look in a question of this kind) that sugar the produce of those states should be brought to this country. What is the point which regulates the question of interest in trade? Is it not the price for which the commodity can be sold? What interest, then, would the Americans have in sending their sugar to this country, when, as we find from returns, the price of sugar is higher in New York than in either Liverpool or London? What interest, then, would the American producers have to convey their sugar either to London or Liverpool? None. They would have to compete on equal terms with the free-labour sugar of other foreign countries; while by retaining their produce at home they would gain a premium of from 11s. to 18s. per cwt., and obtain a higher price there than here. To suppose that any such sugar will be introduced into this country is to suppose that the people of the United States will neglect their own interests; and whatever faults may be imputed to them, I do not believe that the neglecting their own interest is one of them (hear, and a laugh). But I may be told by hon. gentlemen that which I have heard stated elsewhere—that America is desirous of introducing her sugar into this country, and that she will give a bounty of 11s. to 18s. per cwt., and then export it. But the American statesman who should propose such a bounty would not certainly meet with the support of the legislature of that country; for only very recently they abandoned the system of bounties as totally inconsistent with the sounder commercial principles which they then adopted. Under these circumstances I dismiss as groundless any apprehensions as to a supply of sugar from the United States: and I have no hesitation in recommending to the committee the adoption

of the proposal contained in the resolutions. I believe they will be found, when carried into execution, to reconcile those great objects to which alluded at the outset of my observations—viz., the maintaining to the people of this country a supply of sugar, not only adequate to their existing wants, but to that extension of consumption essential to their comfort and necessities. I believe that, in proposing those resolutions, we have not forgotten the principles upon which Great Britain has always acted—that we are sincerely desirous to abide by those declarations which we have from time to time made against any encouragement being given to the slave trade, and in favour of everything that would tend to discourage slavery in those countries in which it existed in its worst form; and that we are not prepared to abandon that uniform course of diplomatic negotiation and parliamentary declaration which for years past have been adopted against the continuance of the slave trade, and in favour of the diminution of the evils of slavery. And I hope that the proposed measure will be found to have consulted the real interests of those who, having embarked their property in our colonial possessions, have been exposed to various difficulties and subjected to certain trials. I do hope, nevertheless, that the measure will be found conducive to their interests, and that the limited protection proposed to be given will operate as a permanent security in their favour, and while it will supply the markets of this country with the commodity in which they deal, will not arm against them the feelings of the people with respect to an article essential to their comfort and enjoyment. With these expectations, I beg to propose—

"1. That towards raising the supply granted to her Majesty, the several duties now payable on sugar be further continued for a time to be limited, save and except that from and after the 10th day of November next, there shall be charged on brown, muscovado, or clayed sugar, certified to be the growth of China, Java, or Manila, or of any other foreign country, the sugar of which her Majesty in Council shall have declared to be admissible, as not being the produce of slave labour, the cwt. 11. 14s. together with an additional duty of 5*l.* per cent. on the aforementioned."

"2. That from and after the 10th day of November next, her Majesty be authorized, by order in council, to give effect to the provisions of any treaty now in force which binds her Majesty to admit sugar the produce of a foreign country at the same duties as are imposed on sugar the produce of the most favoured nation."

Lord J. RUSSELL.—The right hon. gentleman says that the proposal to admit free-labour sugar is not new, because the hon. member behind me had proposed it, and that it had been discussed by the house. But the right hon. gentleman might as well say, in bringing in a bill of universal suffrage, that the question was not new, because the hon. member for Rochdale had proposed it to the house, and been defeated (hear). With regard to the principle of slavery involved in the consideration of this question I will say a few words. To say that you will place the tax on grounds of morality, is to say that you will erect pulpits in your custom-houses (hear and laughter), and that your landing-waiters shall preach the doctrines of anti-slavery (renewed cheers and laughter)—a new principle, certainly, of commercial policy (hear and laughter). But I think that such a principle can lead to nothing but mischief. It is impossible that you can act consistently upon it (hear). With respect to this very question, how, I will ask, would it apply? You take a great number of commodities from various countries, some in a low state of civilization where barbarous chiefs exercise a despotic power of life and death over millions of subjects in a state of serfage, and others in which horrible cruelties are practised upon the community. You do not, when goods are brought from such countries, ask, when they arrive at the Custom House, where they come from. You do not inquire into the merit and condition of the producers—into the nature of their legislation, or into the moral codes by which such countries are governed (hear.) You take the goods as a matter of trade. They send their goods here for sale. You take them, and, in return, you sell your goods to them. It is a plainer transaction, and I really believe that, with respect to commerce, the best thing you can do, either as regards the social happiness of a people, or as regards the advancement of humanity and Christianity, is to allow commerce to take its own way; to trust to the influence which it must have and not to interfere violently with the municipal regulations of other countries. If you adopt the latter course, be assured that those countries against which you legislate will meet you by retaliatory measures. The empire of Brazil and the kingdom of Spain will do so in the present case in order to meet these hostile proceedings of yours. It is a sort of legislation which I do not think you ought to attempt unless you had some insuperable reason; for how can you know the exact state of those countries for which you propose to legislate? In Java, I believe that a person holding a certain quantity of ground is compelled to cultivate sugar, and to part with it at a certain bounty (No). The hon. member may contradict me—he may be better informed than I am of the state of Java, but I believe I am correct in what I have stated. Now what would be the result of acting on the principle alluded to? If a person brought the sugar of Porto Rico to the Custom House it would be refused, while that of Java would be admitted (hear, hear). But what is the state of your trade with those countries, like Cuba and Brazil, and why are they induced to grow slave-labour sugar more than sufficient for their own wants? The reason is, they wish to obtain the manufactures of other countries. And where do these manufactures come from? From Lancashire and Yorkshire (hear). This was their inducement to employ slave-labour, and you, by sending them these manufactures, do as much to encourage slavery as if you took the sugar direct from those countries (hear). Then what do you do with respect to the slave-grown sugar? We think it a sin and crime to consume this sugar; but there is a way of disposing of it, because we do happen to take from Russia a great quantity of tall hemp, and other articles, and as that country is not prepared to take our manufactures, we therefore pay them by sending them sugar the produce of slave-labour. Now, as regards that encouragement of slavery against which the right hon. gentleman so much protests, I should like to know what is the real difference, whether you send your manufactures to Cuba and take sugar from thence for your consumption, or whether you send your manufactures to Russia, and receive in exchange the hemp and tobacco of the people of that country, they consuming for you the sugar which you think it would be a contamination to touch (hear, hear). But the r-

hon. gentleman says, "Oh, but in that latter case my conscience is free" (hear, hear, and laughter). On my word, I must say that the right hon. gentleman finds it very easy to reconcile those things to his conscience—if he has a conscience which prevents him from proposing to the House the admission of sugar, while he has no objection to the sugar being carried by us to Germany and Russia, and is moreover ready to assist them so far as to refine for them in this country the sugar which they require (hear, hear).—I must say that it is a very flimsy veil of conscience which the right honourable gentleman throws over the proceeding (cheers and laughter). I very much doubt whether, if, instead of being as he is, a stout Protestant, the right hon. gentleman were a Roman Catholic, and were to go to his confessor—I very much doubt whether, in the present case, his confessor would take his excuse as sufficient (hear, hear). But let us see what is the amount of this trade. In the year 1840, we sent to Cuba to the value of 863,520*l.* of manufactured goods; in the year 1841, we sent there to the value of 895,000*l.* of manufactured goods; and in the year 1842, the value of our exports of manufactures to that country was 711,938*l.* In the year 1840, we exported to the Brazils manufactures of the value of 2,625,000*l.*; in the year 1841, we sent there manufactures of the value of 2,556,554*l.*; and in the year 1842, we sent there manufactures of the value of 1,756,000*l.* Now, the greater part of these manufactures went actually to those persons who are encouraging, as the right hon. gentleman has said, slavery and the slave trade. The right hon. gentleman referred to another argument which was used when this subject was formerly before the house, and which argument the right hon. gentleman has not, as it appears to me, effectually met. The argument is this—that, although the law says we shall not ourselves use slave-grown sugar, yet, if we admit 90,000 tons which are supposed to be the produce of free-labour, those 90,000 tons must be subtracted from the consumption of the continent of Europe, and will be replaced by sugar the produce of slave-labour; and thereby the slave trade will be indirectly encouraged (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman has said nothing that can in the least diminish the force of that argument. He says that the sugar of Cuba is remarkably good—a subject to which I shall advert presently; and he admits that the means of carrying the slave trade into effect in that country are very extensive. What, then, will be the consequence? Why, as certainly as you take from Java, the Manilla, Siam, and other quarters, 90,000 tons of free-labour sugar, so certainly will you give encouragement to the produce of slave labour. Then is it not much better, if that is to be the case, that you should not depart from your usual principles of trade—that you should not put forward an argument which, I must say, savours very much of hypocrisy? (hear, hear). I will suppose, for the sake of argument, that some very great practical benefit was to be obtained by the course which you propose to pursue—that some very great and essential good would be conferred on the world by this distinction—and I must then admit that that might be a reason for making a distinction hitherto unknown. But when you see so plainly that this course can be attended with no practical benefit—that this is merely a distinction in words—then I cannot conceive why a government, and especially a government of this great commercial country, should attempt so baseless an object (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman alluded to the trade with America, and with other countries with which we have established a favourable tariff; but I think there is one supposition with which the right hon. gentleman has dealt, and which he has not shown to be unfounded. That supposition is that the Americans, instead of sending their sugars to New York, will admit the sugars of Cuba and the Brazils, and will send their sugars to this country (hear, hear). I have here an account of several years, in which 40,000 tons of sugar grown in the United States were sent to New York; and I believe that it would be quite as easy to have sent that sugar to Liverpool as to New York. I believe that if it were sent with a cargo of cotton, which is a lighter article, the charge for freightage would not be great; and the American merchants would by that means enjoy a very considerable advantage in sending sugar to this country. It seems to me that it would be a very natural source of profit to them to admit the sugar of Cuba and the Brazils at a very small rate of duty, in order to have the advantage of the English market for their productions. The right hon. gentleman says that that will not be the case; and he tells us, with a view to confirm that statement, what are the prices in New York. But those are the prices, I imagine, including the duty; and it has been stated,—the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade will tell us whether or not the statement is accurate,—that persons importing into America a certain quantity of foreign sugar would be entitled to export a certain quantity of the produce of the United States. But at all events it would be in the power of the American government to make such an arrangement; and even supposing that that were not the case, the right hon. gentleman appears to me to attach a degree of faith to certificates of origin which is greater than is due to them. The right hon. gentleman seems to have no doubt that a certificate of origin at New Orleans, countersigned by the British consul, is a security that none but United States sugar would be sent to New Orleans. But I very much doubt that fact (hear, hear). I should expect on the contrary, that taking into account the number of countries, such as New Orleans, Louisiana, Colombia, and other states with which we have favourable treaties, we should have reason to believe that in more than one case we should receive sugar from the Brazils and Cuba under a false certificate of origin. False certificates are not, it must be remembered, a novelty in this country. I believe that at the latter end of the war those false certificates were very common, and that great quantities of foreign produce were then introduced into this country, and great quantities of the produce of this country were sent abroad under false signatures. Those persons who have the greatest practical acquaintance with the question do not feel the same confidence and tranquillity as the right hon. gentleman. The right hon. gentleman says he has no fears that any transactions of this kind will take place, and that he believes it will ultimately be very much for the benefit of the West Indies and of other British possessions that the proposed alteration of duty should be carried into effect. Those, however, who are best acquainted with the circumstances of those colonies do not feel the same confidence (hear, hear); and they have very little less apprehension in the year 1844 than they had in the year 1841, when a differential duty of 12*s.* instead of 10*s.* was proposed by the government of that period (hear, hear). The objections made to the proposed change at that time were, that the great experiment of the abolition of slavery had not been fairly tried—that it

was necessary in the first instance to see how far free-labour could be made to supply the place of slave-labour—and that there were various questions, such as the immigration of labour and the cultivation of the West Indies, which had not at the time received sufficient attention; so that it would be impossible to say what changes could be safely introduced. But are the persons who made those objections in the year 1841 prepared to say that sufficient time has since been given for the solution of those questions, and that the experiment of free-labour in Jamaica and in our other colonies has been so successful that they are not afraid of the change which is now proposed? I believe they will not say anything of the kind (hear, hear). I am, however, about to propose that the same differential duty which you think sufficient for Java, the Manillas, and the United States, should be applied to Cuba and the Brazils. It is a differential duty, because I think it is right, after the great experiment which we have made, and after the considerable period during which an advantage has been given to our own colonies, that a differential duty should be continued and maintained, while I think, as I thought in the year 1841, that the prohibitory duty of 63*s.* ought to be abolished. I shall give some reasons, taken from statistical papers, why I think that a change of that kind ought to take place. It appears that the consumption of sugar, as compared with the amount of the population of this country, has decreased since the year 1831. In the years 1831, 1832, 1833, the consumption was between 19*lbs.* and 20*lbs.* a-head, but it has since fallen off to 17*lbs.*, and in one year to 16*lbs.* a-head. In the year 1830, the average consumption of each individual in this country was 19*lbs.* and a fraction; and in the year 1831, it was still 19*lbs.* and a fraction; and in the year 1843, it was but 17*lbs.* It further appears that the consumption of sugar has not kept pace with the increased consumption of tea and coffee. It was said by Mr. Hukisson that he believed that two-thirds of the people of this country who were in the habit of consuming coffee used it without sugar. But it would, of course, be a great addition to the enjoyments of those who consume tea and coffee if they could consume sugar in proportion. I find that in the year 1801, the quantity of coffee consumed in this country was 7,850,000*lbs.*; and in the year 1841, it had increased to 27,298,000. The quantity of tea consumed in the year 1801, was 20,227,000*lbs.*; and in the year 1841, it had increased to 36,675,000*lbs.*; yet the amount of sugar consumed in this country in the year 1801, was 3,639,000*lbs.*, and in the year 1841, it had only increased to 4,657,000*lbs.*; thus showing that between the year 1801 and the year 1841 the consumption of tea and coffee had increased three-fold, while the consumption of sugar during the same period had only increased by one-eighth; and the increase in the population was as 8 to 14. I think these facts are sufficient to show that you ought to take into consideration the necessity of effecting some material change in your sugar duties. I believe that an additional reason for taking such a course may be found in the fact that the experiment of transporting Indian labourers into the Mauritius has been successful; and a person of very high authority in these matters, who was not at first supposed to be favourable to such an experiment—I mean Lord Auckland—now thinks, I believe, that there could be no objection to that immigration of labourers under proper restrictions. I wish to propose that, instead of the several duties now payable upon sugar, there should be charged upon brown or muscovado sugar, the produce of foreign countries, a duty of 3*d.* per cwt. I believe that the distinction made by the right honourable gentleman between slave-grown and free-labour sugar would be found, in practice, wholly delusive, and that duties could not be levied for such a purpose. (The noble lord resumed his seat amidst the loud cheers of his party.)

The amendment having been put,

Mr. GLADSTONE said—The noble lord protests against the adoption of a new kind of distinctive duty. Not for the sake of taunting the noble lord with inconsistency, by no means on so miserable a ground, but for the purpose of supporting myself, I must refer to an authority which I respect. The noble lord ought to recollect that his right hon. friend, by whose side he now sits, in 1840 distinctly laid down this principle, that the case of the cultivation of sugar, and the duties on sugar, connected as it was at present with the slave trade, was a case not to be approached and considered on commercial principles alone; adding that, in speaking of the distinction between free labour and slave labour, he knew he should be taunted with introducing a new principle. Why, he is now taunted by his noble friend (cheers). I maintain, however, that the question is not whether this is a new principle or no, but whether, as a question of practical policy and humanity, this measure will secure the greatest good in the power of this house to confer. The noble lord was pleased to be witty on this portion of the subject, commenting on the absurdity of mixing up morality with tariffs, erecting pulpits in the Long Room, and turning our landing-waiters into preachers of morality. Perhaps the noble lord might think it singular, as an ordinary rule of policy, to base your naval operations on morality. Perhaps the noble lord might see something singular in sending an armed squadron to enforce morality, pulpits erected on the quarter-decks of our men-of-war, and our captains turned into preachers of morality. And yet the colleague of the noble lord, the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, did erect such pulpits on the decks of our men-of-war, and made our captains preachers of morality to the slave-traders on the coasts of Africa and Brazil. The question is, not whether the course proposed to be taken is reconcileable with our commercial policy alone, but whether it is consonant with the great principles of policy which this country has pursued with regard to the slave trade; and it is incumbent on the noble lord to show that you ought to give the sugar-planters of Brazil a premium to encourage slave labour, and at the same time place a man-of-war to prevent that supply by which alone he can increase his manufacture. I cannot see how this principle can be carried out consistently. The experience of the noble lord may be different; but I should say that there are very few theories, however just and sound in themselves, that can be applied to the mixed and varying circumstances of human affairs without modification, adapting them to times and circumstances. It is not, therefore, with the view of satisfying a theory, and depriving the noble lord of an opportunity of detecting an inconsistency, that we have approached this question, but in order to advance the welfare of the country. The noble lord's objection was, that we could not have any adequate security that the countries who are to have the benefit of this measure (so to speak) raise sugar by free or slave labour. The noble lord endeavoured to confound the distinctions which prevail

between the two, by what I must be permitted to call somewhat akin to sophistry, contending that, after all, the case of Java presented no distinction worth mentioning from slave-holding states. We have, undoubtedly, no official means, no absolutely certain means, of obtaining correct and detailed information as to the state of Java; but, with regard to the laws of Java, and the state of society there, we possess ample means of obtaining information. The noble lord should recollect that, in arguing for the admission of foreign sugar into this country, it has always been a favourite argument to say, that although you might exclude the sugar of slave-holding states, you ought not to extend the exclusion to Java, in which free labour prevailed. Now, with respect to the labour which is used in the cultivation of sugar in Java, I believe, in the particular sense in which we must view that subject, the very essence of the distinction lies between what is called free labour and slave labour. It should be observed that rent there is paid in proportion to the produce of the land, and in some cases, as regards the cultivation of the ground, the rent is paid in the shape of a certain number of days of steady labour. But, as far as regards the payment of the rent, much of it is discharged by the produce of the land. Though this may be a theory not much in favour in this country, it was often thought to be a question worthy of serious consideration whether a great improvement would not be here effected if payment of rents in kind were more commonly introduced. So far, then, as regards the occupation of land, this was the state of things in Java. No man is compelled to cultivate or hold his land against his will; but then, if he hold his land, he is bound to cultivate it. Now, in that sense only is the labour of farmers there compulsory. The farmer is free to quit if he pleases, just in the same way as the farmer or cultivator is at liberty to do so in this country. There are certainly obligations to which he is, however, liable. I have not succeeded in obtaining a perfect copy of the laws of Java. Hon. gentlemen, however, need not be surprised at this, when they are informed that there is no such thing as a perfect copy of the code of laws connected with any of our colonies. The fact is this—it is the duty of those who rent the land under the government of that country to maintain and support a certain number of families on the land. This is a duty which it is incumbent on them to perform; but, beyond that, I do not believe there is anything like compulsion. I am not now making an argument for the purpose of debate, but merely with the object of laying before the house all the information I possess on the matter. There is, no doubt, a species of slavery in Java, but it is such as I must call domestic slavery. This is a slavery, not of the natives, nor of any persons that were imported into the colony, but it is the remains of that domestic slavery which had been introduced into Java some years ago from Africa and the neighbouring islands. The labour of these people has been, however, solely used for the domestic purposes of houses in which there are families residing. Even that system of slavery, I am glad to say, is now actually on the point of death; but this has no relation whatsoever to anything like agricultural industry in Java, and it therefore does not warrant us in entering into the practical consideration of this point, in reference to the main subject with which we are now to deal. I must say that I cannot see any grounds for the alleged difficulty which the noble lord has raised in taking the course which we propose. There is first the case of Siam. Now, my right hon. friend has not included Siam in his proposition, as that is one of those countries the produce of which is grown by free labour. From the peculiar state of that country, and the nature of our relations with it, we have no means of affording parliament any information respecting it, that slave labour does not carry on the cultivation of the land in Siam. No trade is carried on directly with the merchants of that country; but we have the high honour of coming immediately in contact with the monarch of that country himself in our trade with it. The monarch is the great merchant—the great sugar-broker and sugar-dealer in Siam. We have, therefore, no means of obtaining information upon the subject, as regards that country, to warrant us in entering into minute calculations respecting its produce. On that ground, therefore, I think it is much better to reserve this point of the question for future consideration. The fact then stands thus—we have Java, in respect to which our own minds are satisfied, although the noble lord opposite has raised an objection upon this point. The sugar of Java is raised by free and not by slave labour. With respect to Manilla, then, and the great empire of China, I do not pretend to say that we are to expect a large supply of sugar, but I think we may reasonably expect a certain quantity. I have seen the sugars from these countries quoted in the *London Price Current*. The sugar of China, and that of other countries similarly situated, came to us under circumstances of extreme discouragement. On the whole, therefore, there is a reasonable presumption that we shall not have a very large supply of sugar from these quarters: nevertheless, there will of course be some addition obtained to our supplies. Setting, however, aside all ambiguity in the matter, I shall give the noble lord every advantage possible in his argument, by showing the particular states with regard to which it is doubtful whether free labour or slave labour actually prevails. I have already shown the several countries where the produce of the land was confined to free labour. On this point, therefore, there can be no embarrassment, as we can thus easily get rid of a great part of the arguments that have been made use of in connexion with this subject. The supply that these countries yielded was not altogether insignificant when we estimated it in proportion to our wants. Java yields about 60,000 or 65,000 tons of sugar, and Manilla from 20,000 to 25,000 tons of sugar, making altogether about 90,000 tons; in addition to which they had supplies from China, Siam, and other countries. There are, therefore, I should say, about 100,000 tons of free-labour sugar offered to us from the markets of the world. There are avowedly 90,000 tons of free-labour sugar exported from these countries, and perhaps also a great quantity of slave-grown sugar. Half of this quantity of 90,000 tons, under the peculiar situation of the trade, as it at present exists between the governments of the respective countries and the cultivators, passes into the hands of the government, and is conveyed in Dutch ships, first to Java and from thence to Holland. In consequence of this understanding, I suppose from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of sugar go directly from Java to the mother country. The noble lord is of course aware that this quantity becomes absolutely disqualified by the navigation law from being introduced into this country. We shall then be tolerably correct, I think, if

we say that from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of sugar, the produce certainly of free labour, and available to all persons who may be disposed to bid for it, may be introduced into the British markets. The noble lord has entered upon one topic which is almost always certain of calling forth a cheer in this house. I cannot, however, say that he has quite succeeded in this point of his argument. The noble lord says, is not the sugar of Brazil sent to Russia, and is not the produce of Russia imported into this country? and if so, why may we not bring the produce of Brazil at once to this country? ("Hear, hear," from Lord J. Russell.) The noble lord cheers that; he should, however, recollect that that same argument was made use of against him in 1840 (ministerial cheers). And in that same year of 1840, the noble lord thought that such a point was deserving of very little consideration. Now that kind of argument may be right or wrong, but there are two essential features which distinguish it. One is that you cannot prevent any independent power from encouraging this trade; nor have I ever heard any person bold enough to propose any measure by which such an object could be attained. You cannot, therefore, prevent this trade existing between Russia and Brazil. It follows, then, that you cannot so identify the whole trade as to place it within the limits or possibility to put a stop to it. I grant you that it is an evil; but if you show me that it is an evil that is remediable, I will then apply a remedy to it. The noble lord says that he never knew a greater example of inconsistency than this. I am, however, not now going back to 1840, to show to the noble lord his own inconsistency, but to the short period of only one month (*hear, hear*). He says you cannot stop the trade as respects the sugar in bond, and therefore you ought not to attempt to deal with the question as you propose. The noble lord had treated a similar argument that was made a few weeks ago with much disrespect in reference to a most important subject as affecting the labour of this country. I allude to our legislation on the factory question. It was then shown that there were other labourers in a much worse condition than those employed in factories, and yet we did not attempt to touch them. What was the answer of the noble lord? I am not now saying whether the noble lord was right or wrong in making such a reply; but in taking the same line of conduct in respect to this subject, I do not think that the noble lord can fairly make use of the same argument against us that he had replied to in this manner when it was made against himself. "It is true," said the noble lord, "I will apply this remedy when I can. I am not at all moved by your argument of inconsistency in dealing with this class exclusively; for if I can show you the practical advantage of applying remedy to this particular evil, then I say it is no answer to me to say 'There are twenty other cases to which you cannot apply the principle.' In the same way I say that you may contend as you like on the alleged inconsistency of the proposition of the government; but if we cannot apply a remedy so as to meet the entire evil, we will not be stopped from applying it when we find it practical. A great deal has been said in reference to tobacco, cotton, and coffee. Now, I admit, that this is fair, debatable ground. Some persons may, no doubt, think that these are not worthy of consideration; but as a question of commercial policy and more or less connected with the slave-trade, I think the subject is worthy of consideration. These arguments have been used in 1840, but they had failed to make any impression on the government of that day. No one of these great articles of commerce can fairly be said to be the cause of the perpetuation of the slave-trade. Coffee is not the cause of the slave-trade. Here you have St. Domingo, a great sugar colony without any slavery now—slavery is there abolished. This was one of the largest sugar exporting countries in the world. That exportation, however, had died away with slavery. The exportation of coffee, however, survives; St. Domingo exports as large a quantity of coffee as any other country, and yet the slave-trade is not there carried on for that purpose. The slave-trade was carried on for the purpose of supplying male slaves for the cultivation of sugar. In the cultivation of sugar, there was little or no employment for women or children, but considerable employment can be given to women and children in the cultivation of coffee, and in the various processes through which it must pass; indeed, the labour in respect to this article can be more suitably performed by women and children, as in our factories, than by adult males. The cultivation of coffee has, therefore, an aptitude of labour which sugar has not. If the noble lord will prove to me that the cultivation of coffee was much affected by the change which had taken place in the laws, a change that change was likely to give a sensible impetus to the slave-trade. I should certainly regret that any such change had ever been made. He says that if we withdraw any part of the necessary supply of sugar from the general market of the world the loss must be supplied by slave-grown sugar, and that we should thus be giving the same encouragement to the slave-trade as by adopting his proposition. I deny, however, that such a result would follow. I say, that if you choose to adopt a policy in favour of the produce of free labour, you are not to be told that you may be indirectly encouraging the slave-trade by the course which other countries will then pursue. I say that even if such a result followed we are not chargeable with the blame of it. When we were abolitionists in the British dominions, we were told distinctly and with a reasonable foreknowledge of what we might anticipate, the consequences that were to follow—that was, that we should be withdrawing from the markets of the world a larger portion of sugar, which would necessarily leave a vacuum that must be filled up by sugar the growth of slave and slave-labour. We produced 240,000 tons in the latter years of the system of slavery in our possessions. You, however, then made the answer which I do now—Let others follow the example, and the best results will follow. It appears that we were so far fortunate as to induce the Danish government to take measures for the abolition of slavery, and France is likely before a long period to follow our example. I do not, however, admit the fact that the vacuum must be filled up by slave-grown sugar. The policy of late years has told on the Brazils. The sugar cultivation there has been discouraged, and many of the estates there now have ceased to cultivate sugar. From the language which has been used there would appear to be some charm attending every name of English markets, and that so high an honour is it considered to come into the English market, that all traders would come in irrespective of the price. Now as to the price in the English mar-

it will be higher than any market in the world. I expect that the foreigner selling in the British market will sell at 1s. higher than the prices of the foreign market. I believe that the effect of this law will be that Java sugar, on account of its admissibility to the British market, will bear a value a shade higher, upon the average, than the sugar of Brazil or Cuba. Then the difference of price, which, it is admitted cannot be a great difference, will be in the nature of a positive premium upon the extension of sugar cultivation, not in Brazil or Cuba, but in Java, Manilla, and other countries. It surely cannot be denied that the effect of this encouragement will fall, in the first instance, exclusively on free-labour sugar. Then the question is, the withdrawal of free-labour sugar creating some void in the general market of the world, how was it to be filled up? You say by slave-labour sugar. I say there will be an encouragement to the grower of sugar by free-labour over and above the encouragement to the grower of sugar by slave-labour. Is that denied? You admit that the effect of this measure will be to put a better price; and you know how important it is in commercial concerns, where other things are equal, to have the turn of price in favour of that which you produce. Then the noble lord argues, as if he had assumed that the sugar of Java and Manilla was grown under circumstances to render it incapable of increase, as if the people of Java and Manilla, and the British merchants connected with those countries, were so insensible to the ordinary considerations of profit, that they would suffer the whole of this encouragement to pass by them, and to go to the planters of Cuba and Brazil; but I show this, that the encouragement given, in the first place, is wholly in favour of free-labour sugar; and, in the second place, I show it will permanently have the effect of raising the value of free-labour sugar, on account of its admissibility to the markets of this country, to a somewhat higher point than the value of other sugars. Of course, I do not mean to say that there will not be a continual tendency to bring the price at which Java sugar is sold here to the price at which it is selling in the foreign market.

An hon. MEMBER observed, "There cannot be two prices."

Mr. GLADSTONE.—That is true in a great measure, but I deny that it is wholly true. I say there have been instances of articles which, on account of the privilege of admissibility free of expense, have fetched a better price than they did in markets where they bore a higher value: that I venture to assert, and I challenge contradiction on the point. As to this encouragement, a great deal depends on the quantity the country is likely to require. This is matter of opinion. For my own part, I do not expect to see the quantity increased in the present state of our population, and in the present state of our colonies. It is extremely difficult to conjecture what may take place two or three years hence, because as to the East Indies we really know nothing. There matters have been kept in a state of suspense; and I fully agree in the remark of the right honourable gentleman in a late debate, on the extremely injurious result to all classes of that uncertainty. I fully admit that if there could have been any certainty of anything like a sufficiency of supply, it would have been better commercial policy to pass the sugar duties for four or five years than to prolong them for twelve months only. (Hear.) I should be sorry, therefore, to utter a confident opinion as to the quantity of sugar which may be expected when a permanent policy is adopted; but, looking at what has taken place on the first operation of the change, I should not expect to see more than 20,000 tons of sugar admitted to the market of this country. I do not consider that 20,000 tons of sugar taken from the general market of the world will produce a powerful operation on the price. I think that whatever operation it may produce will be felt much more sensibly in the sugars of Java and Manilla than in the sugars of Brazil and Cuba. With respect to any residue of encouragement which may pass to the countries of Cuba and Brazil, if you can show me that it is in the power of this country to prevent it, by all means let us prevent it; but if it be true that this measure withdraws encouragement from the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, and that the measure of the noble lord does not withhold it, then I say that is a conclusive argument in favour of the measure. The noble lord went on to argue the question of the fraudulent introduction of sugar, and he seemed to have exhausted all the powers of his imagination in forming a conception of the English market as something so desirable to an American, that he would gladly come out of his cover of a protective duty in America for the pleasure of paying a protective duty in England. The noble lord first alluded to a supposed custom-house regulation, by virtue of which any person importing an article liable to pay duty may introduce that article into the American market, provided he exports a certain quantity of the same article, the growth of America. A regulation so extraordinary I never before heard of; I never heard of any precedent for such a regulation.

Mr. HUME mentioned the Grinding Act.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—That, in point of fact, is only another form of drawback. The object is to enable a party to perform a manufacturing operation on a raw commodity. It says, you may take out a certain quantity of raw material, provided you will export a certain quantity of corn manufactured into flour and biscuit. The object of that is to secure to this country the power of performing a process of labour which otherwise might go elsewhere; and, if it were not for that, it would be an objectionable regulation; no minister would otherwise get up to propose such a regulation. But it is not so important to determine whether such a regulation is reasonable as whether it exists. It is always difficult to prove a negative; and when it is considered how, with regard to custom-house regulations, it is necessary to confine the power of the executive authority, I should not like to speak too positively as to what prevails in America. All I can say is, that the parties who say this regulation exists have not told us where it is to be found. The custom-house laws of America have been searched, and no such regulations found. I have consulted persons extremely well acquainted with the commercial laws of America—persons whose duty it is to know the laws that exist in America for the regulation of commerce, and I have not succeeded in obtaining the faintest trace of such a regulation. For the present, therefore, I think we have as reasonable a ground for assuming its non-existence as we can have in the case of any negative proposition. That does not constitute the whole of the noble lord's argument as to America. I could not understand by what process it was to become the interest of America to send sugar to this country. I think he said, that the import duty in America might be reduced or taken off. The policy of America is perfectly free to her, and our policy is free to us.

We have a treaty with America which it is in the power of either party to extinguish or modify on twelve months' notice, and in that freedom we must find our security. The noble lord puts cases of possibility, and says that the expense of bringing sugar to this country, on account of the heavy stowage which would be sent with it, would be less than the expense of taking it to the northern ports of the Union. That is a very bold assertion. I will refer the noble lord to the cotton manufacturers of this country. If he is conversant with their complaints, he is well aware that the great burden of their complaints is this, that they lie under natural disadvantages as compared with the American manufacturer, because the freights from New Orleans to Liverpool are higher than the freights from New Orleans to Boston and New York. That is part of the case of the cotton manufacturers of this country for the removal of the duty on cotton. If it be so, how can these two contradictory propositions stand together? It is distinctly against the interest of the American planter, laying out of view every other consideration, to send sugar from New Orleans to this country. Now, what is to be the amount of his inducement? I have examined, as well as I could, the average prices that prevailed in New York for the last 11 or 12 years. They have no public averages, and therefore the only course you can take is to select a description of sugar most nearly corresponding with that used in this country, and compare it with the prices of this country. The price at New York for the last 11 or 12 years has been, on the average, 35s. The price at this time last year was only 33s.; the price at this time is only 36s. or 37s.; and he would be a bold and rash man who would assume that the prices which are to rule in this country would be so high as the prices which prevail in New York. Let us consider what prices the American would get. He would get a price about 1s. better than the price he would get at Rotterdam or any other open market. But in his own country he gets 12s. more, for the American pays no duty in his own country; whilst the foreigner in New York and Boston and other towns pays 11s. and 12s. duty; and yet the supposition of the noble lord is that the American grower would come here to pay duty. Then the noble lord said that the duty may be reduced or taken away. I differ with him most widely. The noble lord sees the fate of his proposition, which he treated as a proposition of free trade, but which is a very modified proposition of that description. The protection of 25 per cent. is regarded as a kind of universal right. There is no class in America that does not clamour for protection; in this country there are many who are indifferent to it, and some who are opposed to it. And the noble lord will also observe that this is a political question. The integrity of the Union is not secured by bonds so indissoluble as to render it a slight matter to make commercial changes which may bear on one state more than another. Louisiana and some of the neighbouring states raise a great deal more sugar than other countries of the Union; and nothing can be more improbable than that America, whilst she recognises the principle of a high protective system for her own manufactures, will consent, in reference to the produce of a particular state, to introduce the principles of free trade. The improbability is raised to the highest degree, because, if I understand the argument, it is, that America will reduce or take off the duty for the interest of her own sugar-growers. When it is stated in that form, does not the noble lord see that a more untenable argument could not be advanced? The effect of the present duty is, to secure to her own grower a price 40 or 50 per cent. higher than the general market of the world, and that duty, forsooth, is to be reduced or taken off, for the sake of securing the high privilege of annoying my right hon. friend, and selling their own sugar 9s. or 10s. a cwt. less than they now do. I trust the noble lord will not advert again to the charge brought against the government of hypocrisy in the course which it has pursued; a charge which, in my opinion, is the basest and the most execrable that can be levelled against any set of men in office. The noble lord cannot, I feel convinced, show the slightest ground for the presumption that we are, under these circumstances, governed by any sinister or concealed motives (hear). I am, for myself, contented, after this explanation, to rest under the imputation, if the noble lord persist in making a charge, satisfied as I have reason to be with the knowledge that the most earnest and zealous advocates of the complete emancipation of the slaves, and of abolition of the slave-trade, concur in opinion with the government in this instance. In an interview I had with a deputation of the leaders of the party most deeply interested in the total abolition of the slave-trade, whilst they fain would have pressed for the exclusion from our ports of all produce created by slave labour, they said at least give us an interdiction of foreign slave-grown sugar; for somehow there is, said they, "a closer connexion between slavery and the produce of sugar, than between it and any other employment." Upon the expediency of our policy, I am happy to say, we have the concurring opinion and support of Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Sturge, and other eminent men of the Anti-Slavery Association. They, as well as the government, have recognised the principle that the growth of the import of free sugar into this country must be promoted by the proposition of my right hon. friend. Nor do I think it will be denied by disinterested and dispassionate men, that it tends to procure for the West Indians the greatest amount of good with the least possible sacrifice, as respects the trade of this country generally.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said the proposition would but keep the colonies and the trade in hot water and uncertainty, and he held that important interests like these ought not to be trifled with. He held the measure to be uncertain, fluctuating, and one that could never prove a final settlement. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that it was desirable slave-grown sugar should be excluded altogether from the British market and its colonies, could they with safety proceed by such a measure as this, and in the present aspect of affairs, to denounce reciprocity of trade with our best customers? There would be great danger in announcing to the people of Brazil and other slave-growing islands in the West Indies, all of whom dealt largely with us, that we would not take from them their almost sole produce in return. In the want of any commodity but sugar to make returns for the produce shipped to those countries by us, consisted the great evil. If this were embodied in a measure of the government, could there be a more dangerous affront offered to a foreign exporting country, or one more calculated to excite a feeling which might thwart or prevent the influence of England in her sincere endeavours to utterly abolish slavery and the slave-trade? He agreed that there was no reason to apprehend that the import or influx of foreign sugar would be large under

this measure; instead of 40,000 tons of such sugar being imported annually, he would not take the import to exceed 20,000. Whilst this would be but unproductive as a source of revenue to government, he must pronounce the effect of the measure, as a discouragement to slavery in those foreign colonies, to be the mere shadow of a shade. Looking to the supplies which would be afforded from various quarters, there must be a surplus over the demand in this country. That surplus would be exported to Germany and other nations which required sugar; there could not be two prices for sugar, and the prices of the free-labour sugar in the London and Liverpool markets, would be governed by the surplus supply in Germany and elsewhere. This was true in the main, the noble lord said, but it was not true to the full extent; still there would be an advantage to free-labour sugar—there would be a shadow of advantage in favour of free-labour sugar; and was it, he asked, for this "shadow," as the right hon. gentleman himself termed it, that we were to encounter these great practical dangers? But a "shade" was too strong an expression. He believed that a ton of Manilla, and a ton of Cuba sugar would be found to be, after this bill should have been passed, nearly of the same value; and, if this were the case, the moment these sugars were withdrawn from the great markets of the world, the vacuum would be filled up by the sugars of Brazil and Cuba. The consequence would be that precisely to that amount, or "within a shade," the government would encourage the cultivation of the sugar of Cuba or Brazils, as if they directly admitted it into our ports. He denied that we should take the whole of the sugar produced by free-labour in the world; he admitted that there would be something in the argument of the right hon. gentleman; but as we could take only a small portion of it the rest must go abroad. He repeated, that it was idle to suppose they could affect the prices of Cuba or Brazil sugars injuriously. On the contrary, he said we should encourage them as much as if we admitted them direct. And then the right hon. gentleman had gone on to say, This may be true; but then our consciences will be safe! What have we to do with what foreigners may say? For his own part, he thought that mode of reasoning might do very well with an old woman going into a grocer's shop and asking whether she was purchasing Manilla or other sugar. The government were bound in duty to prove that the measure was a really practical discouragement to the slave-trade (hear, hear). He agreed with the right honourable gentleman that it was most important the character of this country should stand clear in the world in respect to the slave-trade. He had ever spoken of those sacred, those solemn feelings which pervaded this country on the subject of the long sufferings of the slaves and of the conduct of this country, as forming the brightest pages in our history. England might have erred—she might have made mistakes, but her conduct had been distinguished by that which laid at the root of England's greatness,—her moral character. And the more he felt this, the more he felt the importance of exhibiting to the world a moral policy. He much feared that this scheme was one upon which in mercantile circles a strong opinion had been pronounced. He believed it was regarded by mercantile men as the most absurd scheme that had ever been gravely proposed to the House of Commons, and he was afraid that foreigners would form the same opinion. He would not go into the question as to what might be the course which would be taken by the United States—it was extremely difficult to predict what course they would take; and he agreed with the right hon. gentleman in doubting whether there would be sufficient inducement held out to them to supply the English market under the scale of duties proposed by the government; at the same time, he found that apprehensions on this subject had been expressed in quarters which were entitled to respect.

Mr. P. M. STEWART wondered when there would be peace and prosperity for the colonies of that country. He had hoped that when the Emancipation Act was passed the colonies were to be treated as an integral part of the empire, and that the people of the colonies were to be dealt with as citizens of the country.

Mr. HUME agreed with the hon. member who spoke last, that the colonial interest had been sacrificed by the policy which the present government had adopted. They had borne with great patience the expense entailed upon them in consequence of the scarcity of labour, and he thought government were especially bound to take measures to supply them a greater amount of free labour (hear, hear). In whatever way he looked, he could not but see that the measure would be ruinous to the colonies. It was adopted under the pretence of morality and humanity, but the country would not give them credit for those principles, nor did they deserve credit for them. It was on these grounds that he would support the motion of the noble lord.

Mr. T. BARING said that there were one or two objections which had been made to the proposal of government with regard to which he wished to say a few words. Some hon. members seemed to think that it would be a difficult matter to prevent the evil of slave sugar taking the place of sugar the produce of free labour, and, for his own part, he would confess that he would look with much anxiety to the precautions to be taken by government to prevent the fraudulent entry of slave-grown sugars. But, although there were some difficulties in this respect, he did not think that they were of an insurmountable character, or that they would not have bona fide transactions in sugar with those countries in which slavery was not permitted. In the first place, those countries were for the most part distant countries—they were Java, Manilla, and China. He did not think that any sugar would come in the course of trade from China, nor did he think that the sugars of Brazil could ever be taken to Java, Manilla, or China, to be re-exported to this country. If he understood the right honourable gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, no sugar could be exported from any port in which there was not a British consul, or some other person in authority, to grant a certificate of origin for the sugar so exported; and this, no doubt, would tend materially to prevent fraud. The right hon. gentleman had mentioned China as a country which exported sugar. He was not aware of the fact. He had always understood China to be a great importer of sugar. The islands in the neighbourhood of China did export, but he believed China itself imported largely from Siam. China being, then, an importing country, he wished to know if it would be allowed to export, so as Calcutta and Madras might not be prevented importing sugar from China for their

own use, on payment of a small duty. With regard to the United States he believed that the protection given to their own sugar of Louisiana in the markets of that country would always—except perhaps in a period of great scarcity and high prices—prevent their sugars being brought to this country. The noble lord the member for the City of London seemed to think that it would be possible to obtain fraudulent certificates of origin, but he did not think that the present mode of managing the customs of the United States would admit of this. With respect to what had been said as to the vacuum which would be created in the European market by the withdrawal of so much free-labour sugar being filled with a like quantity of slave-labour sugar, he must say that he did not think that those who had made that assertion had altogether substantiated it. He admitted that it would be so apparently to a certain extent, but he ought to recollect that the stimulus which would thereby be given to production would apply equally to free labour as it would to slave-labour sugar (hear), and with this advantage in favour of free-labour sugar, the producers of it would have the choice of markets (hear), while slave-labour sugar would be restricted to the markets which it before possessed (hear, hear). There were other reasons which induced him to think that the vacuum would be filled up by an increase in the production of the free-labour sugar of Java and Manilla. Holland might change the regulations which existed with regard to her colony, but at present these regulations would exist till 1849; and, according to them, four-fifths of the sugar must be carried to Holland, and one-fifth might be shipped to any other country. Holland might alter these regulations, but it was more probable that she should seek to increase the prosperity of her colony by seeking to increase the amount of its productions. China, the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and Australia were in the habit of taking the sugars of Java and Manilla, and he thought it very likely that they would still continue to take them, and to increase the productions of those countries. If they were once to open the trade to all countries they would be supplied by the nearest and cheapest markets, and would be driven to those of Cuba and Brazil. He agreed with the noble lord the member for London that they ought not to attempt to change the municipal regulations of other countries by any dictation or by any system of non-intercourse. There was, however, a very wide difference between opening our markets to slave-labour produce and the system he advocated. If we abandoned the present system and admitted slave-grown sugar we should be running counter to experience, and we should be showing to foreign countries that if they desired to be philanthropists they must emancipate their slaves—they must only mitigate their hardships; for, if they did emancipate, the only result would be, that the supply of sugar would fall off, and that they must have recourse to other markets in which slave-grown sugar was found to make up the deficiency. It was said, if we agreed to take Brazilian sugar we should increase our trade largely with the Brazils, and, at the same time, we should keep our present trade with the West India colonies. He disputed this assertion—he believed that the nature of the climate of the Brazils, and other causes would prevent any very considerable demand for our manufactures; also the slave population would be unable to find money to buy our goods. The only result which he could see as likely to follow the admission of Brazil sugar was, that Brazil would draw large sums of money from this country for her produce, and would not be able to increase our exports more than about one-third of the value which she drew from us; and, in addition, that a great stimulus to the trade in slaves would be given. While he agreed in the principle of the measure of her Majesty's ministers, still, in his humble opinion, it appeared neither to be well-timed nor to have been framed with an exact regard to existing interests. The measure ought to have been brought forward at a time when our finances were able to bear a considerable reduction in the duty. Indeed, he thought it would have been far better had the question been reserved for the time when the whole subject of the sugar duties would come under discussion. If means were not taken to afford our colonies a due supply of labour, then this measure would be precipitate in character.

The house then divided, and the numbers were—

For the amendment	128
Against the amendment	197

Majority against the amendment 69

The resolutions were then agreed to; and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

Mr. P. MILES and Mr. EWART postponed the amendments of which they had given notice until the question again came under the consideration of the house.

In reply to a question from Lord SANDON,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that his right honourable friend, the President of the Board of Trade, had stated the reasons why he prevented the Government from making a distinction between muscovado and clayed sugar. The difference between Java and Manilla and other sugars was as great as that between the different kinds of our common sugars. If sugars were introduced in a certain state of refinement, they would of course be subject to an increase of duty.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—JOHN L. BROWN is not only not hanged—he has not even been flogged, according to the tenor of his transmuted sentence. At the solicitation of his neighbours of Fairfield district, governor of South Carolina granted him a free pardon on the 29th March.

JUDGE O'NEALL has published a long letter in reply to the proceedings at Glasgow. We regret that we have not room to hang up this worthily portrait of himself in our gallery.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, printer, at their printing-office, No. 5, Bentinck-street, in Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the city of London; published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of Mary-le-Bow, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid.

Wednesday, June 19, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXIX. VOL. V.—No. 13.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE GUIANA ORDINANCES—APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—It is with regret that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel themselves again compelled to call your lordship's serious attention to the subject of the immigration of labourers into the British colonies, and to entreat your early consideration of the new aspect in which it presents itself to public attention.

Your lordship, as colonial minister, has conceded to the West India body the power of drawing a large supply of labourers from the British settlements on the western coast of Africa, from Singapore, and it is understood from Hindostan also, without limiting them, as heretofore, in reference to a certain proportion of the sexes.

Taking advantage of this concession, the Combined Court of British Guiana have passed two bills, one to perpetuate the present charge of the civil list, embracing a sum of nearly ten thousand pounds per annum for ecclesiastical purposes, to the year 1855; and the other to raise a loan of five hundred thousand pounds for immigration purposes, to be chargeable, with the interest thereon, on the import duties of the colony for a period of twenty years from the time of its being effected, when both are to be finally paid off.

Objectionable as the first bill is in point of principle, and onerous as it has been found to be on a large majority of that portion of her Majesty's subjects in the colony who do not belong to the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, or the Dutch Reformed Church, the Committee would not have judged it within their province to have referred to it, had it not been coupled with the Loan Bill, and evidently designed to influence her Majesty's Government in their decision in its favour; for its continuance beyond 1848, as a charge on the general revenue of the colony, is made contingent on the royal assent being given to the Loan Bill. By these two measures, should they become law, an enormous amount of taxation beyond what is legitimately required for carrying on the government of the colony will be imposed on its inhabitants, especially on the ~~emancipated classes, for ends into which their interests do not enter, and the obvious design of which is to benefit the planters and merchants as a body, chiefly at their expense.~~

These important bills were, with the permission of his Excellency the Governor of the colony, introduced and passed through the Combined Court with indecent haste, scarcely more than twenty-four hours having elapsed from the time they were first submitted to the Court until they passed through their last stage, and received the sanction of the executive. They were passed without discussion, in the absence of the more watchful and liberal members of the Court, without an opportunity being allowed the tax-payers either for consideration or protest, and hurried off by the mail for the acceptance of her Majesty, as though they had met with general approbation, or, at least, with no opposition from the public at large.

The object of the Loan Bill is to raise the large sum of half a million of pounds sterling, for the purpose of introducing into the colony, during the next five years, fifty thousand labourers from Africa, China, and British India, with the design of lowering the present rate of wages to the minimum point on which an adult labourer can subsist. The loan, with the interest thereon, amounting in all to more than three quarters of a million of pounds sterling, is to be repaid by a tax on imported goods, or, in other words, out of the pockets of the consumers, the chief body of whom are the labouring classes.

On the score of justice, the Committee venture respectfully to say, this bill should not receive the sanction of the Crown. If labourers are wanted, it is not too much to expect that those who are to benefit by them should find the necessary funds for their introduction. On this point the Committee would take the liberty of referring your lordship to a despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, dated the 15th August, 1839, in which he says, that, if, for measures "beneficial to all and detrimental to none," it were right to allow the public taxes being applied to immigration, he is "not so well convinced that it is just or wise to appropriate the public revenue in aid of *this service*;" for, his lordship adds, "if the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which every member of society is a contributor should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination." But since the year the noble Marquis wrote these words, when the taxes imposed amounted to 533,365 dollars, they have largely increased in consequence of immigration, viz., to 700,918 dollars in 1840; 1,145,870 dollars in 1841; and 1,103,102 dollars in 1842. During these three years upwards of 500,000

dollars were devoted to immigration alone; and it is now proposed to burden a colony composed almost exclusively of labourers with a heavy debt, for the benefit of parties chiefly non-resident proprietors and their agents, whose sole object is to realise fortunes and expend them in Europe.

On the score of economy the Committee conceive the bill should be rejected. The five hundred thousand pounds loan is to be appropriated to immigration. This of course must be paid off, with the interest accruing thereon; but no provision is made for the return passage of immigrants to Africa, China, and India, at the expiration of five years. This provision, however, must be made, and will entail a large additional burden on the colony. Nor is this all. As the immigrants will be composed almost exclusively of adult male labourers, others must be introduced at the end of five years, to fill up the chasm occasioned by deaths as well as by removals, or the cultivation of the colony cannot be kept up; and this will entail fresh expenses on its inhabitants. To the spontaneous emigration of skilled labourers to the colony, to the introduction of suitable settlers of both sexes by the parties to be benefited by their labour, and to the natural increase of the Creole population, must those interested in its welfare look for its future prosperity, and not to schemes like the present, as objectionable in principle as they are ruinous in expense. To suppose that a colony composed of about 100,000 persons can bear the burden now attempted to be imposed upon it, in addition to its general annual expenditure, for twenty years to come, is, in the opinion of the Committee, as unreasonable as it is unjust.

On the score of morality, the Committee conceive that the Loan Bill ought to be rejected. Its object is to raise the means for introducing 50,000 labourers into British Guiana. These will be composed, with few exceptions, entirely of men—Africans, Chinese, and Indians—destitute for the most part of religious principle, and not governed by those moral considerations which, to a great extent, happily influence the emancipated classes among whom they will be thrown. Without female society, herding together on plantations, speaking languages unknown to each other and to the inhabitants of the colony, grossly sensual and idolatrous as they are known to be, the Committee cannot but regard with alarm the pernicious influence of these strangers on the Creole population, as likely to be injurious in the highest degree.

For these reasons, among others, the Committee entreat your lordship will not recommend the Immigration Loan Bill of British Guiana to the approval of her Majesty in Council, or that, at least, time will be given to those most interested in it as a fiscal burden to be heard in relation thereto.

I have the honour to be,

On behalf of the Committee, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

27, New Broad-street, June 9, 1844.

REPLY.

Downing-street, 20th June, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requesting, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, an interview with his lordship, for the purpose of presenting a memorial (of which you have transmitted a copy) on the subject of an ordinance lately passed by the Court of Policy of Guiana, for raising a loan to promote the introduction of labourers into that colony. Lord Stanley does not consider it necessary to trouble the Anti-Slavery Society to call upon him on the subject of that ordinance, which has been brought under his notice by the Governor, and will receive his full consideration.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) GEORGE HOPE.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

(From the *Moniteur*.)

CHAMBER OF PEERS, MAY 14.

Admiral de MACKAU, Minister of Marine and the Colonies:—My lords, the question of the abolition of slavery in the colonies has been for several years the subject of deep solicitude to the King's government and to the parliament. Two propositions, successively adopted by the elective chamber, have affirmed the principle of this great measure. Since 1840 funds have been annually supplied to the department of the Marine, to furnish the means of establishing an authoritative protectorate of the slaves, and of advancing their improvement by religious instruction. A commission presided over by the Duke de Broglie, with which several members of the two chambers were associated, was instructed to consider the ques-

tion, and to inquire into the best means of its solution. At the close of the first session of this commission one of my predecessors solemnly and publicly announced to the colonies, that the moment was come for undertaking the abolition of slavery, and that nothing remained but to deliberate on the means of its execution. Quite recently, in fine, the cabinet had reiterated the same declaration.

In word, my lords, if we do not think the time come to adopt all the recommendations of the commission on colonial affairs, we consider it urgently necessary to develop fully the system of moral and physical ameliorations in the condition of the slaves which was some years since commenced. Every plan for absolute and immediate emancipation being set aside, in the opinion of the chambers as well as in that of the government, only one method remains, in which the first place must be given to a series of measures adapted to prepare the blacks for freedom. On this point we are in perfect agreement with the arrangements which have been proposed in the report of the Duke de Broglie, as the basis of either of the two systems of emancipation recommended to the attention of the government.

According to these views, the laws respecting the slaves, which go back to a period anterior to 1789, require a kind of general revision. We shall not now open all the modifications which they ought to undergo. What is more immediately important is the principal conditions of that intermediate regimen by which the blacks shall be prepared to occupy a place in colonial society.

We propose to establish new regulations in relation to—

1. The food and maintenance due from the masters to the slaves.
2. The system of discipline on the plantations.
3. The hours of work and rest.
4. The marriage of slaves, together with their religious and elementary instruction.
5. The possession of property by slaves, and their right of self-redemption.

The insufficiency of the present regulations on these points has been evident since the attempt to execute the royal ordinance of January, 1840, which enjoined public officers to exercise, by means of periodical inspection, a protectorate over the slaves, and required the priests to supply religious instruction on the plantations.

The condition of the blacks—we mention it here with pleasure—has derived some substantial mitigation from the improvement of colonial manners, and from the humanity of the masters. On every occasion the magistrates are unanimous in declaring that the enactments of the Code Noir and subsequent regulations have partly fallen into disuse; and that, in those which remain in force or can be revived, there is neither an adequate enumeration of the duties of the masters, nor the necessary means of punishing those who violate them.

The existing jurisdictions do not respond to the protectorate in a satisfactory manner. The composition of the assize courts offers no adequate guarantees in the case of judicial proceedings, and the offices of the justices of the peace need to be further subdivided, in order to bring within reach of the rural plantations those measures of punishment which exceed the domestic authority of the proprietors.

With respect to moral and religious instruction, there equally remains much to be done. The colonial clergy requires a better organization. To the ecclesiastics who supply the parish churches, there must be added missionary priests to enter the dwelling-houses, who shall cultivate and secure the confidence of the masters, and who, while religiously preparing the blacks for their future duties, shall incidentally instruct both classes of the population in their present obligations.

Our intention is greatly to enlarge the number of the rural chapels. Those which have been erected with the funds supplied by the department of marine for this purpose are far from meeting the case. A much greater number must be built, if we wish to engage the blacks to habits of piety, without infringing on the hours of labour.

It is time also to do something effectual for the encouragement of marriage among the slaves. The matrimonial union of persons not free has been subjected by ancient laws to regulations which are not sufficient to attain this end. To constitute families in a state of slavery is certainly a delicate and difficult task; but no one will deny that it is one of the essential elements of that social transformation which we contemplate. We understand it so; and it is one of those ameliorations which we shall most solicitously endeavour to effect.

There are two other points which recommend themselves to the immediate notice of the government; I mean the possession of property by slaves, and their right of self-redemption.

At present the slave can hold no property. According to the letter of the law he has no right to any thing, but rest on a Sunday. If his master spares him any other day in the week, it is at the cost of feeding himself; and even this the law would forbid, if the custom had not become pretty general. This custom should be regulated. It ought also to be combined with the support of infants, the aged, and the infirm, and the grant of lands which the blacks may cultivate for themselves. But it is an indispensable complement to this measure that the black should be able to dispose at pleasure of the produce of his reserved labour, and consequently that, within a certain limit, he should have a right of property and possession. This right, and the right of self-redemption, (which is inseparable from it,) are, in the eyes of the government, active elements of civilization for the blacks, and an introduction to habits of voluntary labour. We know what objections this two-fold measure has en-

countered, but we think they belong to a class of views incompatible with the work which the government has undertaken. Let it be recollect also, that similar regulations have always existed in the Spanish colonies, and, since 1834, in the Danish.

Undoubtedly, all these measures belong to a class which it was the intention of the legislature to enable the government to enact, when they confided it to the royal prerogative to introduce ameliorations into the condition of the slaves.

By a false interpretation of the law of 1833, however, objections have been raised which tend to restrict the power of the crown. We believe these are groundless, but we think it convenient to remove all pretext for alleging them, because it is important that, in such delicate matters, the proceedings of the government should not be liable to dispute. It is not enough that a measure should be justified in the end; its equity must from the first be manifest to all.

With these views we now demand of you some modifications in Art. 2 and 3 of the law of the 24th of April, 1833, in order more precisely to determine the powers which, in relation to slavery, shall belong to a royal ordinance. These modifications, which may be considered as a simple development of the law of 1833, relate, in a few words, to the following subjects:—

The 6th paragraph of Art. 3 confers the right of determining, by royal ordinance, "such ameliorations to be introduced into the condition of persons not free as shall be consistent with acknowledged rights." To this paragraph (the 7th in the *projet*) we propose to add the following words:—"and in particular with respect to the nourishment and support due from the masters to the slaves; to the disciplinary system of the plantations; to the hours of labour and rest; to the marriage of persons not free, and their elementary and religious instruction; to the possession of property, and the right of self-redemption."

The 7th paragraph of the same article relates "to penal regulations applicable to persons not free, in all cases short of the punishment of death." We propose to add to this paragraph (which will be the 8th) these words:—"and to punishments applicable to the masters, in case of violating their obligations towards their slaves."

Lastly, we require that a ninth paragraph should be added to this article, in order to confer on the crown the right of issuing ordinances for creating justices of the peace, and in relation to the constitution of the assize courts in the cases referred to in the 8th paragraph.

The alterations proposed in the 2nd article are connected with those which are proposed in the third, and those which have just been pointed out.

In a *projet* which has for its object the modification of an organic law, we have not thought it right to introduce financial arrangements. These will be brought forward subsequently, and by specific propositions demanding the funds necessary for carrying out the measures now proposed to you. At the present moment we can announce, that an additional sum of 1,200,000 francs will suffice to meet the new expenses for the first year, and we hope to reduce it by one half in following years.

My Lords, the object for which we solicit this new testimony of confidence is a pledge given to generous views, and at the same time to a prudent and moderate policy. Without at all prejudging the issues of this great question, it manifestly prepares the solution of it. We are sure we may reckon on your acquiescence.

PROJECT OF LAW.

Art. I. Arts. 2 and 3 of the law of the 24th of April, 1833, are repealed, and replaced by the following articles:—

Art. II. The legislative power of the kingdom shall enact—

1. Laws relative to the exercise of political rights;
2. Laws civil and criminal relating to free persons, with the limitations specified in paragraph 8, Art. 3;
3. Penal laws assigning to free persons the punishment of death;
4. Laws determining the special powers of governors in what relates to measures of high police and general safety;

5. Laws on the judicial organization, excepting what relates to the creation of justices of the peace, and the composition of the assize courts in the cases specified in the 9th paragraph of Art. 3;

6. Laws relating to commerce, the custom-house, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the connexion of the colonies with the mother country.

Art. III. By royal ordinances, the colonial councils, or their delegates as heretofore understood, enactments shall be made concerning—

1. The administrative organization, the municipal system excepted;
2. The reception of gifts and legacies by public establishments;
3. The superintendence of the press;
4. Public instruction;

5. The organization and duty of the militia;

6. The terms and manner of enfranchisement, with the census of the population;
7. Ameliorations to be introduced into the condition of persons not free, which shall be compatible with acquired rights; and in particular—

The nourishment and support due from the masters to the slaves;

The disciplinary system of the plantations;

The hours of work and rest;

The marriage of persons not free, and their elementary and religious instruction;

The possession of property by persons not free, and their right of self-redemption—

8. With the exception of cases which involve capital punishment, the penal arrangements to which persons not free shall be subjected, and the punishments applicable to masters who shall violate their obligations to their slaves;

9. The appointment of justices of the peace, and the composition of the assize courts, when they shall be assembled to take cognizance of offences to which the punishments specified in paragraph 8 shall be applicable.

CHRISTIAN SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

FROM MR. RICHARDSON.

It is perhaps some time since that you have had your attention directed to the subject of Christian slavery in the south of Morocco, and the countries extending therefrom to the Great Desert. Now there is something like a regular system of Christian slavery carried on, not more than five or six days' journey from Mogador, towards the south. This slavery consists of the seizing of shipwrecked sailors, principally fishermen from the Canary Islands. We know nothing of the number of the captives, for Wadnoon, and the adjacent countries, although but some five to eight days' journey from Mogador, are, with respect to the information of Christians, a sealed book. It is a settled and most religious practice amongst the Moors of this country to keep Christians entirely ignorant of the south, notwithstanding that Christians are trading continually with people from Lous, Wadnoon, and all the districts bordering on the Desert. We only hear of these slaves or captives now and then, when one escapes, and, after being bought and sold by a score of different masters, and waiting some months, is redeemed. Of his companions he rarely knows anything. They are gone: they are either lost on the coast, or conveyed far away into the Desert, and perhaps for ever! In former times, when vessels navigated through the channel (if it may be so called) of the Canary Islands and the coast of Wadnoon, a great number of vessels were cast away, and many slaves were made. But now, as masters of vessels have become acquainted with this dangerous coast, they pass to the west, and not to the east of the Canaries, and there are but few shipwrecks in comparison with former times. Still, however, fishermen from the Canaries are frequently either surprised when becalmed or whilst fishing near the coast, or seized when wrecked by the furious trade-winds, which sweep the rocky shores with destruction six months out of the year. The Arabs, having got them in their possession, act with all the cunning and avarice of the slave-dealer, aided by the Jews, who always render it more difficult for the consular agents of Mogador to purchase them; for although a Jew, by the Mohammedan law, cannot purchase a slave, yet, by purchasing them through others from the Arabs, who first seize them, the poor slaves are usually kept months in the Desert before they can be redeemed. Throughout the whole of Morocco and its neighbouring deserts, Jews are found in swarms, being necessary to the commerce of the Moyad Arabs. Of course, being slaves themselves, for slavery is the prolific source of all vice, the Jews almost universally practise the most detestable and grovelling immoralities in this country, and they can only be trusted in cases where concealment is necessary for their own safety. The Arabs, having got possession of their Christian captives, coax them, to see if they understand any mechanical arts, which the Arabs greatly esteem; and if so, they refuse to sell them, and carry them into the Desert. But those who cannot, or will not, make themselves useful, are generally sold to the consular agents of the city, provided they are not massacred amongst the Arabs in their quarrels for the booty. There is now a Spanish fisherman near Wadnoon waiting to be redeemed. The Arab sheiks who hold him demand two hundred dollars for his redemption. Mr. Willshire, British vice-consul here, who acts for the Spanish, objects to the price, as being too much. Besides this, he is afraid to advance any money for the captive's redemption, as, when once paid, he may never get it back; the Spanish government,—a people so chivalrous in bygone days, and so proud of their country against the people of this very country,—not being now over-zealous in the redemption of their captive countrymen. Mr. Willshire redeemed a Spanish boy some three years ago, and had the greatest difficulty in getting the government of Spain to refund the purchase money. In the present case, the poor man lingers between hope and fear at Wadnoon, his only real protection being the avarice of his master, who, like all slave-dealers, is supposed to be willing to take care of him as he takes care of his horse. It is reported in the south that this poor man is one saved out of four, the other three having perished on the coast, or by the massacre of the Arabs. But, however, at present, we know nothing certain of this, although but a few days' journey from the place where the disaster took place, so miserable is our means of information with respect to putting a stop to this system of Christian slavery. Various ways and means might perhaps be adopted. In the first place, the Emperor of Morocco, pretending that he has a jurisdiction over all these countries as far as the confines of the Desert, (if he has, or, as the prince of the orthodox Mussulman church of Morocco, may pretend to have, with the appearance of right) he could, if he would, get the greatest part of these slaves immediately released. But if the Emperor has not the power, Great Britain has. A single individual sent to that country from the British Government would be able to make a treaty with the Sheiks of the district, that is, the country along the coast of Wadnoon and ex-

tending to the Desert, by which, for a trifling sum, all Christian slaves could be instantly delivered up as soon as taken. It is true that these Christian slaves are principally Spaniards, but certainly that would, or should, rather increase the zeal of humanity to release these poor Spaniards from a cruel and hapless slavery in the wilds of the Zahara. It would be necessary, however, that the British Government should open some commercial relations with the Arab tribes of the south of Morocco, in order to conciliate their goodwill. You are perhaps aware that the Ironmongers' Company of London have at their disposal an immense sum for the liberation of British captives made slaves in southern Morocco, and neighbouring countries. This money, I believe, was left by a merchant who was once a slave there, and since that time, owing to the few British captives who have been redeemed, it has increased to an enormous amount. I hear that the company, not knowing what to do with the money, have petitioned Parliament to build a school with a portion of the money; but certainly it would be much more in accordance with the original object and intention of the benevolent donor, were the surplus fund devoted to the redemption of *all other Christian captives*, of whatever nation. In the present case, because two hundred dollars are not forthcoming, a poor Spaniard is kept in slavery, not knowing whether he will ever be released; whilst his avaricious master begrudges every piece of bread he gives him to keep body and soul together. It is impossible to tell the number of Christian slaves who perish in the South. The consular agents of Mogador are perhaps more ignorant of the country than persons residing in London. It is absolutely requisite that the Committee, or our Government, or the Ironmongers' Company, should take some means of informing the tribes of the Desert that all Christians will be redeemed if brought to the representatives of Christian nations in Morocco. This might be done by a circular, or by an agent sent to Wadnoon. However, I can only suggest these things to the Committee, who can easily bring them before the attention of our government.

THE LIBERTY PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The anti-slavery organization which took place in the United States in 1833, had no definite plan in regard to the political means to be used for the attainment of its object. Though by its constitution it bound its members to use all their political power for the overthrow of slavery, it left the mode an open question, confining itself to the more elementary work of revolutionising the opinions of men. It rather deprecated the formation of a distinct political party, on the supposition that anti-slavery action upon the existing parties would be a safer and more effective policy. In the course of six years the society enrolled several hundreds of auxiliaries, which probably numbered, of both sexes, more than 100,000 members, and fruits were reasonably looked for. Men had been returned to Congress who answered favourably all the questions of the abolitionists, and obtained their votes, and who yet proved themselves quite subservient to the slave power, and even suffered the petitions of their constituents to be treated with contempt, without a word of remonstrance. Worse than this, it was found that a large portion of those who called themselves abolitionists, each permitting himself to be persuaded by his party preferences that his own party was more favourable to liberty than its opposite, were actually from year to year contributing by their votes to sustain a slave-holding government. It became evident that, whatever might be the anti-slavery sentiment of the northern people, so long as they divided their votes between two political parties which were bidding against each other for favour at the slave-holding south, slavery was likely to be safe.

As early as 1838, a few began to turn their attention to the question of the formation of a distinct anti-slavery political party, to combine those of all shades of political faith who agree that the abolition of slavery is the most important of all political questions, and one which must be settled before any other great question can be; in other words, who agree first of all to deliver the country from the rule of what has been called the slaveocracy. The man who first moved in the matter was Myson Holley, Esq., of the state of New York; to whom, no less than to De Witt Clinton, New York owes her great canal, and a man of the highest character for wisdom and integrity. He spent the best energies of a gigantic mind, and the last three years of a long and honourable life, in endeavouring to rouse his countrymen to form a party to carry into practice the great principles of impartial justice. The contest for the presidency which came on in 1840 was unusually severe. Yet about seven thousand men were found who tore themselves away from the parties with which they had acted and rallied around the pure standard set up by Myson Holley. They gave their votes for men of tried integrity, who openly identified themselves with the cause of abolition and impartial justice to all colours. The anti-slavery vote has been since regularly on the increase. In 1843 it numbered 57,000. At the next presidential election it is expected to be nearly double that number. It is now well understood by the politicians of the United States that this new and flourishing Liberty party can be put down but in one way, viz., *by taking its work out of its hands*, and leaving it nothing to do. Hence the laws in many of the free states abolishing the remnants of slavery, as the repeal of the intermarriage act, and the law forbidding her magistrates to take cognizance of the cases of fugitive slaves of Massachusetts, and the law granting to persons arrested as fugitives a trial by jury in New York. Hence the extreme anxiety manifested by some in Congress to get rid of the rule excluding anti-slavery petitions; and hence the remarkably moderate tone of the slaveholders. The more prudent

of the upholders of slavery are now exceedingly cautious lest any thing should be done to drive voters into the ranks of the Liberty party, a party which is fast outgrowing the only argument ever urged against it by three-fourths of the people of the north, viz., its own numerical insignificance. The real motive which operates so strongly against the annexation of Texas is, that it would give an immediate ascendancy to the Liberty party, so that, before the slaveholders could avail themselves of the accession to their strength, slavery itself would be knocked from under them by the exercise of certain constitutional powers vested in Congress.

The Liberty party, in the most open and solemn manner, has avowed that no law or constitution can be binding which contradicts the law of God, or the self-evident principles of justice; consequently, that no law can be binding which goes to impose or reinforce the chains of chattel slavery. It therefore rejects that interpretation of the constitution which makes it an instrument to carry out the designs of slave-catchers. This position is matter of the most serious fright to the slave-holders, and of approbation and delight to more and more of the honest and right-minded. It may now be regarded as certain that slavery must fall. Either the slave-holders themselves will relinquish their system of forced labour, and the political control over the north by which they have maintained it, or the Liberty party must grow till it yields the power of the Federal Government, and knocks the props from under that "domestic institution" which has brought the whole country into disgrace and well nigh ruin.

STATE OF THE FRENCH COLONIES.

In looking over a mass of French documents we have collected, we have been struck, amongst other things, with the tables showing the decrease of the slave-population in the slave colonies of France, during the seven years ending in 1840. According to those tables, the average of births and deaths for the seven years is as follows:—In Martinique, births, 2,388; deaths, 2,295; augmentation per annum, 93; Guadalupe, births, 2,058; deaths, 2,008; augmentation, 50; Cayenne, births, 343; deaths, 510; diminution per annum, 177; Bourbon, births, 1,210; deaths, 2,230; diminution, 1,020. Thus it appears, that in these four colonies, there is, on the average of seven years, an annual excess of deaths over births of 1,048 per annum, or 7,291 for the seven years! In Martinique and Guadalupe, the female slaves exceed the male by 8,784; in Cayenne and Bourbon, the male slaves exceed the females by 17,837, in consequence of the continuance of the slave-trade up to a late period, especially in Bourbon, though it is said that African slaves are still introduced into Cayenne in small numbers, via the Brazils. There is a slight increase in the slave population of Martinique and Bourbon of 143 per annum upon a population of 170,612, whereas upon a moderate computation the increase should be at least 5,000 per annum. How frightful a system must that be which reverses the order of nature so completely! And with how much certainty does such a result prove that the slaves are both overworked and underfed in the French colonies! No other argument than this is necessary to prove the cruelty of the system.

According to the census of 1840, the population of the French colonies stood thus:—Free, white and coloured, 122,793; slaves, males, 131,134; females, 121,990; total slaves, 253,124; grand total, 375,917. In Martinique, the number of whites (free) is 9,904, coloured (free) 31,742; Cayenne whites (free) 1,180, coloured (free) 4,517. The returns for Guadeloupe and Bourbon do not distinguish the free whites from the coloured population.

Another fact has struck us in looking over the returns, namely, the vast number of slaves who have changed bands within a given number of years. In Guadeloupe, in a period of fifteen years (1825 to 1839) there were sold 37,871 slaves. By public sale, 24,554; by private sale, 11,349; by order of the courts, 1,968. Distributed according to age, the result is as follows:—From one to thirteen years old, 7,699; from fourteen to twenty years, 5,189; from twenty-one to forty years, 11,241; from forty-one to fifty years, 2,348; from fifty-one to sixty years, 2,042; and without distinction of age, 9,153. It is impossible to consider this fact, without being convinced of the large amount of human misery which must have resulted from these sales. Thus are the moral nature and social affections of our race tortured by slavery. Under the present system the negroes feel, when marriage is proposed to them by the priest, that it is a charge without an equivalent, and they say so. They are not their own, their wives are not their own, their children are not their own; they can be sold and separated at the will, or to meet the exigencies of their masters: why should they be married? The consequence is, that the number of marriages in Martinique during the seven years ending 1840, does not exceed twenty-four; Guadeloupe, fourteen; Cayenne, thirty-one; for Bourbon no returns are given. How demoralizing, as well as oppressive and brutal, must be the system which produces such fruits as these!

DREADFUL STATE OF CUBA.

From a private Letter from Havana.

There is no doubt but a widely extended plot has been discovered for murdering the white population, destroying their property, and endeavouring to make the blacks masters of the island; and the discovery has been made but just in time to stop this most horrible catastrophe, or at least to save the thousands of lives such an attempt would have cost. The Government is proceeding in the conviction of the poor wretches in

a manner well worthy of the descendants of the inquisitors. A few prisoners on suspicion being taken, they are obliged, by a process which is literally flogging to death, to confess something, and to name those who they know are concerned: thus taking up suspected people, with separate examinations, they have collected a mass of evidence which, with a good deal of falsehood, has also much truth in relation to the extent of the intended conspiracy. It is found that the free blacks and mulattoes are the heads, and most concerned: there are, however, many white people also taken up on these forced declarations; for the prisoners have shown some sense, if they are obliged to name some person, in naming a white, as it puts the Government in a more difficult position.

The barbarities which are hourly practising are frightful. To the extent of 3,000 lashes have been given before the poor wretch has found rest in death. I could name many estates where several have been flogged to death, or are maimed for life. On the estates where any disturbances have taken place, or suspicion rests, the Commissioners send people (some ignorant brutes) to take declarations, and if the owner of the slaves attempts to interfere, he falls under suspicion.

I have been called away this very moment to see the wife of an English engineer, in whom, of course, I am much interested. Her husband drives the sugar-mill and engine on an estate belonging to some friends of mine: he has been five years in the country, and always in their employ, a most sober and excellent man. He last year went home, and brought out a young wife, who lives with him on the estate. He has saved some money, which is in the hands of his employers. At the beginning of the disturbances some slaves were taken up, who confessed a plan to join the negroes on the property La Pay, and murder the whites; and the first man to be killed—because, I suppose, the most to be feared on such an occasion—was this engineer, Elkin—his wife, of course, to be spared for a worse fate. In the face of all evidence, a person who had a spite against him denounced him to the delighted authorities, who soon manufactured two or three more denunciations, and put him in prison. His employers, I am pleased to say, are most kind, in spite of the odium of defending an Englishman. They sent their carriage for him, that he should not be dragged with a rope, at the point of a lance, like a felon, through the country. His wife has just come here to see the Consul, who does all he can; but the present Governor is absolute, and even refuses to answer applications.

Were I to give a detail of—not all I hear, but all I know, it would turn your blood. Two men, a mulatto and a black, were killed in the open streets yesterday evening, from mere spite, by the crowd. I met a poor woman this morning, a most respectable mulatto, whose brother is taken up because he went on board an English vessel of war the other day. After a coloured or black man goes to prison no one knows what is done to him. The tribunal is secret, and he can have no friends. He is first condemned upon tortured evidence, and then called upon for his defence. Not a word is mentioned in the papers, and the strangers who do not know the place and the people would imagine nothing was the matter. No one, except the English, dare openly condemn the measures of Government.

From the *Morning Chronicle*.

A letter from Havana, of the 4th instant, gives an alarming account of the negro conspiracy there, and the wholesale massacres of blacks perpetrated in consequence, which shock the writer, not on account of the butchery in cold blood of between 700 and 800 negroes, but on account of the great loss sustained thereby by the proprietors, each slave costing between 400 and 500 dollars, and the owners obtaining no compensation from the state. The letter says—"After an extensive conspiracy had been discovered, and when it was thought there would be no farther consequences, we heard casually, through a female slave, of a plot more horrible than any which had been hitherto invented. The revolution was to commence in all the chief towns of the island on Holy Thursday, after the procession in the evening. The negroes of all the estates were to come down and unite themselves with those of the chief towns, to assassinate all the white men and female negroes, retaining the white women for their wives. This conspiracy has existed for these five years, according to the declaration of the heads of it, who are in prison. Mr. Turnbull, the famous English consul of unhappy memory, promoted it,* according to report; and there are many revolutionary negroes of St. Domingo comprehended in it, who came to this island expressly for that purpose. They have taken up the one who was to be their king (a mulatto), and found on him his portrait with a crown and mantle. In spite of the arrests, the conspiracy broke out at two distinct points, but it was suppressed at once. The number of prisoners is 2,000, and the arrests still continue: 500 negroes and mulattoes will very shortly be shot at Matanzas, and 260 of those most compromised in this place. Figure to yourself the terror which this affair will have caused, on seeing that two barrels of arsenic, designed to poison the troops, have been taken, and it is said that the cooks (all blacks unfortunately) are gained over for the purpose of poisoning the whites; add to this the loss which the capitalists of the island will suffer from these indispensable chastisements, since each negro is worth 450 to 500 dollars, and no compensation is given for these losses: all these things together deprive us of pleasure and sadden our minds."

From the *Jamaica Royal Gazette*.

CUBA.—The R. M. steamer *Medway* arrived from Havana on the evening of Saturday last. By her we have received accounts confirmatory of the late insurrection there, which is said to have originated with the mulattoes. About 1200 Englishmen were confined in the prisons at Havana and Matanzas. A black man had been flogged to death, and made to confess that an English engineer had given him letters to carry about relative to this insurrection, which was to have taken place on Good Friday, and that the bakers were to poison all the bread to be provided for the soldiers. An Irishman attached to an American vessel of war lying in the harbour, and under the protection of American colours, had been shot in a most unwarrantable manner. He was proceeding towards the shore in a boat, and on arriving at the government steps, he was ordered by the sentinel to shove off from the steps.

* Our readers will know what value to attach to this statement, from a Cuban letter writer.

The man got into his boat, and was moving off, when the sergeant of the guard caught hold of the oar, and beat the Irishman with the flat of his sword, who, in endeavouring to take away the oar from the sergeant, pulled him overboard; the moment the sergeant rose, he ordered the sentry to fire, which he did, and shot the man dead, and wounded his companion in the nose. The commander of the vessel immediately demanded from the Captain-General, O'Donnell, reparation and satisfaction for this outrage, but the answer of O'Donnell was, "The sentry did his duty, and you do yours." Upon this, the American commander took the dead body on board his vessel, and set sail for the United States. The result is not yet ascertained. All the vessels in the harbour at the time hoisted their flags half-mast high for three days, with the exception of the French fleet of merchantmen, who were ordered to haul down their flags by their superior naval officer. This display of grief on the part of the vessels and crews at the murder committed, annoyed the Captain-General excessively. All foreigners, free, black, or coloured, are ordered away within fifteen days, on penalty of being sent to the Isle of Pines. This order will expire on Sunday next. Several coloured persons have come passengers in the steamer, in pursuance of the order; leaving their wives, who, it appears, are not included in the *ukase*. There are from two to three hundred now waiting a conveyance at Havana to come here. Eight hundred and fifty slaves were landed in Havana during the last month, and the slave-trade is carried on more briskly than ever. The British consul, Mr. Crawford, wrote to the Captain-General relative to this large importation of slaves. The letters were inclosed back to Mr. Crawford, with the gratuitous advice "that he must attend to his own business, and he (the Captain-General) would attend to his."

The Spanish merchants also waited on the Captain-General concerning the matter, and the reply was,—"Gentlemen, govern your wives and children—I govern the island of Cuba, and you."

From the *Jamaica Times*.

CUBA.—The Captain-General is represented as a functionary little disposed to trifling away his time or interests in words. For instance, the Mixed Commission possess a vessel in which slave-trading cases are adjudicated; she required repairs, and application was made to O'Donnell, who is himself one of the Commissioners; in order to obtain them. "Gentlemen," says he, "I'll have nothing to do with the affair, the money shall not come from my coffers." Mr. Crawford, the British consul, officially addresses him upon the shameful manner in which the slave-trade is encouraged. The Captain-General returns the papers unopened, observing, "I'll have no communication with you." A deputation of persons interested in those lately imprisoned wait upon him, "Gentlemen," remarks O'Donnell, "return and govern your wives and children, I will take care to govern Cuba—and you!" An American is shot by a sentry, and a demand for redress is unnoticed. The English and American vessels half hoist their colours, and the French entirely lower theirs. The Captain-General is indignant at this display of feeling, but adds, "The American standing army consists of 6,000 men; I am prepared with an orderly, well-equipped, and an efficient force, at this port, of 14,000 men;" and defies them! Within the space of four weeks, we are told, no fewer than 1,100 slaves had been introduced into Havana; the head-money for permission to land being 24 dollars, giving the total sum of 826,400 dollars, which is the perquisite of the Captain-General, who seems to have no idea of allowing any interference, either by the English, French, American, or any other people, on the ground that he has a right to govern Cuba and the Cubans in his own way, and that he has the power to deal with strangers meddling with or obstructing his administration as he may consider they deserve.

The Court of Madrid, it is said, has expostulated with the Captain-General on his open encouragement of the slave-trade, stating that, if he should not adhere to the treaty to suppress it, the British Government would take the affair into their own hands. Whether O'Donnell will notice this remonstrance is considered very problematical; the idea abroad rather being that the trade will shortly enable him to care little or nothing about holding the Government, and that he must be already able to retire from business.

The slave-traders, we are further told, are positively in convulsions at the mode which the English authorities propose for the abolition of the traffic. The chances in favour of the traders are as eight out of nine; that is, the capture of eight vessels out of nine puts the dealer only where he originally was, without loss or gain. We would just then ask, how ten steam vessels can guard a line of coast of 700 miles against the arrival and departure of ninety slaves, say once every two months in the year, that is 540 vessels in the year?

We are also told, that the fortifications at Havana have been put in perfect repair, the troops in excellent discipline and well appointed; that there are 14,000 at that place, and altogether 30,000 in the island; and that the Captain-General has them so completely under control that he dispenses altogether with trial by jury, and exercises a very summary jurisdiction.

The general opinion is, that when the present accounts reach Great Britain, an application will be made to the Court of Madrid for the recall of O'Donnell; but that even that will not better the case, for that the same game will be played over again; and the appointments, and the recalls, and the slave-trade, continue *ad libitum*.

Such, we say, are the views and opinions of the Cubans in these matters: so let the Government and people of England look to it.

DANISH SUGAR AND THE SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

We give *in extenso* the following important matter, from the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 20th instant.

Mr. BARING wished to put a question to the right hon. gentleman opposite on the subject of Danish sugar, and the bearing of the treaties we had concluded with Denmark. The amount produced in the Danish colonies had been stated at 13,000 tons: it was, however, not a question as to the amount, but as to the good faith of the country, and the engage-

ments into which we had entered. When the budget was under discussion, he had stated that he considered the sugars of Denmark were entitled to come into the country, if the sugars of any other country were introduced. The right hon. gentleman opposite contradicted him, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in subsequently enumerating the countries whose produce we should be bound to admit at a lower rate of duty, omitted Denmark. Now he was anxious for an explanation of the grounds on which the right hon. gentleman was of opinion that Denmark was not entitled to that admission. The commercial relations between Great Britain and Denmark were regulated by the treaties of 1661 and 1670, and in more modern times by that of 1824. The eighth article of the treaty of 1670, after stating the obligations of Denmark towards England, went on to stipulate that the subjects of the King of Denmark should have, in all respects, the same privileges as the subjects of the king of England; that subjects of Denmark trading in the ports of Great Britain should not pay any more or greater customs, tributes, tolls, or other dues, in any other manner than the people of the United Netherlands, or any other countries trading hither shall pay. In the 40th section this stipulation was even extended, for it was said, that if greater privileges or exceptions were granted to the subjects of any other countries than were now enjoyed by them, the same and like privileges should be granted to the subjects of the king of Denmark also, in the most full and effectual manner. On consulting with persons in that house, whose names would be of weight within its walls, they concurred with him in opinion, that according to the words of this treaty they could not understand how government could place on it a construction which should refuse to the sugars of Denmark the same privileges which were granted to the Hollanders, or the natives of any other country placed on a favoured footing. The words he had read were rather different from those of the "favoured nations" clause in modern treaties; but according to the legislation of that time the clause was quite effectual for conferring on Denmark the advantages of the most favoured nation. The Danes might justly consider it as a grievance of the most serious kind, if we admitted the sugar of Holland at 34s., and charged that of Denmark at 63s. It might be said that we did not make this difference from any wish to show preference to Holland as a nation, but because the sugar of the Dutch colonies was free grown, and we might set up some distinction which would not bear examination to support this. But what did we propose with regard to the sugar of America and Sweden? To admit them at a lower rate of duty, whether they were free labour or not. With what reason or justice could we grant to America or Sweden a clause which we denied to the Danes (*hear, hear!*)? How was it possible to reconcile this conduct with the treaty into which we had entered with Denmark? If the bill was founded on the consideration of discouraging slavery rather than of promoting commerce, Denmark had peculiar claims on this ground. Denmark was the country which first abolished the slave-trade, the ordinance for which was issued in 1792. If ministers were really anxious to disown slavery, he did not think there was any country which had so great a claim on this account as Denmark. (*Hear, hear!*) Although that country had not yet abolished slavery, it had made arrangements for ultimate abolition in its colonies. The right hon. baronet had declared that if the Brazilian government were prepared to modify the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition, he would be ready to enter into a negotiation with that power, with the view of admitting Brazilian sugar. (*Hear, hear!*) Now Denmark had clearly done that which the right hon. baronet had required Brazil to do, what he had made a *sine qua non* with that country, but in a manner more satisfactory and secure to us, because it had done it of its own will; it had not been compelled, nor had it acted in the hope of a bargain. (*Hear, hear!*) We might be perfectly satisfied therefore that it was honest, and that having made ameliorations in the condition of slavery, it would perform what it had undertaken, by the entire abolition.

Mr. GLADSTONE said the right honourable gentleman had stated very strongly, and with considerable truth as well as force, the claim which Denmark ought to have on the favourable consideration of the British Parliament in measures which have relation to a disposition to discourage slavery, and consequently to favour those nations which show satisfactory intentions in that respect. He concurred with the right honourable gentleman in much that he had said, and he was very glad to take an opportunity of acknowledging his belief that the government of Denmark was honest in their intentions of abolishing slavery in the island of St. Croix. With respect to the dry question of right, the first thing he had to observe was this, that so far as the treaty was concerned, if it should appear on a more solemn and formal consideration of it by the most competent persons that Denmark was entitled to have its sugar admitted at a low duty, the bill empowered her Majesty to give effect to the obligations of the treaty. No decision ought to be pronounced till it had been referred to the highest legal authorities; and the right honourable gentleman would therefore excuse him if he did not speak with entire confidence. He confessed it was quite new to him when the right honourable gentleman opposite stated the right of Denmark on this subject. He believed that the impression of both the Governments was—and he remembered that the Danish ministers had held this language to himself, without any reserve or doubt not very long ago—that their obligations to one another for the concession of particular privileges were determined, not by that ancient treaty to which the right honourable gentleman had referred, but by the treaty concluded by Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson in 1824. That treaty was one of commerce as well as of navigation, and it provided that all goods and merchandise from Denmark, coming into our ports, should be admitted at the same rate of duty whether in one class of vessels or the other. He was not prepared to say that the word subjects in the former treaty could be construed as extending to colonies. According to the treaty of 1824 it was not incumbent on either party to extend, unconditionally, concessions to each other other, concessions which might have been made to subjects of other countries.

Viscount PALMERSTON contended that the treaties were in full force, and thought that the Government could not refuse to Denmark the concession sought by his right honourable friend.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,
THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and
 FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to apologize for our list of contributions, which appears today, having been crowded out of our last number.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 26, 1844.

In the course of the lengthened discussions to which the Sugar Duties Bill has given rise, there has arisen an episode of no inconsiderable importance, to which we feel it a duty to call the attention of our readers. Mr. F. Baring, an authority of much weight as having been Chancellor of the Exchequer under the late administration, brought under the notice of the House of Commons, on the 20th instant, the commercial relations of this country with Denmark, and stated his opinion—in which he was supported by Lord Palmerston, as an ex-minister another high authority on such a matter—that, if the bill should pass into a law, the Danish government would be entitled to demand the admission of Danish sugar at the reduced rate of duty. The serious part of this would be that Danish sugar is wholly raised by slave labour, while the declared intention of the bill is to open the British market exclusively to sugar free grown. That a result so contrary to their declared meaning is intended by the Government can scarcely be supposed; and should it ensue without intention, both the legislature, and the Government, and the whole country, would be egregiously stultified. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply to Mr. Baring, did not feel himself justified in speaking positively on the subject. He said that the point was new to the Government, that the law officers of the Crown should be consulted, and that their opinion should be given on the bringing up of the report on the bill; adding—what, in our minds, is very ominous—that, if Denmark should be put in a position to make this demand, there would be something in the bill to enable her Majesty to comply with it. We hear this with much anxiety and alarm. There ought to be no danger of any such result, and ministers ought to have seen that there was none before they involved themselves in so strenuous a conflict as they have encountered for this bill. We trust that they will yet look this matter fairly in the face, and not, by an act of inadvertency, or (which we are unwilling to suspect) by an act of duplicity, create an opening for the introduction of slave-grown sugars, while professing only to admit the free. For our own part, we are free to confess that we would rather the bill should not pass, highly as we appreciate the principle of it, than that it should thus outrage all consistency on the one hand, and frustrate our cherished hopes on the other. If, although the treaty with Brazil expires, other treaties continue to present impediments to the kind of legislation we desire, it would be better on all accounts to wait until the object we wish to attain can be really and effectually secured.

The operation of the bill in this respect requires to be watched with the greater jealousy, because it is known that several influential parties in this country are interested in sugar plantations in the Danish West Indies; a remark which would equally apply to the Dutch colony of Surinam, should a similar question arise concerning it.

The Sugar question has, since the date of our last number, given rise to lengthened debates in the House of Commons; and we have felt it our duty to give such an abstract of the proceedings as may present to our readers, and put on record in our columns, the sub-

stance of all that relates to slavery and the slave-trade. Briefly the case stands thus.

The amendments of Lord John Russell and Mr. Ewart having been disposed of, and the proposition of the Government so far affirmed, the amendment announced by Mr. Philip Miles came on for consideration on Friday, the 14th instant. As brought before the House, it stood in comparison with the ministerial measure as follows:—Ministers proposed to leave the duty on British sugar at 2*s.* per cwt., and to admit foreign sugar free grown at 3*s.* per cwt. Mr. Miles proposed a duty on British sugars of 20*s.* per cwt., and on foreign free grown sugars two rates of duty—on Muscovado and brown clayed, 30*s.*, and on white clayed or its equivalent, 34*s.* per cwt. After a long debate, this amendment was carried against the Government by a majority of 20. On Monday, the 17th, the discussion was resumed, much interest being felt as to the course which ministers might pursue, in a crisis which obviously affected their stability in office. Sir Robert Peel opened the debate on this occasion, with a declaration that the Government felt it their duty to persevere in the course they had adopted, and that they would look upon another adverse decision of the House, not so much as determining the particular measure in question, as expressing a want of confidence. In the issue, the vote of Friday was reversed by a majority of 22. The principle of the ministerial measure was thus finally affirmed; and, the details having subsequently been under consideration in Committee, the bill is to be read a third time to-morrow.

In expressing our own opinion of Mr. Miles's amendment, it is necessary for us to distinguish the two parts of which it obviously consists. If it had been merely a proposition for admitting British sugar at 20*s.*, and foreign free grown sugar at 20*s.*, instead of the respective sums of 24*s.* and 34*s.* proposed by the Government, we should have hailed it as a further encouragement of the system of free labour. But this simple view of it cannot be taken. Proposing a duty of 34*s.* on foreign white clayed sugar or its equivalent, Mr. Miles introduces a new and very important element into the case. First, because (whatever the proportion of white clayed may be among foreign free-grown sugars) a distinction is thus introduced among foreign sugars which is not made between British sugars, but which, if it is really founded in justice, ought equally to affect both. And, secondly, because a very large proportion of foreign sugar is white clayed, or in a state of refinement equivalent to it. Mr. Miles's proposition, consequently, would have effected a large diminution of the benefit intended by the ministerial plan, and would have established upon a very large portion of foreign free grown sugar a discriminating duty, not of 10*s.*, but of 14*s.* per cwt. We are unequivocally glad, therefore, that it was not carried, the measure of the Government being adapted, in our opinion, far more powerfully to encourage the culture of sugar by free labour.

The complex character of Mr. Miles's amendment seems not a little to have embarrassed our friends the free traders. That its author carefully framed it in a manner plausibly favourable to free trade in order to allure the advocates of that system can scarcely be doubted, and in part he accomplished his object. At the eleventh hour, however, the eyes of some of these gentlemen began to be opened, and in the debate of Friday Mr. Milner Gibson denounced Mr. Miles's proposition as “a snare for free traders,” a scheme for inducing them, under an appearance of encouraging free trade, to vote for further protection to the West Indians. A pretty pickle our crack anti-monopolists would have been in, if they had been caught in this trap! For the most part, however, they had discernment enough to keep out of it, and to vote—*mirabile dictu!*—with the Government and the Tories. The ministerial majority being so narrow, it has thus happened that the votes of the free traders have actually kept the alleged supporters of monopoly in office, and that Sir Robert Peel owes his tenure of the government to Mr. Cobden. We find no fault with this. We only hope that the gentlemen of the League will please to recollect the time when they charged it as a great crime on the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society that they turned out the Whigs, and their still more recent effort to convince the Committee that they must be wrong because they were “in such bad company.” Our counsellors will now learn at what amount to estimate the force of their own reasoning, and know what it is to be scalded with those ebullitions of popular frenzy which they have been making so hot for others. We think them right, and are satisfied that Mr. Cobden gave a sufficient answer to all the clamour, when he exclaimed at Covent-garden theatre, to that pet auditory from which he would have anti-slavery men learn abolitionism, but to which he knows he must teach free trade, “I never did give a party vote, and I hope I never shall.” But, if this answer is sufficient for him and his friends, we submit that it is sufficient also for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

WHEN the Sugar Duties Bill was in Committee, a motion was made by Mr. Irvine, that foreign countries should be allowed to export sugar to Great Britain only if they imported none for their own consumption. This motion was negatived without a division, and met, we think, with a far less favourable consideration than it deserved. The principle involved in it was strictly applied to our own East India possessions when the duties on East and West India sugar were equalized, and to this moment it is only those parts of the East which are prohibited from importing sugar that are allowed to export it to this country. A similar regulation would have had a salutary and important bearing on the circumstances arising out of the change now pending. What we want is not that a foreign

country producing sugar by free labour should send us its *whole* growth, and supply its own consumption from the labour of slaves; we want only what is fairly exportable beyond the demand of the producing region itself.

In our last number we stated, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had determined to put themselves in communication with the Government respecting the scandalous ordinances brought by the last mail from British Guiana. In our present number we publish the memorial which was forwarded to the noble Colonial Secretary, with his lordship's characteristic reply. The favourable augury which may, perhaps, be drawn from Lord Stanley's not thinking it necessary to trouble the Committee to wait upon him, is somewhat confirmed by the tenor of his reply to Mr. Hawes, who put a question to him on the subject in the House of Commons on Friday night. He then admitted that the ordinances had been passed in a hurried manner, and stated that further time should be given for an expression of opinion on the part of the colonists. We hope the arrivals by the last mail will settle this question. We have seen a copy of one very earnest appeal to the noble lord on the subject.

We have thought it proper to place on record in our pages the plan brought forward by the French government for preparing the solution of the great question of emancipation in the French colonies. We have on a former occasion expressed our extreme dissatisfaction with it; a sentiment which its renewed perusal renders only the more intense.

We have received with much pleasure the first two numbers of the *Abolitioniste Francais*, a monthly journal, and the organ of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery. The articles contained in these numbers are of excellent quality and temper, and well fitted to diffuse information on the important subject of slavery in the French colonies through the public of the mother country. We sincerely congratulate our fellow-labourers across the Channel on their having taken up so powerful an instrument, and we trust they will be favoured to see the rapid kindling of a sentiment out of doors, by which the proceedings of the Government will be effectually quickened, and the great work of emancipation irresistibly urged forward.

We are not yet informed of the actual decision of the Senate of the United States in relation to the treaty for the annexation of Texas. The subject continued to be discussed with closed doors, and with repeated communications with the President. It is still confidently expected that the treaty will be rejected by a large majority. France and England are said to be acting in full concert in opposition to it.

We direct the attention of our readers to a communication from Mr. Murray, of Glasgow, pressing upon the consideration of abolitionists a scheme for admitting into the British market the sugar of such estates in Cuba and Brazil as will employ free labour. To his request that the merits of the plan may be argued, we reply with pleasure that our pages are open to the discussion of it, and we hope some of our correspondents will take up the subject. No one who knows Mr. Murray can doubt his ardent devotedness to the cause of human freedom, or his competency, as a man of practical knowledge, or suggest measures adapted to promote the great end which abolitionists have in view.

In his recent letter to the editor of the *League*, Mr. Abdy has done an act of injustice to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which, we think, they have some reason to complain. "These good people," says he, "war against slaveholding with the money of slave-holders." * * * * The slave-worked mine sharer's contribution to their funds proclaims, in their Annual Report, their utter disregard of principle." We think, on the contrary, that the entry in the Annual Report exhibits, on the part of the Committee, a careful adherence to principle. It stands thus:—"From one who purchased 20 shares in the Imperial Brazilian mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves. In trust to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines." Now we are able to state with authority, that the sums thus received (amounting in the whole to £55.) have not been expended on the general objects of the Society, but are held as a trust, in the hope that some way may appear by which they may be applied "for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines." Should no such way be opened, the amount will be returned to the donors.

COOLY EMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

From the *Friend of India*.

The following is a correct statement of the number of labourers shipped from the three ports, from the day when the restriction ceased at the close of 1842, to the end of December last year.

	Men.	Women.	Children.
From Calcutta	15,105	2,161	644
" Madras	14,862	1,813	548
" Bombay	5,162	715	181
Men	35,129	4,689	1,373
Women	4,689		
Children	1,373		
Total	41,191	

The Madras statement is derived from the *Spectator* of the 6th of January; and that relative to Bombay, from the *Bombay Times* of the 27th of January.

The number of vessels employed in the conveyance of emigrants at the three ports has been, Calcutta, 80; Madras, 87; Bombay, 25. Total 192 vessels. If the government of the Mauritius has paid the same gratuity for female as for male passengers, the expenditure from the colonial funds has been about £280,000. If we add to this sum, the agency and other charges defrayed by the planter at whose instance the coolies have been despatched, it will appear that the sum expended in the transmission of labourers to the Mauritius during the past year, has not fallen short of £400,000.

Of the 30,000 labourers shipped for the island before the prohibitory law came into operation, we may assume that the casualties at the Mauritius, and the number of returned coolies, amount to 13,000, and that 17,000 are still there; it will therefore appear that, at this time, the island enjoys the benefit of 56,828 labourers, male and female, imported from India, which is a trifle above the number of slaves (56,699) emancipated by Parliament. It would be interesting to learn what has become of this large body of negroes, to what extent they are still employed in raising sugar, and what has been the agricultural result of the great accession of labour obtained from hence.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Bowling Bay, Glasgow, 17th June, 1844.

SIR,—In your *Reporter* of the 3rd of April last you inserted a memorial from the Glasgow Emancipation Society to the Earl of Aberdeen. At that time his lordship's reply had not been received, and since then a variety of matter connected with the address of the free trade abolitionists—the reply to their address, and other letters on that subject—the sugar question—and your Annual Meeting report, has occupied much of your columns, and no farther reference has been made to that memorial than if it were simply a paper to be put on record, and not a measure proposed to be recommended to, and adopted by, the foreign slaveholding governments, Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, the United States of America, &c.—for the important purpose of inducing them to adopt the free labour system instead of slavery, by substituting wages, or the metaric system of remunerating labour, instead of the whip or any mode of coercion; and thus to abolish slavery and consequently the slave-trade.

Any one, especially any abolitionist, who looks seriously at the state of interests and of parties, will, I think, admit that this is not a time to stand still; for, if the anti-slavery body will stand still, so will not other interests and parties. Therefore it becomes necessary to reflect and deliberate what is to be done by the anti-slavery body of this kingdom to promote and accelerate the downfall of slavery and the slave-trade; for surely something more may and ought to be done than simply to fold our arms, and wait till the river run past. 'Tis true we cannot interfere with foreign states, and pass laws to abolish their slavery and slave-trade; but we may remonstrate with them, and we may so frame our commercial regulations upon moral principles as to encourage free labour, and discourage or exclude slave labour, by holding out to them the inducement of admitting their sugar and other free labour produce on equal terms with British free labour produce.

On reading the Explanatory Statement laid before the Special Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the 3rd inst., showing the course pursued by the Committee relative to fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, the appropriateness of such a measure as that proposed in the memorial, to follow out their other measures, frequently struck my mind forcibly, perhaps more so from its having been much the subject of my reflections. Every one, of course, may not have the same opinion of it as I have; but I have already—some months ago, as may be seen by the accompanying letter, which I hope you will insert along with this, and also the reply of Lord Aberdeen—invited an impartial examination of its defects, that they may be pointed out and remedied, or some better scheme adopted, for idleness will not do anything for the cause. Let us be up and doing and devising, so as to promote the great end we all have in view. And, if we cannot legislate for foreigners, let us endeavour to enlist in the promotion of the object we have so much at heart the same motives by which they are now warring against us. Let us show them that it is their interest "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly."

I am, Sir, yours truly,
JOHN MURRAY.

The following is the reply of Lord Canning, in the name of the Earl of Aberdeen, to the second memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society:

Foreign Office, April 11, 1844.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 18th and 25th ultimo, respecting a plan for admitting into the United Kingdom, on the same terms as sugar produced in British colonies, sugar produced in Cuba and Brazil by free labour.

"I am to return you his lordship's thanks for these communications, and to inform you that copies of them, and the memorial inclosed in the latter of them, have been laid before the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
"To John Murray, Esq.
"CANNING."

We have not room for the whole of the memorial, but we insert the principal portion of it.

"Your memorialists would, therefore, humbly, but strongly and earnestly, recommend to your lordship, and to the other members of her Majesty's Government, to examine and adopt this principle, and to urge it upon these foreign powers, unless it is found to be objectionable.

"It is simply that those Brazilian or Cuban planters—whether they amount to five, twenty, fifty, one hundred, or more, who are desirous that their sugars, &c., shall be admitted into the British market on the same terms as British free-labour sugar—will notify to the British govern-

ment that such is their wish, and also the names of their plantations, their extent, with the number and description of the slaves on each, and their sugars will be admitted forthwith, provided they agree to cultivate their plantations and raise their sugars by free labour—that is, by wages, and not by the whip, or any other coercive system. And, in order that satisfactory proof may be obtained that their sugars, &c., are raised by free labour, as the British sugars are, there shall be British officials appointed and permitted to reside on each plantation as inspectors, to see that these plantations are so cultivated. And it shall be the duty of these inspectors so to brand the sugar casks or packages, and otherwise so to certify that these sugars, the produce of these plantations, were cultivated by free labour, as above described.

"Thus, by offering these terms, a test is also established, by which it may be discovered whether the Brazilian and Cuban planters are or are not firmly attached to slavery, and, of course, whether or not they are persons in whose favour the British people would be justified to relax their principles, so as to admit their slave-grown produce, as is proposed by a certain party, in the hope that they may afterwards abandon slavery and the slave-trade.

"Were five, ten, or twenty planters, in a circuit of fifty, a hundred, or two hundred miles, to agree to these terms, the system of free labour will soon extend, for, from its own nature, it cannot safely retrograde, until, in a very short time, it will include all within reach of the infection; and the privileged terms operating as a bonus, slavery will be quietly and almost imperceptibly abolished, and, as a consequence, the slave-trade. The sugars of Brazil and Cuba may thus be gradually introduced into the British market, on the same terms as British sugars; until, by adopting the wages system, the planters of these countries become entitled to this privilege, and slavery and the slave-trade thereby become extinct. At the same time, the British people will be enjoying cheaper sugar, in a ratio increasing according to the quantity thus admitted, as free labour increases, until all be admitted, and at the trifling expense to the British, of keeping inspectors in these places for a few years on the plantations, where the terms are agreed to and complied with.

"It may also be expected, that in proportion as this system of free labour extends, so will the demand for slaves be diminished, and the amount expended on armed preventive squadrons, &c., &c., may be proportionably lessened.

"There seems no reason to doubt that, if from the insecurity of life and property connected with the slave system, or from any other cause, only a few were induced to try this scheme, the number would rapidly increase; and if only in a few years they came to amount to one-third, or even one-fourth of the planters, that the rest would have to fall into it almost at once, for the slaves still retained in slavery will naturally be clamorous to be put on the same footing with those receiving wages. The same system may also be proposed to the cotton planters of America.

"This measure, it appears to us, may be submitted to the respective governments, or to the planters in each place, without any reference to their governments; or to planters and governments simultaneously, as to your lordships may appear proper."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—TUESDAY, JUNE 19.

CUBA SLAVE-TRADE.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE moved the third reading of the Slave-trade Treaties Bill.

The Earl of MINTO would take that opportunity to draw the attention of their lordships to the present state of the slave-trade in Cuba, and to the inefficient manner in which the treaties for the suppression of that trade had been executed by Spain. During the regency of Espartero the Spanish government took every possible means to put an end to the slave-trade in Cuba. But he understood that, since the change in the Spanish government, the slave-trade had been revived to a very great extent; and the same fees had been established, for the benefit of the governor of Cuba, on the importation of slaves, as had formerly existed. He believed that all the representations made on the subject by the British government had been treated in the most unbecoming manner. He hoped the noble earl would be able to declare that those statements had been exaggerated, or, at all events, that her Majesty's government had done all in their power to enforce the observance of the treaty.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said it was unfortunately too true that a great increase had taken place in the slave-trade at Cuba; and he was sorry to say that there was little or no exaggeration in the statement of the noble earl. At an early period of the last session he had expressed a very sanguine hope that the slave-trade would speedily cease in the island of Cuba, owing to the great exertions of the governor-general Valdez, who then ruled there. But he must say that General Valdez had gone far beyond the intentions expressed and the instructions given by his own government, in carrying the treaty into effect; for he believed, had the governor of Cuba depended on the government of Madrid, that very little would have been done to check the slave-trade. Before his recall he had done everything in his power to carry the treaty with this country into effect. By his strenuous exertions the importation of slaves, which had been carried on to the enormous extent of 40,000 annually, was diminished to 3,000; and he was very sorry to own, that in the first month of the present year, as many slaves were imported as had been imported during the whole of the last year of the government of General Valdez. He believed the noble earl was quite right in attributing this increase of the slave-trade to the change of system in the government of Madrid. He need not say that nothing would be wanting on the part of her Majesty's government to prevent the continuance of this trade. He would, however, rather not at present enter into any particulars as to the steps that had been taken for that purpose; but he could not but hope that they would be attended with success. The noble earl must be aware that all these treaties touching the slave-trade had been but imperfectly executed by foreign powers. The noble earl had only mentioned the case of Spain; but there was no doubt that the same observation might be made with respect to Brazil; for he was completely certain that, from

one end of that empire to the other, the provisions of those treaties were set at nought. He hoped, however, that, before long, improvement in this respect would be effected, both in Brazil and Cuba; and, undoubtedly, her Majesty's ministers would not relax their endeavours to cause those treaties to be respected.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, JUNE 11.

REFUSAL TO ALLOW THE LANDING OF DISEASED SLAVES AT ST. HELENA.

Dr. BOWRING wished to put a question to the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies, as to the circumstances connected with the refusal of the Governor of St. Helena to allow the captain of her Majesty's ship Arrow either to deposit in quarantine or to land diseased slaves on that island, and compelling their removal to the Cape. In order to make the question clearly understood, perhaps the house would allow him to read a statement which had been put into his hands on this melancholy subject. It appeared that the Arrow recently arrived at St. Helena with two prizes, both containing captured Africans, in which the dysentery had broken out. The captain on his arrival immediately separated the healthy from the diseased, placing the latter in one of the prizes and the former in the other, and applied for permission to place the vessels in quarantine prior to landing. He was informed that the Africans could not be landed; that it would be entirely lost time to go into quarantine, and that he must proceed with them to the Cape. The captain replied that only one of the prizes was seaworthy, the other having been seriously damaged prior to her capture; that he had managed to keep her afloat until her arrival at St. Helena, but that it would be utter madness to attempt to take her to the Cape; he therefore trusted the authorities would allow one vessel to ride quarantine with the diseased Africans, whilst the healthy ones proceeded in the other prize to the Cape. This, however, was refused, and the captain was obliged to put the sick and the healthy on board one transport altogether. They had previously been very closely stowed, but when two cargoes were compressed into one, the result might easily be conjectured. The track of the prize from St. Helena to the Cape was literally strewn with corpses, and not one half the Africans who had left the inhospitable shore of St. Helena would arrive at the Cape. If the noble lord had received any information, no doubt he would be glad to communicate it to the house.

Lord STANLEY was sorry to inform the hon. gentleman and the house, that to a certain extent his information was well founded, and that there had been a considerable mortality on board these vessels. That mortality, however, had not been so great as the hon. gentleman imagined; inasmuch as of 337, the number which arrived at St. Helena, 18 only died on the passage, and 22 after their arrival at the Cape. He would state the instructions which had been sent out. In 1839, the general instruction was that all diseased ships should be carried to the nearest port, and in consequence of this instruction a considerable number of vessels were brought to St. Helena. In that island, however, there were no means of employing the negroes, the expense of maintaining them was greater than on any point of the African coast, and complaints were made on the subject. In consequence of that instructions were sent out to our cruisers to avoid St. Helena, and to take their cargoes either to the West India islands, if the wind should be favourable, or to Sierra Leone, or the Cape of Good Hope. In November, 1843, the Arrow arrived at St. Helena with two slaves, and on the officer in command being asked why he had brought the prizes to that port, he said that he had instructions from his superior officer to proceed with them to St. Helena, not for the purpose of landing the negroes, but in order to procure water, after which he was to proceed to the Cape. The governor had reported the matter to him, and he thought a wise discretion had been observed on the subject, and every assistance in the shape of water, medicines, and provisions had been supplied to the vessels. He might state, however, that in cases of emergency it was competent for the officer to demand that the negroes should be permitted to land, but in ordinary cases the general instructions compelled him to take the vessels either to the Cape or to Sierra Leone, where accommodation and employment could be provided for the negroes.

Dr. BOWRING hoped some ports would be established for those cases of emergency.

Lord PALMERSTON wished to know from the noble lord whether the officer in command of the capturing cruiser did or did not represent to the officer in command at St. Helena, that the health of the negroes was such that they required to be landed?

Lord STANLEY said that he understood that the officer in command stated to the governor, that he had called at St. Helena for water, and that he then meant to proceed to the Cape.

FRIDAY, JUNE 14.

THE SUGAR-DUTIES.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the Sugar Duties Bill,

Mr. P. MILES rose. He objected to the change proposed by ministers in the old amount of protection, as a measure which was not expedient in itself, and which had not even the merit of being a final settlement. An extensive and systematic immigration had been promised, but not effected, and the West Indian colonist would be ruined by the abolition of protection before the completion of the immigration promises could arrive. He concluded by moving, that from the 10th of November next the duty on British colonial sugar should be 20s.; on the sugars of China, Java, and Manilla, 30s., with a duty of 34s. upon the foreign sugars, when imported at a certain degree of refinement; and with an addition, as usual, of five per cent. upon the whole.

Mr. H. BAILLIE seconded the motion. He described the measure of the government as causing general dissatisfaction. It violated the principle of refusing encouragement to the foreign slave-trade, and yet it gave but very partial advantages to the British people. He insisted on the danger that American sugar would be largely imported from New Orleans, the amount so shipped to England being made good to the American consumer by an equal supply from the slave plantations of Cuba and Brazil, from whose long line of coast our utmost efforts to keep off

slave-traders would continue to be, as they always had been, utterly unavailable, with all our treaties and all our squadrons.

Mr. EWART was adverse to the general principle of protection.

Mr. GOULBURN said that the amendment, going as it did to the question of degree, and not to that of principle, was open to the very same objections which the mover and seconder had advanced against the government scale of duties. He regretted that his attempt to combine the welfare of the consumers with the just protection of the planters had not been more favourably received by some of his own friends; but he had acted on a sense of duty, and he sincerely believed that the moderate scale he had proposed was more for the ultimate advantage of the planters themselves than the scale suggested in this amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE should support Mr. Miles's amendment, because it involved a reduction of duty, though not precisely in the figures he should most have approved. The vote upon this motion must be merely a comparative one, between the merits of the amendment and the merits of the government plan; and as between the two, he preferred the amendment: for the government plan, as resting upon certificates of origin, was a practical absurdity.

Mr. GODSON did not agree to this amendment, because he hoped that a much larger reduction than was offered by it would be effected next year; and he did not deem it prudent to record an acknowledgment on the part of the West Indians that a differential duty of 10*s.* was sufficient.

Mr. BERNAL thought it idle to hope for more than a 10*s.* protection; and he did not think he gave any pledge at all by voting for this amendment. He described the process of claying sugar, and explained the advantage gained by the importation of it in that stage of refinement.

Mr. BOUVERIE said that on this occasion he should vote with the ministers. A differential duty was a bonus, and he saw no reason here for making the bonus larger, especially when protection had answered so ill as to produce incessant complaints of distress from those who received it.

Mr. BARING said, if this amendment went only to give an increase of protection to the planter he would not support it; but he believed it beneficial, not to the planter alone, but to the consumer.

Mr. GLADSTONE said the government were blamed for opening this question without closing it. But they were closing it as far as that was possible; they were stating 10*s.* as their estimate of the just protection to the West Indians in future years as well as in this. Among other objections to the amendment, he insisted on this, that while the principle of classification, in reference to the degree of refinement, was therein applied to foreign sugars, it was not applied to British.

Mr. M. GIBSON had originally been disposed toward the amendment; but, seeing the clause contained in it about the refined sugar, he had made inquiries which led him to the belief that this was a trap for the free-traders, and that the 34*s.* would exclude three-fourths of all the foreign sugars; thus transferring a difference of 4*s.* into the pockets of the West Indians, without the smallest benefit to the consumers. If it was right to place a higher duty on refined sugars from abroad, it would have been right to make the same distinction respecting refined sugars from the British colonies. On the whole, therefore, believing the government proposal to be, of the two, the more favourable to free trade, he should vote against the amendment, unless the 34*s.* distinction were omitted; but if Mr. Miles would omit that, he would vote with him.

Mr. HUMR desired Mr. Gibson to observe that the reduction of duty on sugars in general, proposed in the amendment, would much more than compensate the extra 4*s.* on the refined sugar.

Mr. COLQUHOUN briefly supported the amendment.

Mr. ESCOTT asked Mr. Miles whether he thought this amendment would be a cure for the distress which the West Indians were described as suffering?

Dr. BOWRING begged to know what Mr. Miles meant to do respecting Mr. Gibson's suggestion of withdrawing the distinction of the 34*s.*

Mr. HAMPDEN said he was led to support this amendment by the instinct of self-preservation.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he did not think Mr. Miles gained much by that part of his plan which imposed the 34*s.* on the more refined sugars; but, on the whole, his plan was the better of the two for the consumer.

Mr. H. BERKELEY asked whether Mr. Miles would drop the clause respecting the 34*s.*?

Mr. MILES, after noticing some other points of the debate, declined to make the suggested alteration in his motion.

Mr. RICARDO was understood to propose an alteration in the form of Mr. Miles's motion.

Lord HOWICK explained that all who disapproved of the government plan might join to oppose it, and that, when it should thus have been negatived, each member who had so voted would be quite unpledged respecting the motion to be substituted.

The committee then divided—

Against the government plan	241
For it	221
Majority against ministers.....	— 20

The committee then adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, JUNE 17.

The House having resolved itself into committee on the sugar duties, Sir ROBERT PEEL said, We are of opinion that the ordinary considerations which determine matters of financial and commercial policy do not apply to the particular article of sugar. We find that with respect to the slave-trade this country has adopted a particular line of action, from which it may be inferred that this country considers the continuance of the slave-trade one of the greatest evils and curses by which humanity can be afflicted. We have treaties with foreign powers by which they are engaged to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under ordinary circumstances we are ready to admit that the regulation not only of the internal affairs of countries, but of their commercial relations and interests generally, is within the province of the exclusive jurisdiction of each independent state. But we have engaged other powers by special treaties to co-operate with us for the suppression of the slave-trade. The

chief onus of the attempt to suppress it has fallen on this country. We have thought ourselves justified by a general regard for the interests of humanity to aim at the suppression of the slave-trade and the extinction of slavery. In our own dominions we have thought ourselves justified by considerations wholly apart from any interested motives—by considerations of general humanity, to call on this country to make a great sacrifice, not only for the suppression of the slave-trade, but for the abolition of slavery. This country voted without reluctance 20,000,000*l.* for compensation for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. At the present day a great annual expenditure is incurred on the coast of Africa and in other parts of the world by this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, that expenditure not being intended to benefit any part of our own dominions, but being carried on for the supposed advantage of other parties, with whose domestic institutions we have no concern. In the course of the last session of Parliament we passed an act prohibiting—or at least enforcing additional penalties against—the application of British capital to enterprises carried on in foreign countries through the medium of the slave-trade. Both houses of Parliament concurred in that act, extending it to all the dominions of the Queen, and visiting with heavy penalties all those subjects of her Majesty who in Brazil or Cuba, or any other place, made use of their capital to encourage the slave-trade. We have, therefore, I conceive, by the whole tenor of our policy, given conclusive proof that we are governed with respect to the slave-trade by a different principle from that which regulates us in every other kind of commercial transactions. When her Majesty's present government were in opposition, in the year 1839, we supported those who were then in power in resisting the proposal then made by the present member for Dumfries, the effect of which, if it had met with the sanction of the house, would have been to reduce the protective duty on foreign sugar, as compared with British colonial sugar, to the amount of 12*s.* Whether the views we still entertain on this subject be well founded or not, at least they are consistent views,—views which we did entertain, and which we avowed and acted on when we were opposed to the right hon. gentleman. And with regard to the motion of my hon. friend, considering that it was but comparatively recently that the house, by an unanimous resolution, addressed the Crown to enforce the regulations as to slavery and the slave-trade; that the Crown has acted on that address so far as to make increased pecuniary exertion to suppress the slave-trade; and that the feeling manifested on that occasion was such as to leave no doubt that, in the opinion of the House of Commons, considerations of expense were subordinate to the great object of suppressing the slave-trade, we certainly think that the opening the British market to the sugar of Brazil and Cuba would give an increased stimulus to the slave-trade as carried on in those countries and on the coast of Africa, aggravating the *status* of slavery, and that, therefore, after such public professions, it would be inconsistent so to open our markets to that slave-grown sugar. We are not insensible to those considerations—at least we attach their due weight to them—urged by the opponents of protection, that the admission of sugar the growth of free labour would give, though not a direct, yet an indirect encouragement to a certain extent to Brazil and Cuba. That, certainly, may be the result at first; but I cannot help entertaining the opinion that, if you will encourage the protection of sugar the growth of free labour in such countries as Manilla and Java, and perhaps in China, you will by that give a permanent encouragement to the production of free-grown sugar—that, though there may in the mean time be a temporary increase of the produce of Brazil and Cuba, yet that the encouragement you will give will ultimately tend to prove that free-grown sugar can compete favourably with slave-grown sugar, and that you will thus be striking a blow, indirectly but effectually, at the slave-trade, and by those means tend to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. We, therefore, resolved not to diminish the duty on sugar the produce of our own colonies, but, the very earliest moment at which we could deal with free labour sugar, without giving any corresponding right of admission to slave-grown sugar—to permit this qualified competition. We had another reason for dealing with this question in the present year. We wished the producers of free-labour sugar to know what were the opinions and intentions of Parliament. We wished them to be assured whether Parliament intended to confine the competition to free-labour sugar, and whether Parliament would sanction government in establishing a distinction between free-labour and slave-grown sugar. It became most important to our views that early notice should be given that in China, in Manilla, in Java, the present producers of sugar, and the capitalists inclined to speculate in the increased production of sugar should know what were the intentions of the British Government, in order that at any future period there might be the means of competition with sugar the produce of our own colonies; and the desire, therefore, to take a security against increased price, and the desire that early notice should be given in the countries which were to be the competing countries with colonial sugar, induced us to resolve not to postpone beyond Nov. 9, 1844, the admission of that description of foreign sugar into our own market. After explaining the reasons why he did not content himself with merely proposing a renewal of the present sugar duties, he said that he could not be insensible to the impediments which had been opposed to the progress of ministerial legislation. In certain of these measures the government had failed to obtain the approbation of some whose support they most valued. He could not profess that they were prepared to purchase that approbation at the price of refraining from the policy which they deemed essential to the welfare of the country.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the proposal of Sir R. Peel was neither more nor less than that the house should retract its former vote, and disgrace itself with the country.

Mr. P. MILES said, that the West Indians had repeatedly pressed the government to postpone this measure until a supply of free labour should have placed them in a better state for competition; but the government having refused to listen to them, they had no choice but to propose this measure for their own protection. In it he should persevere, and upon it he should take the sense of the house. As to the refined sugar, he should have no objection, on the part of the West Indians, to subject the colonial to the same duty as the foreign; but the East Indians objected to that; and he, therefore, could not consent to change his motion.

Mr. COCHRANE said, that when the government proposed to rescind

the vote of a former night, the question ceased to be one of sugar duties, and became one of personal honour. Therefore, though he had voted with government on Friday, he would now abstain from voting at all.

Mr. KEMBLE said, that if a reduction was to be made, it ought to be a much more substantial one than 4s. Thus, though he did not like the plan of the government, he should negative Mr. Miles's proposal.

Mr. WARBURTON meant to persist in his former vote against Mr. Miles, unless that hon. gentleman would withdraw the proposal respecting the refined sugar.

Sir H. DOUGLAS declared against Mr. Miles.

Mr. LABOUCHERE preferred Mr. Miles's plan to that of the government; and he did not understand how any free trader could do otherwise.

Mr. DISRAELI said, ministers should not lightly say to their friends, you shall submit to public disgrace, or we must submit to private life. Sir R. Peel came forward with an utter detestation of slavery in every place except upon the benches behind him.

Lord SANDON deeply regretted the vote which he should be obliged to give against the government, and the course taken by Sir R. Peel, than whom no man had rendered greater services to the country. With fair encouragement, and a fair supply of free labour, there was no reason why the West Indians should despair.

Mr. SHEIL supported the 20s. duty as cheapening the article to the consumer.

Mr. GOULBURN maintained the opposite opinion. He contended that it was necessary so to arrange matters as to prepare the free labour countries for producing the required supply.

Mr. P. STEWART argued the question in favour of the West Indians upon its commercial principles.

Mr. ENTWISLE maintained the principle of fair protection, which he had recently declared at the hustings. In that spirit he had voted against the plan of government. But in the present circumstances of the subject, he would not trust his vote with those who he was sure would be the enemies of all protection.

Mr. ESCOTT could not understand how Mr. P. Miles and his supporters could reconcile the two objects of protecting the West Indians, and at the same time increasing the supply of sugar.

Mr. MILES (Somerset) attacked Mr. Escott for the inconsistency of his present declarations with those which he had made more than once at the hustings of Somersetshire.

Lord HOWICK contended for the 20s. against the 24s. duty.

Lord NORTHLAND said he had voted against the government measure on Friday, and would not change his vote now.

Lord STANLEY defended himself and his colleagues against those who called themselves the supporters of the government. He admitted those general principles of free trade which Lord Howick had enunciated; everybody admitted them; but the whole science of a statesman lay in knowing when and how far to apply them. He entered into the merits of Mr. Miles's plan as affecting the consumer, who, he contended, must thereby inevitably pay a higher price from that time to November, without one shilling gained by the planter, and with a great loss to the revenue.

Lord PALMERSTON treated as a gross absurdity, and as quite unsustainable in practice, the distinction between free and slave-grown sugar. He admitted that, if there was a case in which an exception might be allowed from the principles of free trade, it was the case of the West Indians; and he preferred the proposal of Mr. Miles, as likely to occasion a sensible diminution in the price of sugar.

Colonel SIBTHORP energetically supported the government.

Mr. M. GIBSON maintained the opinions which he had expressed on Friday night. The measure of the government was the more liberal of the two, and should have his vote.

Mr. ROEBUCK would vote with the West Indians, in order to benefit the consumer.

The committee then divided—

Against Mr. Miles's proposal.....	255
For it	233
Majority against it.....	22

The blank was then filled up with the 24s. proposed by ministers.

THURSDAY, JUNE 20.

The House of Commons having again resolved itself into committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, a great deal of discussion arose upon the third clause, giving power to admit free labour sugar by order in Council. Questions were asked of Mr. GLADSTONE by Mr. LABOUCHERE and Mr. V. SMITH in reference to the state of labour in Java, China, the United States, and other countries on the list of free growing nations; to which Mr. GLADSTONE gave general answers, showing the difficulty of drawing any precise definitions on the subject of compulsory labour. He desired to observe, however, that in the countries which had been mentioned there was no forced labour employed upon agriculture; the only slavery was domestic; and that gave no stimulus to the slave-trade.

Lord PALMERSTON treated this distinction as an idle one; there was no other than domestic slavery in the Mahometan countries, and yet the slavery of those countries was fed by a slave-trade of the worst character.

Mr. BARING said, that as this clause gave government a power to admit, by order in Council, sugar the produce of free labour, surely the government ought to give the house some notion what they meant by free labour; or, if they could not give a precise definition, they might at least explain their notion in the way of an example or two. All that was yet known was, that in the places, particularly Java, which were treated as free-growing countries, a state of slavery did exist.

Mr. GLADSTONE again resisted the attempt at forcing him into a sort of definition, which he said could be expected only from a lawyer. He repeated that there was no field slavery in Java.

Mr. P. STEWART contended that all the sugars of Java were produced by labour which in some way or other was forced.

Sir W. JAMES wished to know whether the now proposed distinction between free and slave grown sugar was intended to be permanent.

Sir R. PEEL explained the impossibility of specifying, in the present state of foreign treaties, the course which might be taken by the British government in future years.

Lord HOWICK put some cases to show the difficulty of giving practical effect to the distinction between free and slave grown sugar.

Mr. IRVING proposed, in pursuance of notice, that the privilege of bringing sugar to England at the free labour duty should be confined to those states which do not import sugar for their own consumption.

This was negatived without discussion or division.

The fourth clause, requiring certificates of origin, was next debated.

Mr. LABOUCHERE protested against the system, as being a novelty when applied to foreign sugars, and as being incapable of execution where there was an interest in deceiving.

Mr. GLADSTONE defended the arrangement for the certificates of origin, but observed that there were other checks to which this was merely supplemental. Of those checks the most efficacious would be, that the expense of taking foreign sugar to any one of the free ports for the purpose of conveyance thence to England would be too great to compensate the undertaking.

Mr. HAWES controverted Mr. GLADSTONE's reasoning: and was followed by

Lord PALMERSTON, who argued that the certificate was superfluous, if the expense itself were a prohibition.

Dr. BOWRING remarked, that Ministers were arguing as if they expected co-operation for their clause; whereas it would have to encounter opposition in all quarters. He enlarged upon the ingenuity and activity of the interests which would surely combine to defeat this enactment.

Lord SANDON thought that a consul, using due care to watch the bonding warehouses, might well ascertain the genuineness of the derivation of an article so bulky as sugar.

Mr. HUME said, he should not like to be one of these consuls in a foreign country, prying about the warehouses of the merchants to spot their trade. The certificate of any such person was mere humbug.

Dr. BOWRING wished to know what was to be done when there was no British Consul?

Mr. GLADSTONE answered, that there was no important port from which sugar could come where a British consul was not stationed.

Mr. CHAPMAN recommended it to Ministers to give up altogether the notion of certificates from countries eastward of the Cape.

Lord PALMERSTON said, he would take the sense of the committee on the clause.

A division took place, on which the clause was sustained by a majority of 54.

Mr. BARING, after this division, raised an objection founded on an old treaty with Denmark, by which England was bound to admit the commerce of that country at as low rates of duty as the commerce of any other state. The slave possessions of Denmark, therefore, forbade you from confining your low duty to free labour countries.

Mr. GLADSTONE, arguing upon the words of that treaty, in connection with the words of other treaties of later date, contended that there was nothing in the present bill which militated against any engagement now binding upon England.

After some further conversation the bill proceeded to its end without any further discussion, except a few words on the 10th clause from Mr. LABOUCHERE and Mr. GLADSTONE, and a murmur against the 2nd from Mr. HUME.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21.

On the motion for bringing up the report on the Sugar Duties Bill.

Mr. EWART moved that free labour and slave labour sugars be admitted on payment of the same rates of duty.

Mr. JAMES expressed his astonishment at the proposal, and combated it by repeating the arguments in favour of the claims of the West Indies to protection.

Mr. BARCLAY took a similar view, and thanked the government for the course they had adopted.

A division was then called for, when the proposition was rejected by 183 to 65.

The report was then received.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Mr. HAWES wished to put a question to the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies. He wished to know whether the noble lord had received a copy of two ordinances passed by the Combined Court of British Guiana authorising the raising of a loan of 500,000*l.*, to be secured upon the imports into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes of immigration and an extension of the civil list for seven years, contingent upon Her Majesty's giving her sanction to the first of these ordinances? He wished also to ask the noble lord whether he had removed the restrictions which formerly existed upon female emigration?

Lord STANLEY said the hon. member had been correctly informed with regard to the tenor of the two ordinances made by the council of Demerara. They had been received by the last mail. The first authorized the commissioners to raise a loan in this country. The parties had called upon him (Lord Stanley) to ascertain the opinion of the government on the subject of the loan, and he stated to them that the ordinance appeared to have been passed through all its stages in very great haste; that he thought sufficient time had not been given to form a correct opinion upon the matter, and that he should decline asking her Majesty's pleasure until further information should be received as to the feelings of the colony. That, however, could not interfere with emigration for the present year, because enough had been voted to meet the wants of the colony. With regard to the preservation of a due proportion of the sexes in emigration from the coast of Africa, there had been considerable difficulty found with respect to obtaining a sufficient number of females, but all the papers relating to the subject would be laid on the table of the house of honourable members required them. With regard to emigration to the West Indies, he could assure the honourable member that it was very difficult to obtain a proper number of the more respectable females to accompany their husbands and families; and if they absolutely required that a large number of females should go with every batch of emigrants, such was the difficulty of getting the more respectable females to go, they would be obliged to make up the number in a way that would have to be calculated to increase the respectability of the emigrants. (A laugh.)

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter dated St. Louis, November 25, 1843:—

"I am sorry to tell you that all that is said in the north of slavery is too true. They do not think half as much of whipping a negro here, as you do of whipping your horse. It is a much more common thing to whip them, than for you to whip your horse. There is not a day but they are transported, some of them on the boats that I am on, from here to the lower States. It makes my very soul grieve to see them. You must know it is one thing to hear, and another to see: seeing is believing. The last trip we made down the river, we had a number of new-bought slaves going to the cotton plantations. I conversed a good deal with them when I had an opportunity. The young ones from ten to fifteen felt well of the change; but the old, from fifteen to forty and upwards, felt very bad, and were crying all the time; some of them chained, and others going at large on the boat. I talked to an old man forty-five years of age, chained fast to a post on the deck, and crying all the time. I asked why they kept him so fast? he said he knew no reason for it, except that they had bought him only yesterday, 100 miles up the river from here, and had taken him from his wife and family of eight children, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles. He had always lived with the same man, and in the same part of the country, till now. His master died, and they were all sold. He was the first sold, and marched right on board the boat, and put in chains. He does not know who his wife or children were sold to. They would not tell him who they sold any of them to, for fear he would try to get back to them. This is but one instance; but if I had time and space, I could record a hundred such."

DR. BRISBANE AND HIS SLAVES.—Several years ago, while Dr. B. was editor of a Baptist paper in South Carolina, we had some little discussion with him on the subject of slavery. He came out frankly, and very fairly attempted to support the system from the Bible. We were at that time better pleased with such a course, than going on in the practice of slavery without any attempt to defend the system. We then judged that an attempt to defend such a system must result in an exposure of its rottenness—and so the event proved. He says a discussion of the subject taught him to apprehend he might be in error. But he soon discovered that freedom of thought on that subject was not to be allowed in South Carolina. He therefore determined to leave that State. He accordingly sold his slaves, and emigrated to Ohio. But further light on the subject convinced him that he had no right to sell human beings—and, after much delay, he has succeeded in the repurchase of all his former slaves, except two, which could not be obtained. The repurchase cost him several thousand dollars more than he received for them; and, in addition to this, he has gone in person, and removed them at an expense of about 600 dollars. After their arrival at Cincinnati, the good people of that city made them a donation-visit to supply their pressing wants. Such examples cannot fail to leave a most salutary and powerful effect on the consciences of many good men at the south.—*Portland Zion's Advocate*.

INHUMAN ASSAULT.—The recently emancipated slaves of Dr. Brisbane were lately conveyed to Greene township, and located in a few tenements belonging to Mr. Lewis, which he had granted for the purpose, till the doctor could make provision for them in Mercer county. Their stay would have been but short, and nobody supposed that they would have become any charge upon the township. With surprise and mortification, however, we learn that they were attacked a few nights since in their dwellings, the windows of which were broken in, and the lives of the inmates endangered by the firing of a gun upon them. Such grovelling inhumanity would disgrace the veriest savages. Among the poor creatures thus assailed were several children, and two extremely aged women, one of them blind. The attack was utterly unprovoked, and could have originated in nothing but simple devilishness. The trustees of the township, we are told, also made a move towards enforcing the law requiring security—a law of impracticable execution. It would have been more to their honour if they had let it sleep on the statute-book.—*Emancipator*.

A SLAVE WHIPPED TO DEATH.—A man by the name of Lamb (?) was recently tried at Charleston, S. C., for whipping a negro to death. Though it was proved that he inflicted 350 lashes, well laid on, in twenty-four hours, and that the slave died soon after, the jury found him not guilty! And such are the tender mercies of slavery, the institution of the patriarchs!

SELLING FREEMEN INTO SLAVERY FOR JAIL-FEES.—The coloured man, Jones, who asserted that he was free, and in whose behalf Mr. Giddings presented a memorial to Congress, we understand has been claimed by his master from Virginia, and yesterday returned home with him. Jones at first professed to be entirely unacquainted with his master, but upon the latter sending home for persons and papers to prove his identity, he acknowledged to the keeper of the prison that he was his master, and he was restored to him forthwith.—*Washington Spectator*.—It is not the less true, that, if he had been a freeman, he would have been sold into slavery to pay his jail-fees.—*Ed. A. S. Reporter*.

FATE OF A RETAKEN FUGITIVE SLAVE.—The *Albany Patriot* gives the particulars of the case of Wm. Johnson, fugitive slave, who escaped with his family into Canada from Missouri, about three years ago. Soon after, he engaged himself as a cook on board one of the Buffalo steamboats, in which situation he was seized by his old master's son, and carried back to Missouri. In order to compel him to confess where his family was he was placed in the stocks, and burnt with red-hot irons on his right side and arm, his tormentors cursing and blaspheming, and threatening to burn his heart out! The President and Secretary of the Albany Vigilance Committee, in their report of this atrocious outrage, say:—"The man is a cripple for life, his whole side seems partially paralysed from the effects of the stocks and burning. He is constantly in pain, and halts when walking—is compelled to use a staff. He showed me the marks he carries, marks of his cruel tormentors, and will carry them to the grave." About three months ago, Johnson escaped a second time from his bondage, and was kindly received by the abolitionists of Albany, on his way to his family in Canada.

AN INTERESTING CASE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT.—We learn that a very interesting case is soon to come before the Supreme Court at Washington. The question to which it will give rise is, whether the sale of a slave in the county of Alexandria, south of the Potomac, to a person residing in Washington county north of the Potomac, does not entitle such slave to his freedom, under the law of Maryland of 1797, adopted by the Congress of the Union in 1801, by which it was enacted that no slave should be brought into Maryland, Washington county at that time forming a part of it. It is expected that the slave laws of the district will undergo a thorough examination, which, we hope, will throw some light upon the darkness of Congress.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

PENNSYLVANIAN LAW.—It is a curious fact, and not generally known, that by the laws of Pennsylvania a man may be sold into servitude who refuses to maintain his wife and children; and it is stated that recently a man was sold in Venango county, by order of the court, for an indefinite period, who had refused to maintain his wife and family; they receiving the wages of his labour for their support.—*Morning Chronicle*.

NEGRO-BURNING.—The *St. Louis Republican* gives the particulars of a horrid murder committed by a slave. He went to a shoemaker on the pretence of buying shoes, and struck him with an axe on the back of his neck while in the act of stooping. He then proceeded to where the wife was, demanded powder, and, on her attempting to run, despatched her too with the axe. Such is the account given by the *Republican*. The slave said, that his object in committing the murder was to get money to carry him to Canada. The people, as if determined to outdo the miserable wretch in barbarity, assembled in large numbers, and it was understood, that at two o'clock in the day the boy was to be taken out and burned! The people that can thus set law aside to gratify an infernal passion for revenge, are no better than the victim of their rage.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

MRS. BURKE'S SLAVE.—Some weeks ago, a Mrs. Burke, from New Orleans, arrived in New York with a woman slave, and put up with a brother-in-law by the name of Morgan. An abolitionist was informed that great caution was observed not to allow the slave to go out, or in any way become acquainted with the coloured people. Every abolitionist deems it his duty to let slaves know, that, when brought or sent into the free States with the knowledge or consent of their masters, they are free by virtue of our laws. Those who bring them naturally put all possible obstacles in the way of their receiving this information; hence a writ of *habeas corpus* often becomes necessary. In this case a writ was granted by Judge Oakley, and the girl was brought into court. While she was waiting to have a hearing Isaac T. Hopper was informed of the circumstance, and he proceeded straightway to the court-room. There he found Mr. Morgan and a friend of his with the slave. The woman, as is often the case in such circumstances, was frightened and undecided. Those who wished her to return to the South plied her with fair promises, and dreadful pictures of what she would suffer if she staid with the "miserable free niggers" of the North. On the other hand, the coloured people, who had assembled about the court-room, were eager to rescue her from slavery. She did not understand their motions, nor those of the abolitionists; for they had been diligently misrepresented to her. "What do they want to do it for?" she asked, with a perplexed air; "what will they do with me?" She was afraid there was some selfish motive; she dared not trust to the professions of strangers. Friend Hopper found her in this state of mind. Mr. Morgan was very willing to speak for her. He gave assurance that she did not want her freedom; that she wished to return South; and that she had been in no respect restrained of her liberty in the city of New York.

"Thou art a very respectable looking man," said friend Hopper, in his good-natured, resolute way; "but I have known slaveholders more genteel looking than thou art tell gross falsehoods when a slave was in the question. I tell thee plainly, I have no confidence in slaveholders in any such cases. I have had too much acquaintance with them; I know their game too well."

Mr. Morgan said something about its being a mean and wrong thing to come between master and servant.

"Such may be thy opinion," replied friend Hopper, mildly; "but my views of duty differ from thine in this matter."

Then turning to the woman, he said,—"By the laws here thou art free. No man has a right to make a slave of thee again. Thou mayest stay at the North, or go back to New Orleans, just as thee chooses."

Mr. Morgan here interposed, to say, "Mind what that old gentleman says: you can go back to New Orleans, to your husband, if you prefer to go."

"But let me tell thee," said friend Hopper to the woman, "that, if thou stayest here, thou wilt be free; but if they carry thee back, they may sell thee away from thy husband. Dost thou wish to be free?"

The tears gushed from her eyes in full floods, as she replied earnestly, "I do want to be free. To be sure I want to be free; but then I want to go to my husband."

Mr. Morgan grew excited. "I only wish we had you in New Orleans!" said he to friend Hopper; "we'd hang you up in twenty-four hours."

"Then you are a set of savages," replied friend Hopper.

"You are a set of thieves," retorted Mr. Morgan.

"Well, savages may be thieves into the bargain," rejoined Isaac, with a significant smile.

"You are no gentleman," responded the other, in a decidedly ungentle tone.

"I don't profess to be a gentleman," answered the imperturbable Quaker; "but I am a little, honest, old man, and that will do as well." This occasioned a general smile among the bystanders.

The slave being summoned into the Judge's Chambers, friend Hopper followed, wishing to have her clearly understand her own position. He found Mr. Morgan in close and earnest conversation with her. When he attempted to approach he was shoved aside, with the remark, "Don't push me away." "I did not push thee," said friend Hopper; "and see that thou dost not push me." He then inquired of the woman if he had rightly understood her, that her husband was free. She replied in the affirmative.—"Then let me tell thee," said the kind-hearted old man,

"that we will send for him, and obtain employment for him here, if it is thine own choice to remain."

Again she wept, saying "I do want to be free."

She was evidently, however, bewildered and distrustful, and did not know what to make of the opposite professions that were made to her.

The representation of Mr. Morgan, Judge Oakley adjourned the case till the next morning, telling the woman she might go with whom she pleased.—The coloured people had assembled in considerable numbers, and were a good deal excited. Their abundant experience led them to suppose that she would either be cajoled or forced back into slavery, if left in Southern hands. They therefore hustled her away we know not where. The next we heard was, that she had escaped and gone away with her mistress.

The pro-slavery papers make a great chuckling over this fact, as they always do when some poor ignorant victim is deceived by false representations, alarmed by an excitement that she does not comprehend, afraid that strangers are not telling her the truth, or have not the power to protect her; and in continual terror of future punishment, if she should attempt to take her freedom, and yet be unable to maintain it.—*National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

MORAVIAN SLAVEHOLDERS.—Mr. Shillitoe, in his Journal, gives the following account of his proceedings at the Moravian settlement of Salem, near Springfield, N. Carolina, in 1829:—"After a short interval of silence, I expressed the regard I had long entertained for the Moravian brethren, but the sadness that had covered my mind in passing through their settlement some weeks before, on being informed that they were in the practice of holding men in slavery. I then related the interview that I had with a slave-merchant in Baltimore, who attempted at first to justify his trafficking in his fellow-creatures by the example of individuals who did so, and yet were (he said) making a profession of Christianity. We were informed that their members were advised against the practice. Although I felt much tenderness towards this little company, yet I found I must press upon them the necessity there was, that, ranking high, as they did, as professors of Christianity, they should make it a part of their discipline, and one of the terms of continuing in religious membership with them, as our society had done; and I believe we were brought very near to each other in the bonds of true religious love."

WARLIKE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MEXICO.—The whole nation has been startled by a positively warlike demonstration against Mexico, ordered by President Tyler, and first made known by the Senate to the people on Friday last. In fact, off the coast and on the frontier of Texas, President Tyler has ordered a navy and an army of observation to be stationed—ready, doubtless, for action—for he states that any invasion of Texas by any foreign power, while a negotiation is pending between Texas and the United States must not be permitted, &c. But however plausibly the President might phrase his reasons, or attempt to clothe his policy in the robes of an imperious necessity or rigid justice—there is no concealing the fact, that Texas is to be treated with; and Mexico, who seeks to recover her as a revolted province, is to be frightened at the actual display and the more than implied menace of cannon and the bayonet. And this, *mirabile dictu* while the United States and Mexico are in a state of mutual peace and amity. This is a grave—a very grave matter; something new, I ween, in the practice of international law. This warlike demonstration is opposed by nearly all the press and people. In Congress generally (I speak of the house as well as of the Senate) the members are much excited on account of the President's extraordinary conduct, and some few have talked about articles of impeachment, &c. —Correspondent of *Morning Chronicle*.

Miscellanea.

FIVE SLAVERS CONDEMNED AT SIERRA LEONE.—1. The *Loteria*, Brazilian brigantine, taken by the *Madagascar*, on her voyage from Rio de Janeiro to Campos. 2. *L'Egeria*, Brazilian schooner, chased by the *Spy*, and run ashore near Appa, where she was destroyed by the captors. 3. The *Uilina*, taken by the *Espoir*, having embarked 546 slaves at Ambing, of whom 128 died on the passage. 4. The *Imperatriz*, Brazilian brigantine, taken by the *Heroine*, on her voyage from Rio de Janeiro to Campos. 5. The *Rolens*, Spanish brigantine, run on shore and wrecked near Black point, while chased by the *Madagascar*.—*Sierra Leone Watchman*, March 24.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Preston—Parkér, T. G.	0 10 0	1 0 0
Sutton-in-Craven—Green, John.	5 0 0	
Carlisle—Sutton, Lydia.		1 0 0
Shooter's Hill—Nicolls, Col., R.M.	40 0 0	
Birmingham, West Bromwich, &c.—Ladies Negro Friend Society.	2 0 0	1 0 0
Dublin—O'Connell, Daniel, M.P.	5 0 0	
Haughton, James		1 0 0
Woodbridge—Ladies Negro Friend Society		
Leeds—Amount collected.	52 14 0	
Less expenses.	0 14 0	
Amount received	52 0 0	
Anonymous, per Thomas Harvey	1 10 0	
Armistead, Joseph	1 0 0	
Armistead, John (Springfield Mount)	2 0 0	
Arthington, Robert	5 0 0	
Baines, Edward, and Sons	2 2 0	
Birchall, S. J.	2 0 0	
Cash, Newman	3 0 0	
Clapham, John	1 0 0	
Dove, Christopher	1 0 0	

Dyson, William	1 0 0	
Eddison, Edwin	1 0 0	
Goodman, Benjamin	2 2 0	
Harvey, Thomas	0 10 0	
Hitham, James	1 0 0	
Jowitt, Robert (paid in London at the Convention)	5 0 0	
Jowitt, John, jun.	1 0 0	
Jowitt, R. C.	0 10 0	
Kaye, Joseph	5 0 0	
Payne, R. E.	1 0 0	
Pease, Thomas B.	2 0 0	
Ripley, Richard	2 0 0	
Tatham, G. N.	3 0 0	
Walker, Benjamin	3 0 0	
Walker, Thomas (Springfield Mount)	2 0 0	
Walker, Robert	5 0 0	
Wylde, John	2 0 0	
Exeter Hall—Collected at the Annual Meeting	67 17 10	
Charlbury—Albright, William	1 1 0	
Albright, Nicholas	2 0 0	
Sessions, James	0 10 0	
Sunderland—Andrews, James	0 5 0	
Backhouse, Edward	5 0 0	
Backhouse, Edward, jun.	3 0 0	
Backhouse, T. J.	2 0 0	
Binns, Henry	0 5 0	
Brown, J.	0 2 6	
Chapman, Abel	0 5 0	
Mounsey, Thomas	1 0 0	
Mounsey, John	1 0 0	
Mounsey, Mary	1 0 0	
Ogden, J. M.	0 10 0	
Richardson, Edward	1 0 0	
Richardson, Thomas	1 0 0	
Richardson, Caleb	0 10 0	
Thomson, H.	0 10 0	
Doncaster Auxiliary	7 0 0	
Aylesbury—Lee, Dr., (Hartwell House,) to make up £10.	9 0 0	
Bradford—Forster, W. E.	1 1 0	
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Beaumont, William	10 0 0	
Drewry, Jonathan	0 10 0	
Gilpin, James	1 0 0	
Janson, Charles	0 10 0	
Ladies Emancipation Society	5 0 0	
Richardson, George	1 1 0	
Richardson, George, jun.	1 0 0	
Richardson, John	1 1 0	
Richardson, Ann	1 1 0	
Richardson, Jonathan	1 1 0	
Watson, Joseph	0 10 0	
Wilson, Robert	0 10 0	
Ufford—Beaumont, John (2 years)	2 0 0	
Thornton—Priestman, Jonathan	1 0 0	
Priestman, Jonathan, jun.	1 0 0	
London—A friend to the Anti-slavery cause, per Capt. C.	10 0 0	
Camberwell—Burnet, Rev. John	0 10 0	
Lewes—Browne, Henry	0 5 0	
Dicker, Thomas	0 10 0	
Godlee, Burwood	0 10 0	
Kidder, James	0 10 0	
Rickman, John	1 0 0	
Rickman, Richard Peters	0 5 0	
Rickman, Sarah	0 5 0	
Riggs, Arthur Rennie	0 5 0	
Woods, Joseph	0 10 0	
Woods, Margaret	0 10 0	
Woods, George and Alfred	0 10 0	
London—Crawford, William (Raymond's bldgs.)	1 1 0	
Macclesfield—Jesper, Samuel	1 0 0	
Croydon—Barrett, Jonathan	1 1 0	
London—Pryor, Elizabeth	1 1 0	
Pryor, W. S.	1 1 0	
Evans, W. R.	1 1 0	
Bratt, C. and W.	1 0 0	
Bristol—Thomas, George	5 0 0	
Wheeler, Daniel	1 0 0	
Gloucester—Bowley, Samuel	1 0 0	
Tottenham—Fowler, R. M.	0 10 0	
Darlington—Harris, John	0 10 0	
Manchester—Crewdson, Margaret	0 10 0	
Falmouth—Fox, Charlotte	0 10 0	
London—Thompson, George	0 10 0	
Hinton, Rev. J. H.	0 10 0	
Gilpin, Charles	1 1 0	
Cork—Beale, Abraham (for 1843 and 44)	2 0 0	
Neath Abbey—Price, Joseph T.	5 5 0	
Stamford Hill—Tylor, Charles	1 1 0	

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.

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, June 26, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXX. VOL. V.—No. 14.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 10TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO MAURITIUS.

By a paper just laid before Parliament we are put in possession of some important information respecting the emigration of Indian labourers to Mauritius, which Lord Stanley promised us should be so well secured from abuse, and which all parties have vaunted as so eminently successful.

In a despatch, dated the 19th of December 1843, Sir William Gomm acknowledges that that part of the government plan which consisted in the appointment of an emigration agent, whose searching watchfulness should be the great guarantee against abuse, had not been complied with; "partly," says he, "through casual misconstruction admitted by the Indian authorities themselves," and partly, "through pressure of the urgent wants of the colony, which could at the outset be adequately provided for only through the channel of individual mercantile speculation." This amounts to a confession that the government at Mauritius deliberately set the plan of Lord Stanley aside in one of its most important particulars, that of responsible official agency, and again put in action the old and most objectionable plan of "individual mercantile speculation."

Mr. Anderson, however, has at length, the governor assures us, arranged the system more completely, so that the number shipped to Mauritius shall not exceed 500 monthly, and the emigration shall be carried on "under the complete and undivided control of an agent appointed and paid by the Mauritius government." Let our readers now remark in what terms the governor describes the principal advantage of this arrangement. "*The whole duffadar and crimping machinery,*" says he, "*is inseparable from the system of private agencies, will be rooted up.*" This "duffadar and crimping machinery" is the very thing of which such loud complaints have from time to time reached this country, and concerning which such frequent remonstrance has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary for the Colonies. We have now irrefragable evidence of its existence, for Sir William Gomm asserts that it is "*inseparable from the existence of private agencies*" for emigration; while the frightful evils of the system are strongly implied in the gratulatory tone in which he speaks of its being hereafter wholly "*rooted up.*"

A further admission on the same point is to be found in the following passage from the same despatch. "*I have pleasure in communicating to your lordship the satisfactory assurance given me by Mr. Anderson, that, though abuses were rapidly gaining ground, as I have expressed my apprehensions in former communications to your lordship that they inevitably would, so long as the then existing mode of obtaining candidates for emigration was persisted in, drawing the serious attention of the Bengal government at the moment of Mr. Anderson's arrival at Calcutta, it has, nevertheless, excited his surprise that in the absence of checks and correctives, about to be imposed, the instances of irregularity should not already have been more numerous and more considerable than can in fairness be shown to have already taken place in connexion with emigration to Mauritius.*" Evidence against the system which has been hitherto pursued is thus accumulated. Great as the mischiefs resulting from it have notoriously been, the system itself is so bad that Mr. Anderson, the only party who has officially expressed his opinion of its results, is surprised they have not been far more deplorable.

To these extracts from the despatch of Sir William Gomm, we now add a quotation from the report of Mr. Anderson.

"Having now given the detail of my proceedings up to the period of my departure from Calcutta, I cannot close the correspondence connected with my mission without placing before his Excellency the result of some of the observations which have attended my visit to India, and two passages in ships carrying emigrants; and although, from the change of measures which took place on the 1st of January, I am unwilling to impute neglect to officers whose services will no longer be required, I consider it an imperious duty on my part to make his Excellency acquainted with the causes which appear to me to have rendered immigration in many instances a most unprofitable burden to the colony.

"As one of the most striking features in the late system, I shall first allude to the total disregard of selection in the shipment of emigrants at Calcutta. It was not to be supposed that the persons hitherto employed in procuring emigrants, and whose profits increased with the number procured, would be very scrupulous about the condition of the natives presented by them to the late emigration agent; but it is a fact, which I have verified with my own eyes, that hundreds of natives have been passed, and received medical certificates of their fitness for emigration, whose infirm, decrepid, and diseased appearance could not have escaped the most inattentive observer. Can it then be a matter of surprise that numerous deaths have occurred on the passage, or that so many should have reached the colony in a state of infirmity or disease, which rendered them utterly unfit for the employment of immigrants, and, in many instances for any kind of employment?"

Upon this point let us further hear Dr. Thomson, marine surgeon, in his report to Captain Rogers, superintendent of emigrants, dated 4th February, 1843.

"I have every reason to believe that many frauds can be and have been committed by the duffadars employed to collect Coolies wishing to emigrate, by substituting others who are unfit from disease, or have been rejected by me, and who are afforded opportunities of going by means of the certificates I have given to healthy men. This is effected by inducing the latter to undergo an examination in order to obtain certificates, and they, not seriously intending to emigrate, part with them to the duffadar, for a remuneration of a rupee or two. He receives 10 or 12 rupees for every man shipped, of which 2 rupees are assigned him as commission, and the emigrant receives what remains after the duffadar has deducted charges for boarding, tobacco, &c., supplied during the time the man is under his care; and so anxious are many of them to be passed, and so many the artifices employed to elude my vigilance after their rejection, that finding no other means of accomplishing their object, they gladly pay four or five rupees for the certificates, and, assuming the names contained in them, are received on board."

This is the system of emigration which Lord Stanley so solemnly assured parliament and the country, both could be, and should be, made so secure against abuse that the warmest philanthropy should not be put to pain by it! Certainly these documents must be deemed to justify all the anxiety which has been manifested on this subject in England, and to demonstrate that the public papers of India, so far from being chargeable with exaggeration, have not told us a tittle of the truth.

If any consideration can make this state of things more melancholy, it is the strong presumption that both the Indian and home governments must have been cognizant and willing parties to it. Abuses so flagrant, growing up in their immediate presence, can scarcely have been unknown to the functionaries in the East; while Sir W. Gomm states in direct terms that he had expressly warned Lord Stanley of the inevitable mischief. We greatly misunderstand this language if it does not lay ground for inferring that the Secretary for the Colonies knew his plan was not carried out, and yet did not insist upon its completion.

In the paper before us the following return is made of the mortality which has attended this emigration. Of those who have left India, there have

	Men.	Women.	Children.
Died on the passage	145	18	9
Died in hospital, being sent there on arrival*	35	4	1
Died after entering into service	6	2	0
	186	24	10

On the 27,320 exported persons the mortality is rather more than three quarters per cent.; or one in every 122.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

THE following is the speech of M. de Gasparin, delivered in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the debate occasioned by the presentation of the artizans' petition for immediate emancipation. The commission on the petition had recommended the previous question.

M. de GASPARIN.—Gentlemen, I know not whether I have been the only person to experience the feeling, but the report which we have just heard has upon me the effect of an anachronism (yes, yes; it is true). It seems to me to carry us ten or twenty years backwards (hear). For these ten years—for these twenty years—the principle of emancipation—and not merely a vague and abstract principle, not merely a promise for the distant future, not merely a page (as the reporter has said) to be slowly written in the history of France—but an efficacious principle, a principle with consequences, a principle with a resolution to give it effect, a principle with actions following words—for these twenty years this principle has been admitted by the chambers, by all the committees which they have appointed, and by the Government. Such is the real state of the question; and I have experienced (I repeat it) a painful feeling in hearing the honourable reporter, whose motives I do not impugn, bring into question this principle before you (No! from the reporter). Gentlemen, whatever may be the case, if the order of the day, which is now proposed to you, should be adopted by the Chamber, there could not be two ways of interpreting this vote. Every one would see in it a retrograde movement (yes, yes; it is true). No one would believe, that, by a consideration drawn from the application of the petitioners, and by this consideration merely, that they have declared themselves friends of immediate and simultaneous rather than progressive emancipation, the Chamber was

* The numbers sent to hospital on arrival were 132 men, 23 women, and 3 children.

induced to adopt the order of the day. Everybody knows that we are not yet entering into the merits of different systems, and that we shall discuss them when the Minister of Marine shall have presented to the Chamber a project of law for the abolition of slavery in our colonies. Hitherto the discussion of systems would have been premature; I do not enter upon any of them; I only maintain the principle of abolition, as I just now defined it (cheers).

It is not only in France that the order of the day would be interpreted as I have said; it would be so in the colonies. And I entreat the Chamber to attend to this consideration. We owe, above all things, to the colonies, a clear and firm expression of our determination. They should know that this is the irreversible resolution of the Chambers, of the Government, and of the country; that it is not a vain word; and that we shall soon proceed to decisive measures. This is what the colonies ought to know; for, if we suffer them to be ignorant of it, we shall lead them to a degree of resistance which I do not scruple to call infatuated. It would be necessary to peruse the debates of the colonial councils, in order to conceive of the errors into which even the best men in the colonies are seduced by local interests; the apologies for slavery, and even for the slave-trade; together with the furious rejection of any proposition for emancipation, whatever the method may be. This is the course on which the colonies have unhappily entered; and you owe it to them, and to an enlightened view of their interest, clearly and firmly to express your resolve.

I shall not go beyond the province which the reporter has occupied. I might allude on this occasion to the political interest of France; I might appeal to her honour. I shall not do so. The interest of the colonies has been spoken of; and I shall confine myself to this class of considerations.

What is at the present moment the true interest of the colonies? It is, not to misunderstand their situation. The question no longer lies between abolition and the maintenance of slavery. The question is this: Shall emancipation be brought about by regular means; by laws passed here, with prudence, with caution, with a sincere regard to the colonies, with an indemnity which no one will refuse, I am glad to say, after what we have heard in the report (cheers), an indemnity which Lord Howick thus defined—"the compensation which we ought all to pay in order to expiate our crime?" (Sensation). Shall emancipation be brought about thus? Or shall it be effected by violent means, without foresight, without preparation, without indemnity? This, gentlemen, is the question.

At the present day we cannot deceive ourselves. Liberty insinuates itself into our colonies at every point. French Guiana cannot retain slavery in contact with British Guiana and freedom. From the shores of enslaved Martinique you see those of liberated Dominica. Do you think the contagion of liberty will not spread into these neighbouring countries? Recollect that, according to an expression used by an illustrious member of this assembly, ideas have their level, as well as the ocean (cheers). Consider that, even in time of peace, escapes multiply. Notwithstanding all the precautions used by our governors, slaves escape from every point. Consider that insurrections multiply in Cuba, in spite of the atrocious methods employed to repress them. Peace produces this. I do not say what war will produce; I content myself with an allusion which will be understood by every one. Let us not by our folly constitute the flag of Great Britain the signal of emancipation and freedom. Let us not put our colonies, in time of war, into a dangerous position, of which no one can foretell the issue.

I go further, gentlemen. I confine myself, the Chamber sees, to the interest of the colonies. But there is one point which we ought not to overlook; I mean what relates to the discussion of the colonial question among ourselves. Look well to consequences. The men who are now so tenacious of preparation, of prudence, and of precautions, in the solution of the colonial question, mean that it should be solved; they mean to advance, and to arrive at it; and every year, every month, which you lose transforms an advocate of gradual emancipation into a partisan of immediate emancipation (cheers). I take the liberty of recommending this consideration to the advocates of the colonies.

I was surprised to hear the hon. reporter adduce the results of English emancipation in order to justify his conclusions. I was, I confess, of the number of those who doubted the issue of that great measure. I feared that emancipation, abruptly effected, would interrupt labour. I feared that part of the black population would return to a savage condition. This fear, which I expressed six years ago, and which many persons then felt along with me, has been proved groundless by the undeniable results of British emancipation. I do not exaggerate. I do not believe that any exaggeration is wanted to promote the cause of abolition.

I do not deny that there is some foundation for the remarks of the reporter, by which he has endeavoured to establish a distinction between the situation of our colonies, and that of the greater part of the English colonies. There is certainly too real a difference. It is very true that what has principally contributed to the success of English emancipation is the lively and universal action of religious sentiments, and the influence of the missionaries. All the planters who maligned them formerly, bless them now. In this respect our colonies unhappily differ, most unhappily, from the English. I acknowledge that, if an exact comparison is required, they must be compared to Mauritius, the island in which missionaries have exerted the least influence, and the slave-trade had the longest continuance. But emancipation has not been completely wrecked, even in Mauritius. It is there of great value; and as to the other colonies of Great Britain, the results are stated in the

report of M. de Broglie, to which the reporter has alluded. Notwithstanding the immense shock of emancipation, and the almost universal withdrawal of the women from field labour, there has been a reduction of only one-fourth in colonial produce, and this amount is lessening every day. The documents quoted by M. de Broglie are to 1841. Now in 1842 the produce was larger than in 1841. In 1843 it was larger than in 1842. And not only is colonial produce constantly on the increase, but expenses are constantly on the decrease; and the price of sugar at London has also continually fallen. But, gentlemen, I am ashamed to have cited these secondary results before those which are the most noble of all—in a few years there has been created a free, industrious, Christian peasantry. This is a new spectacle in the history of the world (cheers). These results of experience are not of a character, it appears to me, to justify the order of the day (on the left, "We will not have it.")

I shall not come down from the tribune, although I came hither rather to protest against the report than to enter on the discussion of the subject, without saying a word on one of the doctrines on which it is founded. It is often produced, and I will endeavour for once to do it justice. We have been told of the happiness of the slaves, and we have been assured that they are much more happy than the workmen and peasants of the mother country.

M. DENIS (the reporter).—I did not speak of the happiness of the slaves. I said they were not so unhappy as was pretended.

M. de GASPARIN.—I accept with much pleasure the explanation of the reporter; but as this argument, if it is not positively produced in his report, is brought forward continually by the press and in the tribune, the Chamber will allow me, before I conclude, to notice it.

I might dispute the fact, but I will rather admit it. I might dispute the fact, and adduce many circumstances which ill agree with this alleged happiness. In doing so I should not intend to accuse the colonists of cruelty. The men may not be cruel, but the system is. Whenever you give one man to be the property of another man, atrocious consequences follow (cheers). I say this without any complaint against the owners of slaves.

But let us put out of question the abominable scenes, the trials, the scandalous acquittals, which we have all heard of; what the statistics teach us, of the almost entire absence of regular marriage among the blacks in the colonies, and, in consequence, of the abyss of immorality and depravity into which slavery, by this circumstance alone, precipitates its victims (hear). Let us forget all this. Let us admit the fact of their happiness. But let us inquire whether this happiness, instead of being an argument in favour of slavery, is not its most obvious condemnation, its most infamous result, its most heinous crime (sensation).

I am very suspicious of a benefit which is represented as so great, and which no one seems to desire. Although you exalt the happiness of the negroes over that of the artizans and peasants of the mother country, I seek in vain for an artizan or a peasant miserable enough to wish to be a slave (hear). Why? Because the argument proceeds on a forgetfulness of the noblest part of our being. The happiness of an animal who eats and drinks his fill, who has neither regret, nor impulse, nor thought of the future, has this ever excited any one's jealousy? Has not the fool's laughter, the mirth of an imbecile, always inspired heartfelt compassion? It is the same with the happiness of the slave. When his moral sentiments are not impaired, he is wretched, and this very wretchedness raises him in our estimation. But, when slavery has accomplished the whole of its infernal work, when it has extinguished every sentiment of forethought and responsibility, when the thoughts of the victim are engrossed with the sensual gratifications of the present moment, when this horrible situation, which admits of neither personal dignity, conjugal respect, or parental authority, has become in his eyes ordinary and habitual, then the slave has some moments of happiness! (lively sensation.) Alas! let us not speak of the happiness of the slaves! Their happiness is the most striking condemnation of slavery, for it proves that slavery destroys the noblest part of our moral being; it proves that slavery annihilates just that class of joys and sorrows which neither the animal nor the human brute can experience (cheers). It proves that slavery suppresses even the revolt of the heart (yes, it is true).

Gentlemen, individual slavery acts like collective slavery. When political slavery is established among a people there are at first revolts, and consequently suffering; but when political bondage has become severe and habitual, the people submit to it, and suffer no longer—they are happy. Is that an advance? (hear, hear.)

Thank God, there are some slaves in our colonies who still suffer. There are some who will reply like an American negro, when complimented on the agreeableness of his situation, in which he seemed to want nothing: "Sir," said he, "I want one thing; the power of putting my hand on my heart, and saying, *My flesh is my own*" (warm approbation).

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE JEWS ON SLAVERY.

(FROM MR. RICHARDSON.)

I HAVE been since the last courier much occupied with the Jews, as to their opinions of slavery. I find that their opinions are precisely those of the American slaveholders, with this difference, that they consider it right also to make slaves of white men and Europeans as well as negroes. As there are many Barbary Jews more or less under British protection, I consider it my bounden

duty, before I leave Mogador, to warn them of the wickedness and danger of aiding in any way whatever the slave-trade in this country. I have had a copy of Lord Brougham's act, of last year, lent to me, and I intend to write a circular letter and have it translated into Spanish and Jewish Arabic to be circulated throughout the country.

The following is a short conversation which I had with the high-priest and some other rabbies of Mogador on the question of slavery amongst the Jews of Morocco.—Correspondent, to Rabbi Abraham Elmelek :—“What is the opinion of the Jews of this country on the traffic in slaves?” R. Ab. Elmelek :—“I will show you” (taking the Hebrew Bible). And he said, “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.” Cor.—“Admitting the curse here pronounced was right, that Ham and Canaan were the progenitors of the African negroes, and that this curse was to be extended to all the generations of Africa, is that any reason why the all-merciful Deity will hold any man guiltless who maltreats the poor Africans? Now the Jews have been dispersed over all the world, and maltreated by both Christians and Mahomedans (as now), but will God hold us Christians guiltless for maltreating you and persecuting you?” The Rabbi :—“But we are the slaves of God; and besides we are commanded to treat our slaves well in our Scriptures” (here he quoted several passages of the Mosaic law). Cor.—“Now you are running away from the subject; the people referred to in the Mosaic law were all Syrians, and principally the neighbours of the Jews in Palestine, and not negroes.” Then followed a desultory conversation, in which the phrase “servant of servants” was discussed by all the Jews present, some asserting “that inasmuch as the slavery of whites was permitted by the God of the Jews, how much more right had they to enslave blacks who were to be servants of servants.” Others added, “That the Jews being now the slaves of the Almighty ought to be far better treated by the Christians and the Mahomedans than the negroes.” Others also added, “That if they were sovereigns of Morocco, they should make slaves of the Mahomedans and the Christians.” This, indeed, is the true feeling of Barbary Jews. Oppression begets oppression. In general, I replied to the Jews, that the phrase “servant of servants” was an idiom peculiar to the Hebrew and the Arabic language, and was nothing more than a strong expression; and that it was an impious idea of the great and merciful God to suppose that he would doom a fourth of the human race (the Africans) to endless ages of slavery because Noah was so thoughtless as to get intoxicated, and expose himself to the indecent ridicule of his own children. To this the Rabbi replied, “That the crime of Noah was unpardonable.” Another Jew present observed, “If you ask me as a British subject, and not a Jew, I will give you my opinion against slavery:” to which I replied, “That such a distinction was not admissible in true morals, which are the foundation of all religion.” With the exception of the Jews who come immediately into contact with the abolitionists of Europe and America, the probability is, that all the Jews in all parts of the world approve of slavery. Some of the Jews in this country are so foolish as to cite the enslaving of Joseph as a reason for carrying on the traffic in slaves. Because, forsooth, God brought good out of evil in the case of Joseph, the same wickedness is to be practised. It is remarkable, however, to see the little sympathy which the Jews of this country have for their fellow-sufferers, the negro slaves, the Jews themselves, as I have before said, being no more than slaves in Morocco. But I had almost forgotten a conversation which I had with the Jewish high-priest of Mogador, Hassan Joseph. I cited the passage from the Hebrew, “He who steals a man and sells him shall certainly be put to death;” and I added, “That the law in England not only punished the thief, but the person who purchased stolen goods.” To this the high-priest replied, “That certainly he who stole a man, whether white or black, was condemned to death, according to the fair interpretation of this passage.” Another Jew, however, remarked, “That the negro slaves were all prisoners of war.” To this I rejoined, “It was true some might be and were, no doubt, but the majority of the negro slaves were stolen from their homes.” After this followed a long conversation about Lord Brougham's act for preventing British subjects from engaging in the slave-trade in foreign countries. This completely astonished them. They could not believe it possible that the British Government would punish British subjects for lending money to slave merchants. Of course, I made them clearly understand that it must be proved that the money was lent purposely and knowingly to traffic in slaves. At last, the high-priest said, “Well, it is better now, that since the Christians have put down slavery in most of the countries, they (the Jews) should follow their example.” In this country charity, in every sense of the term, “begins at home.” It would be almost a sin to feed an hungry man belonging to another religion. It is also held a just principle to rob those of another religion, if, like the Spartans of antiquity, you can do it cleverly and without discovery. It is, therefore, not surprising, that the Jews, who are subjected to a thousand insults and degrading vexations, should have little sympathy for the anti-slavery mission to this country. Besides, the education of the Barbary Jews is entirely ceremonial. It is with them a greater crime to light a candle on the sabbath than to rob a widow of her all.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AT HONGKONG.

From the *Hongkong Gazette*.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.

The following ordinance, passed by his Excellency the Governor in Council, is published for general information.

By order, RICHARD WOOSNAM.

Government House, Victoria, Hongkong,
28th February, 1844.

HONGKONG.—No. I. of 1844.

Anno sexto et septimo Victoriae Reginæ.

By his Excellency Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of the most honourable Military Order of the Bath, Major-General in the service of the honourable East India Company, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the colony of Hongkong and its dependencies, and Superintendent of the trade of her Majesty's subjects in China, with the advice of the Legislative Council of Hongkong :

An ordinance to define the law relative to slavery in Hongkong.

(28th February, 1844.)

Whereas it is expedient to define and promulgate the law respecting slavery in the colony of Hongkong.

1. Be it therefore enacted, That the laws of England prohibiting slavery, together with the punishments and penalties provided therein, shall be in full virtue and operation, and shall be duly enforced and inflicted in the said colony, save as hereinafter excepted.

2. And be it enacted, That every one whatsoever using or treating, or attempting to use or treat any person as a slave in Hongkong, shall upon conviction thereof before the chief magistrate of police of Hongkong, or before such court of justice as may hereafter be established in Hongkong, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the public uses of the said colony of Hongkong, such sum, not exceeding five hundred dollars for each offence, and also such other additional sum, not exceeding two hundred dollars, to be paid to any person giving information of the said offence, as shall be adjudged by the said chief magistrate or court aforesaid.

3. And be it enacted, That if any person not being a subject of her Majesty shall come within the precincts of the colony of Hongkong, bring with them any person previously a slave, and shall not forthwith, on being lawfully requested, or within ten days after his arrival as aforesaid (whether thereto being required or not) convey such previous slave before the chief magistrate of police at Hongkong, or before the nearest justice of the peace, such person shall, on being convicted thereof as aforesaid, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the public uses of the colony, such sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence, and also such additional sum not exceeding fifty dollars, to be paid to the person giving information of the said offence, as shall be adjudged as aforesaid.

4. And be it enacted, On any such previous slave being produced before such magistrate as aforesaid, that it shall be explained to him, apart from his former owner, that slavery is prohibited in the colony of Hongkong, and that he is free to depart whithersoever he pleases; and such magistrate as aforesaid shall take due care that such liberty is freely exercised.

5. And be it enacted, In case of any such previous slave expressing a wish to remain with his former owner, that such owner shall, together with two approved sureties, resident householders in Hongkong aforesaid, enter into a bond to her Majesty in the sum of five hundred dollars, conditioned against the removal of such previous slave from the colony of Hongkong by his said former owner without the said previous slave having been produced before the chief magistrate or any other justice of the peace of the said colony of Hongkong, and examined apart as to his voluntary departing with his said former owner, and being informed that by his so doing he will revert to his former state of slavery.

6. And be it enacted, In case any such previous slave shall at any time leave his former owner, or in case such former owner shall be unable or unwilling to enter into such bond as aforesaid, that such previous slave shall be maintained at the public cost until such time as he is enabled to gain his own livelihood; and the chief magistrate aforesaid is hereby authorized, with the approbation of the Governor in Council, to apprentice or otherwise place out such previous slave as aforesaid, with a view to his obtaining a livelihood by his own labour.

7. And be it enacted, If any such previous slave as last aforesaid shall be thereafter found in the possession or employment of his former owner, that such possession or employment shall be deemed *prima facie* proof of such owner having unduly repossessed himself of the said previous slave, and such owner, in default of rebutting such presumption, shall be liable to the penalties herein affixed to the treating or using any one as a slave at Hongkong.

8. And be it enacted, That any person knowingly receiving in his house any one having any person previously a slave in his possession, or a person used or intended to be used or claimed as such, and not giving immediate information thereof to the chief magistrate of Hongkong, or the nearest justice of the peace, shall upon conviction thereof before the chief magistrate, or such court at Hongkong as herein aforesaid, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit such sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence, and also such sum, not exceeding fifty dollars, to be paid to the person giving information of the same, as shall be adjudged in manner aforesaid.

9. And be it enacted, That the punishments and penalties herein provided shall be held and deemed to be in addition to those inflicted by the law of England for any offence mentioned herein, and not in any way in the stead, lieu, or substitution thereof: Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that no part of any sum forfeited and declared by the laws of England to be payable to any informer shall be paid to such informer without the express direction of the chief magistrate or court aforesaid, who shall have full power to make such deduction therefrom as may be deemed expedient.

10. And be it enacted, That whenever this or any other ordinance, in describing or referring to any offence, or the subject-matter on or with respect to which it shall be committed, or the offender or the party affected or intended to be affected by the offence, hath used or shall use words importing the singular number or the masculine gender only; yet the ordinance shall be understood to include several matters as well as one matter, and several persons as well as one person, and females as well as males, and bodies corporate as well as individuals, unless it be otherwise specially provided, or there be something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction.

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,
Governor, &c., &c.

Passed the Legislative Council the 28th day of February, 1844,
(Signed) RICHARD BURGASS,
Clerk of the Legislative Council.

Hongkong Gazette, March 2, 1844.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,
THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

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.

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 10, 1844.

AT length the Sugar Duties Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament, and has become the law of the land. The only remark we have to make on the debate relates to a statement made by Lord Brougham in the House of Peers, that Messrs. Clarkson and Scoble (his lordship using these names, of course, as descriptive of the Committee) had systematically petitioned the legislature for the exclusion of all foreign sugar, in order to keep out the slave-grown. If this be not an error of the reporter, it is an inadvertency which this notice will sufficiently correct. We are glad to be relieved henceforth from the almost monopolizing claims which this subject has so long put forth on our regard; but we cannot take leave of it without again and emphatically expressing our sincere gratification that the principle on which the bill is framed is introduced into the commercial policy of England, and our thanks to the statesmen who have effected what we think so great a good.

The question relating to Danish sugar was noticed in the House of Commons on Monday evening in a manner adapted to allay the fears which we expressed in our last concerning it. The following conversation took place.

Mr. F. BARING said he wished to ask a question with reference to sugar from the Danish colonies, whether, under the treaty which had been entered into, the sugar from the Danish colonies was not entitled to be received at a lower class of duty than the produce of other countries? Whether the right hon. gentleman opposite had made any communication upon the subject to the Queen's Advocate, and whether the government had received any opinion respecting it?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to the right hon. gentleman, said that he had not communicated upon the subject with the Queen's Advocate, and for this reason, that they had never entertained any intention of doing so. The right hon. gentleman must be aware that this was not a new question, for it had arisen formerly on subjects connected with the commercial intercourse with the Danes. No claim of the kind had ever been raised, nor did he believe there was any idea on the part of the Danish government of its existence. The privileges of navigation relating to the West India colonies were conceded to many colonies before Denmark. They had indeed conceded these privileges without considering Denmark at all, and when they had at length conceded them to Denmark they did not concede them as a matter of right. There was a settled established interpretation of these treaties which was recognised up to the present time on both sides. He therefore did not think it expedient under the present circumstances to make the question a subject of reference to the law officers of the Crown. They had, indeed, special reasons for that decision, inasmuch as no party at present claimed any such privileges on the part of Denmark. If, however, she did make such, it was presumed that she would make out a better argument to sustain such claim than they were able to make. Their view was, that the West India plantations were not included at all, and never had been included in these treaties which had reference to Denmark. They were not aware of any good argument being made for such claims on behalf of Denmark, and until better reasons were given for considering those claims than any they had already heard, he would not consider it necessary to consult the law officers of the Crown upon the subject.

Mr. F. BARING made some observation, which was not audible in the gallery.

We announce with much pleasure the abolition of slavery in the British settlement of Hong Kong. The ordinance issued for this purpose has appeared in the *Hong Kong Gazette*, from which we have extracted it entire.

By the West India mail it appears that the Government measure on the sugar duties has taken the colonies by surprise, and that the usual tone of indignation and apparatus of memorials are about to be put into requisition—of course, in vain.

An unhappy and fatal excitement has been produced in the island of Dominica by the operations instituted for taking a census of the population, an idea being prevalent among the late slaves that it was a scheme for reducing them again to slavery. How such an idea could have been disseminated among them does not appear; but there seems reason to think that sufficient pains was not taken distinctly to apprise the population, especially the immigrant portion of it, of the true intent and effect of the measure about to be executed.

The Bahamas also have been the scene of outrage. The spirit of religious animosity there seems to have broken forth with great vehemence, and a determination to put down dissenters, and to coerce the entire population to the established church, has been carried out (if our informant is correct) with a degree of illegality, outrage, and cruelty, involving both clergy and laity, constabulary and magistracy, of which there is no precedent, unless one be taken from the worst times of slavery itself. If the higher courts of law in the colony do not afford redress in this matter, certainly the Government at home may be expected to interpose with effect.

We perceive by the papers that the inhabitants of British Guiana have made strong representations to the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the two ordinances to which we have lately drawn attention. One of the documents which we see in print is from a congregation at Lust en Rust and Salem chapels, Demerara. The Rev. C. Rattray, their pastor, says, "Many of the people connected with the congregation having often been out of employment as field labourers, I think they have some right to speak when it is proposed to tax them to bring more labourers into the country." He adds, "I speak from what I know of the locality in which it has been my lot to reside for ten years, when I say, the great want seems to be, not men, but money." From the memorial sent by this congregation we extract the following passage:—

"That your memorialists are, moreover, surprised and astonished to find that the bill to continue the Civil List has been brought forward and passed at the present time, in order to induce her Majesty to sanction another bill, the object of which is to promote immigration, by entailing the enormous sum of 500,000/- sterling, with the interest thereon, upon the public resources of the colony. Your memorialists are fully aware, that the comfort and prosperity of the labouring population depend on the profitable cultivation of the soil by persons possessing capital; but they do not see the urgent necessity or the expediency of a measure, by which all consumers of imported goods will be subjected, for a period of twenty years to come, to the payment of excessively heavy import duties, in order to refund the extraordinary amount of money proposed to be borrowed and applied to the promotion of immigration. For your memorialists beg to assure your lordship that, in their own immediate neighbourhood, many labourers who would most willingly take employment near their own places of abode, or on the estates on which they reside, at the rate of one guilder (one shilling and four-pence) a-day, have often been obliged to seek employment at a distance from their homes, or to turn their attention from field-labour to some other means of providing an honest subsistence for their families."

We have waited much longer than we intended before giving the eloquent and powerful speech of M. de Gasparin, delivered in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 4th of May, a place in our columns. The peculiar matter pressed upon us at the moment in such large quantities must be our apology. We are happy in being at length able to insert it. The generous and noble sentiments which it breathes can never be out of date; and, in connexion with the abolition question in France, the whole speech is too important to be omitted. The sensation it has produced may in part be judged of by the following extract of a printed letter addressed to M. de Gasparin on the occasion, by a gentleman of colour in Paris, M. Bissette.

"Permit," says M. Bissette, "a great grandson of slave-negresses to return you his most sincere thanks for the eloquent speech which you delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject of slavery. I was present at that memorable sitting, and I heard you with joy inexpressible, mingled with most fervent gratitude. By your convincing words you annihilated all the sophisms of the partisans of slavery. Your speech will create a deep sensation in the colonies, and my negro and mulatto compatriots will address to you, I doubt not, an expression of their profound gratitude."

A spirited little tract has reached us from the ready pen of the same writer, on what he calls the Mackau project, or the *projet de loi* brought forward by M. de Mackau in relation to colonial slavery, and inserted at length in our last number. He asks why the minister of marine should wish to amend the law of 1833, when he has never made use of the law as it is; he shows that the existing law gives nearly all the powers now asked for; and he affirms that the new project tends to violate the charter, by withdrawing more and more the slave population from the dominion of the law, and placing them under that of the minister. The gist of the pamphlet however, lies in a circular letter which, by some means or other, this active writer has got hold of, written by the Baron Charles

Dupin, president of the council of colonial delegates at Paris, to the governors of the French colonies. We translate it entire for the light it throws on the tactics of the colonial party, and the movements of the Government.

"Paris, January 25, 1844.

"Sir.—Fearing that the Minister of Marine may not write to you by the quickest conveyance, I anticipate him. You may calm the agitation which will be produced by the inaccurate statement in certain journals of the reply which the minister gave to the question of a deputy, respecting the measures which were to be taken in consequence of the report of M. de Broglie on emancipation. The words of the minister, extracted from the *Moniteur*, are these:—'Not many weeks will elapse, without the government being in a condition to explain itself to the Chamber respecting the measures it may have determined on, equally favourable to the interests of the colonies and the views of the mother country.' I have had a long official conference with Baron Mackau. He struggles in the cabinet against the adoption of any hasty and intemperate measure of emancipation. I hope that during the present session the minister will do nothing in this matter. He is full of good intentions. His intentions and his character may well reassure the colonists.

"I have prepared a memoir, demonstrating to the government that, in present circumstances, it is impossible, without compromising the prosperity of the colonies, to proceed to emancipation, even at a distance of ten years, as recommended by the Broglie commission; and much less to emancipate the children, that inhuman measure of which I formerly demonstrated the injustice and cruelty, when M. Passy proposed it under the ministry of M. Molé.

"I believe I can tell you, *on good authority*, that the commission on colonial affairs is dissolved. This anomalous and monstrous power has disappeared, affairs will return to their regular course, and the colonial offices will become sensible of it. The delegates will no longer be suspected, and colonial interests will not be estimated in a spirit of sect or party. It appears that, by an arrangement with the Duke de Broglie, the suppression of the commission of which he was president will not be made public, and that it has not met on a single occasion since M. de Mackau has been Minister of Marine. At present, I recommend the colonists neither to suffer themselves to be disturbed by the fear of evil measures, which we hope to ward off, nor to become careless, under an idea that there is nothing to fear. Danger exists, but it is not insurmountable. *It will continue long*; it will require constancy, coolness, firmness, and above all, moderation. In sincere friendship I recommend to them a spirit of conciliation and harmony, more than ever necessary in the grave circumstances which may characterise the present session.

"If I can obtain any important intelligence by the next packet, I will be sure to inform you of it.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"Peer of France, President of the Council of

"Colonial Delegates,

"(Signed), BARON CHARLES DUPIN."

THE remarks made by Lord Aberdeen, in his place in parliament, on the 19th of June, in relation to the enormous extent to which the slave-trade is now carried on in Cuba, must not be passed over entirely without observation. The minister's admission fully confirms the statements which we have from time to time advanced on this painful subject, and demonstrates, we think, the vanity of expecting from diplomatic agencies any permanently valuable result. General Valdez endeavoured to suppress the slave-trade, and General O'Donnell openly encourages it: that is to say, everything depends on the character and determination of the individual. The tree is occasionally lopped a little; but nothing is done towards uprooting it.

We are gratified to learn that Mr. Joseph John Gurney has recently held an anti-slavery meeting in the island of Jersey, and that an anti-slavery committee has subsequently been formed at St. Helier's.

We have the pleasure of announcing that Mr. Baxter is making decisive progress with his oil print of Haydon's painting of the Anti-Slavery Convention. The whole is now in outline, and is placed for inspection at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street. We do not pretend to a scientific judgment; but we will run the hazard of saying that, in its present state, the work pleases us much, and that it gives fair promise, in our opinion, of successful execution.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS—TUESDAY, JULY 2.

SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE rose to move the third reading of the Sugar Duties Bill. The bill he now introduced to their lordships' attention proposed to leave the duties on British sugars at 24s. per cwt. with 5 per cent.; but with respect to foreign sugars it made an alteration both with respect to the descriptions introduced, and the rates at which they were received into the British market. By one of the clauses of this bill it was proposed that the sugars of China, Java, and Manilla, being the produce of free labour, should be admitted to consumption at a duty of 34s. with the addition of 5 per cent.; it further gave to the Queen in Council the power of admitting sugars from other foreign countries, if satisfied that they were the produce of free labour; and there was also a clause extending the operation of the act to those other countries with which we had reciprocity treaties. These were the principal provisions of the bill. It might be said that they did not object to the admission of a certain portion of foreign sugar, but that there should be no distinction between sugar the produce of free labour and slave labour. He was prepared to contend that the question of sugar was one which could not at all be

regulated by merely commercial and financial considerations. Both from the peculiarity of the position in which it had been placed, and from the uniform course this country had adopted with reference to slavery, it could not be regulated without reference to the general considerations of national policy. If there was any question on which this country had given a distinct and deliberate opinion—if there was one point on which it had unequivocally declared its mind and will, it was that it would in no degree countenance the existence, or give encouragement to the continuance, of slavery, but, on the contrary, would adopt every practicable measure for its discouragement and suppression. This had been their constant policy from the abolition of the slave-trade forty years ago, till emancipation was effected in 1833, and the whole course of their legislation up to last year undeviatingly aimed at the same objects. In 1841, the country did deliberately and most unequivocally declare their disapproval of the plan which was then broached for the admission of slave-labour sugar; and he was not surprised at the fact; because if they opened the British market to the sugar of slave-labour countries, they would enhance its price and extend its cultivation, and thus, not merely increase the rigours of slavery where it already existed, but tend inevitably and directly to renew all the horrors of the slave-trade itself. (Hear.) How was it possible that Parliament could adopt such a course without exhibiting themselves to the world in the attitude of pretending to menace the very existence of slavery with the one hand, while with the other they held out a bribe, and a very rich one, to its continuance?

Lord MONTEAGLE said he objected to the bill altogether, and the more because, in a matter so indefinite, the power of legislation was given to the government itself, without the control or knowledge of the house. A discretion was conferred by this bill which enabled the government to act upon their own opinions as to whether sugars were the produce of slave-labour or no. Assuming the question of slavery to be of paramount importance, let them see how the noble earl dealt with it. They were told, and with a degree of truth, that a great part of our manufactures depended on slave-labour—that cotton, tobacco, and coffee, and other articles, were produced by slave-labour, but that it was not that labour of extreme hardship which was destructive of human life, and productive of all those evils which we had to deplore in our West Indian colonies—that it was slave-labour of a very different kind; still it created a stimulus and demand for slaves in America. When statesmen and great West Indian proprietors were called upon to argue this question, they stated that although these articles did not require that heavy labour which sugar required, they nevertheless gave a stimulus to slavery. Mr. Huskisson said that every ounce of cotton used in this country raised by slave-labour afforded a reason why slavery existed. The present Lord Seaford stated a similar opinion. "But," it was now said, "we find all this existing, and the question is, Shall we increase it?" But they had been increasing it. (Hear.) The government claimed credit, and justly, for the reduction they had made in the duties on coffee, by which slave coffee was brought into competition with our own colonial coffee. Where was the feeling against slavery when that was done? Had it been entirely exhausted during that memorable discussion of eight nights in the House of Commons upon the united questions of slavery and sugar, or had it been wasted upon the hustings? Certain it was, that since then but little of the feeling had shown itself amongst the government and their supporters. If the principle of discouraging slavery were good, it was certainly not worked out in the present bill. Nay, he would undertake to prove, that if this mighty principle to which the noble earl, and, according to him, the country stood pledged, were to control their legislation, they ought to reject this bill altogether; for, while it had not the honesty to deal with the question as the interests of the consumer most required, it covertly and by insinuation—(hear, hear)—made as great an inroad upon that very principle as if it directly admitted foreign-grown sugar for consumption into this country. (Hear.) Withdraw the amount of free-trade sugar at present consumed from the markets of the world, and you create a want in those markets which must be filled up by slave-labour sugar. By that means you as much encourage slavery and the slave-trade as if you took a given proportion of the slave-labour sugar and left the markets as they were. He would ask, did they really look like practical legislators, like men of sense or common integrity, when they acted thus, and yet talked of their hatred of slavery? or were they supporting that which originated, not in any objection to slavery, or to the slave-trade, because it was anterior to both, but in a desire to protect themselves—were they supporting that, and putting it forward under the disguise, he would almost say the hypocritical disguise, of their abhorrence of slavery? The encouragement given to slavery in cotton, tobacco, coffee, and other articles, applied also to sugar. The greatest portion of Brazilian sugar was paid for in English manufactures, was conveyed away in English ships, and was sold and consumed in those foreign states to which the balance of our transactions made it our interest to remove it. (Hear, hear.) Now, he asked any man of sense to show him the difference in point of feeling, integrity, and honour, between our taking a cargo of sugar from Brazil, grown and manufactured by slaves, and selling it at the St. Petersburg market, and our sending it into the markets of this country for consumption. Disguise it as they might, there was some other motive at the bottom of it than mere hatred to slavery, and a wish to put down fraud. (Hear.) The principle of the bill was a bad one: it was a bill altogether inexplicable to him, and, having the strongest possible objections to it, he felt bound to oppose it.

Lord BROUHAM said, this was not a question of free trade, not one of political economy in the abstract, not one of rigorous policy altogether unmingled with that which ought to be at the very foundation of all political science, public good faith, a regard to the rights of humanity, and a due attention to the interests of our fellow-creatures. It was not merely a financial, or a fiscal, or a commercial question, but one in which our fiscal regulations and the arrangements of our commerce touched most nearly and most essentially one of the greatest acts in which this country was ever concerned, one of the greatest triumphs of sound policy, of virtuous principle, and of public good ever gained, the abolition of the slave-trade in the first instance, and afterwards of slavery itself in the colonies belonging to the British crown. And it was necessary that they should duly perceive the grounds upon which they were arguing throughout the whole of this discussion, to keep in view its connexion

with those great principles, because they were the governing ones to regulate their opinion. If his noble friend had demonstrated that they had failed to show their desire to abolish and keep abolished the African slave-trade, he then would have shown that the bill was inconsistent with itself, and that either on the one supposition it had failed, or on the other that it ran counter to its professed object. There was one set of political reasoners and of moral philosophers who had a perfect right to complain of parts of this bill as going too far in what they deemed a counter action, or not far enough in what they called a right action. But, to that class of reasoners, if there was any one man who did not belong, it was his noble friend. For what were those reasoners anxious? For what were such persons as his venerable friend Thomas Clarkson, and Mr. Scoble, and others, constantly petitioning Parliament and besieging the Government? That there should be no facilities whatever given, not even so much as this bill would give, to the admission of slave-grown sugar, but that all foreign sugar should be excluded with a view to exclude slave-grown sugar. Therefore they were perfectly consistent in their opposition to a bill which would allow certain sugars to come in—free-grown sugars—but which those reasoners argued would open the door to a little slave-grown sugar. But where was the consistency of his noble friend and his friends? They were for opening our ports to all foreign sugar, slave-grown as well as free-grown, with a protecting duty upon West India sugar. They said, "Let in not only the sugar of Java, and Manilla, and China, but also the sugar of Brazil and of Calcutta, and all other." (Hear.) That was their argument. They entirely cut from beneath them the only ground upon which they could attempt to assail the present measure. (Hear.) "But," said his noble friend, "this measure professing to make a distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar, finds it utterly impossible to carry into effect that principle; and slave-grown sugar must come in." How? He would show that this view was not a correct one. In the first place, his noble friend said, "The order in Council was to declare what countries produced free-grown sugar, and what slave-grown sugar." But, the great and important countries which were the great marts of free-grown sugar, were expressly mentioned in the bill—Manilla, China, and Java. "Oh, but," said his noble friend, "that is very dangerous: you will run the risk of having slave-grown sugar introduced." How? In the first place, he would refer to Java. His noble friend had quoted the authority of Sir Stamford Raffles. In pages 156 and 160 of the publication alluded to, their lordships would find two very distinct statements of that eminent individual upon the subject. It was stated there, that there were between 20,000 and 30,000 slaves of both sexes, and of all ages, in Java, amongst a working population of about 3,000,000. That was the proportion of slaves. Again, it was stated, "The Javanese are not, any of them, in a condition of slavery anything like that which we mean when using the term slavery in reference to West Indian colonies." They were peasants astricken to the soil, working formerly for 4d. a-day, but now for 6d. a day. Then, as to the Chinese: why, it was not pretended that sugar was grown in China by means of slavery. At present, there was no slavery in China; but his noble friend seemed to argue, "Who can tell what there may be?" He (Lord Brougham) must say, that of the wild fancies ever conjured up in the mind of an afflicted reasoner at the end of his chapter of possibilities, for the purpose of meeting his adversary in argument, this appeared to him to be one of the wildest. Why, it was perfectly notorious that the Chinese were of all people the most indisposed to alter their system, and yet his noble friend argued that the Chinese were likely to make slaves of those who now were free. Then his noble friend said, that they would be inconsistent, and directed their attention to cotton and coffee. There was, however, a manifest difference. There was a totally different application of slave-labour in the raising of those articles from its application in the produce of sugar. The great hardship of the slave-labour in the production of sugar consisted in the dreadful torments inflicted on the slaves during the operations of hoeing, planting, and tending the cane, and subsequently of making the sugar from the cane. In cotton and coffee labour the slaves frequently worked separately, and were not unusually paid by the piece; but the labour of the cultivation of sugar was performed by rows of persons of all ages and sexes, subject at every instant to the lash of the driver, without the slightest regard to the relative strength, health, or ability of the slaves: the weak and the strong, the feeble and the robust, the healthy and the weakly, men and women—there they were all in a row, all goaded on like cattle to work in what they call labour; but in what he called the most unnatural torture. (Hear, hear). But that was not all. We had for a long period been taking cotton from the States of America. We were not called upon now to discuss whether the ports should for the first time be opened to foreign cotton; but the argument of cotton was adduced to defend what his noble friend proposed to do for the first time. His (Lord Brougham's) answer was, that with respect to cotton, the change of his noble friend would be one proposed for the first time; whilst, with regard to cotton, it would be no change at all. His noble friend argued, that as we let in Brazilian coffee and Cuban coffee, we ought also to admit sugar from Brazil and Cuba. His (Lord Brougham's) answer to that was, that the coffee from Brazil was exceedingly bad, and hardly consumable. Cuban coffee was still worse, and none of it was consumed in this country. His noble friend said, that sugar from Brazil and Cuba would first go to America, and thence come here; but, did his noble friend forget, that in order to come to this country from America, it must first pay a duty upon entering America; and then, if that duty were to be drawn back, it would be necessary that the same packages must be found in which to export the sugar here, which contained it on its import to America. Then its origin would be manifest—it would at once be known to be slave-grown—and, of course, would not be admitted into our free ports. For his own part, he (Lord B.) must say, that he was unable to see any, but the most inconsiderable, inconceivable, and, he might add, evanescent risk of the slave-trade being by any possibility encouraged by the relaxation of the commercial code of this country as contained in the Government proposition. His noble friend said, that they were now for the first time arguing upon mere abstract, general feelings of charity. He (Lord Brougham) denied that such was the fact: he joined issue with his noble friend upon that subject. It was undeniable, that they had over and over again legislated on such a principle, and, to prove it, it

was quite sufficient that they should consider the subject then under their discussion, at the very root and foundation of which laid their own legislation with respect to slavery, and their own treaties and negotiations with respect to the slave-trade (hear, hear); and those very views of justice and universal philanthropy which guided their lordships and the Parliament in those great measures, were the guides which they should look to in forming their conclusions upon the present measure. With respect to slavery itself, he of course did not feel so strongly as he did in reference to the African slave-trade; but as regarded both, he thought this a good measure, and it had his hearty concurrence. To reject this measure would be to encourage other powers in their continuance of slavery; but of that he thought much less than of anything which had a tendency to support the revolting, infernal African slave-trade.

Lord ST. VINCENT rose to disclaim, on the part of the West India interest, any idea that it would be a benefit to them to have the price of sugar enhanced to such a degree as that it would cease to be an article of consumption amongst the common people. There was one observation, however, which he could not avoid making, namely, that he feared if this measure did not prove successful, it might have the effect of discouraging other countries from emancipating their negroes.

The Earl of RADNOR supported the bill.

Lord ASHBURTON said, they ought to cheapen the price of sugar, provided they did not, by doing so, endanger the revenue of the country. This country had exhibited a great willingness to make a sacrifice in order to abolish slavery and the slave-trade. To effect that desirable object, they had paid 20,000,000*l.* to the West India proprietors, by way of compensation; but they had done more than that: the country had spent large sums in buying off the slave trader, who had been engaged in that traffic on various coasts, and a considerable amount of money had also been expended in watching the African coast, with the view of extinguishing the trade in slaves: therefore, it was clear the country had made, and was prepared to make, a great sacrifice for the purpose of putting a stop to slavery and the slave-trade. The question resolved itself into this:—It was necessary, in order to meet the increased demand for sugar, to ascertain from what source it could be obtained. They found that there existed countries cultivating the growth of free-labour sugar. Considering the feeling of the country, taking into consideration the willingness shown to make a sacrifice for the promotion of the great principle to establish which 20,000,000*l.* had been freely given, it was natural that those countries growing sugar, and in which slavery was not encouraged, should be looked to and preferred. The country would look at this subject without considering the question of profit or loss. Many objections had been urged against this measure; but it should be recollect that the bill was one of an experimental character. Should the measure be found to fail—should it not answer the expectation of the Government, it was easy to amend it. Upon these grounds he gave the measure his support.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE did not intend to oppose the bill. He considered it an advance towards sound principles. He objected certainly, on the ground that it did not sufficiently carry out an important legislative principle. Could they prevent slave-grown-sugar from getting into the market? Do what they could with the certificates of origin; adopt the rigid system of commercial policy pursued by Napoleon; bring into active operation every facility placed at the command of the Board of Trade, the Custom-house, and their consuls placed in various ports; and, notwithstanding every precaution of the kind, this article would find its way into their ports.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE replied, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—THURSDAY, JUNE 27.

SUGAR-DUTIES BILL.

The order of the day for the third reading of this bill having been read,—

Mr. HAWES commenced by observing that the principle which the government pretended to aim at in this bill was to prohibit the importation of sugar the produce of slave labour, and to encourage that of free labour. Now, he thought he should be able to show that very little sugar would be imported from the East which was not more or less tainted with slave labour. It had been stated, that in Java there was forced labour, and that the labourers there might properly be regarded as slaves. The right hon. the President of the Board of Trade had, however, disputed that statement, and since then he (Mr. Hawes) had made inquiries and looked into various authorities, and he believed he was in a position to show, by evidence the most conclusive, that slavery did exist in Java. He asked the right hon. gentleman to consider the statements he (Mr. Hawes) had made, and the authorities he had quoted, which he believed were unimpeachable, and then say whether he believed that the supply we should obtain by means of this bill would or would not be confined to free-labour sugar? The sounder policy would be to make no such distinction between free-grown and slave-grown sugar, for they might depend upon it that their object of abolishing slave labour would be most effectually attained by throwing open the trade, and allowing English capital and enterprise to come into competition with slave cultivation, and by forcing in the first instance upon our own West India colonists an improved system of cultivation and manufacture (hear, hear).

Mr. GLADSTONE. The hon. gentleman had quoted authorities showing that the number of slaves in Java ranged between 27,000 and 30,000. Now, he would ask the hon. gentleman to consider, in the first place, the amount of slavery existing in that country (taking it upon the statements of those authorities) as compared with the whole population. There was no distinct census of the population of Java, but the lowest amount he had seen placed it between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000; while another account, which he was by no means prepared to say was not a credible one, stated it at 12,000,000; so that by the one account the number of slaves, in proportion to the population, would be 1 in 300, and by the other 1 in 400. He did not, however, rest upon that point—the small number of slaves as compared with the whole population. The slavery of Java was a domestic slavery—a decreasing slavery, the relic merely of a former system, and was fast disappearing. The labouring population of Java were as free to quit the soil on which they were employed as were the labourers of this country. He had seen and spoken with several persons who were

acquainted with and had resided in Java, and one gentleman well acquainted with the subject, in describing the divisions of the country, stated—"that although every Javanese was at liberty to quit his village and go to another, he seldom availed himself of the privilege, for, fondly attached to the soil of his ancestors, he was little anxious to remove from it." A gentleman who had come from Java, within the last year, had assured him in the most positive manner that no slave labour, or anything approaching to it, existed in Java; but that the peasantry of that country was the best conditioned he had ever seen.

Mr. P. M. Stewart said, he should like to know from the right hon. gentleman what was his definition of free labour. The statement he (Mr. P. M. Stewart) had made on a previous occasion, and which he now repeated, was, that the labour of Java was forced, and that all the exported produce of the country was obtained by forced labour. He had taken some pains in looking into authorities upon the subject. It appeared that the revolt in Java had been occasioned by the labouring population having been subjected to the yoke of slavery, after having tasted of the sweets of freedom under British rule. He found, also, that the exportable produce of the island, under the Dutch governor, was raised by forced labour. In 1830, the governor Vanderlosh instituted the system of prescribed cultivation and forced delivery of produce, under which the quantity of sugar was increased twenty-five times in ten years. The governor directed that the inhabitants of villages should be brought to cultivate the land, and that for every $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre (English) four labourers were to be appointed, each to relieve the other alternately, so that one or other should be always at work. The manufacture of sugar was to be carried on in the same way, by men constantly relieving each other, the work never ceasing. One plantation, employing 400 men at one time, had thus 1,600 men appointed, constantly relieving each other. Under the same system, the country was divided into communities of villages, and the work was under the direction and cultivation of regents, directors, controllers, and native officers, who shared in the produce, and were consequently more vigilant in respect to the amount of work done, and became rapidly rich. Now he wished to ask the right hon. gentleman whether this was his definition of a state of free labour—or could the labourers of Java, under such a system, be fairly said to be as free as the labourers of this country? The growth of coffee was compulsory. Every owner of six acres of land was required to plant and keep in order 1,000 coffee trees, and to deliver the crops to the Dutch government at 6s. 6d. a cwt., the market price in the country being 40s. the cwt. And only one half of this 6s. 6d. went to the cultivator, one-fourth being claimed by the regent, and the remainder by the sub-officers. He would ask now what the intention of government was as to the admission of Siam sugar. Of all systems of slavery, that which existed in that country was the most reprehensible and the worst, and if they admitted its produce they would be encouraging one of the most degrading systems of slavery and kidnapping in the world.

Mr. GLADSTONE stated that government had not been able to obtain recent information as to the state of the working population of that country; but, so far as he knew, he believed a severe system of slavery existed there, and that that system was supported by a cruel slave-trade.

Mr. MANGLES complained on behalf of the sugar-growers of the East Indies, and was answered by Lord Stanley, Lord Sandon, and Mr. Bright.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that slavery in Java had been dwelt upon; but could any man pretend it was equal to that in Cuba, where men laboured under the immediate apprehension of the lash?

Mr. BORTHWICK thought this measure would be fatally injurious to the West India planter.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, there was a part of this measure on which much discussion had taken place that night—he meant that with respect to free labour and slave labour. The result of the whole was to leave the subject in the same state of uncertainty which had prevailed on the first day of the introduction of the measure by government. When you once begin to make a distinction as to the import of articles from foreign countries, according to their institutions, you attempt a kind of legislation most difficult to carry out with any degree of consistency, fairness, or justice. If a special inquiry were to be instituted as to the state of Java and Porto Rico, it was very uncertain what might be the result; but he should not be surprised if it were found that the condition of the labourers in Porto Rico, generally speaking, was better than that of the labourers of Java. The statement of his hon. friend near him (Mr. P. M. Stewart), that the slave-trade was carried on in Java, had not been contradicted. It was true, the President of the Board of Trade had said that there were 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of people in Java, and only 30,000 slaves. That might be the case, but you were speaking on principle—you attempted to make a distinction between slave-labour and free-labour states; and it would not do to say that Parliament had determined to introduce the sugar of countries where slaves were in a very small proportion, and exclude that of countries where they were much more numerous. It was essential to the future character and usefulness of the house, whatever their politics might be, whether in support of government, or of a more liberal character, that whatever was done by the house should be done after full and solemn judgment, unbiased by any regard to influence which might mislead (cheers). In the particular question now before the house, he could not refrain from giving his opinion, and entering his protest against the course which had been pursued (hear, hear).

Sir H. DOUGLAS stated, that his opposition to the government measure was still unchanged, and if any division had been taken against it, he would have vindicated his consistency by voting against the measure.

Sir R. PEEL vindicated the conduct of the government.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

Colonial Intelligence.

CANADA.—By a recent letter from the Rev. Hiram Wilson, we have received cheering accounts of the British American Institute at Dawn, Canada West. During the last winter there were under instruction sixty pupils, about half of whom were adults, and the whole of whom made good proficiency. The property had been increased by

purchase of 100 acres more land. About fifty acres of timber had been cleared, and twenty acres were under promising wheat cultivation. A brick-yard had been successfully opened, with a view to the erection of premises, and Mr. Wilson says—"We have counted the cost, and can put up an elegant brick house, spacious and superb, fitted to accommodate sixty students, at the expense of 200*l.* sterling." He adds, "Applications for admission are numerous, and we are thirsting, panting, and struggling for enlargement." A liberal donation had been received from the Governor-General, with a letter from his private secretary containing the following words:—"I am desired to add, that the Governor-General hopes to hear of the successful progress of an institution which promises so much benefit to the coloured population of this province, in whose welfare his Excellency will never cease to take the most lively interest."

JAMAICA.—(From a Correspondent)—The drought has been of a severer description than we expected—indeed, very few remember such an one before. It commenced in November, and continued, with the exception of a few slight showers, until the second week in May. In St. Elizabeths, it caused almost a famine. In Trelawney some estates that shipped last year 100 or more hogsheads, this year have only made eight, ten, or twenty. In St. James, the effects of it have been not quite so severe, while in Hanover, it has not done much mischief. It being a rainy parish, the dry season for crop time was favourable, and while the "pens" suffered from want of grass, and the seaside estates' cattle suffered, the generality of the estates have been benefited by the drought. The season of rain has now arrived, and truly it may well be called spring, for all nature seems leaping into new life and beauty. Wages in Trelawney were reduced to 1*s.* per day, and the poor labourers' grounds being totally ruined, they were glad to take anything. In fact, the planters found them work to keep them from starving. Such is the report that I have several times received, and have every reason to believe true. Crop is now over—provisions are very scarce, at least double the price of them at Christmas; and every one is busily engaged in planting.

BAHAMAS.—A place of worship belonging to the Baptists, on the island of Exuma, has been the scene of illegal violence and outrage on the black population, reminding us but too strongly of the palmy days of slavery. The gentleman who figures on this occasion is the reverend R. Davis, a clergyman of the Church of England. "On the Sabbath morning," says our correspondent, "our agent attended the sabbath-school, and this being closed, he took his place before the desk to read, and commence public worship. At this time the clergyman walked into the chapel, and placing himself also before the desk, demanded of Mr. Fowler if the bible before him was his. He received an answer in the affirmative, and an assurance flat, as he was sent by the Baptist missionary from Nassau to use it, he should do so. 'Then,' said he (the clergyman), 'I'll fix you,' and going to the door, he beckoned to the constables, whom he had ordered to be near the door, to enter. They having done so, he said to them, pointing to our agent, 'Take that fellow into custody.' Three of them at once seized him, and dragged him violently out of the chapel, as though he had been a ruffian or a felon. They kept him for one hour and three quarters in custody; and would have hauled him to the magistrates, but the poor people, especially the female part, held him, and hung round him, saying he had done no evil, but had come from their minister at Nassau to read to them of Jesus, and he should not go to prison." From this primary violence others quickly originated, not touching the reverend author of the mischief, but making the aggrieved parties to be the offenders; and warrants, arrests, fines, and imprisonments, followed each other in rapid succession. "The sum thus far is:—Three poor women have been mulcted in 26 dollars (5*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* sterling). Nine persons (eight men and one poor widow) have been confined in jail. One man has been whipped, receiving 39 lashes, and is imprisoned for two months and kept to hard labour. Five men have fled from the island to escape imprisonment, and many more to the bushes or keys. Upwards of thirty-eight children have been deprived of the care and presence of their parents. The poor widow is the mother of six children, and she was made to cut rock like a man; and when her strength gave way, they (the magistrates) made her shovel mud out of the canal which conveys the salt water into the salt pans. One of the men, who had been sentenced to sixty days imprisonment, was released on the fourteenth day, the magistrates confessing that they could not prove the charges against him. They at once swore him in as a constable. The best man on Exuma was sentenced to twenty days' confinement in jail; but was brought nigh to death there, so that the magistrates were compelled to release him on the twelfth day. While, to all appearance, in a dying state he was unvisited in his cell from nine o'clock, a. m., until five o'clock, p. m." The illegality as well as cruelty of these proceedings is deemed so obvious, that an action has been instituted by the injured parties against the constables, it being out of question to think of obtaining justice from the courts against a clergyman. These outrages are imputed to religious animosity, and a hatred of the sect in question, extensively cherished by the aristocracy of the colony.

Dominica.—RESISTANCE TO THE CENSUS.—Under an erroneous impression that "their former enemies and their former friends" had leagued together to enslave them again, the peasantry on this island made on the 3rd of June a determined resistance to the enumerators employed under the Census Act. Several officers and magistrates were unhorsed, beaten, and wounded, and some houses had been assaulted and sacked. The governor first called out the militia, and shortly afterwards proclaimed martial law. In the neighbourhood of Roseau, the principal town, the insurrection had been speedily quelled by the military, and various captures had been made in other parts of the island. About 100 persons were in jail on the departure of the packet, waiting their trial. The governor of the Leeward Islands, Sir Charles Fitzroy, had arrived in her Majesty's ship *Inconstant*, Captain Freemantle, and it was supposed martial law would cease immediately. About eight of the insurgents were killed and wounded. Two hundred men of the Royals were despatched from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Archer, on the intelligence reaching that island. The Dominican adds, "We must say

this conduct of our people has quite taken us by surprise, and, as their friends and brethren, suffuses our faces with shame on their account. There is one thing certain, that as a body they have departed on this occasion from their former practice of resorting to us, and many like us, for advice in all cases of doubt. Their disbelief in the object of the Census has been generally very closely concealed, so that the now public means for disabusing their minds did not appear needful to be employed, lest doubts should really be created where none existed."

MAURITIUS.—THE COOLIES.—The *Mauritius Watchman* of the 13th of March states that "several thousand Coolies had latterly been seen wandering about without employment." The French part of the press was denouncing against these poor creatures the vengeance of the law as vagrants; but we hope that the plea which our valued contemporary puts in for their being "treated legally and humanely" will be attended to.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE ANNEXATION TREATY has been rejected by the Senate, by 35 to 16. But the danger is not over. It was only to the treaty, not to the annexation itself, that resistance has been made. Here is a new move. In the presence of a crowded Senate, Mr. Benton has, in a speech of two hours, presented his project for the annexation of Texas.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The proceedings in the General Conference of this body are of extraordinary interest to the Anti-slavery cause, particularly as evincing the rapidity with which Anti-slavery sentiment is leavening the community. The resolution passed in 1840 against receiving the testimony of coloured persons has now been repealed. And one of the bishops (bishop Andrew) having become by marriage a slave-holder, a resolution has been brought forward, and carried, after eight days discussion, by 110 to 68, that he be requested, while he continues a slave-holder, to refrain from the exercise of his functions. The sensation produced by this measure is, of course, very great, and the moral effect of it is expected to be very extensive and highly salutary.

CUBA.—In Cuba, it is said, affairs are in a most disordered state. The prisoners now in the jails at Matanzas and elsewhere amount to many hundreds; we are told 800. Several more had been shot, and certain English and Americans were ordered by O'Donnell to be tried. The *Illustrious*, line-of-battle ship, had been sent by the Admiral (Sir C. Adam) to Havana, it was said to demand an explanation respecting the imprisonment of several British subjects on account of the late disturbances in the island; and also an explanation of the circumstance, that all free-coloured British subjects had been peremptorily ordered off the island of Cuba, to the ruin of many of them.—*Morning Chronicle*.

BRAZIL.—It appears from the papers, that the Brazilian authorities are carrying out their plans for promoting immigration from Europe and the Western Islands. A French Company had engaged to send 2,000 emigrants from the south of France, the borders of the Rhine, and Switzerland. A Mr. Bergasse had begun to carry this offer into effect, and had entered into a contract to introduce 600 persons, for whose location a grant of land, two leagues square, had been made, paying the province a ground rent of 896 milreis per annum. A Belgian gentleman, Mr. Nellis, had arrived at Compos with 95 emigrants, his countrymen. They had been located in that neighbourhood, provided with provisions for the first twelve months, and lands already in a state of cultivation ceded them by the Brazilian inhabitants. From the Azores 400 emigrants had likewise been engaged, and 120 mechanics arrived from Havre, to replenish the colony at Sahy, established by Dr. Mure. From a correspondence in these newspapers between two gentlemen, on the subject of the tariff to be adopted in November next, some particulars are given respecting Mr. Ellis's mission and demands, from which it appears that, on the proposition being made by the Brazilian minister for a reduction of duties on sugars, and some other products of the empire, it was parried by a reference to the slave question, and a demand that the Brazilian legislature should emancipate the slaves by a decree (although such emancipation should not take place immediately) before any alteration could be made in the sugar duties, but as to other articles, such as spice, pepper, India-rubber, &c., the duties would be modified. Mr. Ellis further wished that all vessels captured, or detained on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, should be disposed of by the laws of England, and not be tried by the mixed commission, as stipulated by treaty. "These conditions were rejected by the Brazilian minister, as being contrary to subsisting treaties, and imposing on Brazil an obligation to legislate respecting her internal affairs at the dictation of a foreign power." The measures above referred to have been adopted by the Brazilian provincial authorities, to meet the falling off in slave labour, which they have already felt, and of which they anticipate a severe pressure.—*Morning Chronicle*.

ALGERIA.—THE FRENCH AND SLAVERY.—(From a Correspondent.)—Slavery exists amongst the Moors and Arabs of Algeria precisely as it did before it was occupied by the French. This existence is recognised by the fundamental laws of the colony; that is to say, the administration of Algiers considers slavery as a part of the rights, customs, and privileges which the French have bound themselves to preserve in the undisturbed enjoyment of the Moors, Bedouins, and other native inhabitants of this country. About five years ago this question was established beyond doubt, and as a guide for the future. A negress ran away from one Moorish family to another: I believe the negress was the property of Abd-el-Kader. This prince was then at peace with France. He demanded from the French government that the negress be given up to him. The officer administering the affairs of the Moors and Arabs—a department separate from that of the general government—repiled that he could not, as every slave who set his foot upon French land was free. The question was then referred to the Governor-general, the Marshal Vale. This doctrine was considered too fine for the humane perceptions of the marshal. A long discussion followed between the

executive and Mons. Lepellessier, who was at the head of the affairs of the Moors and Arabs, and the matter was at last decided, "that the negress slave should be sent back to her former master, slavery being a portion of the privileges of the conquered inhabitants preserved to them inviolate." Such is the progress of French civilization in Africa as to slavery! It appears, however, that the sale of slaves is a matter almost wholly of private transaction. The French have, during their fourteen years' government of this colony, so exasperated the native inhabitants, that now they are glad, in order to conciliate, not even to inquire into their domestic slavery. It excites no attention amongst the European residents, although a very great number of negroes and negresses (mostly slaves) are to be seen in different parts of the country. If a Frenchman should buy a slave, his punishment is, that, in case the slave runs away and makes a complaint against the master, the slave is declared free; or even if the slave simply states that he, or she, is held by a Frenchman, the slave is declared free. The punishment is, therefore, the loss of the property in the slave. This is considered sufficient for any man coming over from France and deliberately purchasing a slave with his eyes fully open, and with a knowledge of all the bad consequences of slavery and the slave-trade.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Norwich—Forster, William	5 0 0	1 1 0
Gurney, John Henry	20 0 0	
Rydal—Ball, William	1 0 0	
Ball, Mrs.	2 0 0	
Ipswich—Fox, Thomas	6 0 0	
Southwark Ladies' Negro Friend Society	1 0 0	
Upton—Woodward, Rev. John	1 1 0	
Sturgess, Miss	5 0 0	
Croydon—Lucas, Samuel H.	1 0 0	
Leicester—Burgess, Thomas	0 10 0	
Burgess, Alfred	5 0 0	
Ellis, John	0 10 0	
Ellis, Joseph	0 10 0	
Ellis, Edward S.	0 5 0	
Frith, Susanna	0 10 0	
Hutchinson, W. E.	0 10 0	
Waters, Samuel	0 10 0	
Bristol—Charlton, Robert	5 0 0	
Eaton, Joseph	50 0 0	5 5 0
Hunt, Henry	5 0 0	
Hunt, Eliza H.	5 0 0	
Darlington—Pease, Edward	20 0 0	
Pease, J. jun.	5 0 0	
Bradford—Harris, Henry	10 0 0	
Liverpool—Cooke, Isaac	5 0 0	
Crossfield, George	10 0 0	
Hadwen, Isaac	5 0 0	
Tottenham—Bevan, Paul	5 0 0	
Hodgkin, John, jun.	5 0 0	
Leeds—Tatham, G. N.	5 0 0	
Bermondsey—Norton, Thomas, jun.	5 0 0	
Sudbury—King, J.	2 0 0	
Luton—Brown, Daniel	0 10 0	
Downham Market—Doyle, James	1 0 0	
Wednesbury—Lloyd, Samuel, jun.	1 0 0	
Colchester—Catchpool, Thomas	2 0 0	
Perran—Fox, Charles	5 0 0	
Lewes—Godlee, Burwood	2 0 0	
Poole—Burns, William	5 0 0	
Maldon—Read, William Pryor	1 0 0	
Felstead—Hicks, Charles	1 0 0	
Manchester—Danson, George	1 0 0	
Needham Market—Maw, Thomas	2 0 0	
Wandsworth—Bell, John	25 0 0	
Falmouth—Fox, R. W.	5 0 0	
York—Tuke, Samuel	20 0 0	
Burncoose—Williams, John	10 0 0	
London—Christy, Henry	5 0 0	
Gurney, Samuel, jun.	10 0 0	
Roxton—Metcalfe, C. J., jun.	1 1 0	
Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	5 5 0	
North Shields—A Friend	0 11 0	
Brown, William	0 5 0	
Brown, William, jun.	1 1 0	
Bramwell, W.	0 5 0	
Laing, Joseph	0 2 6	
Leitch, William	0 5 0	
Fawcus, Margaret	0 10 0	
Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	6 0 0	
Mease, Solomon	0 5 0	
Ogilvie and Son	0 10 0	
Owen, John	0 2 6	
Pow, Robert	1 1 0	
Procter, Joseph	1 1 0	
Procter, J. R.	1 1 0	
Richardson, Mary	0 10 0	
Richardson, Mary J.	0 5 0	
Spence, Robert	0 5 0	
Spence, John	0 5 0	
Watson, Michael	0 5 0	

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, July 10, 1844.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXI. VOL. V.—No. 15.]

LONDON : WEDNESDAY, JULY 24TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE OUTBREAK IN DOMINICA.

The *Dominican* of the 12th of June presents some melancholy and revolting details of the outbreak announced by the last mail. Of the violence committed by the negroes it is impossible to speak in any terms of vindication or excuse; yet it appears that some of the accounts which have found their way to the public have been exaggerated and inflamed. The following letter from a correspondent of Thomas Clarkson, and sent by that venerable man to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, may be regarded, perhaps, as presenting a just view of the case:—

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

"Sir,—I send you an extract of a very important letter which I received on Sunday last only, from a friend of mine, a gentleman of high character in Dominica, and I have no doubt that you will think it of sufficient importance to give it a place in your columns. My friend gives me an account of a commotion which took place in that island in the month of June last, in which both blacks and whites were concerned. You may depend upon the veracity of his statements, as I have known him for twenty-seven years, and have corresponded with him since. I send you the extract, because I believe that an account of the commotion will appear in our public papers, and people who have concerns in that island may be alarmed when they hear it, whereas there is no occasion for alarm at all. I am influenced also by another motive. I know well how representations, coming from the West Indies, if they relate to disturbances, have been exaggerated for sinister purposes, whereas, whatever has happened in the present case has arisen solely from misunderstanding. I think I ought to say that I have given you every word of the writer's account as it came into my hands; not a word has been altered or added by me. The only alteration has been the omission of my friend's name, at his particular request.

"I am, sir, yours truly,
"THOMAS CLARKSON."

"Playford-hall, July 9, 1844."

"Knowing the many engagements of Mr. Clarkson, I take the liberty of addressing a hasty note to you rather than to him. I will make no apology for writing, because I am aware of the great interest you feel in all that relates to the welfare of the African race.

"The public papers will speak of what they will perhaps term a rebellion in this island, and the opponents of emancipation in America and France may make exaggerated statements of the affair, in order to retard that great measure. It is important, therefore, that the facts should be known at once. They are simply these:—

"Monday, the 3rd of June, was appointed as the day for taking a census of the population, and it appears now that a very general apprehension was entertained by the black people that this census was designed to reduce them again to slavery. Unfortunately the measure was very hastily determined on, and sufficient care was not taken to disabuse the people of the error, and some of the commissioners and enumerators of population acted, I am afraid, rashly and injudiciously. The people assembled in groups to the number, it is said, of two or three hundred, in about four places of the island, and the rest were perfectly quiet. The president, however, became alarmed, and in the evening of the 3rd, directed martial law to be proclaimed. The troops of the line were not employed. The island militia force was called out and directed to disperse the people. They did this with great ease, at one point on Wednesday, and at two others on Thursday and Friday. One man was shot dead as he was pursued; a woman and three or four men wounded. One man, who made resistance as they were apprehending him, was shot, and his head, with indecent barbarity, cut off, and stuck upon a pole. Another man who was pursued took a knife and cut his own throat. These are all the sad doings that I hear of.

"We have a large number of prisoners in the gaol of Roseau, and I was greatly afraid that they were going to be tried by a militia court-martial. The Governor in Chief, however, Sir Charles Fitzroy, arrived from Antigua yesterday, and suspended the court which was being formed, and directed that the ringleaders of the riots should be tried by the civil law, and those against whom there is no specific charge be dismissed. Everything, therefore, may be considered as already restored to order.

"These blacks, who assembled, did very wrong. They committed assaults upon several individuals against whom they bore ill-will, and threatened other persons in violent language, and they entered into four or five dwellings in the country, and destroyed the furniture in a manner that looked like personal spite and rage against the owners. But there was no sort of plot—no combination. They met together in the tumultuous manner in which they did, to prevent their names from being taken by the enumerators, under the apprehension that they were again to be reduced to slavery. Such a notion appears utterly absurd to us, but it has to be borne in mind that many of the people here are French, and are perfectly aware that the French slaves were once made free, and afterwards were brought under subjection to their former masters.

"I feel thankful to God that his restraining arm and grace were over and upon these mistaken people in the time of their excitement, for they had the distant quarter of Grand Bay entirely in their power during two days; yet they took no life, they broke into no estate stores, they injured no cattle, they set fire to no property. All this you will be

glad to learn from a source on which you can depend, and you will make what use of the information you please, only not mentioning my name publicly."

But if the conduct of the peasantry is incapable of vindication or excuse, equally so is that of the authorities and the militia. The proclamation of martial law seems to have been altogether precipitate and unnecessary, and beyond all doubt it was taken advantage of for the perpetration by the militia of acts of barbarous and disgraceful resentment. We give a specimen just as we find it in the *Dominican*:—

"On this day Mr. H. Bellot, upon whom the outrages noticed in our last were committed, with seven volunteers and three unarmed pioneers marched to the house of Jerome, one of the principal persons who had so shamefully maltreated him, and called upon him to surrender, which he refused to do, stating that he wished to die; he was then ordered to be taken into custody, but from his violence the pioneers were afraid to encounter him; he next made several attempts to take Bellot's musket from him, when he was charged upon and received a bayonet wound—the pioneers being still afraid to approach him he was shot in the arm and dropped—he however immediately rallied and rushed into his house, issuing again with a rapier with which he wounded one of the volunteers. Bellot then fired, when he fell, exclaiming 'He dies,' and died. *His head was subsequently severed from the body, and placed upon a pole on the Bericcia cross road.*'"

That this was not a solitary case will appear from another extract from the same paper:—

"From Pointe Michelle on Sunday sixty prisoners were sent to the main guard at Roseau, one of whom, named Jean Baptiste, of the Champsiey estate, was brought in a hammock dreadfully wounded in the left arm. The circumstances under which he was wounded appear to be as follows:—At about twelve o'clock of the night previous, the prisoner was awake from sleep in his house by a party of the Saint Luke's Independent Company, commanded by Sergeant James Watson, and a man who was then in the house, named Jean Charles, was arrested on the charge of having struck Messrs. O'Sullivan, Bremner, and Audain. The party had not proceeded many paces from the house with their prisoner when Jean Baptiste, hearing loud and angry words between the prisoner and the militia, ran out for the purpose of advising him to go on quietly, as he was 'in the hands of the law,' when he was fired on by one named Balson, and received the dreadful wound above referred to. A wound which must have been inflicted (as the doctors say) the muzzle of the gun not being a yard from the poor fellow. Balson says that he challenged the man, and receiving no answer, fired upon him—and such were the orders given him by his sergeant. His wound was immediately attended to by Doctors Stewart and Imray, and he was sent to the infirmary, where we believe he now is being taken care of; but a more dreadful, a more heart-rending fate awaited Jean Charles: upon being arrested and taken into custody he attempted to effect his escape, when a bullet from the musket of one of his guards (whose name we do not know) pierced his brain! *His head was also severed from the body!*'"

We know that martial law is always frightful, and that in past times it has nowhere put on a more terrific aspect than in the British West Indies. But we had hoped that emancipation had somewhat softened the savage ferocity of slavery. Here is one man shot, and dreadfully wounded, in the mere act of persuading a fellow-prisoner to be submissive; and another, when eleven men (and eight of them armed) had come to arrest him, allowed to maintain a struggle for a musket with an individual, and at last, merely because he brandished a rapier—or, we suppose, a knife—shot dead: while in two instances the heads of slaughtered prisoners were severed from the body, and in one instance the head was stuck on a pole in a cross road. Can any excuse be made for such barbarities as these? Do not these acts, samples as they are, demonstrate that the fierce spirit of slavery yet remains in the bosoms of the whites of Dominica? And is not the tendency of them to inflame whatever irritation and discontent may have given rise to this deplorable outbreak?

The country has reason to be grateful to Mr. Hawes for referring to this painful subject in the House of Commons; but we should have been better pleased if Lord Stanley had availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of publicly rebuking the ferocity which has been indulged.

STATE OF CUBA.

OUR information respecting this island by the last mail represents it as in a state altogether unprecedented and terrific. The fierce hatred which had at first been directed almost exclusively against the slaves, has at length poured itself like a flood upon the free coloured population, and the spirit of vengeance is making frightful havoc among them. This entire class, amounting to at least one-third of the population, are represented—such of them as are not already seized upon—as in the greatest agony, their eyes smitten by beholding their fellows go to gaol daily by dozens, and their ears ringing with the tales of suffering to which their husbands, their

children, their relations and friends, are consigned. At the date of our letters there were in the prisons of Matanzas fourteen hundred and seventy persons, mostly free coloured; at Guines and Havana, in proportion. Mention is made of four coloured women who had been imprisoned, one of them very rich, the arrest being, of course, followed with confiscation. A new municipal code is said to be in course of preparation, copying all the worst regulations in respect to people of colour in operation in the United States. The laws and customs of Cuba hitherto so favourable to the coloured class will be abrogated, and the new ones will be the very reverse of them. This impending evil is of great magnitude, tending, as it does, to convert the heart of society in Cuba into a sort of cancer, in which every rancorous and hateful passion shall have play. It appears to be the intention of the government to get rid, if possible, of all the coloured inhabitants, numerous and influential as they are. Accordingly, leave has been given to them to quit the island with passports; a license of which many have already availed themselves, and which many more will be driven to accept. This itself, if it stood alone, must be regarded as a desperate measure, and as a very serious blow to the prosperity of the country, suddenly diminishing both its consuming and producing population by so large a proportion as one-third. Almost all the free coloured persons are men of some useful trade or other, as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, &c.; and some of them are men of fortune, possessing houses or landed property, or carrying on extensive mercantile concerns. One of them, an African, an old Capatash, has upwards of 60,000 dollars in cash, besides several houses (this poor fellow is one of the imprisoned), and several are believed to be worth 100,000 dollars each. All persons of this class consumed, in proportion to their fortunes, far more than the whites. The amount of suffering and sacrifice of property resulting from their expatriation must be altogether beyond calculation.

It is confidently stated that the government is at length opening its eyes to the mischiefs resulting from the slave-trade, and beginning to be frightened at its palpable results in Cuba; and so, we are assured, are all Spaniards, excepting only the reckless freebooters who are engaged in the traffic. It is stated also, as a matter of certainty, that the junta appointed to report on the present state of the island, have declared their conviction that the slave-trade is "the true and immediate cause of the most alarming and dangerous evils that have place in this island in its present critical position," and most strenuously advised the government to put a final stop to it. Notwithstanding this, cargoes had been recently landed, and were actually selling at the date of our letters. Rumours were afloat that no more expeditions to Africa would be permitted, but that those yet pending must be admitted "*from a principle of honour!*" This might be taken as a severe jest, if it were not so melancholy and afflictive a truth.

The wrath of the government is directed also against foreigners of every country resident in Cuba, as well as against the free people of colour. Two lawyers of this class had been arrested at Matanzas, on no other pretext than that they had taken a breakfast with Mr. Turnbull. It is stated, however, that, in proportion as the government rages against the native spirit of Cuba, whether in the free coloured or the new white generations, that spirit acquires more distinctness and energy. Misfortune and persecution create sympathy. The government attempt to justify themselves by spreading exaggerated rumours of the intentions of the conspirators, alleging that their plan was "to massacre all the white and coloured people, and to possess themselves of the land;" and by the extreme severity to which they have resorted, they have terrified many into the belief of these imaginations. Our letters, however, state positively that no credit whatever is due to them. Indeed, if the government itself believed them, it could have found no cause for its animosity against the white and free coloured classes.

To these particulars, which we have gleaned from our own letters, we add an account from an American paper, stated to be from a writer "not infected either with a hatred of slavery, or with dislike to the present ruling party in Spain."

"O'Donnell is represented to be a perfect tyrant of the Robespierre school. A correspondent of Philadelphia journal at the Havane speaks in terms of just indignation at the atrocities of the monster against the poor blacks suspected of rebellion. He says that hundreds of negroes have perished under the lash during examination, all protesting their innocence to the last! And many, if not all of them, as innocent of participation in the plot of an insurrection as the angels in heaven. The place where the negroes are whipped has become very offensive to the neighbourhood, from the quantity of putrid flesh torn by the whip from their backs! A short time since, a Florida Indian, a very worthy man, who had long resided in the island, was arrested, on suspicion of being one of the insurgents. He was taken to Cardenas, where, refusing to criminate himself, he was whipped to death!! On a sugar estate in that neighbourhood 46 negroes were most cruelly tortured, seven of whom died under the operation. On another estate, after attempting in vain to extort confessions of guilt by whipping, those fiends, called in Spanish fiscales [solicitors], applied red hot irons to the bleeding backs of the negroes! The writer proceeds to mention that several white persons have been arrested on suspicion of aiding in the rebellion, and among them several American citizens. Samuel Moffart of Delaware, William Bisby of Vermont, and a Mr. Hogan, a native of the United States, are among the number. The latter has suffered a long confinement for having in his possession a letter from a friend in the United States, advising him to leave the island! The first two named were arrested on testimony extorted from a negro after he had received twelve hundred lashes! On being arrested, they were tied to a gang of negroes, and in this condition were driven like convicted felons, under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, through clouds

of dust to Cardenas. Mr. Moffart was confined in the stocks, among whipped negroes, loathsome from their wounds, twenty days, and in irons ten days. Mr. Bisby was in the stocks seventeen days, and in irons nine days; and would have ended his days in irons, but for the interposition of a physician, who assured the Inquisition that he could not survive twenty-four hours longer, being very ill of a fever. Thereupon, he was taken out of irons, and with the medical and other assistance rendered him, he recovered." Moffart and Bisby, after a confinement of seventy days at Cardenas, were sent to the interior for trial. We have not heard the result. If they have instigated the blacks to rebellion, and satisfactory evidence appears to confirm that charge, they have brought their trouble on their own heads; but we learn that General O'Donnell, in reply to remonstrances relative to these persons, speaks in rather contemptuous terms of the United States and our power to enforce remonstrances against Cuba. A few weeks ago, when the American and British shipping in the ports of the island displayed their flags at half mast for three days in succession, out of respect for Murphy, the brave American sailor, so brutally murdered by one of the Spanish soldiers, Governor O'Donnell came down to Matanzas in a terrific passion, demanding to know "Why those d——d flags were kept at half-mast so long?" On being told, he replied, "To h—— with the United States and her citizens, they have only 8,000 men in their whole army, while I have an army of 20,000 men in Cuba. D——n the United States!" He spurred his horse and galloped off. We have given his very words, as they fell from his lips. The American residents in Havana are so miserably treated, and our government appears to take so little interest in their affairs, that very many of them call themselves Englishmen. A few weeks ago, a British frigate went into Cardenas, and the commander, on inquiry, found that a large number of Americans and English were confined near that place in loathsome dungeons of the Inquisition. The commander of the frigate just placed his guns on a range with the most vulnerable points, and then sent a very civil request for the release of the prisoners. In a few moments the poor fellows were released, Americans as well as English. An American man-of-war (we wish we had her name—we will try and find it out yet) had been in the same port but a few days before, but paid no attention to the prayers and entreaties of American citizens, who were suffering in loathsome inquisitorial dungeons, with the thermometer at ninety. These facts we have from a confidential source, and they may be relied upon. As for Governor O'Donnell, he can speak good English, and if he wishes to answer these remarks, our columns are open to him. We know that he reads our paper very attentively, especially when it contains anything relating to the island of Cuba. If he has unjustly imprisoned American citizens, he may find that the United States government have the power to remove him from his office, which is rather a valuable one. And if Spain refuses to grant our reasonable demands for justice, a few vessels of war blockading Havana and Matanzas, will soon lead to his recall.

It will be seen by our Parliamentary report that Sir Robert Peel made a strong allusion to the state of Cuba in the late debate on the slave-trade. We trust his voice will be heard in quarters to which ours cannot penetrate, and that the Spanish government will take warning while yet there is time for it, and put an immediate end to a traffic, not only so infamous in itself, but so frightful in its results.

COOLY EMIGRATION.

THE worst apprehensions concerning this infatuated experiment continue to be realized. We gave in our last a short extract from the *Mauritius Watchman*, stating that several thousand Coolies were wandering about the fields unemployed. The *Friend of India*, of May 2nd, says, "The Mauritius papers state, that no fewer than 8,000 Coolies sent to the island from this country had absented themselves from work, and refused to return to their duty except on higher pay, and that the streets and highways were swarming with Cooly-venders; an assertion which we cannot comprehend." Whatever may be meant by the *Cooly-venders*, with whom the streets and highways are said to be swarming at Mauritius, that eight thousand labourers should be out of employ while yet there is a loud cry for further immigration, is a fact intelligible enough, and of melancholy import too. Some explanation of the matter may be derived from a letter which the *Friend of India* publishes from a correspondent at Madras, from which the following is an extract:

"The great subject of interest in Port Louis is emigration. At first, I thought the condition of the emigrant much improved; but this opinion was formed from what I saw of the people who came here years ago, and who received high wages, and were thought much of; but the case is altered since the influx of 40,000 during the last year. The Mauritius owes its salvation to emigration, at the expense of from 5,000 to 10,000, who are decidedly in a much worse condition than they were in their own country. This number are now either working for one, two, or three rupees; or, as Coolies for daily hire, are to be seen all over the town. I have had no difficulty in getting any number I wanted of Madras or Bengal people for a very trifling sum; and their appearance indicated their wretchedness. Many of the Madras emigrants recognised me, and they all regretted their expatriation; many of them have been imposed upon, made to work, and not paid; and others have preferred quitting their hard task-masters, and flying to the hedges and bushes and into the town; these latter endeavour to find employment as Coolies, and it is surprising at first sight, that the planters do not get them taken up and restored to them; but there is something wrong somewhere, 'and the least said, easiest mended.' Some engage themselves as domestics, but in all cases they get less than in India, for there is danger in any one's employing them as servants. I cannot see how the Indian labourer is protected at the Mauritius; they seem to me to be literally sold by the importer for from ten to fifteen dollars, and must serve the person they are consigned to for one year, and remain five years in the colony. If they wish to quit their first master, they must give forty or fifty dollars as release money; they have

not the means of doing this, and of leaving the colony before the expiration of the five years, and paying all expenses. It is a farce to say, they can on landing choose their own masters, forty-eight hours being ostensibly allowed for this purpose. The fact is, they are enclosed in a large compound during this time, and taken away by those who have paid for them. The labourers' wages do not now exceed six rupees monthly, and for women and youths are as low as one rupee; they are not paid in specie, this being exceedingly scarce, and, consequently, too much valued to give to them; they are paid in paper currency, or put off in some way, so that at least for the first year they have no choice but to submit. They are not in their own country; they are helpless, without facilities, and cannot find redress. I could give one or two instances out of many, to prove what I have said; but I find I am writing more than I expected on this subject. But to complete what I said, one poor fellow who never took up a pickaxe in his life, was put to work by his master's wife, a negress; he worked, but got no pay, and was badly fed. He flew into town; I saw him and gave him work. I advised him to go to the magistrate or protector, but he was afraid; as I commiserated his condition and he saw it, he dreaded going with me to the police as likely to bring punishment on himself, and disappeared, and I have seen nothing of him since. Another told me he worked for three months and got but two and a-half rupees; he left his master, and was living by purchasing plantains in one part of the town, and selling them in another. We have, where I am living, three that knew me at Madras; they are servants to emancipated slaves, and they get from one to three rupees; and it appears Indians can be procured as domestic servants by the whole sum being paid so as to indemnify the government and importer, and this amounts to about fifty dollars. I am told, the mortality among these poor people is very great. The only good, and this is certainly likely to result to the emigrant, is his being less regardful of caste and his becoming more intelligent in time, from acquiring a foreign language, and intercourse with a mixed description of people."

A new evil also has broken out in the mismanagement of the vessels employed to take the Coolies back to India on the expiration of their term. The facts on this part of the subject are thus stated in the *Times*:

"The Indian papers brought by the last overland mail record a shocking instance of mortality in a 'Cooley ship,' employed to bring back from Mauritius a number of Coolies whose time had expired. When she left Calcutta to go to the Mauritius with 210 Coolies (the full number permitted), she only lost three of them, including a woman, who died in childbirth. When she returned, she brought 270 Coolies—nearly a third more than her permitted number—and of these she lost 17. To the fact that so much more than the proper number was carried, do the local writers who take the humane view of the question, attribute the increase of mortality, and the melancholy event gives them an opportunity of contrasting the conduct of the public authorities at the Mauritius with that of the authorities of Calcutta to the disadvantage of the former. At Calcutta, as we have seen, no more than the right number could be shipped, and there are at the same place a variety of regulations concerning the supply of provisions for the voyage. At the Mauritius, on the contrary, no such regulations seem to exist, or, if they do exist, they are completely inoperative, and the assertion is well borne out that after the engagement of the Coolies has expired all concern for their welfare ceases. There appears to be no necessity for providing medicine or medical attendance, and all that the captain is bound to furnish is a pound and a-half of rice daily, two pounds of salt fish per week (which is found positively injurious), and some salt and wood, with accommodations for cooking. No regard is paid to the number of Coolies put on board, and the owners may cram their vessels as much as they think fit. Thus, while every precaution is taken on the voyage from India to the Mauritius, through the humane exertions of the Bengal authorities, the very reverse is the case on the voyage back. The government of India is totally powerless in this matter, and the local writers urgently call for interference of the home government. In two ships, it seems, no less than 61 persons have perished."

Is it possible that no regulations have been enacted by the government for the proper return of emigrants to India? Or are these, like some others we have heard of, wilfully kept in abeyance, in deference to the "urgent wants" of the planters? Of course, when they have done with them, all their interest in the welfare of the Coolies ceases, and the owners of return vessels may make them places of suffocation and death at their pleasure! With our contemporary, the *Patriot*, "we do feel inexpressible indignation at the shameful waste of life which has been suffered to take place, to swell the gains of the Mauritius planters."

PROCEEDINGS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN REFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

(From the *Nonconformist*.)

I WILL add a few words respecting the action, on the subject of slavery, of two of our largest ecclesiastical bodies—the "Baptist Triennial Convention," and the "Methodist General Conference." The convention met in Philadelphia the last week in April. It was the largest meeting our Baptist brethren have ever had. The convention meets once in three years, and is constituted of ministers and delegates from Baptist churches in all parts of the country—north, south, east, and west—who are associated together especially for foreign missionary purposes. The "Baptist Board of Foreign Missions" is appointed by, and reports to, the convention. It was feared, and, indeed, expected beforehand, that at the late meeting the slavery question would divide the body. It did not do it; and I have now to tell you how the subject was compromised—for compromised I insist it was. It was agreed on all sides that the subject must be disposed of in some way or other than *sub silentio*. Accordingly, when the convention had been fairly organised, and the

usual committees appointed, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, of South Carolina, slaveholder, offered a resolution, declaring in substance that the "convention is a corporation, with limited powers, for certain specified and definite purposes, and the delegates only assemble to transact the business prescribed by its charter, and no other, and that their co-operation in this body implies no concert or sympathy upon any question not embraced in its charter." A long debate ensued, which was terminated by the offering of the following substitute:—

"Whereas there exists, in various sections of the country, an impression that our present organization involves the fellowship of the domestic institution of slavery, or of certain associations which are designed to oppose this institution,

"Resolved,—That in co-operating together, as members of this convention, in the work of foreign missions, we disclaim all sanction, either express or implied, whether of slavery or of anti-slavery; but as individuals, we are free both to express and promote our views on this or other subjects, in a Christian manner and spirit."

This was adopted, strange to say, with but two dissenting voices. So that now, abolitionists and slaveholders can all come together as one, sit at the Lord's table together, send out slaveholders or non-slaveholders, as it may happen, for missionaries, and do sundry other such like deeds, and then, by the magic of a word, resolve the whole into "no sanction, express or implied, of slavery or of anti-slavery!"

On the same week with the convention, "the American Baptist Home Missionary Society" held its meeting, at which the folly and impracticality of attempting to conduct missions, at home or abroad, after the tenor of the above resolution, had a fine illustration. It is understood that some of the home missionaries now in the field are slaveholders. Whether it be so or not, it is obvious that, in conducting missions in the slave as well as the free states, the question must arise of the propriety of employing such. Accordingly, at an early period of the meeting, for the sake of testing the question, the Rev. Mr. Adlam, of Maine, an abolitionist, offered a resolution, to the effect "that a minister being a slaveholder should present no barrier to his being employed as a missionary of this society." A long and warm discussion ensued, which was continued through parts of three subsequent days, the abolitionists strenuously resisting the appointment of any slaveholder, and the slaveholders and their allies being as strenuous for it. The discussion ended in the adoption of the following resolution, and the appointment of the committee proposed by it:—

"Resolved, That a committee of three from the north, three from the south, and three from the west, with the president of the society as chairman, be appointed, to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of this society, or to report such alterations in the constitution as will admit of the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery."

Our friend Colver and some other staunch abolitionists are on the committee. How they will finally adjust the matter I can hardly venture to predict. In consistency and truth, there is clearly no ground to stand, short of the non-appointment of slaveholders, or dissolution. But for the compromise in the convention I should have no fear. As it is, I wait to see.

The "Methodist Episcopal General Conference" is now in session in New York. This body meets once in four years, and passes in review all the affairs of that church. It is the court of last and highest appeal, and speaks for the whole denomination in all the states. Four years since, at Baltimore, this body decided that the testimony of coloured persons, bond or free, should not be received in cases of discipline in the church against a white man, in all those states where the civil law excluded such testimony. That rule still remains unrescinded. On another point, however, raised at its present meeting, the conference has acted in a manly and Christian spirit, and come to a general result. The case was this:—Within a year or two a Rev. Mr. Harding, of the Baltimore conference, married a wife having slaves. The conference commenced discipline, insisting that he manumit his slaves. He contended that the laws of Maryland gave him no control over his wife's property; and, were it otherwise, that the laws forbid emancipation within the state, and that therefore he could not manumit them. The conference maintained in reply, that, knowing all this beforehand, he yet entered voluntarily into his present relations; and, if the slaves were not made free, he must abide the consequences. He and his wife persisted in their slaveholding, and the conference suspended him from the ministry. He took an appeal, on the above grounds and on some technical informality, to the general conference. The case had a full hearing, occupying most of the sessions for some four days. The question was finally taken on a motion "that the decision of the Baltimore conference be, and is hereby, reversed;" upon which there were *one hundred and seventeen nays, and fifty-six yeas*. The chair pronounced the decision of the Baltimore Conference affirmed by this vote. Mr. Harding's counsel contended that the vote only went against reversing the Baltimore decision, and that a motion to return the case for further consideration to that conference would be in order. The Bishop (Morris) dissented; an appeal was taken from the chair to the conference, and the Bishop was sustained by an overwhelming majority. It is, therefore, now law in all the American Methodist episcopal churches, that no slaveholder can sustain the office of a minister of the gospel in good and regular standing. So far as there are such ministers, and such there are in some of the more southern conferences, they remain so in violation of the discipline of their church, as now in-

terpreted and affirmed by their highest ecclesiastical judiciary. Thanks to our Methodist brethren for this: may they speedily perfect the work of expurgation so auspiciously begun.

I will only add, in this connexion, that some weeks since the Cincinnati presbytery, of which our friend Blanchard is a member, commenced a disciplinary process against one of their body for the heresy of teaching that the Bible authorises and sanctions slaveholding. I will endeavour to advise you of the result.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

Falmouth, Jamaica, 15th June, 1844.

AT a PUBLIC MEETING, held at the Court-house, in this town, on Saturday, the 15th instant, for the purpose of taking into consideration the consequences likely to arise from the proposed alteration in the Duties on Foreign Sugar and Coffee, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1st.—That this meeting has heard with feelings of deep regret and alarm, that her Majesty's Ministers have expressed their intention to urge upon the Imperial Parliament a reduction in the differential duties now payable upon Foreign Sugar, and Coffee, without any corresponding decrease in duties payable upon those articles when produced in the British West India Colonies.

2nd.—That such a proposition, if carried into effect by the Imperial Legislature, will expose this Colony to a ruinous competition with Foreign Producers, and will afford unjustifiable facilities to the surreptitious, and indirect, introduction into the Home markets, of Slave-grown Produce; inflicting a lasting and irretrievable injury upon every class of persons connected with, or resident in this colony; it being utterly impracticable for the agriculturists to withdraw from the cultivation of the present staples, and apply their capital, machinery, or stock, to any other remunerating purpose.

3rd.—That this meeting solemnly records its deliberate opinion, that the partial reduction of the duty on Foreign Sugar, without a corresponding reduction on British Plantation, must, and will, give an impetus of immense force to slavery and the slave-trade, by opening new and extensive markets to the producers of slave-grown sugar: and that although some Foreign Slave-holding States may feign the abrogation of slavery, in order to participate in the great commercial advantages afforded by such a course, the measure will in effect, obstruct any intention now existing for the *bond fide*, and final emancipation of their slaves.

4th.—That feeling deeply interested in the success of the great experiment of Emancipation, under which the labouring population have advanced in civilisation, and morality, we cannot but record our belief that the contemplated change will, by diminishing the cultivation of the soil, reduce them to a state of pauperism, and thus prevent their progression in those moral and religious habits so intimately connected with the best interests of the Colony.

5th.—That with the view to avert the impending ruin which must inevitably result from the proposed measure, an emphatic memorial to Her Most Gracious Majesty, embodying the sentiments contained in these resolutions be prepared, and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting; that his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward the same with the least possible delay; and that a petition, also containing the substance of these resolutions, be prepared, to be presented to both Houses of the British Parliament: that the signature thereto of all classes be most earnestly invited, and that the several Ministers of Religion be requested to submit the same to the labouring population for signature, the subject in question being one in which their welfare, with every other interest in the community, is equally involved.

6th.—That the chairman of this meeting, and a committee to be named by him, be requested to take such other steps as may be deemed most advisable and expedient, in forwarding the general objects of this meeting.

7th.—That copies of the foregoing resolutions be published in the *Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Colonial Gazette*, and *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in England; and also in the *Cornwall Courier*, *Falmouth Post*, and *Baptist Herald*, in this island.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,
GEORGE MARRETT,
Chairman.

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.

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

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.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 24, 1844.

The subject of the slave-trade was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston on the 16th instant, on a motion for papers, the production of which was granted without opposition. His lordship's speech was elaborate and powerful, and will be found well worthy of perusal. The reply of Sir Robert Peel is valuable, as a distinct declaration of the views and policy of the government; but more particularly for the acknowledgment it contains, that, whatever measure of success may attend the employment of an armed force for the suppression of the African slave-trade, *the trade can never be suppressed* while the governments of Spain and Brazil encourage it.

THE advices by the West India mail are not of great importance. While Jamaica suffers from drought, British Guiana is afflicted with too much rain. The agitation on the sugar-duties was becoming general, but must, of course, be fruitless. The best news brought by this conveyance is that the Swedish government has determined to release the slaves at St. Bartholomew's, now said not to exceed 300. This statement has been "communicated" to the *Jamaica Morning Journal*, and we sincerely hope it may be true. The tidings from Dominica and from Cuba we have noticed elsewhere.

We draw the particular attention of our readers in the colonies to the remarks made by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons on the subject of immigration loans. His lordship, it seems, is disposed to favour the principle of such loans, looking well to the conditions of them. Our friends in the colonies, therefore, must look well to this matter, too. It is understood that no such loan will be permitted to be secured, like that proposed in British Guiana, exclusively on the imports of the colony.

THERE seems to be a tide in the opinions, as well as in the affairs, of men. Even the cry for immigration, which has been performed for several years past so pre-eminently *und voce* by the whole West India party, begins to be broken in upon by some discordant sounds. First of all we have Mr. Macqueen, the well-known and unscrupulous partizan of the planter body, in the first of a series of letters which he is addressing to Lord Stanley in the columns of the *Morning Herald*, expressing himself as follows. He says that immigration is, "*when the expense and all its probable consequences are considered, terrific to contemplate, with very doubtful success.*" He sees in a strong light—but not more strong than just—the fearful consequences resulting from an almost exclusive importation of males. That emigrants should be "brought (he says) in an equality of sexes, or in families, is the only way to prevent destructive immorality." He further estimates the number of immigrants which would be necessary for the West Indies at the vast number of 300,000; and adds, "the expense of bringing these, at 15*l.* each, will amount to 4,500,000, with the almost certainty of paying nearly as much more to carry them back!" He sees also great difficulty in the question of wages, admitting it to be the design of immigration to force them down much lower than they are, and foreseeing that "a severe struggle will ensue" before the negro labourer will be brought to submit to this "in colonies where unoccupied land is so abundant."

Then we have the *Morning Herald* itself, in a leading article, which seems to have taken its tone from the same causes as Mr. Macqueen's letter, arguing strongly against immigration, and denouncing specifically every form in which that project has appeared. We regret that we cannot transfer the whole of this article to our columns; the following, however, are the concluding remarks:—

"Such have been the steps taken and the course adopted by this country to preserve our tropical colonies, and to restore their prosperity; and in these senseless proceedings six precious years have been lost, and the destruction of the colonies been rendered all but complete, while the commercial preponderance and prosperity of the empire have been endangered. Such are the results of attending to ignorant and interested counsellors, and of that listlessness and apathy displayed in everything, either in the torrid zone, or that is connected with it, in this country. Had one twelvemonth of the time thus lost been occupied judiciously and energetically amongst the emancipated population of the British colonies, to teach them their duty to their country and to themselves, all would have been well, the colonies would have been flourishing, their produce ample and profitable, and additional labourers unnecessary."

What is at the bottom of this change of opinion it is not for us to say. It is enough for us to express our pleasure on the adoption by our contemporaries of such sound views, and our hope that the West India body will not hesitate to embrace them, now that they come from quarters so little liable to suspicion.

THE resolutions passed at Falmouth, Jamaica, in relation to the sugar-duties, have been sent us as an advertisement, and we have inserted them accordingly. There is nothing in them, however, requiring the discussion of the subject to be revived.

THE AMISTAD AGAIN.—A movement is now being made in Congress to indemnify the owners of the schooner *Amistad* for that vessel, and likewise for the captives thrown upon our shores. The sum demanded is 50,000 dollars. The Committee on Foreign Affairs reported in favour of appropriating the sum of 50,000 dollars for the traders in human flesh in Cuba.—*Liberty Press (United States)*.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, JULY 15.

IMMIGRATION OF HILL COOLIES.

MR. MACLEAN asked the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the subject of immigration was under the consideration of government, and whether the West Indies were likely to possess the benefits of the proposed system?

LORD STANLEY said that the important subject of immigration to the West Indies divided itself into three parts. First, whether immigration should take place; secondly, whether it should be promoted by means of a loan saddling the revenues of the colony; and thirdly, whether Parliament was inclined to sanction a grant from this country. As to the first question, his hon. friend was aware that instructions had already been sent to the Governor-General of India to remove the impediments which stood in the way of the introduction of labourers into the West Indies. As to the second point, government had gravely considered the question of the policy and expediency of raising a sum by way of loans; and to the principle of meeting the expenditure by means of loans, supposing the conditions were not objectionable, her Majesty's government did not interpose any objection. Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica were the principal colonies which sought by acts of their legislature to raise a loan to introduce a larger amount of labourers than they had now the power of introducing. It would be for those legislatures to consider the conditions, as it would be for government to intimate to those legislatures the basis of the conditions on which it was probable the loan would be granted. As to the third question, whether parliament would be inclined to give its sanction to a loan, giving the credit of this country for the payment of the principal and interest, that was much too grave a question, and involving too many serious considerations, to submit to Parliament at this period of the session, and under present circumstances. If any such proposition were to be made, it appeared to government that it would be made with much more advantage when they should be able to state to parliament what were the conditions to which they should be ready to submit.

TUESDAY, JULY 16.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

LORD PALMERSTON, in rising to make the motion of which he had given notice for several returns relating to slavery, which returns, he presumed, her Majesty's government had no objection to grant, wished to make some few observations on the subject of the slave-trade. The subject, which was one of great interest and importance, was not new to the house, but had now for nearly half a century engaged the attention of parties. All the most distinguished and most eminent men who had lived during that period had exerted all the energies of their minds to put an end to this abominable traffic, whether sitting on the one side or the other,—whether within or without these walls. They had so far succeeded, that they had rescued this country from the foul stain of slavery, and, as a consequence of the abandonment¹ of the trade, the condition of slavery itself was abolished throughout the dominions of England. It was well known that these great results were not accomplished without much labour, and without much lapse of time. Many years had elapsed since those investigations had taken place, which, by laying bare in all their hideous deformity the disgusting atrocities connected with the prosecution of the slave-trade, brought round the minds of men, in England at least, to pursue that guilty traffic no longer. These details had been well-nigh forgotten; and there were few who, at this time of day, could form to themselves any adequate conception how intense was the suffering, and how extensive was the cruelty, of which the slave-trade was the cause. It was difficult to arrive, with any degree of certainty, at a calculation of the number of negroes who were annually landed on the continent of America for the purpose of being there consigned to slavery. The governments of the countries in which these negroes were sold permitted no return. Therefore, all accounts must be in some degree conjectural. One thing, however, we might be sure of, viz., that they must fall exceedingly short of truth. What, then, were the numbers which, it had been calculated, was the annual importation into the islands and continent of America? Vandervelt, in his most able work on the subject, compiled from official documents, and containing, in a condensed form and in a small compass, more valuable information than, perhaps, any work of equal size could afford—Vandervelt, a man of the greatest industry and character, calculated the number of those annually landed, during the two previous years, at 120,000 or 130,000. Sir Fowell Buxton, in his work, a most interesting and most valuable work, put the number at 150,000 at least. Whichever of these two numbers we took, whether we considered the annual importation of negroes as represented by 130,000 or 150,000, what an enormous amount of human misery and of human crime did that simple statement afford! Let any man consider within himself what 150,000 people were. Let any man who had seen large armies collected think whether it had ever fallen to his lot to see 150,000 men collected at once under his eye; or let any man imagine that he saw that number assembled—that as they passed by they were travelling fast towards their doom—that that mass of human beings was doomed to a painful and to a premature death under every variety of bodily and mental torture; if he was told that that was not a single case, but that year after year the same ground was trodden by an equal number, urged forward to the same melancholy doom—could any man who saw such a state of things brought before his eyes fail to hope for the vengeance of Heaven on those who were the authors of such enormities? And what would not be the condemnation which he would pass upon those who, although able, had neglected to employ the means of preventing those evils? It was calculated, and he believed not without true data, that, for every negro who had landed, two others had perished in the previous stages of slavery. Whatever number, therefore, might be landed, you must multiply that number by three to arrive at the total number of human persons swept from the population of Africa only by this detestable slave-trade. It was well known that the negroes were not collected in the immediate neighbourhood of the places at which they were embarked. They came, many of them, from a great distance in the interior of Africa; they were marched many hundreds of miles from the interior to the coast; some of them were cap-

tives taken in war—in war stimulated and brought on by the thirst of gain to be derived from the sale of the captives; but the greater number were the result of that slave-hunting and man-stealing which prevailed almost all over the interior of Africa. The way in which that took place was shortly this:—When the time of year came round for sending a slave caravan to the coast, some peaceful, happy village, whose unsuspecting inhabitants were buried in that repose which nature had kindly bestowed upon man to fit him for the useful occupations and innocent enjoyments of the succeeding day—some peaceful African village, in the dead of night, was surrounded by the armed ruffians of some neighbouring prince; the huts of which the village was composed were fired, the inhabitants, roused from their sleep by the flames in which they were enveloped, rushed forth, and endeavoured to escape, some by flight, some by resistance; all attempts were in vain; those who resisted were overpowered, and either slain or made captives. Sometimes a hill village was attacked, which afforded greater means of escape. The inhabitants fled to the neighbouring caverns, and some took refuge on higher ground; the caverns were besieged, fires were lighted, and those who had taken shelter were compelled to a choice between suffocation within or captivity without. The wells and springs on which the natives depended for water were occupied, and those who fled to higher ground were soon compelled, by the incurable torments of thirst, to come down and barter their liberty for their lives. Slaves were then made, and then came the selection. The pale and healthy of either sex, children between six and seven years of age, were put aside to be marched with the caravan to the coast; the aged, the infirm, the infant torn from its mother's breast, the child under six or seven years of age wrenched from its parent's grasp, was murdered on the spot. As to the aged, it would be impossible, it would be without profit to maintain them, consequently they were left to perish of hunger. The caravan set out; men, women, and children, half naked, bare-footed, the weak driven on by the lash, the strong restrained from flight by yokes and chains, were marched hundreds and hundreds of miles across the burning sands, over the stony passes of the African mountains. Some dropped down dead as they went along, and others were left a prey to wild beasts. Multitudes perished in that way, and travellers who had visited the interior told, that slave caravans might be traced by the bones of hundreds, nay, of thousands of human skeletons which lay bleaching in the path. The slaves having arrived on the coast, were sometimes detained for weeks before the arrival of a slave ship; and from the manner in which they were packed together, death was busy in thinning their ranks. The captain of the slaver having at length arrived, he went into the market and made his selection, taking care to reject those in whom he thought he detected disease, and selecting only those whom he had a prospect of getting safe to his destination. Those who were rejected were put out of the way in some manner, or were left to perish. The calculation, and he believed it was not at all exaggerated, was, that whatever number of slaves were put on board, at least an equal number perished previously, either in the seizure, during the march, or the detention in the barracoons. Then came the passage, and with it a scene of greater suffering—of such intense horror, that it was out of the power of any man to conceive it who had not seen it. It was a well-known fact, that whatever might be the size of the slave-ship, the slave-captain always took a fourth or a third more than his ship was calculated to hold. This was done on a true arithmetical calculation, just as a person who was sending a pipe of wine round upon the Indian voyage always sent a quarter-cask, in order to make up for leakage and evaporation; so the slave captain took an extra number of slaves on board, to make up for the deaths he felt certain would occur during the passage. Because, although he chose none but those whose appearance gave indication of health, still he was aware that many of them might have the seeds of disease lingering in their constitution, which grief, the change of diet, and want of good air would bring out; therefore it was that he provided himself with a supernumerary cargo. But that provision only aggravated all the evils attendant upon the horrid trade, and caused more vacancies in consequence of the care taken to fill them up. The result of all these circumstances was, that scarcely a day passed on which dead bodies were not thrown overboard. But was that all? He was sorry to say that, so far from it, it was too clearly proved that the living were very often committed to the deep along with the dead. It was well known that on board ship the slaves were often well enough in the morning, sickened in the evening, and were corpses before the next day. No doubt in that case they were put overboard; but where the disease assumed a lingering form, and the slaver saw that the slave must inevitably die before he could get him to market, or, if got there, would be valueless, he knew that he had already suffered a certain loss; and in order to keep it at the minimum, and to save the further loss which must accrue by keeping him, the order was given, and overboard the living victim was hurried (hear, hear). That was by no means an uncommon transaction. He was sorry to say that it was not uncommon even in our own ships when this country tolerated the detestable traffic. It was in proof in a trial which took place in this country, that an English ship, commanded by a person named Collingwood, was, in 1783, on a voyage to Jamaica with a cargo of slaves, the ship got out of her course, the water ran short, and the provisions were scanty. The captain, knowing that if the negroes died from want his owners would not recover the insurance money, but that they would if he could make it appear that he was compelled to throw them overboard, did not hesitate, but in that manner sacrificed 132 lives. Those ships were often subject to ophthalmia, and sometimes to wreck. It was in evidence before a committee of that house, that a French slave ship was overtaken by the disease, and only one man on board was capable of steering the vessel. On the passage they fell in with a Spanish ship, also a slaver, which was apparently drifting at the mercy of the wind and waves: on board of that ship there was not one man who could see to steer her or direct her course; she, however, arrived at Guadalupe, but the French vessel was never heard of more. The spaces in which the slaves were confined on board ship were necessarily small. The bottom of the hold was filled with water-casks; they were covered over with a platform of unplanned boards, and on them the naked negro was compelled to lie. Sometimes they had nothing but loose boards. The distance between that platform and the next deck never exceeded three and a half feet, sometimes it was not more than two and a half, and necessarily the negro was confined in a very small compass;

indeed, so much so, that one of the witnesses said "a negro on board a slave ship had not so much room to lie in as a man in a coffin." How pestilential must be the air of such a place; the effluvia must be horrible. In order to remedy that as much as possible, the hatchways of slave-ships were made larger than in those devoted to legitimate commerce, and were covered with an open grating. In fine or even in moderate weather those precautions might answer the purpose; but when they were overtaken by a storm those gratings were obliged to be covered over in order to prevent the sinking of the ship, and then how horrible must be the sufferings of those so huddled together below. He would not attempt to depict the scene. Any one wishing to make themselves acquainted with the horrible facts would find them ably and faithfully detailed in the pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. Hill, entitled, "Fifty Days on board a Slave." The rev. gentleman attributed the scenes he witnessed to the inexperience of the prize crew, and that what he witnessed must be unparalleled; in that, however, he was mistaken, for it had been proved over and over again, that many died of suffocation hourly while the storm lasted. From all these various causes, it was calculated that at least one-third of the negroes taken on board perished before they reached the coast of America, so that there was another fearful amount to be added to the number which had perished before; in fact, if 150,000 slaves reached the coast annually, the cost to Africa was between 300,000 and 400,000 lives. He believed that all the crimes of the human race, from the creation of the world down to the present moment, did not exceed the amount of guilt that had been incurred in the detestable slave-trade (hear, hear). Such being the case, was it not the duty of every government, and of every nation which possessed the means of discouraging that trade, to employ all the means vouchsafed to them to put it down? and if there were any government or any nation on whom that duty was more peculiarly pressing than another, it was ours. He admitted that much had been done, and that both our government and the nation might look back with satisfaction on the efforts which had been made, and which had met with, at least, partial success. The late government had done their duty in that respect. They had laboured zealously, and with some success, in increasing the number of Christian powers engaged in a common league against this odious trade, and had obtained treaties for its suppression from every American state, except the United States of North America. (Hear.) They had also obtained similar treaties from France, and some of the other powers of Europe; and it was their intention to have gone further. (Hear, hear.) He was concerned to say that, as far as his information and that of the public went, things had not since gone forward, but had rather gone backwards, and that the great strides made by the present government were not towards the suppression of the slave-trade, but towards its revival and extension. The treaty between the five powers, the signatures to which would have been readily obtained as a compliment to the administration that then ruled this country, was in point of fact laid aside. If that treaty had been signed within a month or a fortnight of the present government coming into power, two months being allowed for the exchange of ratifications, it would have been ratified, and would be now in force. But great was his surprise to find that the treaty was not signed till the latter end of December, that was four months after the government came into office. He would not impute blame where he could not show grounds for it. The delay might have arisen from circumstances beyond the control of the government; but the result was peculiarly unfortunate. The result was, that the French Chambers met before the two months allowed for the exchange of ratifications had elapsed, and General Cass, the American envoy at Paris, wishing, in the natural discharge of his duty, to save his government from what he thought an embarrassing position, put every means in requisition to prevent the ratification of the treaty. Pamphlets were circulated, national jealousies were revived, the war party were appealed to, and an address was voted by the Chambers to the Crown. What was that address? Was it an address praying the Crown not to ratify the treaty? No. The address assumed that the treaty was signed, and it therefore merely prayed the Crown to see that in the execution of the treaty due care should be taken of the honour and interests of France. The French government, thereupon, thought that that address, and the debate by which it was preceded, justified them in refusing to ratify the treaty, and they accordingly refused to ratify it. He did think that that was the greatest departure from the established principles of diplomatic intercourse which had been known in Europe in modern times. It was an established principle of diplomatic usage to fulfil the engagements entered into by a duly authorised plenipotentiary, unless it could be shown that he acted without instructions, or against instructions. In this case neither was alleged. The signature was given in pursuance of instructions from the French government, and every other step taken by their plenipotentiary was confirmed by that government. They justified their refusal to ratify by an analogous step, which they said took place between the King of Prussia and the King of the Netherlands with reference to Luxembourg; but the King of the Netherlands did ratify that treaty, and, therefore, there was no precedent for such conduct. He was the last man to say that the refusal of the French government ought to be a cause of anything like a collision or an estrangement between the two governments. There were other and greater interests at stake which required the continuance of a cordial understanding between the two countries. But at the same time he thought that it was the duty of the British government to record their protest against such a departure from the established usages of diplomatic intercourse. No such protest had been made; they had it on the authority of the French minister, who declared in the Chamber that the British minister had made no complaint or remonstrance on this subject. If they were to look to this transaction as a precedent for future proceedings, they would see that the government had not done its duty in abstaining from putting on record its protest against it. The moment the ratification was refused by France there was an end of the league, as the British government did not think it worth while to ask the other four powers to ratify the treaty. That was a great step backwards. It might be no fault of theirs, but it occurred during their management of public affairs. Then came the letter of the noble lord, who presided over the foreign department, to the Lords of the Admiralty, in May, 1842, on the subject of the proceedings which they (the late government) had sanctioned on the coast of Africa, with respect to the barracoons. That letter had a most injurious effect (hear). That letter produced a great sensation.

He knew from various sources of information that before it appeared the parties engaged in the slave-trade were disgusted, dismayed, and dispirited. But when that letter became public, it had the effect of persuading them that the present government meant to leave them alone and not to meddle with them. He looked on that letter as another unfortunate step. Then came the Ashburton capitulation (hear, and laugh), by which we surrendered not only a large extent of territory, but also all claim to demand of America the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Utrecht. He did not hold that that treaty could bind succeeding American governments, for they, of course, would be at liberty to repudiate it; but, at the present time, the American government could have had no ground for refusing to comply with it. This proceeding on the part of the present government was most unfortunate, and must tend to raise the spirits of the slave dealers. This was one point which he wished to clear up by the returns for which he now moved, as he was led to believe that the numbers of slaves imported into the West Indies and Brazil in 1843 exceeded the numbers imported in the two or three preceding years. He should be told that her Majesty's government were anxious to put that trade down, and that they were using every possible activity for that purpose. He had entire belief in their sincerity; he would not imply the slightest doubt of their sincerity; but he had great doubts of the success of their measures. We were to have a blockade of the coast of Africa, and all the cruisers were to be drawn from Brazil and the West Indies to be concentrated on the coast of Africa. This might be deemed a good plan by officers who had been engaged on the coast of Africa; but he should like to know the opinions of the officers who had been engaged on the coast of the West Indies and Brazil. He knew what great applications had been made for an increased force on those coasts, but he also knew that many officers concurred in the expediency of transferring the cruisers to Africa. He had no intention of opposing his own opinion to that of practical men, but he must say that by such a course they would be likely to lose one chance out of two, (hear, hear.) To think of blockading with the fleets of England and France and the 90 guns of the American government (a laugh) the coast of Africa from the northern part on the west side, where the trade begins, to the northern part on the east side, where it ends, was quite preposterous. All that could be done was to give the cruisers shorter distances to guard, and to make them exercise more vigilance and attention. The greater part of the west coast was so studded with islands that a slaver might easily lie among them, and you might go within half a mile of the spot without seeing her. The number of places on the coast where slaves might be embarked was so great that it was useless to think of establishing a blockade in such a sense, at least, as we commonly understood the word, and if a ship once escaped the coast of Africa, she would have a fair run, and would be perfectly safe till she reached the port of destination. But he would ask, had the two governments considered the difficulties of this arrangement, arising from the narrow and confined limits of the French treaty? South of the tenth degree of latitude, on the western coast of Africa, and all along the eastern coast, there was no mutual right of search between England and France. This did not signify as long as they had cruisers on the coast of Brazil; for, if a French ship should attempt to escape, and should be caught in the middle voyage, you could seize and deliver her to her own tribunals on the coast of Brazil; but if you withdrew the cruisers from the coast of Brazil, and should fail to obtain the mutual right of search on the parts of the African coast where you had not it now, the slave-trade would be carried on from those parts in French ships and under the French flag. That was a point worthy of the attention of the government. It would be no answer to say that those parts would be watched by French cruisers, for, knowing that there was not the same feeling in France about the slave-trade as there was in this country, he could not place the same confidence in the vigilance and activity of French cruisers for the suppression of that trade as he would in the cruisers of this country. He begged to move for "A return, showing the total number of African negroes landed for the purposes of slavery on the islands and on the continent of America, from the year 1815 to the year 1843, both inclusive; distinguishing the number so landed in each of those years, and distinguishing also the number landed in each year on the territory of each separate state or power, so far as the same can be made up from documents in the possession of her Majesty's government."

The question having been put,

Sir R. PEEL said: In all the first part of the speech of the noble lord I cordially concur. I do believe that this is the most iniquitous traffic that ever existed—that it engenders more of misery—that it stimulates to more of crime than any public act which was ever committed by any nation, however regardless of the laws of God or man (hear, hear). Possibly the noble lord has rather overrated the number of slaves actually landed at the different ports on the coast of America and on other coasts. I may possibly differ from him as to the full extent to which slaves have been landed. For a succession of years the noble lord estimated them at 150,000. I think we may take the number at 100,000; but even if my estimate be the more correct one, I concur with him that the number actually landed is no test whatever of the misery and suffering inflicted on the people of Africa by the continuance of this traffic (hear, hear.) I do not think that he overrates the numbers that are sacrificed in attempting to gain the price of the blood and sinews of the unfortunate men who are the victims of this system. In what light, I ask, must we, professing Christianity, exhibit ourselves to the people of Africa? What must they think of the precepts and doctrines and practices of that religion which we profess, when Europeans can be parties to the encouragement of this iniquitous traffic? (hear, hear.) That is one of the great evils of it. It is an impediment to the spread of Christianity; for a savage people never can believe that those are really in possession of the truths of that religion to which they take pride in professing to belong, who can be parties to the infliction of such misery as that which is inflicted in consequence of the perpetration of these crimes. Sir, I say, too, with the noble lord, and it ought to be known, that there are two countries, and two only, now mainly responsible for the continuance of these crimes. There is, on the part of every other civilised country, with the exception of two, a desire to co-operate in the suppression of the trade in man. If Spain and if Brazil would zealously apply themselves to the suppression of the slave-trade in those parts of the world within which they can exercise jurisdiction, in my opinion the slave-trade might and would be suppressed

entirely (hear, hear). France, Portugal, Denmark—to her honour, I believe, she led the way, she set the example—this country, the United States of America, Prussia, Russia, Austria—every one of these powers is ready to co-operate in the suppression of the slave-trade. But while those two powers oppose themselves to the suppression of it, no effectual progress can be made. Deep public guilt is upon the heads of those who derive a profit from the continuance of the slave-trade, and who do not attempt to suppress it. It can clearly be shown that these are the two only countries, Spain and Brazil, that lend a sanction to the continuance of the traffic, and that they are the only two countries that derive a profit from it. They have the power to suppress it, and without their goodwill, whatever exertions we may make—whatever sacrifices we may impose upon the people of this country—it is nearly impossible for us, almost unaided as I think we are in this respect, in active exertions to suppress the slave-trade on the coasts of the Brazils and Cuba, effectually to succeed. We can do much, no doubt, towards its suppression; but perfect success we cannot hope for, except with the co-operation of the Spanish and Brazilian governments, who, whatever the gallantry of our sailors may achieve, and whatever the public burdens we may be willing to incur, are constantly counteracting and defeating, and by the connivance of the local authorities preventing the success of our efforts. It would be easy to show that Spain and Brazil might if they chose suppress this trade. Brazil made the attempt in 1840 and 1841, when the authorities interfered for the purpose of suppressing it, and the effect was immediate. During that period the government of Brazil, and the authorities acting under the direction of that government, did actually interfere and did discourage this traffic, and there was consequently a considerable diminution in the number of slaves imported into Brazil. With respect to Cuba, the experience of the last two years proves conclusively that it is in the power of an honest and active governor—setting his face with determination against the continuance of that traffic, notwithstanding all the incitements which avarice and love of gain may interpose—to take effectual measures for its suppression (hear, hear). I do think it greatly to the credit of the person who lately exercised power in Spain—I mean General Espartero—it is greatly to his credit, and to the credit of the government with which he was connected, that he appointed to take the command in Cuba (hear, hear) an honourable and enlightened man like Gen. Valdez (cheers), who refused to participate in the gains which his predecessors had profited by from conniving at this traffic, and who called together the holders of estates and the merchants in Cuba, and told them that the orders of his government and his own sense of duty compelled him to discourage this traffic, and that discourage it he would. And for a time, as long as it was possible for him to do so, he adhered to that determination. The result was most extraordinary during the period that General Valdez administered the functions of the government in Cuba. In the year 1842 the importation of slaves did not exceed 3,100 men; when he assumed the government, the importations were, I believe, about 14,000. If I recollect right, in the very first year of his government a diminution took place, and the number imported was but 8,000; and in 1842, the last year of his government, the number was only 3,000. Thus I have attempted to show that when in 1840 and 1841 Brazil honestly exerted herself, there was a great diminution in the traffic in slaves. I have attempted to show that when there was an active and honest governor, determined to perform his duty, fulfilling his engagements towards this country, and acting on the instructions he received from the honest and enlightened government of which he was the officer, that then, as far as Cuba was concerned, the slave-trade was effectually suppressed. Now these are decisive proofs that without the concurrence of the national and local authorities in Brazil and Cuba success is unattainable, but that with their concurrence it is possible and certain. *I, therefore, charge the governments of those countries for the whole of the responsibility and for the whole of the sufferings which are now endured in consequence of the slave-trade* (cheers). I do hope then that that part of the statement made by the noble lord, and confirmed by his successors in the administration, will have some effect. I do hope that the governments and people of these countries will, from a regard to humanity and the dictates of religion, feel the grievous responsibility which has now devolved upon them—will feel that the eyes of Europe and of the whole civilised world are on them, and that they are the responsible parties for the continuance of the traffic. But if these higher considerations and purer motives do not prevail, let me warn them of the danger they are incurring—let me advise the government of Spain to look well at the present condition of Cuba. That country is in such a state that the tenure of power is most precarious. There is a feeling of determination on the part of the slave population to rid themselves of the evils which they are enduring, and which makes suffering and death light considerations in the balance (hear, hear). Torture has been applied under the sanction of the authorities—confessions have been made, and those confessions implicate almost the whole population (hear, hear). It is not a dissatisfaction with any particular law; it is not the amount of labour which is required to be performed in this or that place—it is the denial of the right of man to hold his fellow-creature as a slave which has spread throughout the whole of the black population of that country, exceeding vastly as they do, in numbers and physical strength, the whites by whom they are kept in check, and affording conclusive evidence that there is a settled deep determination to emancipate themselves from such a state of slavery as that to which they have been subjected. Those who have taken the most active part in this conspiracy are those who have been most recently brought from the coasts of Africa—men who are unenlightened by any education, and without the means of combination and conspiracy which must exist amongst those who have received some education. Surely, then, if purer and higher motives fail to influence the government of Spain, those of interest and policy must force themselves on its consideration (cheers). What I am stating is the truth, and nothing but the truth. It is confirmed by insurrections which are suppressed only by military force, and by the subsequent enforcement of the law, (for I presume it is the law in Cuba), in a manner which I will not detail, and which, although it may insure temporary obedience, can only in its ultimate results tend to confirm the impressions we have held (hear, hear). Therefore, sir, I do make this appeal, in the face of the British parliament, to those two countries which are responsible for the continuance of this traffic, not only by considerations of duty and regard to the positive will and order of the Supreme Being we all worship, but also

from a regard to the most ordinary considerations of policy and self-interest. I am prepared to defend the present government from the charge preferred by the noble lord. His first ground of imputation was the conduct of the present government with respect to the treaty signed with France in the year 1841. The noble lord said the treaty was made ready for signature, and was signed on the part of the French government by the representative of that government having full authority; there was no allegation that that representative had exceeded his power; and certainly, under the ordinary rules which governed transactions of this description, we had a fair right to expect that a treaty so signed would have been ratified. So far as the King of the French and the government of France were concerned, I believe every honest effort was made to fulfil that expectation. But certain feelings of national pride did oppose themselves to the ratification of that treaty, and for raising those feelings I hold the noble lord responsible. The treaty of the 15th July, 1840, which interrupted our friendly relations with France, was the cause of that excitement in the public mind which, being represented and having its effect in the Chamber, prevented the government from ratifying the treaty. The next point the noble lord urged as a proof that we had not advanced but retrograded with respect to the slave-trade, was, that we have not taken the same view as himself respecting the destruction of the barracoons on the coast of Africa. The noble lord said he gave letters to naval officers, to have no very nice regard to the law of nations, but to destroy the barracoons, and liberate the slaves wherever they might find them. I must say, however, that I think by far the best course for this country to pursue in its relations to other powers, whether civilized or otherwise, is to adhere to the principles and established rules which regulate the intercourse of nations. No doubt we are a powerful country. No doubt it is possible for us to enter upon the coast of Africa and destroy these places; but it is important to know how other nations would regard such acts. Savage nations, perhaps, may make no demand for redress, but other European powers have interests on the coast of Africa; and, if we disregard the law of nations, we may have to decide whether or no we will persevere in the course we have adopted or acknowledge ourselves in the wrong, and make compensation for the injury we have committed. The ordinary course in these matters is to take the advice of the legal adviser of the Crown. We, therefore, referred this matter to the Queen's Advocate. We told him we were most anxious to exercise every power we possessed for preventing the slave-trade, and wished to know if complaint were made whether we should be justified in the course the noble lord recommended? His answer was, that no law gave us a right to do this, and that if a life was lost, and we could be amenable to any tribunal, we should be chargeable with murder (hear, hear). We inquired whether the law of nations or the usage of nations would justify us in destroying the barracoons; and the opinion of the Queen's Advocate was, that, without a convention with a native African prince, we should not be justified, and, as in the former case, we should be responsible for what might occur. Under these circumstances we thought it right to give instructions to the naval officers to destroy these barracoons, where it could be done with sufficient legal authority, but otherwise to abstain from doing so until their proceedings could be justified by law. But as the opinion given to us was that we might do this with the consent of the native princes, we instructed them to make such treaties where it was practicable; and told them that we would support them when they acted under them (hear, hear). Now I ask, under these circumstances, whether there is good grounds for the noble lord's imputations on the government? I say ours is the wiser course. The noble lord might perhaps liberate here and there a thousand slaves, and alarm the slave-traders of Cuba by exercising powers beyond the law. But, in my opinion, it is better to exhibit ourselves to the native African princes as bound by the same rule with other powers, and that, whatever may be the extent of our power, we will not effect even good and laudable objects except in the spirit of law and justice (hear, hear). The next point to which the noble lord referred is, to what has been called, although it is not technically such, the blockade of the coast of Africa, or the increase of our naval force there for the purpose of preventing the departure of vessels laden with slaves. The noble lord may be able to form a competent opinion on this question, but I can only say, if he denies that it will be effectual, we have had the opinion of several distinguished naval officers who have been stationed on the coast of Africa, and they concur in recommending it to the government as the most effectual measure that can be adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade. Captain Matson, a most distinguished naval officer, and most competent to form a correct judgment on the subject—Captain Denman, an officer equally distinguished, and having had great experience on that coast, and Captain Tucker—all concur in pointing this out as the most effectual method of putting down the slave-trade (hear, hear). With these great naval authorities in our favour, we have felt it our duty to make this experiment. But it was not on these opinions only that the government acted. We did not take it for granted these opinions were correct. We referred these opinions to the high and tried authority of my right hon. friend (Sir G. Cockburn), who having taken time, as is his wont, to consider the question, came to the conclusion that it might not inevitably succeed, but that there was an infinitely greater chance of its succeeding than stationing the ships at Brazil and Cuba (hear, hear). I must observe, also, that the noble lord is wrong in supposing that it follows as a matter of course, that when we add to the force on the coast of Africa we must withdraw our force on the coast of Brazil. There is also this advantage, that at Brazil there is a constant demand for our force for other purposes, which cannot be the case on the coast of Africa. With every wish to employ it solely for its specific object, it will sometimes happen, as in the present case of the war between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, that it is called in aid for the protection of the lives and property of her Majesty's subjects. It may be said that they ought not to attend to these requisitions. But depend upon it such requisitions will always be attended to. You have, therefore, a much greater chance of its continuous and uninterrupted action against the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, than you can have on the coast of Brazil. But, as I said, it by no means follows that you should altogether cease your precautionary measures on the coast of Brazil. I agree, if you did so, and trusted altogether to precautionary measures on the coast of Africa, there would be great risk of evasion, and that slaves would be landed on the coast of Brazil; and, therefore, I by no means advise the

immediate cessation of such precautions (hear, hear). In these attempts it is a subject of great congratulation that we have obtained the aid of France, and that the good understanding which now subsists between this country and that country may, notwithstanding what has been suggested to the contrary, be maintained without any sacrifice of high feeling or of national honour.

Sir C. NAPIER would have been glad had the right hon. baronet told the house what were the instructions given to British cruisers in case an American cruiser was not in sight, and they came up with a suspicious vessel sailing under the American flag. In such a case he should be glad to know whether a British cruiser was justified in boarding the vessel, for the purpose of ascertaining whether she had merely hoisted the American flag to cover her traffic in slaves.

Sir R. PEEL immediately rose, and said he trusted his right hon. friend would not give the required explanation. We had received no particulars of the instructions furnished by the American government to their cruisers, and he did not see the expediency of giving such an answer as was sought for by the hon. and gallant member. The last accounts which had been received were of a satisfactory nature. Captain Foot's letter to the American commodore, offering his cordial co-operation to prevent slavery, had been met in a friendly spirit, and her Majesty's government had been assured that every hope existed of a continuance of the friendly understanding which at present existed with the cruisers of the United States.

Mr. P. BORTHWICK thought it was of the utmost importance that the plan of the noble lord and the right hon. baronet, since they appeared agreed on the same plan, should be immediately adopted against Spain and Brazils, which were the only two outstanding powers who did not join to put an end to the odious traffic.

Captain PECHELL said, the right hon. baronet had, with his usual caution, prevented the first lord of the Admiralty giving a reply to the question of his hon. and gallant friend (Sir C. Napier). He was most anxious to have an explanation of this part of the question, of how the officers on service were to conduct themselves on this difficult question? He was very glad to find American vessels co-operating with ours, and he hoped this good feeling would continue.

Viscount PALMERSTON said he was glad to find that he and the right hon. baronet were not likely to differ as to the question of barracoons. It was useful that slave-traders should know that it was the intention of the government to avail themselves of the powers which the convention with the native chiefs gave, of rooting out those nests of pirates which infested that part of the African coast. He was exceedingly glad to hear a confirmation of the good effects of the distinguished administration of General Valdez in Cuba. If the Spanish governors were honestly disposed to do their duty, the task of the British government in the suppression of the slave-trade would be light indeed. He trusted that the course of friendly representation and strong remonstrance which the government intended to pursue towards the governments of Spain and Brazil would produce the effect of awakening those governments to a sense of the obligations which they owed, not merely to us, but to themselves and to the faith of treaties.

Sir R. PEEL begged to add to the motion a list of the cases adjudged under the slave-trade treaties, and the number of slaves emancipated at Sierra Leone, Rio Janeiro, Havana, and Surinam, from 1819 to 1844.

Mr. HUME wished other places to be included.

Sir R. PEEL assented, and the motion as amended was agreed to.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ANNEXATION.—The President, on the 11th, as you are already informed, sent a message to the house of representatives in relation to the annexation of Texas to the United States, which message, with the documents accompanying it, was referred to the committee on foreign affairs. That committee has made no report, and Congress have adjourned without action on the subject. The whole Whig party in Congress have opposed annexation in every form in which it has been presented to the national legislature. I think they will continue to do so; but the friends of annexation have such a deep pecuniary interest in the question, that they will continue to press it upon the administration and the country with unceasing zeal until the termination of the presidential contest. Congress will not again convene until the first week in December, unless called together sooner by the President. It has been rumoured that Mr. Tyler contemplates an extra session shortly after the members have mingled with their constituents, believing, as it is said he does, that the people will change their opinions, and consequently the action of their representatives, on the question of Texan annexation, and especially in the south and south-west. If an extra session should be held in September or October, I have no doubt it will keep up, if not greatly increase, the excitement on the subject of annexation; but if not, then I think the excitement will gradually subside. Among other rumours, it is said "that letters have been written to Texas to persuade the Texans not to make any bargain with England, but to await the issue of the coming elections. A letter to the same effect from members of Congress to the Texan Congress and people is contemplated." These movements indicate that the friends of annexation yet hope something may be done by this government, and give countenance, in some measure, to the opinion that an extra session of Congress may be contemplated.—*Correspondent of the Times.*

AN IMPORTANT DECISION.—Two gentlemen in Green township were lately sued for employing coloured persons, who had not given bonds and security according to the statute, the coloured men, formerly the slaves of Dr. Brisbane, in South Carolina, lately brought to this State, and set free. The trustees of the township were non-suited, on the ground, stated by the justice, that no testimony had been produced to show that the coloured persons employed had immigrated to the State—and this was required by the statute.—*Cin. Chron.*

ORDERED TO LEAVE.—We learn from the New Orleans papers, that several free blacks have been ordered to leave that city, also the State of Louisiana, within sixty days. A celebrated barber, named Napoleon Bonaparte Goins, has been ordered to start, but his wife, being a straight-haired creole, is not obliged to follow him.—*Boston Chronicle.*

MEXICO AND TEXAS.—At Washington some stir had been created by the arrival of a special messenger with dispatches for General Almonte, the resident Mexican Minister in America. Several of the New York papers proclaimed that Mexico was decidedly favourable to the annexation, and would gladly join the Union at any price. However, the very contrary of this turns out to be the fact. The *New York Commercial Advertiser* has it that Santa Anna would not listen to any overture for the acquisition of Texas by the United States, but repeated his former declaration, that the annexation would be regarded by Mexico as a declaration of war. Such, moreover, was the tone of the Mexican papers without exception. The officers of the Poinsett reported at Mobile that 14,000 troops had assembled and were quartered at Vera Cruz, and that large quantities of military stores were arriving there. An English brig with ammunition, &c., had just arrived from Tobasco. The Mexican authorities were loud in their denunciations of vengeance against the United States, and threatened to send an army to Washington if the Texan treaty of annexation is ratified. A Spanish journal, published in New York, gives the text of a dispatch from Senor Bocanegra, the Mexican Foreign Minister, to General Almonte, which reached the latter gentleman on Thursday, by way of Havana. This dispatch was forwarded after the arrival of Mr. G. L. Thompson at the city of Mexico, on his mission from the government of the United States; and was forwarded by way of Havana, expressly to meet and contradict any rumours that might be set afloat in this country, of willingness on the part of Mexico to assent to the annexation of Texas. Senor Bocanegra informs General Almonte, in the most emphatic terms, that Mexico will never assent to the annexation—that the government and the nation are immovably determined to resist the project and reject all proposals for its consummation, whether accompanied or not by offers of compensation. And General Almonte is authorized and instructed to contradict, in the most formal manner, any assertion or intimation of a different character.—*Correspondent of the Morning Herald.*

Miscellanea.

THE RAPID has been most actively and successfully employed on the African coast. On the 15th of February last she had a dashing affair with a Spanish slaver, completely armed, which she captured with her boats in the river Bimbia. The boats had to sustain a long galling fire of musketry in pulling up the river, but when they got alongside, the slave crew ran below and cried for mercy. It was a gallant affair, and the crew of the *Rapid* appear to have behaved with much courage. One man was killed and two wounded. The *Rapid* has been on the coast two years, during which time she has captured seven slave vessels, containing 1288 slaves. The letter we have received, speaking of one of the slave vessels captured, states that her deck was only four feet from floor to beam, where the slaves were literally stowed in bulk, men, women, and children all huddled together; that the effluvia ascending up the hatchway was not approachable, from the extreme filth, heat, moisture, and stench from the slave-deck, where several poor creatures were found dead, trodden under feet by the living; that no imagination can paint the sufferings that these poor miserable Africans undergo; and that in general all the vessels captured partook more or less of the deplorable condition of this one that he particularises; and immorality, disease, and death were prevalent in all of them.—*Morning Herald.*

USE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter, written by a respectable American shipmaster, and dated Zanzibar, January 29, 1844:—"I arrived here December 19th, after a very tedious passage along the coast, stopping at Delagoa Bay, Quilimane, Mozambique, Ebo, and Majunga. The first four ports are Portuguese, and formerly slave marts. At present the trade is carried on to some extent, although the English are doing all in their power to prevent it; but since the right of visit is not allowed by America, much abuse is made of the American flag in the traffic. Indeed, the Portuguese tell me they have no fear of detection when once on the ocean. For instance, I met the master of a Portuguese vessel, fitted as a whaler, with boats, &c. He left the coast a few days after my last voyage, with 1,100 slaves. When off the Cape of Good Hope, he met the English admiral, in a frigate, who pursued him. He accordingly hoisted American colours. The frigate hailed him, but a few yards distant; all he could say in English was 'Fish,' which satisfied the English admiral, who bore up, wishing him a pleasant passage—the ladies on board the frigate waving their handkerchiefs as a parting salute. The slaver went on his way rejoicing, and landed on the Brazil coast 1035 slaves, making an enormous profit on the speculation."

COOLY EMIGRATION.—At the last Quarterly General Court of East India proprietors, Mr. G. Thompson said that complaints had reached this country of a grievance which called for the immediate interference of the directors. It was stated that the ships employed to convey the Hill Coolies from the Mauritius to their native country were but badly contrived for such a purpose, and that the Coolies were crowded in them to their annoyance and injury. The Government of India had no authority to interfere, or to make regulations which would be binding on the functionaries in the Mauritius. He did hope, under these circumstances, that the directors would impress on her Majesty's Government the necessity of sending out instructions to the Mauritius, so that the grievance might be removed. Those Hill Coolies had immigrated to the Mauritius under strong encouragements from the Government of India, and care ought to be taken that every facility should be given to them on their return, at the termination of their contract. The Chairman said that he had got no information on the subject. With respect to the grievance itself, all he could say was, that if the enactments of that statute were violated, the offending parties would be liable to prosecution. He would make inquiries on the subject.

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, July 24, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXII. VOL. V.—No. 16.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The annual papers recently presented to both Houses of Parliament by her Majesty's command, embrace various details respecting the slave-trade from January 1, to December 31, 1843, inclusive. As usual, however, much of the matter contained in these papers has been anticipated by the discussions which have taken place in parliament; yet, as they contain the official reports of the commissioners at Sierra Leone, Rio de Janeiro, Surinam and Havana, as well as the correspondence between the British Government and foreign powers, relative to the slave-trade, some of which is extremely important, we feel it to be our duty to lay before our readers such extracts as may be necessary for them to understand the actual state of the question, and to form a correct judgment thereon.

In the present number of the *Reporter*, we must confine ourselves exclusively to the Reports of the British Commissioners.

SIERRA LEONE.

THE COMMISSIONERS TO LORD ABERDEEN.

"*Sierra Leone, 31st Dec., 1842.*

"The total number of vessels prosecuted before the Courts of Mixed Commission, since their establishment in this colony in June, 1819, to the present date, is four hundred and fifty-eight; four hundred and thirty-four of which were cases of confiscation, twenty-three of restoration, and one was withdrawn, in order to be proceeded against in the Court of Vice-Admiralty.

"During the same period there have been emancipated by these courts sixty thousand two hundred and seventy-seven slaves, of whom fifty-two thousand six hundred and sixteen have been registered here.

"Of the eleven vessels which came before the Mixed Courts during this year, one only had slaves on board, who were shipped in the neighbourhood of Lagos for Espiritu Santo, in the Brazils; her flag and papers, however, having indicated a Portuguese nationality, this vessel was tried, and condemned as such; and was the only case adjudicated in the British and Portuguese Court of Mixed Commission.

"Of the remaining ten vessels, all cases of equipment, four were engaged in the Spanish, and six in the Brazilian slave-trade.

"The Spanish slavers were exclusively employed for the Island of Cuba, three of them cleared from Havana—two under Portuguese, and one under Spanish colours; the fourth sailed from St. Jago de Cuba under the Spanish flag. They were all captured to the north of the line, and their respective destinations on this coast were,—two for Lagos, one for New Cestos, and one for Bissao.

"Three of the six Brazilians belonged to Bahia; the others to Rio, Pernambuco, and Santos: their destinations on this coast being one for Whydah, one for Prince's Island and St. Thomas's, two for Angola, and two for Benguela. The places of capture corresponded with those destinations, two having been taken to the north, and four to the south of the line, all under the flag of Brazil, but each supplied with other colours; five of them having Portuguese flags; two, American; one, a Spanish; one, a Tuscan; and one, an English ensign.

"Of the Spanish vessels, one was furnished with the flags of Portugal and France, in addition to that of Spain.

"Five of these eleven vessels were built in the United States, although two only were found provided with the colours of that nation; and it would seem that the American flag, though still occasionally used, is not now resorted to by parties employed in the slave-trade to nearly the same extent as in 1839 and 1840. No doubt the numerous seizures made during those two years have operated as a salutary check; and we trust that the establishment by the United States of an efficient squadron on this coast, acting in concert with her Majesty's cruisers, will tend to deprive the slave-traders altogether of the protection of an ensign which has so often of late years covered their infamous transactions."

Alluding to the apparent diminution of the slave-trade during the year 1842, they observe:—

"Though, possibly, the alleged depression in the trade of Cuba and Brazil may have tended in some degree to this decrease, there appears ground for attributing it chiefly to three causes, all of which have been in operation for a limited period.

"1st. The seizure, and the frequent condemnation, of late years, of Brazilian and Portuguese vessels equipped only for the traffic;

"2nd. The practice, latterly so efficiently carried out, of blockading the places most resorted to by slave-dealers: and,

"3rdly. To that measure of destroying barracoons and slave factories, not under European protection, which prevailed during 1841, and part of 1842. Indeed, however questionable may be considered the policy of proceedings of so arbitrary a nature, in territories over which Great Britain claims no right to exercise sovereignty, to this

last mode of suppression may, we think, be ascribed, perhaps more than to either of the other causes which we have named, that decrease which has been so remarkable during the past year."

The number of Portuguese slavers condemned under 2 and 3 Vict. cap. 73, by the Vice-Admiralty Courts at the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena are not given, the returns not having been forwarded to Sierra Leone. These, however, diminished the number adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Court there.

HAVANA.

THE COMMISSIONERS TO LORD ABERDEEN.

"*Havana, Jan. 2. 1843.*

"In presenting this report we cannot but, in the outset, express our utmost congratulation, that, for the first time in the history of this Commission, we are enabled positively to say that good faith has been observed, as regards the treaty, by this superior government; and that the present captain-general has, so far as has personally been in his power, fulfilled the promises he made in that respect on his first assumption of the command in the beginning of 1841. In that year, as shown by our last annual report, dated the 1st Jan., 1842, there sailed hence at least thirty-one vessels suspected of being intended for slave-trade; being, however, a decrease of full one-half of the average number of former years; while, in the year past, we are not able to point out more than three that have sailed to be engaged, in any way, in the illicit traffic; and one of these, the American schooner, *Cyrus*, went probably only as a tender for the conveyance of goods or equipments, which would have subjected a vessel under any other flag, carrying them, to confiscation.

"Nor is the change less perceptible in respect of the arrivals. During the year 1841 our list presented a number of twenty-seven vessels that arrived from the coast of Africa, with nearly 9,000 Africans, who were absorbed in the slave population of this island, but the adventures of which were not interfered with, on General Valdes's recent arrival and adoption of new measures. During the past year, however, those measures have been carried into full operation, and only nine slave vessels have been reported in all this northern part of the island as arrived during the year, of which two are said to have returned without entering into any port at all, and one, the *Trueno*, has been seized by his Excellency's orders, as detailed in our despatch of the 18th November last. If any of the other vessels have escaped the like fate, it must have been by extensive bribery of the subordinate officers, which, again, must have crippled considerably the resources of the slave-dealers; while they have also suffered very materially by the seizure of many of the negroes whom they had succeeded in landing. Thus, therefore, while those who were seized formed a complete loss to them, from those who were not seized they could have obtained little or no profit. The denunciations of the party are consequently loud in proportion, though they certainly have no just right to complain, as ample warning and forbearance were shown during the first year of General Valdes's administration; so much, indeed, as apparently to lead them into the delusive hope that the threats of a different policy might be averted, or other influence be brought into exercise in Spain. Under this hope, then, it seems to have been that so many as thirty-one vessels sailed hence in 1841 for the coast of Africa, and probably many more of which we received no report, on account of the greater secrecy now adopted; and also that much money has been sent to Spain to obtain orders of a different character, though, we are glad to think, in vain."

This diminution of the slave-trade is ascribed to the incorruptible integrity of General Valdes, the late Captain-general; but in subsequent reports, of which the following are extracts, it appears that his subordinates were not equally incorruptible with himself:—

"*Havana, July 22, 1843.*

"The undoubted connivance of the authorities at Matanzas, at this continuance of the slave-trade, we would respectfully point out to your lordship's notice, as requiring strong remonstrances on the part of her Majesty's government. It appears as if the Captain-general's powers were set at naught by the governors of the other parts of the island. It is, however, we are happy to say, indubitable, that an end is put to the trade as far as regards this port; and one of the satisfactory evidences of this, we have observed, is the appearance occasionally of advertisements in the public papers, for bodies of field negroes sought to be purchased, which was never the case formerly, when the persons wanting them had only to go to the barracoons and choose them."

"*Havana, August 8, 1843.*

"Anxious as we are to do full justice to the undoubted good faith of General Valdes, we should regret to think him lending his sanction to the proceedings of his subordinate officers; but it is impossible for his Excellency not to be well aware of those pro-

ceedings, or that no fewer than 4,500 Africans have been landed this year in the immediate neighbourhood of Matanzas, which could not have been done without the connivance of the governor of that city. We did not, however, think it right, in reply to his Excellency, to state more than that, in thus bringing to his Excellency's notice these circumstances of general notoriety, we only repeated what we found it our duty to report to her Britannic Majesty's government, and in accordance with our instructions."

The hopes cherished by the Commissioners of the abatement of the slave-trade have been dissipated by the arrival of the new Captain-General, O'Donnell, who, it is ascertained beyond doubt, is actively abetting the nefarious traffic.

"Havana, Nov. 8, 1843.

"We regret, however, to have to state, that the slave-traders, presuming, no doubt, upon the impunity to be looked for from the ill-settled state of affairs in Spain, have recommenced their operations with more activity than they have been able to evince for many years. Such is the general belief, corroborated by the fact that all those articles suited for the African market, have been much asked for lately, and some have considerably risen in price. Still there is so much mystery, and so many devices adopted to cover their designs, that it is impossible for us to learn sufficiently of their proceedings, to enable us satisfactorily to report them. We learn, however, that many vessels have sailed during the month suspected of being intended for the slave-trade."

BRAZIL.

The Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro do not give an annual statement of the supposed extent of the slave-trade with Brazil; we are left, therefore, to incidental notices such as the following, to form an idea of it.

THE COMMISSIONERS TO LORD ABERDEEN.

"Rio de Janeiro, March, 5, 1843.

"We continue to receive authentic accounts of the landing in Brazil of large cargoes of negroes, in which nefarious proceedings the slave-dealers are openly assisted by the local authorities."

"Rio de Janeiro, March 20, 1843.

"At no period has the Brazilian slave-trade been so extensively carried on, as it is at the present moment in Rio de Janeiro itself; and it is with deep concern that we remark *most painful evidence* of the immoral influence of this traffic upon nearly the whole of the commercial and social relations of the community."

"Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1843.

"The operations of the Brazilian slave-dealers during the past six months have been attended with most unbounded success, and, in consequence, the number of new negroes for sale has so increased, that the market value of a bozal African slave has fallen from 60/- to 40/-."

These extracts, however, give but a faint idea of the actual state of the slave-trade in Brazil; and, in reference to the Spanish colonies, the latest reports abundantly prove that it has broken out with increased virulence. The check which it received from General Valdes, especially at the port of Havana, having been withdrawn by General O'Donnell, has let in a flood of slaves into Cuba, and the traffic is now carried on with an activity and audacity unparalleled during the last few years.

SURINAM:

No slaves, it is believed, have for some time past been introduced into the Dutch colony of Surinam; her Majesty's commissary judge is therefore employed chiefly in obtaining the liberty of such slaves as have been illicitly introduced in years past, contrary to treaty, and in promoting the emancipation of British subjects unlawfully held in bondage there. To this very important subject we shall soon have to call the attention of our readers.

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

(From a Correspondent.)

Algiers, July 2nd, 1844.

JUST after I last wrote to you, I very fortunately picked up a pamphlet in a shop in this city, which throws some light upon the present state of slavery and the slave-trade in Algeria; and, as the writer is the secretary of the Scientific Commission of Algeria, it may be considered to have a sort of official authority. The pamphlet is entitled, "Du Commerce de l'Algérie avec l'Afrique Centrale et les états Barbaresques. Réponse à la note de M. Jules de Losteyrie, Député, Membre de la Commission des crédits supplémentaires sur le commerce du Soudan, par E. Carette, Capitaine du Génie, Membre et Secrétaire de la Commission Scientifique de l'Algérie. Paris, 1844." The object of the writer in this pamphlet is to prove that Algiers had always commercial relations with Central Africa, and that, though partly interrupted, they can be re-established; and this he endeavours to show in opposition to M. Jules de Losteyrie. He states, in commencing his observations, that this gentleman was appointed by the "commission of supplementary credits", to examine whether there was any hope of re-establishing commercial relations between Algeria and Timbuctoo, and that his report pretends to disclose the existence of insurmountable obstacles. How is it, in combating M. Jules de Losteyrie, that the author of the pamphlet incidentally mentions the slave-trade of Algiers, and the existence of slavery amongst its inhabitants?

First of all, he tells us that, amongst the Algeria imports from Central Africa, "slaves are an article of commerce," (page 27). Then further on (page 33) he says, "We must not conceal the fact, that for some years the commerce of Soudan with Algeria has been injured in one of its principal branches by the arrival of the French: on the one hand, the sale of slaves is not now by auction, and therefore loses two powerful auxiliaries, competitors and publicity; on the other hand, the sudden depreciation of specie affects acquired fortunes, renders the maintenance of servants more expensive without augmenting the value of their services, forces the richest houses to reduce their retinue, and contributes thus to diminish the importation of negroes. All the natives agree in the fact, that the number of slaves sold in the regency has constantly decreased since 1830, (when the French conquered this country,) and this result coming from our conquest, were it the only one, would be one of the noblest compensations for the sacrifices which it has cost. Would it then be impossible to hasten by a participation, prudent, but regardful of the commerce of Central Africa, the cessation of this deplorable traffic? When the slave-dealers shall find more profit in simple merchandise, will they not easily abandon the traffic in men?"

From this remarkable passage of the pamphlet of the Secretary of the Scientific Commissioners of Algeria we learn the following facts: that the decrease of slavery in this country is owing to two principal causes—the prohibition to sell slaves by public auction, and the troubled state of the regency, having been for fourteen years in a state of war, which hinders the regular course and trade of the caravans. For the first cause of diminishing the traffic in slaves we are indebted to the French, who have prohibited (at least I imagine so) public auctions. We must therefore give them due credit for this. But with respect to the second cause, there is danger of an increase or revival of the traffic when the country becomes more settled, as, in fact, it does every day. Let us hope, however, some friend of the poor slave will not only come forward to prevent the future slave-caravans touching the ground of Africa which is called French, but also devise some means for stopping the slave-trade in the heart of the regency amongst the Moors and Arabs. Unquestionably, from the statement of M. Carette, Secretary of the Scientific Commission, slaves are still imported into this country, if not for the French themselves, at least for French Mussulmans. Of the cruelty of the system we see but little; and the government, more and more to conciliate the Mussulman population, leaves them to themselves. But slavery is always cruel. Slavery is always accursed. Slavery will always be the ultimate ruin of the people who tolerate and support it.

UNITED STATES SLAVERY.

Our hearts have sickened often at the recital of the scenes which American slavery is continually presenting; but we confess we have felt an unusual degree of disgust on the perusal of the following extract of a letter from the Rev. M. D. Miller, of Wilmington, Vermont, to the editor of the *Vermont Observer*, dated May 28, 1844. It relates to the proceedings of the late Baptist Triennial Convention at Philadelphia, and may appropriately be headed, "*A minister of Christ for sale!*" The extract is as follows:—

"And then, as though enough was not done to outrage humanity, in this great Convention, *a minister of Christ is offered for sale!* Yes, brethren of Vermont, ye who are weary of paying a salary to support the gospel, if you had been at Philadelphia at the Baptist Triennial Convention, you could have purchased one recommended to be a good minister of Christ—one of that class, however, who, if you make them free, 'cannot take care of themselves.'

"But you are ready to ask, how is this?—do they sell men in Philadelphia? Late reports say they kill men there—that they have, since the convention was holden, killed 14 men and turned 200 families into the streets houseless. Well, how is it about the man offered for sale? Why, when the report of the American missions was read, it stated that experience had shown that the mission could not be sustained through the instrumentality of white missionaries, and recommended that coloured men be prepared and sent out. Br. Ryland, of Virginia, arose and said, he was pastor of a coloured church of 200 members, and one of the members, a minister and a slave, was anxious to go a missionary to Africa: a good man, well qualified for the work, had partly paid for HIMSELF, and if the Convention would pay 200 dollars, they could have him free, and send him to Africa. 'Now,' said Br. Ryland, 'here is a chance for you who are so anxious for the slave, to try your liberality.'

"Look at it—southern brethren say slavery is not a sin, and yet they say here is a man whom Christ has called to preach his gospel; he cannot go because he is a slave. And this same brother, who offered for sale a member of his church, and actually brought this article of property with him to Philadelphia, that the purchaser might examine for himself, told me in private conversation, that if the abolitionists did not pay over the 200 dollars, he should use it as an argument against them. O, my heart sickened when I applied the words of Christ, 'Whatsoever ye have done to the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' How must the Saviour feel, to hear one of his [professed] friends say slavery is not sin, when it holds his ministers—as bad as to hold himself—as slaves!"

We fully sympathize in the sentiments of indignant loathing so powerfully expressed by the Rev. Mr. Miller; and we are sorry that immediate proceedings were not adopted in the Convention itself, adapted to express their sense of the insult offered, not to themselves only, but to Christianity and its divine Author.

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.

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 7, 1844.

THE papers by the West India mail were delivered yesterday, but they bring no news of importance. The long drought had been succeeded by heavy rains, in some instances so heavy as to prove destructive to the canes, and ruinous to the planters. Public meetings on the sugar question continued to be held.

Our private correspondence includes a letter on the subject of the outbreak in Dominica, from a gentleman in the neighbouring island of St. Christopher, which we give entire. We deeply regret to learn from it that the disturbances had again broken out, and were proceeding when the steamer left the island.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

St. Christopher's, July 29, 1844.

SIR.—Some time before you receive this, the news of the outbreak in Dominica will have reached England, much too late, I fear, to be of service to the unfortunate prisoners for trial, who will be left to the tender mercies of their late owners, amongst whom is the proudest, the greatest attorney in the island, and of juries composed of the very persons who, in their capacity of militia-men, have been hunting them down, striking off their heads, and fixing them upon poles. This, I grieve to say, is not an exaggeration, as you will perceive by referring to any of the Dominica papers for the month of June, which neither conceal nor attempt to conceal these atrocities. How Lord Stanley, after his long experience, could have permitted a planter-governor to hold the reins for so long a period is unaccountable; and to this fact must, I fear, in a great measure, be attributed the dreadful scenes that have taken place. It is an undoubted fact that, for months past, hundreds of poor black and brown persons renting small patches of Government land at a nominal rent, have been called on to renew the same; for every one of which new leases not less than 24 dollars, the rent of some of them for several years, have been charged for fees only. Now this is too bad: and is it a wonder that such conduct should have generated excitement and discontent? It never could have happened under an officer sent from England. The negroes have full confidence in gentlemen appointed from home, but look, and, alas! with too much reason, with suspicion and distrust on the planter governors, as they call them. I am but ten days from Dominica, and know what I say. No member of council, if the black population are expected to have confidence in their governor, should, in any of these islands, be allowed to administer the government, under any circumstances, for a longer space than three months.

What is to become of the unhappy prisoners God only knows. Mark the hardness of their case. The men they have, from whatever cause, come into collision with, are first transformed into militia men, then again they take their seats on the jury, preside on the bench, and enter the witness-box; and finally, the very man on whose estate (Canefield) the riots first broke out is the President of the island. Let it also be kept in mind that, though many of the blacks have been killed and their heads struck off, and exposed in *terrorem* on poles, in the middle of the 19th century, the life of a single white man has not been taken by them. A gentleman of known anti-slavery principles, in whom the negroes can place confidence, who possesses sufficient energy and discrimination to administer strict justice, and discern between the guilty and the innocent, should be sent at once to that island. That this is necessary is clear from the fact that the riots broke out again last night, as we are told here by the captain of the steamer, who says the disturbance was going on when he left. Of the results of this new contest we of course know nothing yet; but, should they be serious, it will become a subject of deep regret that the Governor-general, Sir Charles Fitzroy, should have made a short flying visit of 48 hours only on such a momentous occasion, and then have left everything *in statu quo*, again to the charge of Mr. President Laidlaw. Had Sir Charles remained, as he ought, I think, to have done, until the conclusion of the trials, it is certain that no renewal of the disturbances would have taken place. But the negroes thought themselves abandoned to their fate when he so prematurely took his departure, and they found themselves again at the mercy of the planters. I by no means intend to say that many of the rioters do not deserve punishment, and that of a nature sufficiently severe to deter others from hereafter following so dangerous an example; but let it be meted out not by vengeance but by justice, and, above all, let not the mistakes which have led in this case to consequences so dreadful be repeated, and serve, if not as a justification, yet as a palliation of, and excuse for, the errors of an ignorant and certainly, in some instances, an oppressed population.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, N.

LORD ABERDEEN has laid on the table of the House of Lords the instructions which have been prepared under his direction for British cruisers against the slave-trade, accompanying this act by a long explanatory speech, which will be found in our columns. The embarrassments amidst which the officers of the navy have to execute this arduous and responsible service are painfully illustrated in the case of Lieutenant Gray, who has just been tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be "severely reprimanded," for searching without warrant, in 1842, a slaver which hoisted the French flag. The opinion of the principal journals seems to be that this officer has been unjustly degraded, in order to pacify the wrath of our neighbours across the channel.

Mr. MACQUEEN's second letter has appeared, explaining his remedy for West Indian distress. It is neither more nor less than that the peasantry should be asked to work for lower wages. We put aside all that he says about this being done by government officers, in connexion with the missionaries and the planters, which is but the mere machinery of the process; the thing which he recommends to be done is precisely what we have stated.

We confess our surprise at this issue. It is true enough, indeed, that an equitable and respectful treatment of the peasantry immediately on emancipation would have kept many at estate-labour whom insolence, oppression, and fraud have driven from it to other occupations, and probably it may not be too late for the good manners which have been so long neglected to have a salutary influence even now; but that any class of labourers should be expected to take voluntarily less than the market price of their toil, seems to us altogether unreasonable and unaccountable. If it were the wont of the peasantry to come and take by force what sum they pleased for a day's work, there might be something rational in asking them to be moderate. They take, however, nothing more than is offered them; and to refuse any part of this could scarcely be deemed less than romantic. No employer would offer a shilling (or any other sum) for a day's work, if he could get it done for less; so that the wages offered are truly to be regarded as the market price of the labour he wants. Why should labour be sold under its market price more than any other article—cloth, for instance? Or, to come nearer to the point, sugar? Why might not Mr. Macqueen employ his machinery of official circulars, governors, &c., to implore the growers of sugar to sell their produce cheaper? He knows very well their answer would be that they sell at the market price, whether high or low; and if he were gravely to propose to them, when thirty-five shillings per cwt. was offered, to take thirty, they would laugh in his face. Mr. Macqueen seems to overlook the fact, that labour is strictly a commodity for sale in the general market; and that, as no vendor of anything can get more than it will bring, so neither can he be expected to accept less.

We think, however, that, in making this recommendation, Mr. Macqueen is quite wide of the mark. From the West Indies we have had no general complaint of the rate of wages. The lamentation with which the welkin has rung has been, We can get no continuous labour. The remedy, therefore, has no proper adaptation to the alleged disease.

For ourselves, we must avow our unshaken belief that there does not exist in the West Indies anything like the want of labour which has been so loudly and incessantly talked of. Our present number contains an extract of a letter from a valued correspondent in Jamaica, in which there is the following assertion:—"The quantity of land at present kept in cultivation by the proprietors of estates and pens, does not give regular employment to two-thirds of our labouring population." And this is reiterated by the Rev. Joshua Tinson, in a letter which we have quoted from the *Missionary Herald*. In a late number were similar declarations made by correspondents in British Guiana. And we entertain no doubt of the fact, that what is wanted in the West Indies is not labour, but money to pay for it, and a sense of justice to pay fairly and promptly for it when it is done.

We think Mr. Macqueen has done well, however, in denouncing the infatuated character of the immigration scheme. In this respect we should be happy to regard him as the organ of the West India resident planters, who must begin to see that the enormous expense involved in it will fall upon them in a manner altogether ruinous. Immigration may be a very pretty game for non-resident proprietors to play at, but it will be a very different matter for those who have to live and die where the crushing burden of expense is to be borne.

THE court-martial on Lieut. Gray, which has been demanded by the French government, has brought into more prominent notice facts touching that government itself, in relation to the slave-trade. Let it be admitted that the act of searching was in the circumstances unwarranted, it yet remains that the *Luit d'Albuquerque*, of Bourdeaux, was engaged in the slave-trade. On this point we have the evidence of Lieut. Bullock, as follows:—

"I did not imagine from her papers that she was an illegal trader; but from her general appearance, the master's own incessant agitation, from his unwillingness to show the paper corroborating those which he had already shown me, and from the list of passengers, which, not appearing correct, there being two or three Portuguese and Brazilians on board, I considered it my imperative duty to proceed in my search, and directed a part of the crew, under Mr. Elliott, the second master's superintendence, to search the fore part of the vessel. After a short time they discovered some slave-irons. Mr. Elliott then proceeded to the after part of the vessel, where he discovered, under the bags of farina and rice, &c., part of a slave deck. Upon this I directed Mr. M'Dermot, the doctor, who accompanied us, to make the appointed signal, showing that she was fitted for carrying slaves."

Mr. W. M'Dermot, assistant-surgeon, also deposed to the same effect:—

"He thought, after he was on board of her, that she was a suspicious vessel, from seeing two or three persons on board dressed in Spanish or Portuguese costume, and from the captain not coming to receive the officers, and when he made his appearance being much agitated. There were several suspicious articles on board—faring and beef, which are generally used for feeding slaves, a slave deck, which was pointed out to him by Mr. Elliott, and some slave irons."

But the most direct and extraordinary statement is that made by Captain Foote, of H.M.S. *Madagascar* :—

"Captain Foote observed to the court, that he had received an official letter from Lieutenant Raymond, of her Majesty's brigantine *Spy*, dated January 10, 1843. The letter was put in and read. It stated that upon his (Lieut. Raymond's) seeing Kings Eyambo and Eyoco, whilst he was lying in the river Calabar, they distinctly told him that a French man-of-war brig, *La Vigre*, went up abreast of Old Town, Calabar, and threatened to blow their town about their ears, and had his gun double-shotted, if they did not supply the French schooner *Luz d'Albuquerque*, then up with him, with slaves. This they refused to do. After a deal of conference, she took palm-oil in lieu of the traffic refused. At this time King Eyoco sent a canoe from Creek Town, Calabar, to look for a British man-of-war outside the Calabar river, but it blew so hard that it could not proceed. Extracts of the letters from Kings Eyambo and Eyoco to Lieut. Raymond were put in and read.

"Capt. Foote said that these kings had made a treaty with England not to deal in slaves. He also stated that from these and other informations, he had not the shadow of a doubt but that the *Luz d'Albuquerque* was engaged in the slave-trade."

These are damning proofs; and they lay but too broad a ground for Lieut. Gray's interpretation of Captain Bellet's language as reported by the French paper, *La Presse*, "that, if the right of search were continued, he, and many other masters of merchant vessels, would be obliged to give up the sea." On this declaration Lieut. Gray, in his defence, remarks, "that Bellet, and all such masters of French merchant vessels, conclude that, if the search of their ships be permitted, their trade—the trade in which Bellet was engaged—will be at an end." Certainly it behoves the French government to make it manifest to the world that its jealousy for the observation of treaties is not a mere cloak for the protection of its own subjects in the atrocious traffic which it professes to condemn.

We find in the *Singapore Free Press* an account of the arrival at that port of two French frigates, *La Sabina* and *La Carcelle*, the former of which is stated to have sailed a short time previously "with Coolies for Bourbon." We solicit the attention of our French friends to this matter. It would be to us an occasion of the greatest surprise if a large amount of abuse had not already taken place in the introduction of these defenceless persons into a slave colony, and we think the proceeding ought to be carefully watched.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—THURSDAY, JULY 26.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said he was about to lay on the table copies of the instructions prepared for the guidance of her Majesty's naval officers employed in the suppression of the slave-trade. At an early period of the last session of Parliament he had taken occasion to inform the house that the government had thought it expedient to submit to revision the instructions under which their naval officers were acting in the discharge of their duty, and he had promised also, when that revision was completed, that it should be laid on the table of the house, in order that their lordships and the public might know, and all the world be aware, not only of their general principle and motives, but also of every thing by which the conduct of their cruisers was regulated in the execution of the objects they had in view. They felt that as they had nothing to conceal, the general publicity was desirable, and they felt that that would afford the best refutation of those calumnious and false assertions and accusations which had been made against the conduct of that country in suppressing the slave-trade—that under the pretext of humanity they really sought the extension of their own commerce, while they crippled and impeded that of other countries. The revision of these instructions was in truth not only expedient, but necessary and indispensable. He (the Earl of Aberdeen) had found, on coming into office, that these instructions were very inadequate and very imperfect—in some respects contradictory and inconsistent, and not always perfectly conformable to public law and justice. Under these circumstances, it appeared to be just and necessary that a review should take place by which these instructions might be made more fitting for the objects they had in view. He had found also that in proportion as treaties were concluded with foreign powers on the subject of the slave-trade, it had been the custom to transmit copies to their cruisers without any explanation or instruction, leaving the officers to execute them as they thought fit. The number of these treaties was not less than thirty, some of them having very nice shades of difference, while in others there were great and striking distinctions, and judgment and discretion being required in the execution of a most difficult and delicate duty, it appeared to him (the Earl of Aberdeen) that their officers had a right to expect from the government every possible assistance it was in their power to afford them in the execution of the important and delicate duties with which they were entrusted. For that purpose her Majesty's government had selected persons to undertake the revision of these instructions whose names would be likely to carry with them the confidence of the public in the work they undertook; and he felt bound on that occasion to name them, because, except the reward of their own consciences, they had none other save the thanks of the government, and the grateful feelings of the country in whose service they had laboured. The first person they selected was Dr. Lushington (hear, hear), with whose great talents and learning, and his known and active exertions in the cause of the suppression of slavery, their lordships were perfectly acquainted. The next gentleman was Mr. Bandinel, of the Foreign Office, of whose exertions it was impossible to speak sufficiently. The third was Capt. Denman (hear, hear), whose experience on the coast of Africa, and whose general activity and intelligence, rendered him a valuable coadjutor. The fourth was Dr. Rotheray, of Doctors'-commons, and these four gentlemen undertook to revise these instructions, and during the whole of the last year they were

unremitting in their laborious attention to the subject. These gentlemen had made a report, and compiled a complete body of instructions for their naval officers. These, after receiving the attention and consideration of the government, were submitted to the law officers of the Crown, who made such modifications as were necessary, and they were then in the state in which he had the honour to present them to their lordships (hear, hear). He wished to take that opportunity of observing that necessary as these instructions were, he had been astonished at the general judgment and discretion exhibited by their officers in the discharge of their most difficult duty (hear, hear). It was perfectly true that, with the zeal which generally characterised British officers, and particularly when engaged in the suppression of traffic which they in common with all their lordships must entertain the same feeling of detestation and horror of, it was not to be wondered at that occasional errors might have been committed from excess of zeal. But as he had said before, it was wonderful the discretion, and zeal, and forbearance that were shown by them; and when errors had been committed, his (the Earl of Aberdeen's) endeavour had been promptly to make redress where injury had been inflicted. He had always felt that the cause that they were engaged in would suffer more from acts of injustice, and violence, and oppression, than even the escape of guilty parties when such had occasionally occurred. Their lordships were aware that that country alone could not accomplish the object they had in view; they must look for the co-operation and good-will of other countries, and it was important that they should know that that country was animated by disinterested and pure motives, and to show a due respect for their independent rights and privileges. He did not propose to enter into any justification of the efforts made by her Majesty's government for the suppression of the slave-trade, for he did not perceive any disposition to censure them either in that house or elsewhere; neither did he propose to enter into any long review of the exertions made by this country for that object. He might, however, just mention that, notwithstanding the unceasing exertions and great sacrifices made by Great Britain, the work was still very imperfect. Much had been done, but they were still far from having arrived at a successful result. It appeared that for many years, from the first tolerably accurate accounts on the subject down to a recent period, about 100,000 slaves appeared to have been exported, and the abolition of the slave-trade by this country did not appear to have affected the trade in any material degree. The only period in which there appeared to have been any considerable diminution was from 1820 to 1835. During these years the average amount of slaves exported from Africa appeared to have been 58,800, and until that period the number from the year 1768, when they had the first notice of the numbers, had varied from 90,000 to 100,000. From 1830 to 1835 the number did not exceed 58,000; but he regretted to say that in the five succeeding years—namely, from 1835 to 1840, the three years again rose to 99,340 to Brazil and Cuba. From 1840 to 1844, the three years during which her Majesty's government, as he understood, were supposed to have been more remiss and lukewarm than their predecessors in their attention to this great object, it would be a sufficient answer, perhaps, if he observed that the average number of slaves imported did not exceed 28,000, being the lowest importation by far that had ever taken place. The lowest importation of slaves was in 1842, when it appeared that, including Cuba and Brazil, only 17,000 were imported. He was sorry to say that during the last year, 1843, the number had risen to 38,000; making the average of the three years 28,000. This was to be ascribed to two causes—one, the necessity of removing a considerable number of the squadron employed on the coast of Brazil, in order to attend to British interests which were very naturally affected and endangered by the senseless war carried on between the states of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, in which the property of British subjects was compromised, so that it was impossible to allow the same number of cruisers to remain off the Brazilian coast. It was also to be attributed to the change in the person of the captain-general of Cuba. During the last year of the administration of General Valdez only 3,000 slaves were imported into the island. He (Lord Aberdeen) had stated on a former occasion, and he believed with truth, that had General Valdez remained in the government of the island, and continued to receive the support and confidence of the government at home, the slave-trade would have been annihilated in that island. He must observe that the government of the Regent, although well disposed to the abolition of the slave-trade, did not support General Valdez at the close of his administration. On the contrary, he received very positive orders to relax in his endeavours for the suppression of that traffic. Whether that honourable person would have obeyed such instructions, or would have resigned his office, he knew not, but he was removed shortly after receiving those instructions. The slave-trade interest must, therefore, have been strong indeed to have compelled the government of the Regent to give such orders against his own inclinations and those of his ministers. It was, therefore, evident that, although a frightful amount of misery remained, much had been done. They had reduced the amount of slaves carried from Africa to the settlements in the west, which were confined exclusively to the Brazils, Cuba, and Porto Rico. At present no other countries but Spain and the Brazils profited by the traffic, for he was happy to say that the Portuguese government, since the treaty concluded with this country for the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1842, had acted with good faith, and their superior officers, in their settlements on the coast of Africa, showed every desire to support us in putting down the traffic. He, therefore, had reason to hope that Portugal had entered upon a new course of conduct with respect to the slave-trade. The change which had taken place in Cuba, and the conduct of the local authorities in Brazil, were topics on which he was unwilling to express his real sentiments; but these states should recollect that we had treaties with them on that subject; that they had entered into engagements with us, and had thereby placed themselves under obligations as binding, as strong, as though they had ceded to us towns and provinces. We had achieved a conquest of humanity, and were as much entitled to enjoy the fruits of that conquest as of any other. These treaties they must be prepared to fulfil, and he trusted that means would be found to see that they should be executed honestly and faithfully at last. He had no hesitation in saying that if the governments of Brazil and Spain would, for two or three years, execute faithfully, honestly, and zealously those treaties, the trade would be absolutely at an end. He need, therefore, scarcely say that no effort would be spared to accomplish this object, seeing how the

field had been contracted and narrowed. His noble friend opposite (the Earl of Clarendon), who formerly filled the station of minister at Madrid, would recollect that by the second article of the treaty concluded in 1835 with Spain, for the abolition of the slave-trade, the Spanish government engaged to enact a law—he believed within two or three months after the ratification of the treaty—inflicting a very severe punishment on persons engaged in the traffic. From that time to the present all our remonstrances and expostulations had been in vain; no such law had been obtained until very recently. Within a few weeks, he was happy to say, the very honourable and estimable person who had been for a short time only at the head of the Spanish ministry, and had now resigned, the Marquis de Villuma, had signalled his brief tenure of office by enacting a law perfectly satisfactory on the subject, which had been sent out to Cuba, and would soon have the force of a law which had received the sanction of the Cortes. The pledge of 1835 had, therefore, been at last fulfilled. He must also mention another circumstance, which, in his opinion, might lead them to entertain hopes of success, and that was the very active co-operation and perfect accord which existed between her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa and the squadron of the United States (hear, hear). The officers of that squadron had co-operated most cordially with her Majesty's officers, and he had no doubt that the greatest possible advantage had been derived from that good understanding (hear, hear). This was the more important, because it showed that the slight differences of opinion which existed between us in connexion with certain claims made respectively by the two governments required nothing but a conciliatory spirit and friendly disposition on the part of the persons engaged to become perfectly innocuous, although, had a different spirit prevailed, great inconveniences might possibly have arisen. He also had reason to know that the French government had recently shown a disposition to take a more active part than it had hitherto done in the suppression of the slave-trade, by means of cruisers on the coast of Africa. With the co-operation, therefore, of the United States squadron, and that of the French cruisers, he trusted a better prospect was offered of successful exertion in that quarter. It might be proper for him to advert, in speaking of our prospects of success on the coast of Africa, to the plan which the government had now decided to adopt, and from which he entertained a sanguine hope that the greatest benefits would arise. It had always appeared to him that our efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade were open to considerable objection. He had always thought that an imperfect watch on the coasts of Africa and America would—unless they could suppose that slaves were to arise from the depths of the sea—be an injudicious mode of employing our force. In fact the place was known whence every slave must come; and, therefore, it appeared most natural that this quarter should be watched with the greatest care. Having always entertained this view, he was very much struck with the evidence of Captain Denman before the committee of the House of Commons in 1843, in relation to this traffic, and having since had frequent communications with that gallant officer, and other officers having had considerable experience, and possessing great knowledge of the coast of Africa, it had been determined greatly to increase the force on that coast, with the view of preventing any export whatever of negroes. It had been spoken of as a blockade, but nothing could be more incorrect. A blockade was a belligerent right, and such a proceeding would be an act of war, or approaching the character of hostility. In the present case there was not only no blockade, but the greatest desire to increase, by every possible means, the extension of commerce with the African coast. It was, therefore, only a strict watching of those vessels which this country, by treaty, or by the law of nations, or by the municipal law of this country, has a right to detain and visit. All those best acquainted with the coast spoke most favourably of the practicability and efficacy of the plan. He might mention among others, the name of Captain Natson (as we understood) who had been most successful in his watching the coast. This officer had expressed, in the strongest terms, his conviction as to the proposed force being perfectly adequate to the service, if properly applied. The noble lord also mentioned another officer, whose name did not reach the gallery in consequence of the low tone in which the noble earl pronounced it, who had been for ten years employed in the service, and who had given an equally positive opinion as to the efficacy of the plan. He, therefore, was sanguine in the belief that the measures adopted by the government would prove successful. Their lordships would not imagine from this that it was intended to abandon altogether cruising off the coast of Brazil. The force would be diminished in that quarter, because the government had not at their disposal a sufficient force to enable them to maintain the same force as heretofore, in addition to the number of ships about to be employed on the African coast. A sufficient number would, however, be maintained in those seas to intercept any slaver who might have made her escape. It was hoped, however, and believed, that by a proper disposition of the force it would be impossible for a single vessel to escape from the African coast; and he also wished to apprise their lordships that the operations would not be confined to the western coast of Africa. A sufficient force had been provided for the eastern coast also, which was more easily watched, and where the shipping required was of a larger description, and where the cruising could be carried on with a greater prospect of success. Without this, undoubtedly, nothing could be done. The plan had this advantage, that they might be sure that no political interest could interfere with the strict and continued discharge of duty. On the coast of Brazil, the force was liable every moment to be interrupted; for it would be impossible to neglect British interests even for so great an object as the more effectual abolition of the slave-trade; whereas, on the coast of Africa, they had nothing of that kind to apprehend. It was very possible that improvements might be introduced afterwards, but he had given great attention to the subject, and he would venture to assure their lordships of a successful result. With this view, he begged to present to their lordships the instructions for the guidance of the officers entrusted with the suppression of the slave-trade. In addition to the general instructions with which he would not detain their lordships, an endeavour had been made to embrace every possible object and contingency, and to provide for every difficulty. In addition to these instructions, every treaty into which we have entered with other nations would be found in the form of a digest, with its peculiarities, with special directions, applicable to the provisions of each treaty, which he hoped and believed would be found most useful to the officers employed in the service, and of great advantage for

the accomplishment of the object in view. The noble earl concluded by laying the instructions on the table.

The Earl of MINTO said he had heard with much satisfaction the speech of his noble friend, for it appeared from that speech that her Majesty's government were earnestly resolved upon taking effectual measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that they hoped those measures would prove efficacious. His noble friend had admitted that the slave-trade had increased in the Brazils since the late removal of a portion of the fleet stationed on the coast of that country. But it was certainly, in his (the Earl of Minto's) opinion, much to be regretted that we had not a sufficient naval force for any exigency that might arise, and that appeared to be the case in that instance.

Lord COLCHESTER said that as he had been one of those officers who had been in command of a vessel on the coast of Africa, he wished to take that opportunity of returning thanks to the noble earl for the production of the instructions which he had just laid on the table of the house. With regard to the statement of the noble earl, that there had been a great diminution in the importation of slaves into the Brazils during the five years subsequent to the year 1830, he should observe that, that diminution might in a great measure be attributed to the fact that it was at that period we had entered into the treaty with the Brazils, and that, during the year preceding that event, a great number of slaves had been imported into that country, so that during the four following years the demand for slaves in the Brazils had considerably diminished.

The Earl of HADDINGTON said that he wished to make an observation upon one statement which had fallen from his noble friend opposite (the Earl of Minto). His noble friend had attributed the increase in the slave-trade last year to the reduction of our naval force upon the coast of Brazil. But he should inform his noble friend that he was mistaken upon that point, as the reduction in question had not taken place until the commencement of the present year. It had not been until then that five or six vessels had been ordered to the other side of the Atlantic.

The Earl of MINTO said that he believed that there had been more vessels withdrawn from the coast of Brazil than had been sent to the coast of Africa.

The Earl of HADDINGTON repeated that the change had not taken place until the commencement of the present year.

The Earl of CLARENCE rose, and said that he was anxious to express the satisfaction with which he had heard the speech of his noble friend opposite (the Earl of Aberdeen), and the fervent wish which he entertained that the regulations which his noble friend had laid on the table of the house might be successful in abating the slave-trade, and in procuring for us that which we had never yet obtained, however justly we might have been entitled to it—namely, the hearty co-operation of other countries in our humane and disinterested efforts to accomplish that object. He believed, after what had fallen from his noble friend, that we had now some reason to expect the aid both of France and of the United States; and he should also say that his noble friend had been extremely successful if he had been enabled to induce the Spanish government to send out to Cuba such an order as he had stated. The treaty which he (Earl of Clarendon) had concluded with Spain, in the year 1835, had contained such an article as that to which his noble friend had alluded; but although he had frequently endeavoured to prevail on the Spanish government to carry that article into effect, he had been constantly met by the assurance that such a step could not be safely taken in the then state of public opinion in Spain. He wished to know what was the way in which his noble friend intended to deal with the barracoons on the African coast? He found that the right hon. baronet at the head of the government was alleged to have stated in another place that it was not the intention of her Majesty's government to destroy those barracoons without having first obtained the consent of the African chiefs. It would certainly be very proper to have that consent given, but he believed that there would be no difficulty whatever in obtaining it. As to the Spanish slave-dealers, he should observe that by the treaty of the year 1817, all Spaniards were expressly prohibited from carrying on the slave-trade on the coast of Africa; and he hoped that that prohibition would be strictly enforced. He confessed that he could not share in the sanguine expectation of his noble friend respecting the great results that were to follow from the instructions he had just laid before the house. He feared that they would not be much more successful than all the other steps which had been taken in the same direction. All our efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade had hitherto been unavailing, and had, in fact, only tended to add to the horrors of the unhallowed traffic. Foreign nations had not co-operated with us in our efforts, and all the sacrifices we had made in that cause had been made in vain. It was his belief that the only effectual way to put an end to the slave-trade would be to prove to the world that the labour of freemen was more productive and more lucrative than the labour of slaves. The reason why they had not given that proof was that our colonies had not had a fair trial in consequence of free-labour not having been introduced. In the larger colonies, where the labour formerly employed in the production of sugar had been otherwise employed, the production of sugar had fallen off; but in the smaller colonies, where the population was dense, the production of sugar had increased, while the cost had diminished. Every noble lord who had read the works of Mr. Gurney, and other travellers in the West Indies, would, he thought, admit that it might now be considered as proved that where the population was in proportion to the soil in cultivation, and to the capital employed, the labour of the negro was more productive as a freeman than as a slave, and that the wages which he now received for producing a cheaper sugar were sufficient to maintain him, not only in comfort but in luxury. If the larger colonies, then, had been placed in the situation of the smaller colonies, the production of sugar would have been increased 12 per cent., instead of falling-off to one-half. It ought, therefore, to be the endeavour of government to place the larger colonies in the same situation as the smaller, for, by doing so, they would be adopting means, tending not only to reduce the price of sugar but to discourage slave-labour in other countries. If proper regulations had been adopted in this respect, there would not have been that depression in the colonies which lately existed, and that depression would not have been appealed to by other nations as a convincing proof in favour of slave-labour. If the government would only assist the West India planters in procuring a supply of free-labour, and if they would remove all those restrictions which still weighed on the

colonial trade, he believed the time would not be distant when all differential duties might be done away with—when the West Indies would be a source of wealth and satisfaction, instead of, as now, a source of expense and irritation; and, which was most important of all, when the successful example of free-labour would be the most formidable weapon which they could employ for the destruction of slavery in every part of the world. Having long studied the question, and having had much communication with persons interested in it, he must say that in his opinion no sacrifices of life or treasure on the part of this country—no treaties, however carefully framed—would be effectual to put an end to the slave-trade until they gave a substantial, undeniable proof to slave-trading countries that the labour of free men was more profitable than that of slaves.

Lord BROUHAM agreed in all that had been said by his noble friends who had preceded him with regard to the instructions in question. He had only to say one word as to what had fallen from the noble lord opposite with respect to the number of slaves exported previous to 1806, and subsequent to that period. The noble earl said that the same number had been carried off before that year as after it; but it would be a wrong conclusion to draw from that to say that therefore the act of 1806 abolishing the slave-trade had had no effect, because how could they tell, if that act had not been passed, that the number subsequent to it would not have been greater? (hear, hear.) They had every reason to believe that foreign colonies would have gone on increasing the slave-trade, and though the quantity of sugar might have been increased, and its price lessened, still that could only have been at the expense of the unfortunate negroes. He heartily hoped that much good would result from the course now proposed. He quite agreed with the observations of the noble earl who spoke last, that the increasing supply of free labour in the colonies would go to the very root of the evil, because it would go to abolish slavery in other countries; but at the same time he was not for waiting until all slavery should cease before adopting steps to suppress the slave-trade.

The instructions were then laid on the table.

Home Intelligence.

COURT MARTIAL—THE SLAVE-TRADE.—On Wednesday, July 31, a court-martial was held on board the St. Vincent, at Devonport, on Lieut. E. E. Gray, commander of H.M. brig *Bonetta*, employed on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. It appeared that a vessel which the *Bonetta* chased on the 3rd and 4th of July, 1842, under suspicion of her being a Brazilian slaver, hoisted, when obliged to heave-to, the French flag. A party was then sent on board under Lieut. Bullock, the second in command, who not only inspected her papers, and found her to be French (the *Luiz d'Albuquerque*), but finding her also to be a slaver, proceeded to search her. This last act it is admitted by Lieut. Gray, was not justifiable by the treaty, since he had not at the time a warrant from the French government. His defence on this point is that he gave no orders for the search, and that Lieut. Bullock must have acted under a misconception of the orders given. There were also some charges of neglect of discipline, but the principal charge was for disobedience to orders on the ground stated above; and the court found the charge to be proved, and sentenced Lieut. Gray to be severely reprimanded. The *Morning Chronicle* states that, “the finding of the court appeared to astonish all those who had listened to the evidence.” The court-martial was held at the instance of the French government.

COOLY IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.—The arrangements for the immediate application of the funds which have been raised for immigration purposes, by some of the West India colonies, to Cooly immigration, are almost completed. Agents have been appointed to conduct the immigration, and a number of Coolies will be shipped, in certain proportions, for Jamaica, Trinidad, and Demerara, under government control, at Calcutta and Madras. The ships employed will be chartered in the Indian ports by public tender; and the 1st of October is the time fixed for commencing operations.—*Colonial Gazette*.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Brown's Town, Jamaica, June 3, 1844:—“I have felt deeply interested in the controversy about the sugar duties, and am glad to find that the views you hold prevail so extensively. I am also glad to perceive that you found your objections to open the sugar markets of Brazil, Cuba, &c., on the encouragement it would give to the slave-trade, not on the injury it would do to the British colonies. I do not think we have any right to the protection we enjoy, nor do I think it does us much, if any, good. With good management we could raise sugar as cheap as any country (soils being equal)—even to compete with those carrying on the slave-trade. Sugar is now being made, as regards outlay for labour, for three farthings per pound, and surely the expense of management, &c., ought not to exceed 100 per cent.; and I have never heard that even Cuba could supply sugar for less than three-halfpence per pound. There is a plan which I am anxious to see carried out—the separation of the cultivation from the manufacture of sugar. I sincerely wish that some capitalist would erect a mill where he could get water-power for grinding canes, in a parish like this, where the peasantry have their own little freeholds. They might grow cane on the land, sell it to the mill-owner, as the farmer does his wheat at home, get a good return for their labour, and the mill-owner, by the application of powerful machinery, might extract more sugar from the cane than is done at present. This ought to be increased by improved methods of manufacture, whereby labour also might be saved, and evaporation prevented. Sugar might thus be sent into the market as cheap as from any part of the world. I am glad to see that the Ministry have taken so noble a stand as regards the sugar duties, and trust that they will not be driven from their point, and induced to admit slave-grown on the same terms as free-grown. Indeed I should like to see the principle carried right out, and slave-grown sugar prohibited altogether. But I cannot understand why the duty on slave-grown coffee should be lowered. Why not place it on the same footing as sugar? Nothing I have seen lately has delighted

me so much as Mr. Blair's noble, manly recantation of the false principles he put forth.”

Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, June 3, 1844:—“We have had favourable seasons for some weeks past, but too late to repair the damage done to the present crop. Our prospects for next year are of a more cheering character, but the quantity of land at present kept in cultivation by the proprietors of estates and pens does not give regular employment to two-thirds of our labouring population. The estates in this district are better managed, I believe, than in most places, but even here there is redundancy of labourers, and great scarcity of money and provisions at present. If, however, an alteration in the sugar duties favourable to the introduction of the produce of free-labour take place, I entertain no fears for properly managed estates, or well-disposed labourers. Wherever you have an opportunity, speak a word in favour of our schools, the support of which forms the source of our greatest anxiety.”

An affray lately took place between the Creoles and African immigrants, on the Caymanas estate, situate between this and Spanish Town. The cause of difference arose in the creoles standing out for their exorbitant rate of wages, while the Africans were content with a more moderate rate of remuneration; whereupon the creoles, thus defeated in their attempt at a continuance of their unscrupulous exactions, fell upon the Africans with the intention of murdering them. The case is under judicial inquiry.—*Jamaica Times*.

STATE OF THE ISLAND.—It is likely that you hear sad accounts of Jamaica now. Should such be the case, you must take them as some of the flattering representations ought to have been taken, with limitations and caution. Certainly the present aspect of affairs is not the most cheering, but the blame must not be attributed to the people's unwillingness to work, as some foolishly assert. The people are not without their faults—and who would be so weak as to expect them to be faultless?—but as a whole, I say without fear of contradiction, that they are exceedingly well behaved and industrious people. As for emigration, it is perfectly useless, as far as the planters or the cultivation of the soil is concerned, while it inflicts a heavy expense on the country. The people are willing to work, but many hundreds, if not thousands, can get no employment, though they ask but 1s. 6d. a-day; and very many are now working for one shilling. There is still a great deal of bad management, where estates are entrusted to men who take little or no interest in their welfare, and continue to sigh for their former power, which can never return. The great cause, however, of Jamaica's present depression, is the long and severe drought we have suffered, almost, if not entirely without precedent in the history of the country.—*Rev. J. Tinson in the Missionary Herald*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Philadelphia, 7 mo. 10, 1844:—“The ashes of the Pennsylvania Hall, which in the year 1838 our mobocratic mayor and city council permitted to be thrown into the air, have come down in boils and blains upon our pro-slavery city, as was foretold by our excellent friend J. G. Whittier. He has been a true prophet in more than one instance. At the trial of the Hall, the solicitor for the county declared, if the latter part of Whittier's address at the dedication was not written after the Hall was burnt, it certainly was prophecy; so I had to leave the court-room, and go home for a copy which had never been out of my possession for a moment, from the time the poetical address was delivered. It appeared to astonish our opponents—they hardly knew what to make of it. We have had sad times in Philadelphia since thou wert here. Whilst the poor coloured people, or even the abolitionists were the only sufferers by mob violence, nobody seemed to care much about it; a majority of such as spoke condemned the sufferers—said it was their own fault, &c. Then came the Roman Catholics, and the public voice still cried it was their own fault. Why did they do this? What business had they to do that? &c. But this time the native Americans and the military are the sufferers—neither blacks nor Catholics appear to have had anything to do with the last (the present) riot. At the riot in the 5th month, the Governor of Pennsylvania ordered the Catholic church in Southwood to be supplied with a quantity of arms for the protection of the church. These were found to be out of order; so, when the mob had subsided, the guns were sent to the State arsenal near Frankfort to be repaired. On the 4th instant the native Americans had a procession and display of banners, ships, flags, &c. On the 5th the arms were returned to the church. This excited the rabble in that neighbourhood; complaint was made to the sheriff, who repaired to the church, and took from thence about a dozen guns, some loaded, others unloaded, and told the mob on the outside these were all. He might have been deceived (no doubt he was informed so), but the mob knew better—forced their way into the building, and found about seventy-five more guns, which exasperated them very much. The rest that transpired has been published in the papers. At present all is quiet—the mob dispersed—the troops from the surrounding counties poured into the city. The United States troops are expected to arrive at noon to-day, but they will have nothing to do but to march ‘back again.’ The mob has dispersed for the present. One part of the town is and has been quiet through both wars—people walking the streets and attending to business as usual; except now and then a company of infantry or a troop of horse passed silently along, or, at most, with only a drum beaten with one stick, to enable the soldiers to keep time. The soldiers looked more serious than I ever saw them since last war with Great Britain. It will be found after a while to be a different affair from destroying ‘abolition halls and negroes.’ We warned the people that, if they suffered the injury done to us to pass unrebuked, other societies would suffer; among others, we spoke of the Catholics by name. Our words have been verified thus far. After St. Augustine's church was destroyed might be seen in gilt letters, for several days, over the circular window in the gable end, these words, ‘The Lord seeth.’ But it soon disappeared, whether by the hand of man or the result of the fire upon the plastering I know not—it appeared to be entirely out of reach, and beyond the space to which our longest ladders could reach—probably the plastering scaled off that contained this remarkable sentence.”

Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Amesbury, 7 mo. 18, 1844:—"Charles T. Torrey, a Presbyterian or Congregational minister, at Salem, an active and devoted abolitionist, has just been thrown into prison in Baltimore, on the charge of aiding fugitives to escape from slavery; and it is greatly to be feared he will be sentenced, by slaveholding justice, to the state prison for a long term of years. We are raising money for his defence, but with little hope of saving him from those whose 'tender mercies are cruel.' He has done nothing more than his duty, what any man with the feelings of a man and the spirit of a Christian would do under similar circumstances, always excepting, of course, members of our North Carolina yearly meeting. The Texas question is still fiercely agitated in all parts of the country. The democratic party, I regret to say, in their anxiety to obtain southern votes, have allowed the slaveholders to make their nominations for the presidency, and this presidency with special reference to this question. Polk, of Tennessee, their candidate, is zealous for immediate annexation. Clay, the Whig candidate, is opposed to it at this present time, for reasons temporary and liable to be removed by political and diplomatic management; but he does not object to the annexation of slave territory, the only true ground of opposition. Meantime, the rapid increase of the liberty party, and the general diffusion of anti-slavery feeling and principles through the community, cannot fail to hold the next administration greatly in check, on this as well as on all other matters pertaining to slavery. We hear from all sections encouraging accounts of accessions to our ranks. Judge Wilkins, U.S. judge for the district of Michigan, and Judge Van Amrige, of Pittsburgh, Pa., have abandoned the democrats and their slaveholding candidate, and will vote the liberty ticket. Large numbers of influential men have abandoned the Whigs also. Our meetings are constantly growing larger. Two meetings were held in this state on the 11th inst., at which from 1200 to 2000 were present. I attended the principal one at Somerville, near Boston; an excellent, earnest, and serious spirit pervaded it; it seemed a truly Christian assembly. I fully sympathise with thee and the Committee on the sugar question. If duties must be laid, let us at least endeavour to discriminate in favour of humanity."

SLAVE TRADE.—AN ARREST.—We learn, from the *New York American*, that on the arrival of the U. S. ship *Columbus* at that port, Captain Cooper delivered to the custody of the marshal, four seamen, who had been delivered to his charge by the consul for the United States at the port of Rio Janeiro. These men were sent home as witnesses on the part of the United States against Cornelius F. Driscoll, late master of the brig *Hope*, of New York, charged with being engaged in the slave-trade. Captain Driscoll was arrested, examined, and bound over for trial.

THE PRICE OF BLOOD.—Sixty-eight thousand dollars have been paid by the State of Kentucky up to the present time, for slaves executed as criminals.—*Wiley's Register*.

LUTHERAN SYNOD.—The Frankean Evangelic Lutheran Synod held its annual session at Parishville, Oswego county, on the 6th June inst., at which time the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:—"Whereas, slavery is manifestly a sin against God, a violation of the laws of nature, the claims of justice, and the doctrines of divine revelation, depriving those who were created in God's own image and for whom Christ died, of social rights—domestic privileges and the means of religious improvement; and whereas, we deeply regret, that it prevails to such an alarming extent throughout the churches of our land—and is also countenanced and sustained by the greater portion of the Lutheran churches and synods in the United States; therefore,—Resolved, This synod has frequently expressed its entire and decided disapprobation of this unrighteous system; we are called to rebuke those who are known to the world as professed followers of Christ, and our duty demands, that we dissolve all Christian connexion with slave traffickers and slaveholders, on the same ground and for the same reasons that we do with persons guilty of other sins and immoralities."

CUBA.—We extract the following from an American paper: "Everything is now quiet in Cuba. There are above one thousand persons confined in the different prisons, under convictions or suspicion of having been concerned at the late attempt at revolution among the negroes. Every free black in the island is said to have been engaged in the plot. There were several white men charged with being in some way concerned; among them two Americans, who will most probably be shot soon. We learn that one of the plans of the negroes was to have destroyed the entire garrison of the island, (25,000 men,) by putting poison in the bread, which is baked for them daily. The poison was found in the bake-house. General O'Donnell has positively refused the British Commissioners to liberate any of the 'emancipados,' or negroes captured long ago by British cruisers, and who, having served their probationary term, are entitled to their free papers, under the treaty with Great Britain. O'Donnell says the state of the 'moral and religious' instruction has been hitherto neglected, so that they are unfit for the enjoyment of freedom, and must remain until they are so fitted." This answer was given to the commissioners respecting some 150 or more, now getting their moral instruction, working upon the Guines railroad, which must there be well attended to. But the truth is, these unfortunate 'emancipados' are hunted up as their probationary terms of service expires, and are reassigned to the same master, or the highest bidder, upon the payment of about 150 dollars per man, and 85 dollars per woman, for a new term of five or seven years. There are upwards of 5000 of these unfortunate people, all of them entitled to their freedom, upon the faith of the British government."

The following is from a letter addressed to the *St. Christopher's Gazette*:—"It seems as if the curse of Heaven was upon us. The land and streams parched up—the negroes in a most terrible state of discontent—the Government making arrests on all sides—incendiaries at work with brand, and worse than brand—thousands of seditious publications, emanating Heaven knows whence, in every hand—the Government continuing and even increasing their severities and exactions—property worse than insecure, valueless. The fertile island of Cuba is fast tending to a state of anarchy and strife, that can only be prevented by a prompt and thorough change of measures."

HAYTI.—We learn that some of the Haytian families who took refuge in this city from the late troubles in that island, have, during the week, returned in the Royal Mail Company's and French steamers, and that other families are preparing to leave. A report reached Kingston yesterday, that Guerrier, the newly-elected President of Hayti, had been poisoned, and that Accous, who had declared himself General-in-Chief of the Haytian army, was on his march to Port-au-Prince, with a body of men.—*Jamaica Morning Journal*.

Miscellanea.

SLAVE-TRADE, COAST OF AFRICA.—An American brig from Havana to the Gallinas, having a cargo of slave goods, and suspected of being connected with the slave-trade, was detained by the British, and prevented landing her cargo. The British steamer *Henlopen* came round to Monrovia, and towed the U.S. ship *Decatur* up the river, to investigate the affair.—The British brig-of-war *Perrett* made a second attack upon the slave ship *Crawford*, after the ship had her cargo of 1000 slaves on board, and was beaten off by the ship. There was some severe fighting on both sides. Business is very good all along the coast. The slave factory owned by Martenas, a Spaniard, at Gallinas, is carrying on an extensive trade as ever.—*New York Evangelist*.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The Portuguese bark, *Bella Angelina*, having on board suspicious goods—handcuffs and irons, and from three to four thousand doubloons—has been captured a few miles from Rio de Janeiro by the *Dolphin*, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope, as a prize, in charge of a lieutenant, one midshipman, and eighteen seamen from the *Helena*, accompanied by the gunner of the *Dolphin*, who was sent to appear as evidence in the Court of Mixed Commission, he having boarded and taken charge of the *Bella Angelina*. The *Bella Angelina* is owned by merchants residing at Rio de Janeiro, where she took on board her cargo, &c. This vessel had been for some time an object of suspicion, and a few hours after leaving Rio de Janeiro she was captured by the *Dolphin*.—*Morning Chronicle*.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Huddersfield—Beaumont, Joseph	1 0 0	
Firth, Thomas, jun.....	1 1 0	
Robson, Isaac	0 17 0	
Schwaun, Frederick.....	1 1 0	
Shaw, J.	0 10 6	
Woodhead, Edward.....	0 10 6	
Calne—Gundry, William	1 1 0	
Gundry, Martha	0 10 6	
Wisbeach—Peckover, William	20 0 0	
Chelsea—Alsop, Robert, jun.....	1 0 0	
Playford—Clarkson, Thomas.....	5 0 0	
Dickinson, Mrs.	1 1 0	
Southampton—Amount collected.... £7 6 0		
Less expenses.... 0 9 4		
Amount received 6 16 8		
Adkins, Rev. Thomas	0 10 0	
Allen, J. M.....	0 10 6	
Barling, Mr.....	0 5 0	
Brenwenn, Mr.....	0 5 0	
Clark, J.	0 10 6	
Clark, J., jun.....	0 10 0	
Crabb, Rev. James	0 10 0	
Davies, Charles	0 5 0	
Fitt, Mr.	0 2 6	
Fletcher, Mr.	0 5 0	
Forbes, Mr.	0 5 0	
Fowler, R. S.	0 5 0	
Knight, Mr.	0 5 0	
Laishley, George	0 10 6	
Lindor, Dr.	0 10 6	
Marett, Charles	0 5 0	
Newman, W. H.	0 5 0	
Paik, Edward	0 10 6	
Randall, Mr.	0 10 6	
Thompson, Edward.....	0 5 0	
Edinburgh—Walker, Captain.....	0 10 0	
Stamford Hill—Kitching, John	1 1 0	
London—Hanbury, Daniel.....	1 0 0	
Horne, Robert.....	0 10 0	
Saffron Walden—Gibson, W. G.....	25 0 0	
Olney—Smith, Ann Hopkins.....	3 0 0	
Sheffield—Smith, Edward	50 0 0	
Colebrook Dale—Dickinson, Barnard	10 0 0	
Cirencester Auxiliary	7 0 0	
Darlington—Pease, John B.	5 0 0	
Uxbridge—Fell, John.....	10 0 0	

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.

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, August 7, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXIII. VOL. V.—No. 17.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21ST, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE PEOPLE OF HAYTI.

HAITIANS!—The great body of philanthropists in Great Britain and Ireland, especially those who have been actively engaged in securing the abolition of slavery in the British colonies and possessions abroad, have long taken a deep interest in your welfare, and have watched with no common pleasure every indication of the rising greatness and prosperity of your country.

Your enemies have pronounced you unworthy of the liberty you enjoy, and have invented a thousand calumnies to injure you in the eyes of the civilized world; but your friends have been prompt to repel those calumnies by an impartial appeal to the history of your great struggle for freedom, and to demand for you that consideration and justice which they feel to be your due.

The object of your enemies has been, not merely to destroy your character by exciting the horror and disgust of the ignorant, the unreflecting, and the prejudiced against you, but by that means also to impede the great work of African regeneration, and the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. In Great Britain this was the case previously to the abolition of slavery in its West India colonies. In France it is the case now, while the friends of human liberty there are exerting themselves to achieve the same noble object for its colonial possessions.

Such being the fact, judge of the pain with which the sincere friends of Hayti have heard of the unhappy divisions and disorders which have drawn upon you the eyes of Europe and America, and have filled your enemies with exultation and delight. In the continuance of those divisions and disorders they see the germs of a civil conflict which will exhaust your strength and resources, and make you the prey of a powerful European state which once controlled your destinies, and is still anxious to possess so splendid an appendage to its territories as "the Queen of the Antilles."

As the great organ of the abolitionists of this country, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in addressing you their sincere counsel and advice, presume not to give an opinion on the cause which has led to the late disastrous events in your island. They deplore their existence, whatever might have been their cause. They deplore them for your sakes. They deplore them for the sake of Africa. They deplore them for the sake of the millions of your race now held in bondage. They deplore them for the sake of mankind at large; for, so long as the enslavement of any portion of the human species shall be continued, so long will the final triumphs of justice, civilization, and religion be arrested in its course.

But the Committee sincerely trust that the events they deplore may be finally terminated; that Hayti may be preserved free and independent; that stability may succeed to disorganization; and that the whole body of the Haytian people may feel, that, whatever cause of dissatisfaction they may have had with the past state of affairs, they have now the strongest reason to combine loyally and firmly with each other, to promote the welfare of their common country, to develop its vast resources, and to cause it to be respected by the nations of the earth.

To the accomplishment of this great end, the Committee would earnestly exhort you to lay aside all sectional jealousies. Let the parties in the east, the west, the north, and the south feel that there is a nobler object to be gained than mere political predominance, namely, the welfare of their common country. Let there be mutual forbearance. Let differences of opinion be healed by wise counsels and generous concessions. And let it ever be remembered that there is no wisdom in the sword, which is the mere symbol of physical force, not of enlightened reason; of brute passion, not of calm deliberation; of proud ambition, not of self-sacrifice and love of country.

Let not the pride of caste and the prejudice of colour dissever you. Strange that the children of a common parent, endowed with similar mental and moral attributes, influenced by similar affections and passions, should allow the tincture of the skin to form an impassable barrier to fraternal union and generous co-operation! On this point the Committee appeal to you as brethren; for, however much they may differ from you in complexion, they feel united to you by a common origin, and would enforce and practise the common obligations arising out of those natural relations which were intended by the great Creator to bind man to man in a holy and inseparable brotherhood.

Let not differences of religious conviction, opinion, and practice separate you. The rights of conscience are of paramount importance. Where they are not respected, no other rights are or can be secure. On this point the Committee appeal to you as Christians; and, with the history of Europe open before their eyes, where they

behold the ascendancy of Catholicism on the one hand and Protestantism on the other, and the bitter fruits which have resulted from it, they would earnestly exhort you to avoid the perils of religious conflict. Intolerance of the opinions of others in matters of religion is the offspring of bigotry; and bigotry, if it be not controlled by public opinion, leads to proscription and persecution. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," is the language of the great apostle of the Gentiles. Let, therefore, those who suppose themselves in possession of the truth use none other weapons in its propagation and defence than those furnished by enlightened reason and the sacred canon of the Scriptures; and, instead of the bitterness of strife, let there be a holy emulation to follow the divine example of the great Redeemer of mankind, who, whilst on earth, "went about doing good," and who came into this world, "not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Feeling the deep importance of the subject on which they have addressed you, the Committee have foreborne to appeal to you on the lower ground of self-interest; yet they would venture to remind you, that never was there so favourable an opportunity enjoyed by Hayti as the present moment offers for the development of her internal resources and the increase of her foreign trade. Not only has Great Britain repealed a detestable law, which forbade Haytian vessels and Haytians from entering the ports of her colonies, but her legislature, during the last session of Parliament, has enacted a law which allows sugar, the produce of free labour, to enter her markets on favourable terms, whilst it excludes that raised by the oppression of the slaves in Brazil and the Spanish colonies.

Haitians! you have now an opportunity presented to you of benefiting your country, by the establishment of peace among yourselves; by calling into activity the energies of your cultivators; by the enactment of just laws, and their impartial administration; and by promoting the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of your rising youth. We earnestly beseech you thus to act, and thereby to falsify the sinister predictions of your enemies, and realize the sanguine expectations of your friends. By adopting this line of conduct, you will greatly assist the friends of human liberty in every part of the world in their exertions to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and will assuredly hasten the coming of that day when the fetters by which millions of human beings are tortured in body, and degraded in mind, shall be universally broken.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

27, New Broad-street, London,
August 16, 1844.

THE TRIALS IN DOMINICA.

THE West India mail which arrived yesterday, has brought detailed accounts of the trial of the parties principally concerned in the late outbreak in the island of Dominica. It appears that a special court of Oyer and Terminer sat on the 1st of July, and, after the charge of the Chief Justice, proceeded to the trial of John Philip Motard, accused of wounding the Hon. John Bremner, with intent to murder. Since the facts are so, we must, of course, state, that this man was convicted, sentenced, and, two days afterwards, executed; but the pain with which we make this announcement may easily be inferred, when we add that the evidence on which this man's life was taken away appears from the proceedings not to have been satisfactory to either the Chief Justice or the jury, as certainly the perusal of it is by no means convincing to us. We further regret to add, that, although the Court requested the only two barristers in the island, besides the Attorney-General (who conducted the prosecution), to render the prisoner their professional assistance, they both of them refused to do so. One of these gentlemen said coolly that it would "establish a bad precedent;" and that "he thought it a hard case that the prisoner at the bar should be defended by the money of that public, whose properties and lives he had recently endeavoured to take." The rebuke which the Chief Justice administered to this impertinence, not less unprofessional than inhuman, pleases us so much that we give it entire.

"The Chief Justice deeply regretted for the sake of the country—for the sake of humanity, that the only two barristers in the island should refuse to undertake the defence of the unfortunate man. He denied the observation of the learned counsel that the assigning by the Court of counsel to the prisoner was a bad precedent, it was on the contrary the inevitable practice of this Court so to do. With reference to the charge against the prisoner that he had attempted the lives and property of the public, this Court knew nothing; the Grand Jury had certainly returned a true bill against him, but that was upon hearing evidence only on one side. It was repugnant to the British constitution—revolting to British feelings—contrary to British law—that any man should be considered guilty until

he was proved so. The Court were not counsel for the prisoner, but for justice."

In fact, however, the prisoner was unaided in his trial, and the jury avowed their desire to bring in "a qualified verdict." Under these circumstances we cannot but wonder at the precipitancy of the execution. Nothing could have become Mr. President Laidlaw better than to have referred the case to the Governor-General; and nothing could have been more desirable as an evidence that he had not pandered to an ignoble and blood-thirsty resentment on the part of those to whom the almost inevitable exercise of his Excellency's clemency would have been matter of chagrin. As it is, here is the life of a fellow-creature taken away, because, in a riot, when many stones were thrown, he threw one, which perhaps struck Mr. Bremner on the cheek, and made a wound perhaps half an inch deep! Nothing more.

On the 5th of July, the Special Court met again, when three persons, and then two more, were capitally indicted, convicted, and sentenced to death; the mercy of the executive being so far shown that some few days were added to the interval usually elapsing before execution. It has thus happened that the present mail has not brought tidings of the issue; but our fears much outrun our hopes.

We have written so much after our own perusal of the proceedings, as given at large in the *Dominican* of the 3rd, 10th, and 17th of July. We now turn to a private letter which we have received from a correspondent at St. Christopher's, which will show what sentiments are entertained in the immediate neighbourhood of this fearful tragedy. We give the letter as we have received it, and it will of course be taken as expressing the views of our correspondent.

"*St. Christopher's, 15th July.*

"SIR,—I little thought, when I so hastily wrote to you by the late mail, to open the eyes of the public to the system still going on in some of these islands, that my bodings with regard to the late proceedings in Dominica would have been so immediately verified; but the work has commenced in that island, and one John Philip Motard has been found guilty of an attempt to murder the Hon. Mr. Bremner, a member of the council, and executed!—yes, sir, actually hanged!—for having thrown a pebble at, and inflicted a slight wound on the face of that gentleman! Do not think I exaggerate. I refer you to the papers containing the report of the trial. You will there read with horror and astonishment that a human being has been sent prematurely by a court of justice into the presence of his Creator, whose only crime has been the use of rash and violent language, such as women brawling in the public streets use every day with impunity, and afterwards throwing a stone at a gentleman which cut his face. Is this, sir, or is it not, what civilians term a judicial murder? These proceedings certainly reflect the highest disgrace on the Attorney-General, who got up the case, and pressed so clamorously for the blood of his fellow-creature; on the weak and timid jury who could bring in such a verdict; on the Chief Justice and the Bench, the former of whom seems to have sinned against his conscience, for he appears to have made some feeble, very feeble efforts to open the eyes of the jury and his brother judges; and, above all, on Messrs. Blanc and Letang, the only two barristers in the island, who so cruelly and unprofessionally refused to defend the pre-doomed wretch, when required to do so by the court.

"These gentlemen are of the most violent section of the old pro-slavery party, and it seems to me to be impossible that they could not have known that, had either of them appeared for the prisoner, he must have been acquitted. What shall we say of the indecent haste of the authorities to hang this poor, undefended man, without referring the case to the Governor-in-Chief in Antigua, as, by the positive orders of the Colonial Office, should have been done? His Excellency must have pardoned the prisoner, for there is not an iota of proof that he was guilty of the crime for which he was indicted, that of wounding with intent to kill, for which he was condemned and hanged. If he intended really, even to seriously injure Mr. Bremner, would he not, instead of throwing a stone at him, have struck him with the cutlass or the chisel which it is shown that he held in his hand? It is not even shown in the evidence that it was he that used the violent language, which is only proved against one Zavier; and as for the stone that was thrown by the prisoner—which was only one among many thrown at the same time—it is even doubtful whether it was his that hit Mr. Bremner. I do not hesitate to say that the President, Mr. Laidlaw, and the Attorney-General should both be dismissed—the latter for procuring such a verdict, the other for carrying it into execution. Five other unfortunate creatures have since been condemned to death, and many more may be so, from the vindictive and savage spirit shown here; no further execution had however taken place when the packet left; there may even yet be time, by a proper application in the right quarter, at least, to get the sentences of those unexecuted remitted. The prisoners, it is clear to every unprejudiced person, have been guilty of common riot and assault, for which a twelvemonth's imprisonment would have been ample punishment. They did not take a single life, though several of them were shot, and had their heads struck off and exposed on poles, and six already have been condemned to suffer the last penalty of the law.

"Yours, Mr. Editor,

"N."

No satisfactory light has yet been thrown by these proceedings on the real cause and origin of the outbreak. There seems but too much reason to think, however, that some escaped slaves from the French colonies have been material instigators of it. The Chief Justice in his charge to the jury laughs at the idea of the census having been the provocation; but it may be found to have been the true cause yet. The following extract from the *Dominican* will show that some seeds of irritation were very causelessly sown.

"We have read in the depositions also a circumstance which shows that the prudence and correctness with which some of the Commissioners exercised their trust under the Population Act were not equally conspicuous in all. On the Geneva estate two or three witnesses say that, on the 3rd of June, the gang were during the former part of the day at work or in

the field and at the boiling-house, and were only brought together in a body on that day, provided with their sticks, upon a report reaching them that the commissioner was breaking open every negro house which he found shut, in order to take the number of them, and that he had gone as far as three houses! When they found the report to be correct, they dispersed and went into their houses, declaring they would work no longer, and that, 'if houses are broken, it must be true that the freedom is to be taken away.' This being a trespass cognizable only by the Court of Common Pleas, the Magistrates could do nothing.

"The other Commissioner whose conduct has been injuriously affected by evidence, is he of St. Peter's, who it is sworn said to the people there—notorious as they are for disrespect to the laws—that the whip was to be revived. One of his enumerators, named Pichaud, it is said, repeated the same thing.

"A letter has appeared in the last *Colonist* signed 'Henry Bellot,' from which, as being now public property, we extract the following, as bearing upon this subject. 'Mr. Johnstone said to the Barriccoa Gang—'Ah, my boys, go on as you are doing, but I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you with your food in hand running to the field.' And, just a week before the taking of the census, he told one or two labourers of the Colibri estate, 'Make the manager pay you your wages, for 'tis the last you'll get.' And on the 3rd instant, several of the Barriccoa labourers called on Mr. J., saying, 'Massa, you get the law in you hand, tell a we what day in am—who mek am.' When Mr. J. replied, 'My friends, you know no white man made this law, it is the mulattoes.' They then asked, 'Massa, who mek am?' and he answered, 'It is no other but Maxwell (Henry) Bellot.' And, strange to say, sir, I am the one of all the Grandbay folks who received the most personal injuries from the blacks of that quarter. And further, Mr. J. said, in a low tone, to the prisoners on Geneva estate, 'You see what I told you, 'tis not the whites, but the mulattoes, who have come to shoot you.'"

It is of course important that this matter should be cleared up, if possible, and provision made for establishing upon a solid basis the pacification of the island. If the temper of some of the population be rough, it is certain that this social evil cannot be cured—it must rather be aggravated—by such a rage for shooting, beheading, and hanging, as has unhappily manifested itself among the ruling class. We add one more extract from the *Dominican*.

"His Honour the President has issued a circular to the stipendiary magistrates, requiring them to make tour throughout their respective districts for the purposes of inquiry into the cause or causes of the late disturbances, nothing satisfactory or conclusive, observes the circular, having transpired upon that subject. A special report will be made by the magistrates upon the evidence they may gather for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. This trying subject is one which still engages the attention of all parties, official and private. The trials were naturally looked to, previous to their commencement, as the most likely means of affording information whereby conflicting opinions may have been decided—and as far as these have progressed, we have to state, that the discoveries elicited, though limited, all appertain to that opinion amongst us, which assigns as the cause of the outbreak the belief that slavery was to be revived by the Census Act! The voluminous depositions upon which the indictments are framed, extending over upwards of 200 pages, enter more fully upon the subject and generally lean on the side of the question above stated. The opinion broached by some that the late disturbance was the result of a premeditated plot which was to have been accomplished last Christmas, and that one of the negroes now in jail was to be made chief, &c., we unhesitatingly declare has not derived a shadow of foundation from all that has occurred."

THE SLAVE-TRADE—CUBA.

From the report of her Majesty's Commissioners at Havana for the year 1842, in the slave-trade papers recently laid before Parliament, we present to-day some extended extracts relating to several interesting and important particulars.

Our first extract has reference to the conduct of the late Captain-general of Cuba, General Valdes, in directing the apprehension of persons suspected of being Bozal negroes—that is, negroes recently, and consequently illegally, introduced into the island—and the liberation of such as were proved to be so. On this subject the Commissioners write as follows:—

"For the particulars of the various seizures made during the year, we beg to refer to our several despatches on the subject; from which your lordship will see, as in detail, that—

By despatch, dated the 31st January, we reported the seizure of newly introduced Africans	150
By despatch, dated the 16th March, of	153
" " 23rd	178
" " 23rd August, of	105
" " 23rd September, of	168

Altogether making a total of 754

"By our despatch, dated the 28th December, we also reported the detention of 200 negroes in October last; and, although these were given up to the persons claiming them, the circumstance proves that the Captain-general's orders for the apprehension of negroes, suspected of being recently introduced, are acted upon, and may therefore be pronounced efficient.

"In making this just acknowledgment to General Valdes's integrity, we must also take into consideration the number of negroes declared emancipated by decree of the Mixed Court, whom he has put into full possession of their liberty, instead of re-assigning them into servitude, amounting to slavery, according to the practice of his predecessors, whereby many thousand pounds sterling would have accrued further to him."

The Commissioners further advert to the process then going on (January, 1843) for giving certificates of freedom to the emancipados; and they suggest with great propriety and justice that this large body of persons ought to be at once and immediately liberated, instead of the process being extended over four years longer, as at present proposed. They say—

"That the negro race, from their natural docility, are well deserving of such release, it is not necessary for us now to advance as an opinion. But if any fact were required in its support, we think it worthy to state, that of the prisoners in this city, for crimes and misdemeanors, we have ascertained the average to be always about 400 white, and 400 coloured individuals; but with this difference, that while the former are, of course, all free, of the latter only about four per cent. are so, the remainder being slaves; most of whom, probably, have been driven to crime by ill-treatment of their masters or overseers. This fact, we think, speaks much in respect of the little danger to be apprehended from giving emancipation, as it is clear, from the statistics of their police, that it is slavery itself which is here the great cause of crime. Nor is the discrepancy any way to be ascribed to the difference of numbers relatively in the population. By the census taken last year, and published in September, it is stated that there are in the island, of whites—

Males	227,144
Females	191,147
	418,291
Total	418,291
That of free coloured persons, there are—	
Males	75,703
Females	77,135
	152,838
Total	152,838
That of the slave population, there are—	
Males	281,250
Females	155,245
	436,495

"The whole fixed population, therefore, (not including the garrison, the marine, and transients, calculated, in round numbers, as 38,000, who should be added to the whites as positive and numerical strength,) is computed to be 1,007,624, of whom the free persons of colour are to the slaves as about one-third, while the whole coloured population exceed the whites about one-fifth; the slaves exceeding the whites only, 18,204 in number. The exact computation being, that the whites are as 41·6 per cent.; the free people of colour as 15·1 per cent.; and the slaves as 43·3 per cent.

"The last census was taken in the year 1827, when there were returned of whites—

Males	168,653
Females	142,398
	311,051

Consequently, the increase in 14 years has been 107,240, or 34·5 per cent.

"Of free persons of colour there were reported in 1827—

Males	51,962
Females	54,532
	106,494
Total	106,494

Making an increase in 14 years of 46,344, or as 43·5 per cent.; but of the slave population, there were in 1827 reported only—

Males	188,290
Females	103,652
	286,942

So that with them the increase has been, in the 14 years, 149,553, or 52·1 per cent. These numbers, as regards the whites, show the increasing prosperity of the island; and as regards the slaves, considering the disparity of the sexes, especially compared with free persons of colour, the frightful extent of slave-trade, which has so added to the numbers, while so many must have fallen its victims during the period."

Their sentiments on the prospects of the slave-trade at that period, the Commissioners express in the following terms:—

"With respect to the future prospects of the slave-trade, independently of the present apparent determination of this Government to suppress it, we have to observe that another, perhaps still more formidable, cause of depression exists in the low price of colonial produce, arising, we believe, from increased production in other places; so as to make this depression permanent. Consequently, no new plantations are now projected, and the credit of the planters, who have failed lately much in their payments, is at the lowest grade. If to these causes we add the general state of the commercial world, and the persevering success of the cruisers on the coast of Africa, we may readily believe the enormous extent of the losses which the slave-dealers are said to have suffered.

"In our later annual Reports we have thought it right, as a good criterion of the state of the trade, to mention the continued increase of the staple productions of the island, as dependent upon the demand for labourers. Thus, therefore, we have heretofore reported that in the season of 1840 and 1841 respectively, there

were exported from Havana and Matanzas 712,543 and 712,914 boxes of sugar, five boxes being equivalent to a ton. The season ended the last year has been considered to have fallen below the expectations entertained; but still the custom-house returns give the exports as 700,267 boxes, and if we consider the immense extent of fraud carried on, we must pronounce these numbers as much below the truth. In the present year, it is calculated that about the same crop will be obtained as the last, on account of the greater quantity of land laid out in cane coming into production; though otherwise the season has been unpropitious. These new estates, however, have proved failures as over-productions, reducing the price of sugar, and increasing the prevailing distress. So much does this prevail, that it is calculated there are now upward of 400 houses untenanted in this city, whereas a few years since there was difficulty in even finding houses to hire. If, therefore, so many families have left within the year, most of them probably to reside in the country, though it may be more advantageous for the island, their absence here must be severely felt by the remainder.

"In addition to the other causes of distress, we should enumerate a change made during the year, and which we venture to think a somewhat injudicious one, of the silver money circulating in this place; reducing, by an order of the Government, the value of the 'peseta' from four to the dollar to five to the dollar. The consequence is, that these 'pesetas,' which formerly circulated here to the amount of 4,000,000 of dollars, have almost disappeared, leaving no substitute in their place for the most common transactions; and although their export is prohibited by law, yet large amounts of them have been carried in open day over the wharfs, in disregard of the order, unnoticed by the custom-house officers, whose salaries are all so miserably low as to make such connivances their principal means of support.

"Under all these circumstances, we have to observe, in conclusion, that the price of slaves continues the same, and that no greater inducement therefore arises for the dealers to engage in illicit traffic, for the hope of greater profit. We therefore trust, that the efforts of this Government in interfering, as they are doing, to prevent the fitting out of slave vessels, and the sailing even of such as might be engaged for that trade, may be crowned with success; and the trade, as hitherto carried on, may be considered at an end.

"We have, &c.

(Signed) "J. KENNEDY.

"CAMPBELL J. DALBYMPLE."

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

(From a Correspondent.)

THE few days that I have been in Oran have enabled me to learn something of the details of slavery and the slave-trade in this part of Algeria. I am afraid, however, that I shall not be able to collect many facts here. I shall undoubtedly have more success in the province of Constantina, the eastern province of Algeria, where there are more natives.

I think that every new circumstance which I learn goes to prove that the French have done nothing to suppress the slave-trade but prohibit the public sales. This, of course, was too glaring an iniquity to leave unrebuked. The visitors of Algeria would have wounded the Gallic pride, and their genius as civilizers, by proclaiming the infamy throughout Europe. But is the infamy less because the sale is smuggled up, flies the light, and hides itself in darkness? I am not astonished at the terrible sacrifices France is called upon to make to maintain this conquest, and the little success, if any, of colonization hitherto, when I reflect that, beyond establishing "Parisian cafés," introducing "singing girls," with all the concomitant vices of such things and places, nothing good, or solidly good, has been done for Algeria and its millions of semi-barbarous inhabitants. The blessing of eternal Providence cannot be expected on such a state of things.

But I must to facts. Not more than three months ago a negress of fifteen years of age was sold—*quasi* publicly—to a petty officer of the spahis, or native regiment. The poor girl, however, resisted the being sold until stripes and hard usage compelled her to receive a new master in a native French officer. The poor girl, nevertheless, so ill corresponded to the brutal lust of the French officer, that she was obliged to be sold again to another master. Her first master was a Moor, and I believe her last is. These two sales of this unhappy victim of men's passions were notorious to at least a third of the inhabitants of Oran, containing a population of 18,000 souls! But no voice was raised against the iniquity, with the solitary exception of M. Hoffmann, the pastor of the Protestant church in this city, from whom I learned all the details of this infamous affair. This worthy gentleman endeavoured by all the means in his power to prevent the sale of the unfortunate girl. But all was vain. France, the civilizer of the world (most scandalous presumption and lying!), has solemnly guaranteed to the lax and miserable Moors of Algeria the maintenance of all their rights and privileges—including slavery—inviolate! I do not know what means can be adopted to put a stop to these iniquities. The Committee should take some energetic means. The case of this unhappy girl is strong ground on which to build a remonstrance to M. Guizot. Some years ago, when General Boyer commanded in Oran, the then British vice-consul, Mr. Belford, interfered for the liberation of a slave who had run away from Mostagamus. But the French general, as in the case decided by the Marshal Valée, sent the poor slave back, although he protested that his master

would kill him. I mention this because I believe that many slaves have run away from time to time during the French occupation, and have been delivered up again. Some, however, must have escaped. If the negroes of Algeria knew—but who can tell them?—that Tunis was free ground, how many would run away both from Algeria and Morocco! There is, notwithstanding, a great obstacle to the freedom of the slaves in Algeria in its present state—the difficulty of finding employment. This country swarms with Maltese and Spaniards; there are no less than six thousand Spaniards in Oran. Now a liberated negro has immense difficulties to contend with in disputing for existence with these thousands of hardy Europeans, who can almost live upon twelve sous per day. But undoubtedly a humane and provident government, that sought the welfare of the poor African, could soon remedy this state of things. How shameful that a poor slave should refuse his freedom from the dread of starvation!

To be impartial, I find that there was a Mr. Thomas some years ago, a British consul in Oran, who received a slave amongst other African productions in exchange for English merchandise. But this happened too long ago to become the subject of inquiry. Yet it shows what consuls and other employés of government may do when at a distance from their country, and how basely they may misrepresent the Queen, and England's great principles of justice and humanity. Still it is due to ourselves, as English abolitionists, to denounce this affair, and its iniquity, though it took place many years ago. I believe some cognizance was taken of the matter by the consul-general, Mr. St. John; but you know his pro-slavery feelings.

I wish the Committee was capable of communicating with M. Pélassier, the French gentleman who so heroically and, through evil and good report, maintained a contest, though at present without effect, against the toleration of the slave-trade in Algeria. After having struggled with Marshal Valée for the liberation of the slave, he was appointed French consul for Mogador. But his great abilities as an Arabic scholar, and his intimate knowledge of the habits and genius of the Moors, as well as his notoriety in maintaining the good fight against his pro-slavery countrymen, reaching the ears of the emperor, his imperial majesty, it is said, refused him on these grounds. M. Pélassier is now consul at Sousse, in Tunis. It is a great pity that such a man cannot be encouraged to prosecute his labours for the liberation of the slaves of Algeria. Who knows but he may have been removed from Algeria for his advocacy of abolition?

It is a very strange thing; but whenever a Yankee, like O'Neal, who condemned Brown to death,—or a Frenchman, or a Spaniard, is well nigh silenced on the question of slavery, he turns round upon us, and declaims upon the slavery of our manufacturing districts. This was done the other day by a no less respectable person than M. Souter, the Protestant pastor of Algiers. I think it is time we made these foreigners really understand the difference between being employed in a manufactory with our full consent, and being flogged to work on the sugar-plantations of the West Indies. The whole affair is, however, national pride. A Yankee republican, a proud Castilian, a French civilizer of the world, must be especially grappled at being told they are slaveholders. If their pique, instead of irritating them to pour out falsehoods upon the English people, would lead them to rid themselves of the stigma, by liberating their slaves, we should rejoice and be glad for humanity's sake. But, alas! it is otherwise.

AT a MEETING of the "BAPTIST WESTERN UNION," held at FALMOUTH, on Wednesday, the 3rd of July, 1844, It was unanimously resolved:—

I.—That we have heard with feelings of the most poignant sorrow, of a determination, declared by Lord John Russell, to propose in the Commons House of Parliament, the introduction of slave-grown sugar into Great Britain; and feeling convinced that such a step would give an awful impetus to the horrors of the slave-trade, and thus inflict accumulated misery on tens of thousands of the unhappy sons of Africa, we earnestly implore the friends of freedom and of God, to resist by every constitutional means so destructive a project.

II.—That the present state of the poor in our beloved country, demands and receives our deepest sympathy; and that we urge upon the friends of Free Trade in England to use all their influence for the reduction of the war tax on Colonial Sugar and Coffee, that thus the poor of England may obtain the necessities of life at a cheaper rate, without having them accompanied with the guilt, the blood, and the degradation of slavery.

III.—That, while we most sincerely sympathise with the proprietors of Jamaica, in the severe drought with which it has pleased the Divine Being to afflict this island, by which all classes have so much suffered; we cannot but record our conviction, that—by a reduction of the extraordinary amount of taxation, so needlessly raised, and so improperly expended, and by a blending of the interests of all parties—this island might successfully compete with the free cultivators of sugar in other parts of the world.

IV.—That, it being the imperative duty of every citizen and freeholder to exert his energies for the welfare of the island in which he lives, we most earnestly implore all who possess the elective franchise to demand from their representatives, that reduction in the public expenditure which the state of the Colony imperatively demands.

Signed, on behalf of the Union,

DAVID DAY, Chairman.

THOS. F. ABBOTT, Secretary.

NOTICES.

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.

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.

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 21, 1844.

THE most important information brought us by the West India mail relates to the trials going on at Dominica, a subject which we have treated fully elsewhere. Of no light import, however, is the intelligence from Trinidad, where the Legislative Council have been enacting a repetition of the fraud we had so lately occasion to expose in the colony of British Guiana. We find by the *Trinidad Standard* that, a very few days before the sailing of the packet, Mr. Rose introduced into the Council an ordinance for raising a loan of 200,000*l.* for the encouragement of immigration! And then he and the whole Council make the necessity of sending home this ordinance by this mail a reason for passing it with indecent haste, and without giving opportunity for any expression of public opinion respecting it! The mail brings us a private letter on the subject, which throws a little light on this otherwise mysterious business. The following is an extract:—

"An ordinance has been recently introduced to our council of a very objectionable character. It is a loan ordinance to raise 200,000*l.* on Government security for immigration purposes; to transport the Coolies from India to Trinidad in such numbers as to give the planters the ascendency over the emancipated in every point of view. This ordinance was introduced on Monday the 15th inst., and got two readings that day; and as the papers, which by the by are not much, if anything opposed to popular measures of the planters, do not generally appear before the Wednesday following, the public knew nothing of the movement till that day. When the Board rose, it was with the understanding that they adjourned till Monday the 22nd; but on the previous Thursday, just the day after the public became acquainted with the progress the measure had made, and as measures to frustrate it were in contemplation, just at that time his Excellency sent out a special summons to the members, no doubt at the dictation of this hon. planter, who holds a seat at the Board, to meet on Thursday for the despatch of business, as I have been informed. But by the following *Standard*, which I also send you, I find the Board adjourned to Thursday. At all events, a meeting was held on Thursday, when the loan ordinance passed, and has been forwarded by this mail for Her Majesty's approval. A few days previous, a meeting of planters was held in Port of Spain, to enter into a combination for the reduction of wages on estates, and was called together by this same hon. member. You will observe also, that our taxation for the ordinary expenses of the colony is to be greatly increased on imports especially, just at the time when the ability of the consumer to meet the pressure is curtailed. Except the friends of the emancipated come forward immediately, the planters here will most assuredly subject them a second time to oppression. There is no time to be lost in appealing to Lord Stanley to do justice to the poor and helpless negro race, who form 99 out of every 100 of our population. I do pray most earnestly, the friends of freedom to step forward, and blast the designs of a few cunning avaricious men, who seek to further their own interests at the expense of the sufferings of thousands. *There is no want here of labour, no man complains on this score; money to pay them is certainly required, but not men.*"

We have only to say, in reply to this appeal, that our efforts shall not be wanting. We hope, however, that the population of Trinidad have not been wanting to themselves, but that they have sent by this very mail what may apprise Lord Stanley of their dissatisfaction, and prepare him to expect further remonstrances. This was the course adopted in British Guiana, and with some success.

The population of Trinidad is returned at 59,800, and that of Barbados at 122,198. We must give the census in our next. It is said that the returns for both Trinidad and Barbadoes are several thousand persons below the truth.

THEIR will be found in our pages to day an Address to the people of Hayti by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Some extracts are also given from the public prints, and from private letters, referring to the troubles which have lately prevailed, and which unhappily still exist on that island.

Although we have not hitherto alluded to these painful circumstances, we have not been unconcerned respecting them, or the causes to which they are attributable. So far is this from being the case, that we feel an interest scarcely less intense in the peace and welfare of Hayti, than in the abolition of slavery in those countries in which that system of injustice and violence yet prevails. We know well that liberty, in order to produce those inestimable blessings which it is calculated to confer, and which we earnestly desire for the people of Hayti, must be wisely used. We know also, that, if it be not thus used in Hayti, although but for a brief period, and by a small section of the inhabitants, this circumstance will be urged as a ground for withholding from those who groan under a cruel bondage their rightful freedom.

On both these grounds it is our most earnest desire that peace may be re-established in that island without delay, and that no circumstance may afresh occur to interrupt its enjoyment.

We are, however, bound in justice to protest against the inference which the interested apologists of slavery, or their heartless supporters, would draw from the troubles of which we have spoken in favour of the maintenance of slavery. Have not similar evils existed in other countries in which the population have not recently emerged from slavery? Have internal dissension and revolution never marked with blood the soil of countries which have long enjoyed the advantages of freedom and civilization; and have none of these countries been disgraced by outrages, compared with which the few instances of loss of life which have recently occurred in Hayti sink into insignificance? Are there no abuse, suffering, and blood-shed connected with the maintenance of slavery? We contend that all these evils are, to a great extent, inseparable from slavery—that they are continually endured by the wretched bondsmen, whilst their oppressors are in continual and serious danger from slave insurrections. The existence of a large military force has, it is true, in some slave countries, maintained order during a considerable number of years. These means did not, however, prevent occasional dreadful outbreaks in some of the most important British colonies, attended with a large loss of property and negro life; nor have they prevented the occurrence of similar calamities recently in the Island of Cuba.

Before we conclude these remarks, we feel bound to express our deep regret at the menacing, if not hostile, interference of the officers and agents of a country in amity with Hayti, in the affairs of that island. We hope that the government of France has in the most decisive manner disengaged those unwarrantable proceedings, and that it will not become a party to the continuance of unhappy dissensions in a land no longer dependent upon any European state.

Enough of cruel suffering has been endured by the wronged and defenceless portion of the inhabitants of Hayti during the period in which slavery existed in that island; enough has been suffered, both by the negro population, and by large invading armies, when the atrocious attempt was made to re-establish slavery. Let Hayti henceforth be sacred to humanity; and may the wise and good of the enlightened nations of Europe and America teach her by their example, and not by arbitrary and coercive measures, to cultivate the blessings of peace, industry, civilization, and religion.

THE proceedings of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, which held its annual meeting on the first of August, bring out one or two points of considerable interest.

We notice with some surprise, that, after the strong measure taken by this Society in relation to the reception by the deputation of the Free Church in the United States of slaveholders' money, the Committee should have selected one of this very deputation, whose conduct they so justly (as we think) disapproved, (the Rev. Dr. Burns, of Paisley,) to move the adoption of their report. They pave the way for his acceptance of this post, however, by a modification of their report on the one hand, and by giving him freedom of speech on the other; so that we have at length a public defence, by a member of the deputation, of the course which was pursued. That portion of Dr. Burns's address which related to this subject we have given entire, and our readers will be able to estimate its worth. For ourselves, we remark principally the Doctor's acknowledgment that neither himself nor his companion, Dr. Cunningham, was prepared for so complete an identification of the churches with slavery as in some instances they found; and that, if the Free Church were to send another deputation, they might find it necessary to pursue a different course. It appears that a letter has been written by the Rev. Henry Gray, as Moderator of the Assembly of the Free Church, intimating that the matter had been found surrounded with difficulties, and that it had been referred to a committee. We trust that the Committee will act a wise and salutary part.

At the same meeting the fact transpired to the public, that, on board one of the vessels of the British and North American Mail Steam Packet Company, in July last, a gentleman of colour was excluded from the use of the saloon during the voyage, having paid the full fare. It is certainly no enviable notoriety that the *Acadia* and Captain Judkins have obtained for themselves, by being the first to introduce into English ships this piece of American insolence and inhumanity. We are glad to find that a remonstrance, signed by twenty-one saloon passengers on board the *Acadia*, has been sent in to the Directors of the Company; and we trust they will have good sense and good feeling enough to put an immediate stop to so un-English, unchristian, and revolting a practice.

A third point of much interest in the meeting we are referring to, was the reference made by Mr. George Thompson to the law for the abolition of slavery in British India. He said he was not aware that any slaves had actually acquired their freedom under that law, and that measures ought to be taken by abolition societies to induce the Government to adopt measures for making it more fully known. We entirely sympathise with Mr. Thompson's feelings on this subject. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in their deep anxiety in relation to it, have, on two occasions, sent out letters of inquiry to their correspondents in India, soliciting information; and, from intelligence they have received, they have reason to fear that the fact is as Mr. Thompson states it. It is clearly the duty of the Government to cause this important law to be translated into the vernacular languages of India, and to be widely diffused among the population. And, if some measures of this kind be not promptly and effectually taken, it will be the duty of anti-slavery societies to make representations

by which attention may be drawn to the subject. The British people can never be satisfied that a law which they have hailed with so much delight should remain a dead letter.

We have inserted elsewhere a letter from a correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, containing a melancholy account of the public execution in Cuba of Placido, who is styled "the chief conspirator," and nineteen other persons, for being concerned in the recent insurrection. It can scarcely be hoped that, with this fearful deluge of blood, the atrocities by which this island has been desolated will be terminated. "All is apparently tranquil here," says the writer of the letter, "but it is the tranquillity of terror." A council of war, it seems, has just made to the Captain-General a report on the conspiracy, to the effect that Mr. Turnbull was the chief instigator of it. This is a thing of course. They would rather attribute it to a fall of snow in the Andes than to its true cause, the intolerable cruelties of slavery and the slave-trade.

Poetry.

THE following lines were composed by Placido, whose recent execution at Havana, as one of the alleged chiefs of the insurrection in Cuba, is recorded in another column. They were written in prison, the night before his execution, and were solemnly recited by him as he proceeded to the place of death, so that the concluding stanza was uttered a few moments before he expired. Perhaps some of our correspondents will kindly furnish us with a metrical rendering of them into English for our next number.

A DIOS.

PLEGARIA.

Ser de inmensa bondad, Dios Poderoso,
á vos acudo en mi dolor vehemente;
estendido vuestro brazo omnipotente,
rasgado de la calumnia el velo odioso
y arrancad este sello ignominioso
con que el mundo manchar quiere mi frente.

Rey de los reyes, Dios de mis abuelos,
vos solo sois mi defensor, Dios mio:
todo lo puede quien al mar sombrío,
olas y peces dió, luz á los cielos,
fuego al sol, giro al aire, al Norte hielos,
vida á las plantas, movimiento al río.

Todo lo podeis vos, todo fenece
dó se reanima á vuestra voz sagrada;
fuera de vos, Señor, el todo es nada,
que en la insondable eternidad perece,
y aun esa misma nada os obedece,
pues de ella fue la humanidad creada.

Yo no os puedo engañar, Dios de clemencia;
y pues vuestra eterna sabiduría
ve al través de mi cuerpo el alma mia
cual del aire á la clara transparencia,
estorbad que humillada la inocencia
bata sus palmas la calumnia impia.

Más si cuadra á tu suma omnipotencia
que yo perezca cual malvado impio,
y que los hombres mi cadáver frio
ultragen con maligna complacencia,
suene tu voz y acabe mi existencia,
cúmplase en mí tu voluntad, Dios mio.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, AUGUST 10.

Dominica.

Mr. HAWES referred to some recent proceedings in the island of Dominica, and to a question he had put on the subject to the noble Secretary for the Colonies before the arrival of the last mail. The noble lord was probably in possession of information that three hundred persons had been taken into custody—that six had been capitally convicted, and that one had been executed. Their offences had arisen out of certain riots, occasioned by misapprehensions regarding the taking of the census; but another cause had been assigned in a local paper of the 10th of July: if was there attributed to extravagant fees exacted from the occupants of town-lands. He (Mr. Hawes) wished to know what information the noble lord possessed upon the subject, and whether he had any objection to lay upon the table despatches or extracts from despatches received by government. He might add, that he understood that the lieutenant-governor of Dominica had not been in the island since June, 1843.

Lord STANLEY admitted that the lieutenant-governor of Dominica had for some time resided in this country on account of illness so severe that he feared, if he were not actually dying, that he would never be able to return to the island. Ministers were in possession of no information of a later date than the 26th June, at which time a number of prisoners were in custody, but the island was perfectly tranquil. The riots had been occasioned, as he was informed, by fugitive negroes from other colonies, who propagated the notion that the census was taken with a view to the return of the negroes to slavery. That idea had been dispelled, and the census had been taken, not only with the consent, but with the aid of the negroes. As long since as when he was in office in 1833, a design was entertained of materially altering the constitution of Dominica and of the other islands in the same group, but much difficulty had arisen out of the necessary assent of several local legislatures. That assent (we understood his lordship to say) had been obtained from Dominica, and it was hoped that ere long improvements would be made, especially in the administra-

tion of justice. The most anxious attention had been directed to the subject, and would be continued to it. He (Lord Stanley) had no objection to lay extracts of dispatches received upon the table; but, perhaps, it would be better to wait until after the arrival of the next mail, when further information would, no doubt, reach the Colonial-office.

Mr. HAWES was quite content to leave the matter in the hands of the noble lord.

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY—THE FREE CHURCH.

On the evening of the 1st of August the Glasgow Emancipation Society held its tenth annual meeting, the Rev. W. Anderson in the chair. The moving of the report was confided to the Rev. Dr. Burns, of Paisley, who, it will be recollect, was one of the deputation from the Free Church of Scotland to the United States of America. His speech turned principally on the question of receiving the money of slave-holders; and as his observations on this point possess a general interest, we insert them entire, with such other parts of the proceedings as we are able to find room for.

Dr. BURNS—I rise, Sir, to move the adoption of this report; and in doing so I beg it to be distinctly understood that there are some parts of it with which I do not accord. I accord with your great principles; but there are certain points in that report on which it will be necessary for me, from the peculiar position I hold as one of the deputation to America, to notice, and enter my dissent from them (cries of "Hear, hear"). Allusion has been made to our not thinking it our duty to ask information from the office-bearers of your Society. I believe I could not have gone to a better quarter to procure information, and perhaps I needed it; for I must tell you that I went to America under a very different impression in regard to the churches of America, from that which I brought home with me. I was not prepared to find that the churches of America were so linked with slavery as they are (hear). I had heard it asserted, and I had seen things that grieved me to the heart, but I must candidly say, that neither my excellent friend, Dr. Cunningham, nor myself, were prepared to meet with such a close linking with slavery as we found exemplified in some of the American churches (hear.) I must let you know, however, that your condemnation of the American churches is sometimes too sweeping, and therefore a caveat to this effect must be put in. I must make honourable mention of four distinct Presbyterian churches who act on the principle of having no fellowship with those who hold human property. Though these churches are not numerically the largest, though they are comparatively small, yet they deserve honourable mention in this respect, they are standing boldly forward and suffering loss on account of their adherence to the principles which you profess (cheers). The first I shall name is the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States, consisting of two distinct branches, nearly, if not entirely, at one on this question. The second is the Associate Synod, comprising a very respectable, though not very numerous class; and from many of whom, when in the South, we received great kindness and most liberal contributions, not one particle of the money being tainted by slavery. The third is the General Associate body, answering to what used to be called the Old Light. The fourth is the Associate Reformed, comprising a portion of the Associated Burghers and the Reformed Synod, a body who have suffered also for their principles (cheers). I think it proper to notice these things, as they deserve encouragement at our hands. They would be your best assistants in matters connected with the American churches. And then I must speak a word for my friends of the Methodist persuasion, from the bishops connected with which we received the greatest possible kindness (cheers). Mr. Lewis and I were called to address the Conference, and to preach before it. Though of course we were not entitled to enter on the question of slavery there, we made no secret of our views in our communings with them in committees, and in our private intercourse with them. That body of Christians have passed, by a respectable majority, an important resolution, binding themselves to great principles, decidedly anti-slavery; and I believe a division, or, as we are accustomed to call it in Scotland, in the Free Church annals, a disruption, is likely to take place in the body (cheers). I think you cannot do better than to open a correspondence with all these religious bodies that are now coming forward to fight the battle on the American soil (cheers). But here I must answer the question, how did you think of going among them at all? Now, in point of fact, it was to Dr. Cunningham and myself matter of serious consideration whether we should receive invitations coming from many quarters, as, for example, from ministers and congregations many of whom had nothing to do with slavery at all (cheers). We did feel the delicacy of our position. We viewed the question much in the same light in which the great question of the slave-trade itself was considered for many years, during the time of Wilberforce, when it became a question of casuistry whether it was consistent with Christian principle to make use of sugar grown by slave-labour. We knew that that question had divided the Christian world; and for a long period the city of Glasgow was so deeply implicated in the question of the slave-trade, that it was difficult for ministers and elders and others to know what was the line of duty. We knew that men like Newton, having an interest in the slave-trade, did continue in it during the very time that writings were everywhere circulated against the system. We looked upon it as a question of casuistry how far we were entitled to analyse the sources from which contributions came, or the private motives that dictated them. It is a mistake to suppose that you are entirely free from anti-slavery money by keeping away from the slave states. It is a mistake to suppose that you can visit the free states without coming in contact with money tinged with blood. In fact, American slavery is ramified from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. The money vested in the slave system is very great. The clothing for the negroes is furnished by the northern states; there is so much in the way of money and family connexions, and so much in the way of ecclesiastical connexion, that the ramifications of slavery extend, with more or less power, from one end of the Republic to the other (hear). Where was it that Miss Crandall was arrested and committed to prison for allowing free-coloured children to attend her school? It was not in the South, it was in none of those states made foul with slavery, but it was in Connecticut, a free state (hear). One of the things that struck me most forcibly was, that the prejudice is almost universal against colour, and in favour of something like a modified slavery. Nothing struck me more than the pertinacity with which gentle-

men in the Northern states contended for the abstract principle of slavery, which they did as strongly as gentlemen in the South. Indeed, I look upon the cause of slavery as entrenched in the American Republic. I do not see, humanly speaking, any prospect of a change till you bring that republic to see that it is her interest, in a pecuniary view, to substitute free for slave labour; and till Britain read her a lesson, by showing that, through our commerce with other parts of the world, we can get our cotton without her (cheers). Moral means must be used—the gospel must be used—the churches of Christ, and all who love God and man, must strain every nerve to get the system destroyed; but I deliberately tell you, that if you want to get one argument more than another to tell on the American mind, from Maine to Mexico, that it is the argument derived from the market for their cotton; and if Britain can show that she can act on America in that way—if the gold which Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, not to speak of Lancashire, gives now to America slavery, be given to support a better cause—then America will begin to look round, and be taught the lesson that free labour is better than slave labour; and give out the cry, Let the slave be made free—let the chains fall from his limbs, and let the rights of man and the rights of God carry the day (cheers). The Rev. Doctor then proceeded to advert to some of the things with which he was more particularly struck in his late visit to America. The argument in favour of slavery, most plausible in the estimation of the Americans, was, "We cannot help ourselves, we cannot interfere with the state legislatures of the different provinces." Now, my answer to this was, that, as men and Christians, they had to do with all matters connected with morality, religion, and the rights of man, that while each state is independent there are certain duties that belong to the Congress, and one of the first of these is to abolish slavery in its own district of Columbia (cheers). In Congress there is the north countryman, and the west free-state man, and the south countryman; why did they not all agree to put down slavery where they have the power? Here, in this district of Columbia, under the very eye and nose of the collective wisdom and might of America, slaves are kept shut up in a gloomy-looking place. Why does not Congress set them free, when it can do so without interfering with the independent legislatures of individual states? (Cheers.) Then the question was often put, "What have you to do with it?" I found the sensitiveness of the Americans as to British interference excessive, so much so, that I could not have conceived it possible. The idea of Britain interfering with their institutions, was constantly thrown in my way, and this was declared to be an objection that was invulnerable. I asked one learned clergyman this: Has your church given any testimony against slavery recently? He said, No Sir; slavery is one of the civil institutions of the country, with which the church has nothing to do. I replied; that I took a different view of it—that if there was anything in the institutions of the country adverse to morality and religion, and the rights of man, they were bound to lift up a testimony against it. There was in America a strong impression that there was nothing in the scriptures that positively condemned slavery. They fell into the error that it was necessary to find in the Bible a text, word for word, condemning a thing before they were entitled to condemn it, forgetting that the Bible was a book which laid down great principles, and that from these, and from the whole genius of Christianity, slavery was proved to be an evil. After giving some further specimens of the arguments used in favour of slavery, the Rev. Doctor made reference to the settlements in Canada for the reception of runaway slaves from the United States. He then spoke of the prejudice against colour, which everywhere existed in the States. Never had he experienced more delight than when he met with a congregation of 1,000 black men and women, assembled on a week-day evening. At Baltimore he drank tea with a clergyman just before they went to hear a black man preach. He asked the clergyman if the black preacher were to come into his house just now, would he allow him to sit down with them? He was an ordained minister—they preached in the same church—occasionally attended prayer meetings together, and were in the habit of associating together for religious purposes—would he, considering all these circumstances, allow the black preacher to sit down to tea with them if he came in? His answer was, "I would, but my family would not, they would leave me." (Hear, and cries of "Shame.") There were 20,000 free blacks in Baltimore, and 6,000 of them connected with the church, and he found them in morality, delicacy, and sense of propriety, and in their manners altogether a very superior class. He differed from the report as to the progress of the abolition cause in America. He did not think the cause was progressing so much as the report seemed to indicate. He thought the prejudice on the question was increasing. When the Rev. Theodore Wright, a coloured minister, came over to this country, though he paid for a cabin passage, he was not allowed to be there, but was put into the steerage. (Shame, shame.) In returning, Mr. Wright went in a British ship, and a proposal was made that he should again be ejected from the cabin, but the British captain said, No; he has paid his fare in the cabin, and has a right to be there (cheers). But he was grieved to say that there was some ground to believe British captains were beginning to act as the American captains did in regard to people of colour. He got a hint of this in America, and his friend, the Rev. George Lewis, had confirmed it. When Mr. Lewis came home there was a respectable black man in the steamer, whom the captain excluded from the cabin. (Shame.) He mentioned this on the authority of Mr. Lewis, and would rejoice if it turned out unfounded. This was a thing which they must check; and he was sure that those who had Scottish capital invested in these steamers would be ashamed of such a thing, and that, when known, instructions will be given to maintain the honour of the British character. [Here there were cries of "Name."] He could not at the moment name the steamer. It was the one Mr. Lewis came home in, and it could easily be ascertained. He repeated that he did not think the cause was making much progress in America. He believed that if the Free Church delegation were called upon to go over to America again, they would find it their duty to assume a much higher position in regard to the matter—(cheers)—and he thought the information they had given would tell forcibly on the Free Church. He did not think they would give back the money. They did not know to whom to give it back.

Mr. MURRAY, in justice to the drawers up of the Report, and in reference to what Dr. Burns said as to no exception being made in favour of those American churches who oppose slavery, had just to remark that they were quite aware of the exceptions referred to; and the reason why





Digitized by Google

they were not mentioned was just because they were so few in number as to be a mere drop in the bucket (hear).

Mr. H. LANGLANDS said he could state in reference to the fact mentioned by Dr. Burns, about a man of colour being excluded from one of the steamers, that some gentlemen who took an opposite view from the captain, had drawn up a memorial addressed to the directors in Glasgow, as the captain stated that he acted on instructions given by them. One of these directors was called upon, when he requested that the matter should not be made public, as it was a delicate affair (hear). He (Mr. L.) believed the practice was creeping in.

The Rev. Mr. KENNEDY from Paisley next addressed the meeting. He expressed the great love and respect he entertained both for Dr. Burns, who had just addressed them, and for Mr. Thompson, who was to succeed, but he regretted to say that from both of these gentlemen he differed in opinion on certain points. He expressed his utter abhorrence of American slavery, though he loved America itself, where most of his relatives were. He knew well, from his friends' letters as from many other sources, the deep prejudice that existed against the coloured man, and he regarded it the duty of every one to use all the moral influence that could be exerted towards abolishing, not only slavery itself, but the unjust personal prejudice against colour; and he had come to the conclusion that the moral means which at the present moment would most powerfully tend to promote this object, would be the casting back of every farthing of money that could be conceived to be tainted with slavery by the Free Church. (Great disapprobation and loud cheers.) Let no one say that he condemned the Free Church. No; he held that the Free Church was now on trial—the matter had gone into committee—he hoped Dr. Burns was on that committee—and he trusted the result would be as he anticipated. He knew there were strong reasons for the reception of that money, and that, if ever circumstances could favour its reception, those circumstances did exist. But if there was any doubt as to the propriety of receiving the money—it might be a matter of casuistry—but, just because there was a doubt, he thought it ought not to be received. He honoured his friends of the Free Church; but he must tell them that, till they were able to come before the Christian world, and prove that there was nothing suspicious in the reception of that money, it ought to be rejected. I am not disposed, in other matters, to measure lances with Dr. Burns; but I feel called upon to answer his arguments in reference to this matter. (Disapprobation and cheers.)

PROFESSOR WRIGHT, from America. It was now about seven years since he had the pleasure of presenting to an audience in New York a remonstrance from the Vale of Leven, sent by 5,000 of the inhabitants of that valley, and he held up the glorious instrument with a triumph that he never felt before. In the face of slaveholders, and in the face of slaveholding ministers of religion, he stretched the document along the hall, and said, here was the remonstrance of honest men, who told them that they could not touch slavery in the way of supporting it without sin (cheers). The greatest warfare of the anti-slavery party, since the first spark of the anti-slavery fire had been struck, was with the pro-slavery church of America (hear, hear). He was happy to acknowledge the exceptions mentioned by Dr. Burns. Years ago he had interesting communion with these churches, but in the slave states they submitted to slavery, and could not open their lips against it in many of the towns and villages of the south, without being driven from their communion. They were indeed in a state of complete bondage, though they did honour to principle by refraining from slaveholding, yet they did not open their lips against slavery. He could not believe that the Free Church of Scotland would at last accept money derived from slaveholders. If they should do so, he had only to say that it would sadden the hearts of all those who professed to be abolitionists in America. It would weaken their hands, and would take away the effect of the best remonstrances that had come from Scotland, and which entitled them to say to the slaveholders, "Look to the churches of Scotland for your condemnation; if you will not hear us, hear them, when they say that Christianity cannot shake hands with those men who deal in this iniquity" (cheers). If the Free Church accepted the money, it would take away from the abolitionists all this authority, which they had got from the churches of Scotland, in reference to this matter (hear). He hoped, as the resolution expressed it, that the result would be satisfactory; but it would not be satisfactory to him, or the abolitionists of America, unless the money was returned (cheers). He would now make a few observations in reference to the progress of the cause in America. He was happy to hear foreigners, like the excellent divine who had just addressed them, speak of America, in order to know what they said of it. One of the same name had said—

"Oh, that some power the gift would gi'e us,
To see ourselves as others see us!"

And this was as necessary in reference to America as to other places. Dr. Burns had spoken not so much of the abolitionists of America as of the pro-slavery churches of America (hear). They were the abettors and the bulwarks of slavery in America (cheers). The dark picture he drew was accounted for by this—that his mission brought him in connexion with the churches of America, those churches that had driven all the honest abolitionists from their bosom; and those divines were the men whose mouths were always full of arguments about Ham and Abraham (laughter). Such, however, was the progress of the cause, that though they treated Mr. Thompson contemptuously and disgracefully when among them before, yet he was sure it would not be so again (cheers). Had Dr. Burns been in America during the last twelve years—if he had encountered what Mr. Thompson did, along with his friends, on the streets of New York, when the bowie-knife, manufactured at Sheffield, with "death to abolitionists" inscribed on the blade, might be seen in the hands of their enemies, so that it was dangerous to walk the streets—had Dr. Burns seen all this, and seen America as he had seen it now, he would have come here with a different history. He did not deny the 60,000 abolition voters for the President, but he would have had a different tale to tell had he been in America when there were not 7,000 who did not bow the knee to Baal (cheers). When it was found that they could not stop our mouths or gag us in America, then we took a step farther—when our petitions were rejected by the pro-slavery Congress, and we found that there was no getting a hearing—then we resolved that

we, as the sovereign people of America, would exercise our franchise to put into Congress, and into all public offices, only the men who were free from the stain of slavery. In 1838 we first raised our little flag to the breeze, and said our franchise is henceforth sacred to the cause of abolition (applause). We first had 7,000 men, and we doubled from year to year, till now we have 60,000 (cheers). Your report refers to the fact that one of the anti-slavery societies of America resolved, by a respectable majority, that they would not hold allegiance to the constitution of the United States. That might be a proof of great zeal to the cause; these friends might be right if the constitution supported slavery; but I rejoice to say that at the largest convention we ever had in America, which was held at Buffalo, with 1,000 delegates, and an audience of 5,000 abolitionists, it was resolved unanimously that the constitution of the United States, so far as it was considered to support slavery, and the restoration of the fugitive slave, was a violation of the laws of God, and for that reason was null and void, and not binding on any man (cheers). We did not, from these words, allow that the constitution supports slavery. On the contrary, its object is to establish justice, which is diametrically opposed to establishing slavery; and, therefore, if it establish slavery it contradicts itself (cheers). After showing that, in accordance with the idea that the constitution could not bind men to support slavery, the most thinking men in the United States, to the number of 60,000, were determined to aid fugitive slaves in escaping from their masters, &c. &c., he went on to observe that it was the duty of Britain to oppose the annexation of Texas, which he denominated as a valley of rascals, even by force, rather than allow such an iniquitous proposal to be carried into effect.

MR. A. PATON seconded the resolution. There could be no difference of opinion in the minds of right thinking men, who did not allow questions of casuistry to interfere with their judgment, as to what should be done by the Free Church with the money which had been referred to. There could be no doubt that it came from slaveholders. Dr. Burns had alluded to the difficulty of discriminating where the money came from. He would give them the advantage of all that was doubtful, but there were cases in which no doubt could for a moment exist; and in regard to them it was the duty of the Free Church to return the money—(cheers).

The Rev. Mr. GRAHAM supported the resolution. As the matter was in the hands of a committee of the Free Church, it was only courteous, in the mean time, he thought, to let them do their work without any interference on their part.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON then brought under the notice of the meeting the fact that a person was now in prison in Baltimore for aiding a slave to escape from the State of Virginia. He would be given up to Virginia, and if found guilty, would be sentenced to imprisonment for life. Besides this gentleman, whose name was Torrey, there were three prisoners in the State of Missouri, who had been condemned to twelve years' imprisonment for the same offence, as it was called, in America. These men had been the means of much good in the prison in which they were confined. Now his object in bringing the case of these individuals, whose only crime was helping people to run away with themselves, before the meeting, was to propose a resolution, sympathising with them in their present circumstances. They had made a noble stand in the case of John L. Brown, and he was sure they would not be slow to tender to the men, now suffering imprisonment for similar acts of kindness to their fellow-creatures in bondage, the expression of their sympathy, and their best wishes for their welfare (cheers). Mr. T. then moved a resolution to that effect, which was carried by acclamation, the audience standing.

This resolution, signed by the chairman and the secretaries, was immediately sent off per Boston steamer, to sail on the 4th.

The meeting was then adjourned to the following evening.

At the adjourned Meeting Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON made the following remarks on the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in India:—

MR. G. THOMPSON. He could not, however, conclude, without saying a word about the recent passing of a law in India for the abolition of slavery. It was quite true that a law had been promulgated by the Supreme Government of India, the effect of which would be, if impartially carried out, to put an end to every kind of personal slavery, and the passing of such a law was a matter of sincere congratulation, but it ought to be known that there existed no evidence to prove that during the year that had passed, any slaves in India had been made free in consequence of it (hear). The law did no more than place the slave in a condition to claim his freedom, and afford him the means of obtaining it, if he came before one of the magistrates or judges of the country. The misfortune was that the slaves almost universally would remain ignorant of the fact that such a law had been passed, and as the vast majority of them were persons shut up in the domestic establishments of the wealthier natives, it would be very difficult to make them aware of what was intended for their benefit. He thought that the Anti-slavery societies of the kingdom should, from time to time, call upon the Government to say what measures had been adopted to give practical effect to the law, and expose the real worthlessness of it, if it was suffered to remain dead letter.

Foreign Intelligence.

HAYTI.—Extract from a letter from a Haytian gentleman, dated Paris, 23rd of July, 1844.—"I am indebted to the kindness of _____, for having communicated to me the passage of your letter in which you ask for information concerning our unhappy Hayti. You also mention to him that you intend to make an appeal in our behalf. I earnestly beseech you to put in execution the kind office that you contemplate. Excite the sympathies of the English nation on behalf of an interesting people, which has been mutilated by a dreadful earthquake and ruined by a fire, and which the Machiavellism of the French government has festered during the last twenty years. My countrymen are prevented from making any progress in order that it may be said that they are unworthy of liberty. Do you wish to know what has been the policy adopted with respect to us? It may be summed up in one infernal thought, which I give you in these few expressions extracted from the 21st number of the *Annales Maritimes*, 1843:—'These missions exercised a great influence in forming the mind of

M. de Mackau, and soon made him on the sea the chief of that military diplomacy which the emperor first adopted on the continent, through such men as Caulaincourt and Duroc. The treaty with St. Domingo was an act of great political importance, which could on a future day assure to France the possession of her ancient colony, if France had been willing to understand the work of her ambassador. . . . Thus, contrary to what we should expect from an intelligent creditor, the fetters placed in our way, the menaces and the perfidy of the different agents sent to us have all tended to plunge us in misery, and to render it impossible to pay the indemnity agreed to by the pusillanimity of the fallen government. Now they go further. Brethren are induced to arm themselves against each other, and it is predicted to us here that the force of circumstances will lead us to demand the protection of France. The position of my country is grave, but it is far from being desperate; and, if the former possessors of slaves, men who have no African blood in their veins, have demanded the protection of France, this will not be the case with the Haytians who are black or coloured. It has been too often said to us that the negro race is a degenerate one, to induce us to lay aside every consideration of personal comfort in order to prove that we are unworthy to hold a place among civilized people. The war has ceased in Hayti; the arms are laid down at least in all parts of the west, but the seeds of discord still exist. You can assist in removing them. An appeal to the Haytians by a considerable number of those generous men who consecrate their life to the defence of the African race, will arrest the Haytians on the border of the abyss open before them. I earnestly beseech you warn my fellow citizens of the danger which menaces our nationality. Induce them again to draw closely those ties that imprudent men have broken, and you will at the same time serve the cause of the independence of Hayti, and that of the abolition of slavery. The last news received states that some improvement had taken place in the state of things, the north had readily submitted to the new government, the president was preparing to go to the south, and the persons who had the conducting of affairs enjoyed the public confidence. The party in the east supported by France gave uneasiness, but now that the French government appears to have refused the protectorate that the East had offered, it cannot be imagined that this population of 60,000 persons, spread over two-thirds of the island, can long maintain themselves without funds."

In another letter from the same correspondent it is remarked, that "the French press seems to have pledged itself to preserve silence on the infamous conduct of French agents in Hayti, in carrying civil war into a friendly country."

Papers to the 7th of July, inclusive, have been received from Port Republicain, containing much interesting intelligence respecting the unfortunate island of Hayti, and showing that French intrigue is as active there as in other parts of the world. The Spanish part of the island, which is alone called St. Domingo, has been under the provisional government of a Junta since it declared its independence of the Haytian Republic. The session of this junta was opened on the 26th of May, by a speech from M. Thomas Bobadilla, who tried to point out the necessity of accepting French protection, which was offered, he said, by the French Consul, M. Suchereau de Saint Denis. This measure was vehemently opposed by the Generals Juan Duarte and Manuel Ximenes, who declared that they would be independent of all foreign dominion; and the consequence of their opposition was a rejection of the French protection by the Assembly. Nevertheless, on the 28th of the same month the French consul having sent to the junta another communication, setting forth the terms in which the treaty of protection should be couched, and threatening to quit the country with his countrymen, and the vessels of war stationed at St. Domingo, this document was accepted by the junta, and signed by all its members, with the single exception of Duarte, who gave in his resignation as member of the junta, and as commanding officer of the arrondissement of St. Domingo. By this treaty France was to lend 3,000,000 piasters to the Eastern part, and to receive the peninsula of Samana as a security for repayment. The *Styx* steam-vessel was then sent to Port Republicain, bearing the treaty to the Consul-General Levasseur and Admiral Demoges, while the French vessels of war in the St. Domingo roads were disarmed of their artillery, that they might enter the Ozama river: here they were again armed that they might be ready for action in the event of a popular outbreak. After these events had taken place Colonel Joaquin Puello, who commanded the fort, ordered his sentinels to fire on a Frenchman named Malespine, who had answered "Français" to the interrogatory "Qui vive?" Upon which the consul threatened to fire upon the town, if the order were not instantly withdrawn. The consul's demand was complied with, but on the 9th of June, Colonel Puello put himself at the head of the populace, and marched to the junta, amid cries of "Down with Bobadilla! Down with Caminero! Death to the traitors! Death to Delmonte, Xavier Abreu, Francisco Riaz, and Bias!" These are the names of the members who were supposed to be most inclined to the French protection. Puello insisted on their removal from the assembly, and banishment from the country, and with this demand retired of their own accord to the French consul, who afforded them protection, and still threatened to cannonade the town. Puello and three others were promoted to the rank of Generals of Brigade by the junta, and at the same time intelligence was received that all the department of Cibao had detached itself from St. Domingo to form another republic, under the title of the "Republic of Cibao." By this last revolt the island is divided into three separate states—the Republic of Hayti, which is now confined to the French part of the island; the Republic of St. Domingo, which is under the provisional junta; and the infant Republic, which will probably have but a transient existence. On the 19th of June, it is said, the most complete anarchy reigned at St. Domingo. Puello, who is himself a black, had sent into the interior, calling upon the blacks and coloured men to resist the French, who, he declared, would take possession of the country and revive slavery. The French consul had been forced to declare that the treaty was a project which had not yet obtained the sanction of his government. All this intelligence was received at Port Republicain by way of St. Thomas's, the latest dates of the letters thence being the 27th of June.—*Morning Chronicle*.

The following is from the correspondence of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, of July 31:—

"Porto Plata, Hayti, July 19, 1844.
A Dominican man-of-war schooner, belonging to General Sta. Anna, called the *Separacion*, formerly the pilot boat *Romp*, arrived off here today, with letters from Gen. Sta. Anna to Gen. Villaneuve, informing him that he (St. Anna) had been legally chosen by the legal junta, President of the republic, in the city of St. Domingo. Gen. Villaneuve sent his son and aid, Col. Toutio, on board of her, to invite the captain to bring his vessel in, which he did. He saluted the town, which was returned by the fort. The same legal junta that Gen. Sta. Anna has reinstated are the self-chosen or appointed who wished to, or who, in fact, did, cede Samana to the French. The party that President Duarte is the chief of are opposed to the French protection. Since the deposition of the first-named part of the junta, the French have been actively employed in Port-au-Prince, to create there a diversion of the black government against the east. The same activity in intrigue has been displayed at Cape Hayti, it is not yet ascertained with what success. At the time that General Duarte was proclaimed president at La Vega and on this side of the island, General Sta. Anna was on the frontier with his army. While there, he received a commission from Port-au-Prince, after which he commenced his march on St. Domingo, his army increasing on the route. Report says he appeared before the city with an army, in a tolerable state of discipline, of 6,000 men, and was by them made president. He is in favour of French protection—so report says. Whether such protection would benefit the country is hard to tell. On the principle that a powerful friend is a benefit, the protection of the French may possibly benefit these people, provided their commerce with other nations, and their own internal government, is not interfered with.

"As I before informed you, General Duarte is a white man, about thirty years old; General Sta. Anna is Spanish white, about fifty-five years old. The last named has devoted all his fortune to this revolution: two of the men-of-war schooners are his private property. The existing difficulties may be amicably arranged; but I believe myself there will be some fighting, if the two presidents can bring their followers up to it. These people don't like that sort of work. Cannot you influence the Chamber of Commerce of your city to request our government to direct the visit of one or two gun-brigs, or small sloops of war, to this place and the city of St. Domingo? Here, you know, there is American property and persons to look after. In the first created city of Columbus in the New World, an American man-of-war has not been seen for nearly half a century. I suppose, now, there must be Americans and American interests there. And, besides, if our southern people, who are now at the head of the government, were reminded that the whites of this country were the chiefs of this struggle—that this revolution has destroyed the force of the black republic—they might be induced to countenance these people by a visit of our small men-of-war."

CUBA.—EXECUTION OF TWENTY PERSONS.—We take from the *Morning Herald* the following letter, dated Havana, July 16:—"All is apparently tranquil here, but it is the tranquillity of terror, which the severe but necessary measures of government have inspired. What dreadful scenes have we not witnessed here these last few months! what arrests and frightful developments? what condemnations, and horrid deaths? But the bloody drama seems approaching its close; the curtain has just fallen on the execution of the chief conspirator, Placido, who met his fate with an heroic calmness that produced a universal impression of regret. Nothing was positively known of the decision of the council concerning him, till it was rumoured a few days since that he would proceed, along with others, to the "chapel" for the condemned. On the appointed day a great crowd was assembled, and Placido was seen walking along with singular composure under circumstances so gloomy, smoking a cigar, and saluting with graceful ease his numerous acquaintances. Are you aware what the punishment of the "chapel" means? It is worse a thousand times than the death of which it is the sure precursor. The unfortunate criminals are conducted into a chapel hung in black, and dimly lighted. Priests are there to chant in sepulchral voice the service of the dead, and the coffins of the trembling victims are arrayed in cruel relief before their eyes. Here they are kept for twenty-four hours, and are led hence to execution. Can anything be more awful? and what a disgusting aggravation of the horror of the coming death! Placido emerged from the chapel cool and undismayed, whilst the others were nearly or entirely overcome by the agonies they had already undergone. The chief conspirator held a crucifix in his hand, and recited in a loud voice a beautiful prayer in verse, which thrilled upon the hearts of the attentive masses which lined the road he passed. On arriving at the fatal spot he sat down on a bench with his back turned, as ordered, to the military, and rapid preparations were made for his death. It was well known that in some affecting poem written by Placido in prison he had said it would be useless to seek to kill him by shooting his body, that they must strike his heart to make it cease its throbings. And now the dread hour had arrived—at the last moment he arose, and said "adios mundo!" (adieu world), and sat calmly down. The word was given, and five balls entered his body. Amid the murmurs of the horror-struck spectators he got up, and turned his head upon the shrinking soldiers, his face wearing an expression of superhuman courage, "Will no one have pity on me?" he said. "Here! (pointing to his heart) fire here!" At that instant two balls pierced his breast, and he fell dead whilst his words still echoed in our ears. Thus has perished the great leader of the attempted revolt, and the main instrument of the Consul Turnbull. Is he satisfied with his victims, or does he crave more? Nineteen were shot at the time with Placido, of which I send you a list. They all died miserably, and I spare you the sickening details. The council of war has just made a full report of the conspiracy to the Governor-general, in which it is declared and proved that Turnbull, now in Jamaica, was the chief instigator in this dark plot, which was meant to renew all the butcheries of St. Domingo. To the governor is left the care and duty of taking such measures touching him as he may deem necessary and fit."

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, August 21, 1844.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXIV. VOL. V.—No. 18.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

TO THE CHRISTIAN AND WELL-DISPOSED CITI- ZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

MR FRIENDS.—Though I live across the Atlantic far from you, I believe my name is not unknown to you. I have heard with almost indescribable delight of the great progress which the anti-slavery cause has made in your part of the world. Permit, then, an old man, almost worn out by sixty years' hard labour in that sacred cause, to express his joy to you on this occasion, and to take advantage of this new and favourable turn of things to give his opinion as to what ought to be your present aim, or as to what you ought always to keep in view, in your attempts to promote the extinction of slavery.

Slavery is the greatest evil which has ever afflicted your country. It has heaped incalculable sufferings upon the heads of a people who have never given you any cause of offence; and you have done this without any right to do it but your own will and the law of force. It has corrupted the morals of your population to a frightful extent, by familiarizing them with cruelty and injustice, by hardening their hearts, and by giving birth to erroneous opinions which lead to infidelity; and, moreover, it has injured your national character in the eyes of the civilized nations of the world. These, then, are some of the evils of slavery. But we can apply no remedy to them till we find out their source. It has been a great misfortune to America, that the people of the South should have ever attempted to obtain a political preponderance over the people of the North; and still more strange that they should have succeeded in their attempt. I repeat, still more strange; for it is strange indeed that a people like those of the South, a people of no reputation but for their tyranny and vices, and a people despicable in the eyes of all good men, should have obtained lordship over the virtuous people of the North—a people known to have been of religious character from the time of their first settlement in America, and to have kept up the same character (till slavery made inroad upon their morals) to the present day. And why did the people of the South make this daring attempt? It was that they might rule over the whole land, both north and south; that they might become, in fact, the legislators or makers of the laws, and thus protect and establish slavery for ever as an institution of the United States. This preponderance, then, there can be no doubt, is the source of the evils mentioned.

I will now ask you, my friends of the North, what you have profited by this preponderance, or ascendancy? I will tell you. You have got a slaveholding President, a slaveholding Senate, a slaveholding Congress, and a slaveholding Cabinet. You have got the very sort of men in these high offices the most detrimental to your best interests,

But perhaps the men filling these offices may have been more serviceable to you than you are aware of, as legislators. I will ask you, then, what good they have done. In the common routine of business in Congress they have done, perhaps, as well as any other men could have done; but, whenever slavery has been brought before them as a matter of business, the most malignant of what we call demons could not have done worse. Their laws against their slaves stand on record as the most bloody of the most savage nations upon earth; so shocking as to produce horror and indignation in all who read them; and so shocking that one of your own judges, Stroud, who first brought them together in print, is now, or was lately, buying up the unsold copies; not that he, a slaveholding judge, was ashamed of them, but on the known fact, that, whenever the book is seen, it so harrows up the soul of the reader that it makes converts to the anti-slavery cause. Again, the men filling these offices brought forward and passed the famous gagging bills, and gave the power to postmasters to open letters and parcels, thus stopping the free liberty of speech, and of writing a man's own thoughts. And why was this tyrannical law passed? That not a murmur against slavery might be allowed to transpire, and that slavery might go on uninterruptedly in all its miseries and horrors as before, without censure or reproach. What an outrage was this upon a free constitution, so often boasted of as the most free in the world; an outrage worthy only of the Sultan, or the Emperor of Morocco, the lives of whose subjects are entirely at their command. Again, the men filling these offices caused the butchery of the Indians, and the extermination of some of their tribes, on the mere surmise that these tribes might disturb the plantations of their brother slaveholders, and afford a refuge or retreat for their fugitive slaves. Was this a proper motive for shedding torrents of blood? And will not a day of just retribution come? The same description of men made a law, that whoever aided the escape of a fugitive slave from the oppression of a cruel taskmaster should be punished with death, though it was commanded of old that no fugitive slave should be restored to his master. Was not this setting up a legislation in direct opposition to the law of God? Again, the same

description of men had the audacity to propose the annexation of Texas to the United States, so that both might be one territory, and under one sway. But for what purpose was this union proposed? To have a contiguous slave territory, where the poor fugitive could find no shelter, but must be sent back to an enraged owner, to undergo whatever torture the monster's ingenuity might think fit; and, secondly, not only to perpetuate slavery in the United States, but to extend it to another country, from which it might be spread we know not where. Was there ever a more wicked proposition than this, to transfer the whip, the chain, the iron collar, and the other hideous instruments of torture, to innocent millions yet unborn, and to an indefinite extent of country? Could the mind of a Nero have invented a more wholesale complication of cruelty? And yet your President, in his correspondence with Texas, says that this necessity was forced upon him by the views of the British ministry; when this ministry, to my knowledge, up to the present time, has not taken one step to interfere with the government of Texas on this subject.

These, my friends, are some, but only some of the evils, which had their origin solely in the political ascendancy of the Southern over the Northern states; I say solely, because if there had been no slaves in the South there would have been no occasion for the bloody laws in question. What occasion for gagging bills, if there had been no slavery to talk about? And so with respect to the other evils mentioned. Nor can you be better off in future, so long as this preponderance exists. While it lasts, you will have the same sort of men in office, and of course the same sort of wicked measures, and the same sort of evils, and perhaps worse; for, wherever arbitrary power has been once exerted successfully, it may go to precedents it has made for its continuance. What, indeed, can you hope for, from a slaveholding Cabinet, a Cabinet of men who appear to have no fear of God before their eyes, whose motto seems to be expediency in preference of honour and honesty, and who have been accustomed to look upon the sin of slavery as a common custom only, and without reproach? Will God smile upon the labours of such men? Or will he not rather take vengeance? "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach (a detriment) to any people."

And now, my friends of the North, I will tell you what I promised to say to you in the beginning of the letter, that is, to give you my opinion as to what ought to be your present aim, or what you ought always to keep in view in your attempts to promote the extinction of slavery. It should be your constant aim to try to break up the political preponderance of the Southern over the Northern states, that the former may no longer be the rulers of the land. Such has been my opinion for a long time, but I have been lately more and more confirmed in it, as well as in its practicability, by circumstances. If the people of the North were to determine upon the abolition of slavery, and were to be in earnest, heart and hand, for this purpose, I have no doubt slavery must fall. I am confirmed in this conclusion by the testimony of Americans themselves. But what practical steps will serve to forward and accomplish this object? I answer, first, through the medium of conversation, every one with his friends and acquaintance, and even with strangers where a suitable opportunity offers. You must never allow the notions and arguments of the slaveholders, as urged either by themselves or others, to pass without a suitable opposition. You must not allow them, for instance, to treat God's declaration at creation as a lie, "that he made man in his own image," and that there was originally but one race of men. You must stand up for the poor slaves, who are not allowed to stand up for themselves. There is one argument which you must always have ready on your lips to utter, and which can never be answered by any sophistry. You must say, "That slaves are men, and not brutes; that they have the same form and shape as men, but brutes have not this form; that they have intellect, but brutes have only instinct; that they can talk, but brutes have no articulation; that they have the power of reasoning, but brutes have no such power; that they understand religious truths and are susceptible of religious feeling, but brutes have neither such understanding nor such sensations; that they have consequently an immortal soul, but the brutes perish. But if they are men like ourselves, then Christianity commands you to perform towards them the same duties of humanity which it enjoins to all others, who are acknowledged to be men; and then it may be argued that there could be no such thing as slavery." If you, then, my friends, and all the well-disposed persons of the North, were to stand up for the slaves in this manner, do you think that you would not produce an infinity of good to the anti-slavery cause? I pray you not to think this my advice trifling, or of no consequence. You would probably by following it stop the progress of slave opinions in many, and make converts of others who have adopted them.

But this is not all. You must act as well as talk. The political preponderance of the South over the North must be broken up before you can expect to effect your object. You may endeavour to direct the public mind to this end by occasionally publishing little tracts of a few pages only, showing that, if we are to judge by what the people of the South have done, (by their unjust laws, and the violation of their charter of independence,) they are not fit to rule the land. The adoption of the principles and notions which slave-holding induces disqualifies them for a righteous administration of the government. These little tracts could not fail of having their effect in so plain a case.

But there is another way in conjunction with the two now mentioned, which would contribute greatly to our views. Every man's attention must be turned to the securing of votes at your elections in favour of such candidates for seats in Congress as will pledge themselves to vote for the total abolition of slavery. By such means it was (by making slavery the subject of almost daily conversation, and painting it everywhere in bright colours, and by the slaveholders making interest to get themselves and their friends into Congress,) that the people of the South gained this ascendancy, and by such means they have contrived to keep it up. Why, then, should not you do the same? There is a reasonable prospect of success, if the anti-slavery cause should go on advancing as rapidly as it has done in the last six months. Why should you despair? Your cause is a holy one, being the cause of mercy, justice, and religion. That of the people of the South is a supremely wicked one, and such as all independent and disinterested men of only common honesty would be ashamed to patronize. Besides, you are sufficiently numerous to secure the ascendancy. Look at the tens of thousands in the North who have lately joined the standard of liberty, and the tens of thousands there of independent rational men, who have hitherto taken no part in the question, and who are yet left for conviction, and you will see no reason to despair. But you must be energetic and persevering, as much as if you considered the cause to be your own. For what are you called upon to do? "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free," Isa. lviii. 6, and to arrest the progress of principles which are contrary to the law of God. Pleasing task! Could you have a more noble subject to call forth your exertions than this? No! Choose, then, your way. Consider well whether you will be any longer trodden down by the people of the South, any longer submit to gagging bills, any longer submit to be the jailors for their fugitive slaves, or whether you will be your own masters, aiming at the restoration of morals, and making laws agreeable to your constitution of independence, the object of which originally was the liberty and happiness of the people.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

Playford Hall, near Ipswich, Aug. 30, 1844.

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following letter, to which we give immediate insertion.

To the Editor of the *Journal des Debats*.

Oran, 31st July, 1844.

Sir,—I address myself to you with the full confidence that I shall obtain a hearing.

Frenchmen in general are taught to believe that the anti-slavery feeling in England is simple hypocrisy, and that the anti-slavery measures of the British Government are directed to the destruction of all European colonies, as a sort of revenge for having in an unguarded moment listened to the voice of philanthropy, and destroyed its own colonies by liberating their slaves. And these calumnies have been so often repeated by the French press that people must fain believe them from their repetition.

As an Englishman, and a correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Society of London, I am willing to bear with all patience the odium of such charges, and resign myself in the expectation of the day when, the passions of men subsiding, they will be able to see things in their naked reality—provided always that I have a better example set me by my neighbours.

The abolition of slavery is a question of fact; and we are bound, I think, to offer our thanks, in the name of humanity, to any nation who shall execute it, without pretending to inquire into the motives which led to so glorious a result in favour of the oppressed children of Africa.

If I understand the intentions of France and her Government in the retention of Algeria, they are, that, whilst this African colony is turned to a profitable account for French interests in general, civilization is to be promoted amongst the native population, and slavery, and the traffic in slaves—not merely that in Christians and Europeans—are to be completely destroyed. But I find to my no small astonishment, that slavery and the traffic in slaves exist in this country precisely in the same manner as they did before the French conquest, the public sales alone excepted; and that, moreover, the local authorities have decided that slavery is an integral part of the privileges which France has confirmed to the native Moorish and Arab population. Mons. Pelessier, let it be said to his eternal honour, when chief of the administration of the Arabs at Algiers, struggled heroically against Marshal Valée, in endeavouring to rescue a fugitive slave negress from slavery; but, unhappily, the evil demon which broods over the fortunes of Africa blasted these noble efforts for the regeneration of the human race! Mons. Le-

blanc de Trébois, in his pamphlet entitled, "Conditions essentielles du Progrès en Algérien," appears to allude to this fact when he says: "We do not know what Mons. Blanque means, when he pretends that it is a great honour for French civilization to have abolished slavery by its presence, which still exists amongst many republics. This is a grave error." Mons. le Colonel de la Moricière would have informed him that many black slaves, believing that they could escape slavery, have fled from their masters to serve amongst the Zouaves, or native troops; but the Minister of War has always given orders to send them back to their masters. Mons. Leblanc de Trébois then relates a case of a couple of slaves who fled from Abd el Kader, believing to find Algiers *la terre de la liberté*, but who were restored by Marshal Valée to the Emirs; and these wretched fugitives were afterwards butchered by their enraged masters, (page 36.) Here also, in Oran, slaves are bought and sold, and are beaten and maimed at the absolute command of their masters, unrestrained by French laws or authority. I shall only trouble you with a single case, which happened three days ago. A negress, who was sold to a new master, ran away and returned to her old master; the old master, fearing that he should have to refund the purchase money, endeavoured to cure the slave of running away by *hanging her up by the heels with her head towards the floor, and then beating her, stark naked!* If you wish it, I will send you the names of the slave and her masters.

I have been astonished to find how little has been said by French authors on the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in Algeria, in the unanswerable pamphlets which have appeared on the mode of colonizing this country. It seems that the African race was forgotten, although in every city of this coast numbers of negro slaves, men and women, are to be seen in the street. Mons. Carette, in one of the most recent *brochures*, intitled, "Commerce de l'Algérie," simply remarks "that the commerce of Soudan has been injured by a less importation of slaves into Algeria; and then asks whether it is not possible that by a participation, prudent and firm, in the commerce of central Africa, the deplorable traffic in human beings might not be extinguished. (page 34.)

No one can know better than yourself, that the French journals impute great jealousy and ill-will to the English at seeing the retention of Algeria by France. If such a feeling exists, it must be greatly increased by the knowledge of the fact, that France apparently belies her constantly expressed determination of destroying the slave-trade in northern Africa. There are many in England, I am sure, who would see with pleasure the consolidation of the French power in northern Africa, on the condition that France would engage herself to exert her utmost to destroy the abominable traffic in human beings on this coast. But, of course, it is too much to expect that the French press will believe this.

Be it as it may, the position of France as to this subject is really anomalous. You have the Bey of Tunis as your neighbour, who has prohibited the traffic in slaves, and declared that henceforth every child born in the Tunisian regency is free; now, what would you do in a case of a fugitive slave escaping to the Tunisian territory, and finding on its Mohammedan soil the freedom which he vainly seeks in French Africa? Would you demand the fugitive from that noble, humane, and enlightened prince? I am sure you could not, for shame. Shall France, then, which loves liberty so much, and glories in her efforts to civilize the world, continue to maintain this nefarious traffic, with its attendant cruelties and abasement, in defiance of her own declaration to promote the civilization of Africa; and also without a single object of interest in its maintenance, thus foolishly and absurdly exposing herself to the odious charge of upholding this accursed system?

I have the honour, &c., &c.

(Signed) JAMES RICHARDSON.

UNITED STATES—CASE OF THE REV. C. T. TORREY.

Great interest is at the present time excited in the United States by the arrest of this highly-respected man and minister of the gospel, on a charge of aiding the escape of slaves. Besides his personal claims to sympathy and aid, Mr. Torrey's case appears to involve some great principles connected with the question of slavery in the States, and is likely to attract for some time to come a growing and intense regard. To put our readers in full possession of its merits, we give entire an article upon it which we find in our file of the *Emancipator*:

"Much as the personal friends of Mr. Torrey and others might be disposed to do for him, as one imprisoned for *doing good*, because he is their friend, there are considerations connected with his cause, of far higher moment than the mere issue whether or not he shall be imprisoned in the Penitentiary for doing sundry acts that common humanity would require of any man. Mr. Torrey desires us distinctly to say, he wishes all appeals to the public in his behalf to be based on these grounds alone. He says, he has 'very little of the martyr spirit, and has not the least disposition to be made a martyr of.' He desires his friends, and the anti-slavery public, to do precisely what they would for a stranger, whose case had become, in similar ways, connected with some of the highest issues of the battle between slavery and liberty."

"A plain statement of his position, and of the plans it is intended to pursue, will show the reader what interest the free and the slave States have in the strife."

"Mr. Torrey was first arrested on the complaint of one Bushrod Taylor, of Winchester, Va., who swore *point blank* that Mr. Torrey had helped sundry slaves of his to escape from the State of Virginia. He afterwards admitted that he never saw Mr. Torrey, or knew any harm of him; but he believed all sort of evil [good] of him. Another man swore,

that on December 9th, 1843, a man came to a hotel in Winchester, and entered his name as 'C. Turner,' stayed a day and a half, and then left. That he neither saw nor knew any evil of him. Taylor swore that he complained to the grand jury himself; and that he meant to get the 'C. Turner' indicted.

" This is all the evidence on which Mr. Torrey was arrested and imprisoned, to await the demand of the governor of Virginia. Governor McDonnell, without inquiry, gave the requisition, and made Taylor the bearer of it. Of his fitness, the fact that he repeatedly, as we are informed, threatened Mr. Torrey's life in the post-office, may be taken as presumptive evidence !

" After this arrest, one *Heekrotte*, of whom it is enough to say, — presented a complaint that Mr. Torrey had aided three of his victims to escape from his power. The chief evidence to sustain his charge was given by two *professional slave-catchers*, men of corresponding repute, whose entire evidence Mr. Torrey avers to be, so far as it tends to implicate him, a tissue of falsehoods, concocted for the occasion. Whether this can be shown, on the trial, by second testimony, remains to be proved.

" There are two courses, one of which must be adopted. First, the charges may be met, in the criminal courts of Maryland and Virginia, on their merits.

" In either case, we believe it would require perjured testimony to obtain a conviction. There is no probability, from the known character of the parties interested, that such testimony would be wanting !

" It is true, bail might be obtained, and *forfeited*. But this resort honour and interest alike forbid, save in an extreme case, such as Mr. Torrey does not think his case presents.

" Governor Thomas, on application, issued his precept, *forbidding* Mr. Torrey's delivery to Virginia till after his legal discharge in the State of Maryland. This was rendered necessary by the detection of a plan to hurry him off to Virginia, by the connivance of some subordinate officials.

" The other plan to be pursued in his defence, is as follows. It may be added, that it was suggested by one of the most eminent statesmen and jurists now living, whose soundness of judgment the reader would hardly question on points like this.

" It is proposed, 1st, to take the Virginia requisition immediately, by the aid of eminent counsel, into the Circuit Court of the United States. A disputed requisition is *properly cognisable* only in the courts of the United States, not in a mere State court.

" The requisition may be resisted there, on various grounds. (1.) No proof of the actual commission of any breach of law is made, to authorize it. (2.) Still less is any proof given of Mr. Torrey's complicity in any crime. (3.) Even if it were *proved* that he had aided ten thousand slaves to escape, such an act is neither 'treason, felony, nor other crime,' in the view of the constitution of the United States, or of the common law; nor even under the State constitutions of Maryland and Virginia. Consequently, it cannot be made the basis of a requisition by the governor of any State on another. It is, and *can be*, no 'crime' for a slave to flee from bondage; nor, consequently, can it be made a crime, by local statutes, to aid any slave in escaping. Therefore Mr. Torrey is entitled to discharge, and to compensation for false imprisonment.

" The case, if decided against Mr. Torrey in the lower court, can be appealed to the Supreme Court, where, from precedents already established in several great trials, there is great reason to hope that a correct decision may be secured. It needs very little reflection to show that such a decision will be a mighty weapon of law, justice, and freedom, to break the bonds of all the victims of slavery in the border States, besides giving the system, everywhere, a deadly shock. It is only by the severity of their *penal statutes*, that the slave States are now able to stifle the humane feelings of the majority of their own citizens, so as to prevent them from aiding off the poor sufferers by tens of thousands. As it is, individuals are very numerous, in nearly all the slave States, who will run every risk to obey the dictates of religion and of humanity in this matter.

" In the other case, the same great issues, as nearly as may be, will be urged in the State courts of Maryland, with a view to their ultimate decision in the Supreme Court.

" It is the opinion of competent judges, that nothing could be devised that would more effectually settle the question of slavery in several of the border States, than the issues here presented.—Whether the far-seeing class of slaveholders will 'bide the issue,' remains to be seen. They are aware that the popular feeling in Maryland is wholly against them; and nothing but the effects of *habitual and long-continued subserviency to overseers* keeps the people from such an explosion of wrath as would effectually scatter the slaveholding oligarchy of the State to the four winds. That day is rapidly approaching.

" Providence, in Mr. Torrey's case, has placed in our hands a means of hastening on that day beyond our hopes. And we are authorized to say, that many friends of liberty in Maryland look with anxiety and interest to the result.

" It will cost money, much money, to pursue the wisest course efficiently. In regard to the amount, and modes of employing it, the public may safely trust the discretion and zeal of the committee appointed to take charge of the subject. They need, and must have, what the public will promptly give, a *liberal support*; and they will sanction no expenditure not properly required by the exigencies of the case and of the cause."

SLAVE-TRADE—THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.

We take from the slave-trade papers recently laid before Parliament the following correspondence between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Everett, on the use still made of the American flag in the prosecution of the African slave-trade.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. EVERETT.

Foreign Office, November 22, 1843.

The undersigned, &c. has the honour to acquaint Mr. Everett, &c., for the information of his Government, that her Majesty's Government have recently received, from various quarters, infor-

mation that great facilities still continue to be afforded to the trade in slaves, by the use of vessels under the United States flag.

In a report on the state of slave-trade in Brazil, recently received from her Majesty's Commissioners and Consul at Rio de Janeiro, it is stated that American shipping is employed in transporting to the coast of Africa merchandise, equipments, and other articles necessary for slave-trade operations.

It is further reported, that it is a custom with the slave-dealers, in purchasing American vessels, to attach to the purchase a secret condition, to the following effect, namely, that a portion of the purchase-money shall remain unpaid until the vessel shall have made one or two trips to the coast of Africa, with cargoes of mere chandise from the purchaser, under her ostensible American character; after which, a public transfer to the foreign owner takes place. Under this arrangement, the means of purchasing and carrying away the negroes are securely landed on the coast. The slave vessels of Brazil proceed to the place where the living cargoes are awaiting their arrival (in barracoons,) and within a few hours are loaded and despatched on their return voyage.

Again, in a despatch dated the 30th of May last, her Majesty's consul at Bahia has reported that a system has been recently introduced there, which greatly facilitates the importation of slaves into that province; that fast-sailing American vessels arrive there from the United States, and, after discharging, are sold to a company of slave-dealers, the master engaging to take the vessel to the coast of Africa under American colours; and that a cargo of tobacco or rum is put on board, and sent direct to some well-known depot on the coast, where it is exchanged for slaves; that the American master then gives up the command; the slaves are put on board; Brazilian colours hoisted, and the vessel sails on her return voyage.

The undersigned transmits herewith to Mr. Everett a copy of the despatch in question. Mr. Everett will observe that her Majesty's consul, in addition to the general information above recited, has reported an instance of the course complained of in the case of the American brig *Yankee*. And the undersigned regrets to add that this is not the only instance of the kind reported to her Majesty's Government, in which success has attended similar operations.

The undersigned has further the honour to transmit herewith to Mr. Everett a copy of a letter from Commander Wilson, of her Majesty's ship *Cygnus*, dated the 27th of June last, reporting his having visited the American schooner *Leda*, W. Pearce, master, on the coast of Africa. In placing this paper in Mr. Everett's hands, the undersigned begs to draw the particular attention of Mr. Everett to the expression of Lieutenant Wilson, "that the *Leda* was probably interrupted in the act of shipping slaves."

The undersigned also transmits to Mr. Everett a copy of a despatch dated the 25th of August, from her Majesty's consul at Bahia, reporting that that very vessel (the *Leda*) with the same master, had recently landed a cargo of slaves in the vicinity of that city. The practice is, however, not one of recent adoption. The American brig *Sophia* was engaged in transactions precisely similar as long ago as the year 1840. In that year she was several times boarded by her Majesty's cruisers; and on being recognised as an American vessel, was of course not molested by them. Yet this vessel, after having gone to Benguela under American colours, is reported to have sailed from thence on the 21st May, 1841, with 750 slaves on board.

Again, in the month of May, 1842, Captain Tucker, of her Majesty's sloop *Iris*, reported having boarded the American schooner *Illinois*, in Whydah-roads, but conceiving her to be *bond fide* American, he in no way interfered with her. However, on the 21st of the same month, that vessel, having in the meantime shipped a cargo of slaves, and having met her Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, ran ashore in order to avoid capture, still with American colours flying, and slaves were seen to be landed from her.

The undersigned transmits herewith to Mr. Everett a copy of Captain Tucker's report on this case.

Again, in a letter dated the 19th of May last, from Captain Foote, the senior officer of her Majesty's squadron on the west coast of Africa, that officer stated, that American vessels are in the habit of coming to the coast of Africa with slave cargoes, and every fitting for slaves. Captain Foote adds, that if they have not been already sold at the Havana, they are sold at Whydah or Lagos, and are then completely fitted for receiving slaves, the American captain and crew remaining on board until the cruiser is thought to be off the coast watering; and then the Spanish or Portuguese captain and crew go on board, and the Americans either remove to another American vessel in the roads, or go on shore, as the occasion may require.

The undersigned does not doubt that in all these cases the vessels taking on board slaves have previously divested themselves of their nationality; and he is desirous of being understood as not charging on the American nation the disgrace of actually carrying slaves for purposes of slave-trade in American vessels. But Mr. Everett and the United States Government will at once perceive the great impediments which these practices necessarily throw in the way of her Majesty's cruisers. For during the outward voyage of all vessels of this class to Africa, they have in every respect the appearance of *bond fide* American vessels, and as such are not amenable to the authority of her Majesty's cruisers. But if slave equipments were transported to Africa in the vessels of almost any other civilised nation, such vessels would be liable to capture by her Majesty's cruisers, and to condemnation by the proper tribunal.

The undersigned begs to state to Mr. Everett that her Majesty's Government place the most implicit reliance on the repeated declarations made by the United States Government of their desire to

discountenance and prohibit all slave-trade under their flag; and her Majesty's Government anticipate the most beneficial results from the employment of the United States squadron on the coast of Africa. But her Majesty's Government have thought it due to the known humanity and good faith of the Government of the United States, not to withhold from them the information contained in this note; and they do not doubt that the United States Government will use their best endeavours to prevent the exertions of her Majesty's cruisers for the suppression of the slave-trade from being crippled by the fraudulent use of the American flag, or by the unjustifiable assumption of American nationality.

The Undersigned, &c.,
(Signed) ABERDEEN.

MR. EVERETT TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Grosvenor Place, December 2, 1843.

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the Earl of Aberdeen, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of the 22nd instant, with its enclosures, relative to the indirect participation of citizens of the United States in the slave-trade. The undersigned will avail himself of the first opportunity of forwarding Lord Aberdeen's note, with the papers accompanying it, to Washington, for the information of the Government of the United States.

Lord Aberdeen does not need to be assured of the anxious desire of the Government of the United States, that an entire stop should be put to the traffic in slaves, especially so far as their own citizens are concerned. The difficulties are great in the way of accomplishing this end, in reference to modes of pursuing the traffic, of which the commencement is lawful, and of which the unlawful portion begins without the limits of the United States, and after transfers of property have taken place, that exempt it from the operation of American laws. The existence and magnitude of these difficulties are felt in this country, as well as in the United States.

This circumstance, however, is not mentioned by the undersigned as a reason for not endeavouring to effect the great end in view by legislation, adopted, as far as possible, to counteract the methods resorted to by slave-traders, to evade the operation of existing laws. The President of the United States has on a former occasion invited the attention of Congress to the subject; and the undersigned is not without hopes that means may be found, as far as American capital or the citizens of the United States are concerned, of putting a final and entire stop to this nefarious traffic.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Earl of Aberdeen the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

(Signed) EDWARD EVERETT.

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, SEPTEMBER 4, 1844.

We have the pleasure of inserting to-day another contribution to the anti-slavery cause from the pen of the venerable Thomas Clarkson. His remarks are addressed on this occasion to the inhabitants of the northern states of the American Union; and we have no doubt they will attract there the attention they deserve.

We have to express our obligations to our friends in different parts of the country, for kindly furnishing us with metrical translations of the Spanish verses inserted in our last—the Prayer of Placido. The sentiments which occupied the last hours, and almost the last breath, of this condemned man are now transfused into the English language, and will, we have no doubt, be read with interest by many. The *Heraldo*, Madrid paper, in giving an account of his execution, styles him "the celebrated poet, Placido;" and adds, "this man was born with great natural genius, and was beloved and appreciated by the most respectable young men of Havana, who united to purchase his release from slavery." After accusing him of wild and ambitious projects, and saying that, in the late conspiracy, he was intended for king, the *Heraldo* proceeds—"The poet Placido was apprehended, and, after a long hearing, was conducted to the condemned chapel. He manifested in it a serenity truly admirable. In his solitary intervals he composed the prayer which we copy below. In passing from his prison to execution he walked, reciting with a plaintive yet firm voice these sorrowful verses; and, according to persons who write to us, and who were present at his death, the last stanza was pronounced immediately before he expired. His last words were, 'Adios, Mundo, no hay piedad para mí; soldados, fuego!' Adieu, O world! here is no pity for me. Soldiers, fire!'

He suffered the pains of death at 6 o'clock in the morning. The persons executed were—Gabriel de la Concepcion Valdes, known by the name of Placido; Jorge Lopez Santiago Pimienta, José Miguel Rornan, Andres Dodge, Pedro Torres, Manuel Quinones, Antonio Abad, José de la O. (the initial only given), Bruno, and Miguel.

It may be interesting to some of our readers to know, that, in Placido, they renew their acquaintance with a poet with whom, and his writings, they are already in some degree familiar. He was, we believe, the author of the compositions published a few years ago under the title of *Poems by a Cuban Slave*, and edited by Dr. Madden. The volume contains some interesting particulars of his life. The Spanish papers, of course, endeavour to cover him with infamy as "a convicted conspirator," and as one of the principal instigators of the late revolt; but we are not bound to believe them, and we cannot believe any man guilty upon such evidence. Whether it were so or not, however, we may be allowed to express our regret that so gifted a man, whose genius throws a lustre on his country, and on the whole negro race, should have been brought to so premature and tragical an end.

The letter which we copied into our last from the correspondence of the *Morning Herald*, contained a direct charge against Mr. Turnbull, of having, while he was consul in Cuba, intentionally sown the seeds of the recent revolt. Although we repudiated this insinuation in the last number, we refer to it again for the sake of more distinctly and closely connecting together the charge and the contradiction.

We mentioned in our last the exclusion from the saloon of the *Acadia* steam-packet of a coloured gentleman, who, nevertheless, had been allowed to pay the full fare; and we insert to-day the remonstrance so properly addressed to the proprietors of the vessel by the passengers on board. We are sorry to find by the American papers last received, that the Cunard line of packets has been guilty of similar disgraceful conduct, with respect to a Haytien gentleman, at Boston. In this case, it is stated that "the reception of coloured passengers would create great loss and confusion, and, indeed, would not be permitted by the southern gentlemen!" We should think, on the other hand, that the way to create "loss and confusion" was to refuse coloured passengers, not to take them. And as to "the southern gentlemen," towards whom such an ignominiously servile spirit is shown, we have no doubt the packets are of quite as much importance to them as they are to the packets. They "will not permit it," indeed! Who makes them lords paramount in this matter? We cannot think that the British gentlemen who have the property and management of these noble vessels will servilely bow to the dictation of so vulgar, un-Christian, and un-English a spirit as is manifested in this case by southern slaveholders.

We have inserted a letter addressed by Mr. Richardson to the Editor of the *Journal des Débats*, on the very interesting and important subject of slavery under French dominion in Algeria. It is high time that the attention of the French Government was seriously called to this matter; and we trust that the abolitionists at Paris will not hesitate to regard it as within the just scope of their exertions.

THE CUNARD STEAM PACKETS—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

We ask attention to the following statement:—The mercantile house of William F. Wield and Co., of Boston, a highly respectable firm in business relations with various parts of the world, and among the rest with the island of Hayti, were recently called upon to perform the usual offices of friendship and hospitality for one of their Haytien correspondents, on a visit to this country. They attempted to find lodgings for him at the Tremont House, and sundry of the city hotels. In vain. He was, though a highly educated gentleman, rejected because he was coloured. Apartments were sought for in lodging-houses of so much respectability in the eyes of the inhabitants of the city as to secure the advantages of a respectable address. Attempt was made at twenty places in vain. The friends of this gentleman wished to give him the opportunity of seeing something of Boston in its mercantile aspects, and took him to dine at the table of the Merchants' Exchange. They were refused a seat there. This being the vulgarity of mind in the city of Boston, the Haytien gentleman was, of course, desirous to quit it. Application was made to the agent of the Cunard line of British steam packets, Samuel S. Lewis, Esq., for a passage. He was refused a passage in the cabin when his colour was ascertained. Mr. Lewis was reminded of the return of C. Lenox Remond from England, by one of the same line of packets. He could not at first think that any but white men had been accommodated by this line of British government packets. On inquiry, however, finding it to be the fact that Mr. Remond had actually been a cabin passenger, Mr. Lewis stated that he had not been allowed to come to the table, and that the regulations of the steamers in this respect might not be infringed upon. The Haytien gentleman might, however, take another class of accommodations, on payment of fifty rix-dollars more than usual, and with the understanding that he was not to come to the table. It has not been understood that Mr. Lewis had, individually, any objections, but that he was influenced by the fact that one single passenger was no object to the line; while the reception of coloured passengers would create great loss and confusion, and indeed would not be permitted by the southern gentlemen.—*Anti-Slavery Standard*.

Poetry.

We have been favoured with several metrical translations of the prayer of Placido inserted in our last number, for which we return thanks to all our correspondents who have kindly interested themselves in the matter. As two of these appear to us to unite in a greater degree than the others, at once the sense and some approximation to the poetical merit of the original, we think it will be interesting to our readers to see both of them. The first, signed A. P., is most conformed to the metre used in the Spanish.

Translated from the Spanish.

TO GOD.**A PRAYER.**

Almighty God, whose goodness knows no bound,
To thee I flee in my severe distress;
O let thy potent arm my wrongs redress,
And rend the odious veil by slander wound
About my brow. The base world's arm confound,
Who on my front would now the seal of shame impress.

God of my sires, to whom all kings must yield,
Be thou alone my shield, protect me now.
All power is His, to whom the sea doth owe
His countless stores; who clothed with light heaven's field,
And made the sun and air, and polar seas congeal'd,
All plants with life endow'd, and made the rivers flow.

All power is thine: 'Twas thy creative might,
This goodly frame of things from chaos brought,
Which unsustain'd by thee would still be nought,
As erst it lay deep in the womb of night,
Ere thy dread word first called it into light;
Obedient to thy call it lived, and moved, and thought.

Thou know'st my heart, O God, supremely wise,
Thine eye all-seeing cannot be deceived;
By thee my inmost soul is clear perceived,
As objects gross are through transparent skies
By mortal ken. Thy mercy exercise,
Lest slander foul exult o'er innocence aggrieved.

But, if 'tis fixed by thy decree divine
That I must bear the pain of guilt and shame,
And that my foes this cold and senseless frame
Shall rudely treat with scorn and shouts malign;
Give thou the word, and I my breath resign,
Obedient to thy will. Blest be thy holy name!

Leominster.

A. P.

Another Translation.

Being of boundless pity! God of mighty power!
To thee my plaint I breathe in agonizing hour.
O'er me thine arm omnipotent, O God, extend;
From calumny's vile face the veil of justice rend;
Nor let the odious brand of infamy remain,
With which the world desires my hated brow to stain!

O King of kings! and my forefathers' God! attend;
For thou alone, my God, my honour canst defend.
All power is thine, who to the shaded sea hast given
Fishes and floods; currents to air; to vaulted heaven
Its light; frost to the north; warmth to the sunny beams;
Life to the teeming earth, and motion to the streams.

Thou canst do all things. For the whole creation dies,
Or quick revives again, at mandate from the skies.
Out of thee all things, Lord, reduced to nought would be,
Engulfed in the abyss of vast eternity:
Yet non-existence e'en thy sovereign will obeys,
Since from its empty bosom sprang the human race.

Thou know'st I can't deceive thee, God of clemency!
And, since thy wisdom infinite, thy searching eye,
Piercing my mortal flesh, my inmost soul can see,
Which, to thy view, shows the clear air's transparency,
Forbid that, while o'er humbled innocence she stands,
Accursed calumny should clap her bloody hands.

But, should thy sovereign will, supremely wise, ordain,
That I, as victim of unrighteous wrath, be slain,
And that, with frantic joy malign, my eager foes
My cold and mangled corpse to infamy expose,
Pronounce the awful word, and bid them shed my blood.
Fully in me thy will accomplish, O my God!

London.

H.

EXCLUSION OF A GENTLEMAN OF COLOUR FROM THE SALOON OF THE ACADIA STEAMER.

To the Editor of the Glasgow Argus.

Glasgow, 3rd August, 1844.

SIR.—The following memorial from passengers on board the steamship *Acadia*, during her last trip from Boston and Halifax to Liverpool, was presented to the Directors and Managers of the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-packet Company on the 23rd ultimo, and still lies before them for their consideration. By giving this a place in your columns, you will oblige,

Yours, &c.,

ALEX. ARTHUR.

Steam-ship Acadia, July, 1844.

GENTLEMEN.—The undersigned cabin passengers on board the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-packet Company's ship *Acadia*, on her passage from Boston to Liverpool, having observed that a gentle-

man of colour from St. Domingo has been excluded from the use of the saloon and common table during the voyage, notwithstanding application to Captain Judkins for his admission; and learning that this exclusion is made on account of colour, from instructions issued by the agents of the Company, hereby request the Directors to give the matter their most serious consideration, for the following reasons:—

1st. Because, according to natural and revealed religion, all men are of one blood, and should, in a general passenger ship, be accorded equal rights, so long as their conduct is such as becomes gentlemen.

2nd. Because it is at variance with the Royal Mail Steam-packet Company's advertisements for passengers generally, when a gentleman of colour presents himself, to subject him to the degradation of being denied the common privileges of a passenger.

3rd. Because the British nation having granted equal privilege to persons of every colour throughout her dominions, it is derogatory to her honour that such distinctions should exist in ships bearing the British flag, and more especially in those carrying her Majesty's mail.

4th. Because, independent of such injustice towards the coloured race, it makes the conduct of persons of the United Kingdom, who may be passengers, appear inconsistent in countenancing such invidious distinctions.

JOHN HODGE, of London.

ALEX. C. LOGAN, Jamaica.

THOMAS WM. HILL, Bristol.

GEORGE LEWIS, Dundee.

WILLIAM ROY, Montreal.

JOHN ARMOUR, Montreal.

JOSEPH MACKAY, Montreal.

BONAVENTURE ARMENGOT, P. of New Orleans.

W. D. MACLAGAN, Leeds.

ALEX. ARTHUR, Quebec.

F. MEDICE, New York.

ALLAN ARTHUR, Glasgow.

TRAS. P. COLLEY, Quebec.

WM. TARIK, Hamilton, C.W.

DUNCAN MACFARLANE, Glasgow.

FELIX DICARRY, native of Louisiana.

R. S. D. VEBER, St. John's, N.B.

JOHN J. RYAN, London.

S. A. SCHUMACHER, New York.

D. S. MACPHERSON, Canada.

WM. WAKEFIELD, Canada.

To the Directors of the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company.

UNITED STATES—ESCAPE OF SLAVES.

We insert with much pleasure the following letter from Mr. Johnston, the Secretary of the New York Committee of Vigilance. We rejoice to hear of the extended operations of that important and most useful body, and to believe that the very interesting case now narrated is only one out of many in which their services entitle them to the sympathy and thanks of mankind.

New York, July 18, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—As you take a deep interest in every event connected with the cause of the suffering slave, I know you will feel gratified to hear that the operations of the New York Committee of Vigilance are extending, and securing the blessings of liberty to many fugitives from southern bondage. Among many very interesting cases of escape which I might relate, I select one, which, taken in all its bearings, illustrates the nature of slavery, its deleterious effect on the free states, the ardent love of liberty in the slave, and the overruling providence of God in behalf of the oppressed.

About fourteen years ago, seven slaves escaped from Virginia in a boat, and arrived safely in the state of New York. One of them, Peter John Lee, settled in a village in the state of Connecticut, near the borders of New York, married, and, being employed in a very respectable family, considered himself perfectly safe. He bore a good character for industry, and became quite a favourite in the neighbourhood. A family was growing up about him, and he appeared as happy as his humble circumstances could make him. Seven years passed away, and he had almost forgotten the misery of slavery. But the slaveholders were not disposed to lose their property so quietly. Being informed that some of their slaves were in New York, they obtained a requisition from the Governor of Virginia to the Governor of New York for the apprehension of these seven men, as fugitives from justice, charging them with stealing a boat. The description of the men in this infamous document was so indistinct that any seven coloured men might have been arrested and sent to Virginia, or indeed seventy times seven, had not the Vigilance Committee discovered and exposed the villainy. This document, however, was signed by the Governor of New York, and placed in the hands of some of our slave-hunting officers. After some time they discovered the man we have referred to, hired a carriage, and laid in wait for him to decoy him into the state of New York, Connecticut being out of their jurisdiction. At length they hired a man to tell him a friend wished to see him at a certain place. When he came, four officers arrested him, threw him into the vehicle securely gagged and handcuffed, and drove off to New York; from whence he was hurried to Virginia, leaving his wife and family helpless and destitute, and on his arrival at Richmond was tried and condemned to be hung, with three others charged with the same offence; but as slaves are not so valuable dead as alive, an earnest solicitation was made to the Governor, who pardoned them and handed them over to the tender mercies of the masters. This we supposed to be the end of the matter.

Seven years passed away, and Peter John Lee and his comrades were only remembered among the many cases of oppression we had endeavoured to relieve. At length a statement appeared in the public papers, that a boat containing fourteen men had been discovered at sea, and chased by the boats of a United States revenue cutter. If the inquiry should be made, why a solitary boat at sea should be chased, instead of

being inquired into and assisted, the answer simply is, they were coloured men; the keen eye of the United States officer, who could never discover a slaver on the coast of Africa, could clearly perceive these men were in pursuit of liberty, and immediately sent two boats in chase of them, to force them back to slavery. Finding they were pursued, they pulled with all their might, and, having no other chance of escape, they ran their boat ashore near Cape May, under the fire of the revenue-cutter's boats, which were close upon them. None were wounded; they sprang into the surf, gained the shore, and fled to the woods, hotly pursued by the seamen, leaving boat, clothes, and provisions, a booty to the enemy; they were dispersed in the flight, and never again collected the fourteen together, though all escaped. The Vigilance Committee having read this account, judged they should soon hear something further of these fugitives. Nor were they disappointed. After having escaped in the woods it seems they collected in small parties, and travelled to New York. At length eleven of the number were under our care and forwarded to Canada.

From the account of these men, it appears that Peter John Lee, whose arrest and return to slavery we have mentioned, acted as captain of this company. His former escape, and the enjoyment of liberty, stimulated him to make another effort to shake off the chains of slavery, and gain the lost blessings of freedom, in which he has happily succeeded, not only for himself, but for thirteen of his oppressed fellow-men. They are all fine athletic fellows, worth, at the present low state of the market, 700 dollars each, making a loss of 9,800 dollars. Such is the precarious nature of that property which, stimulated by the love of liberty, can make to itself wings and flee away, or, more literally, take to itself a boat and sail away.

Yours truly,
W. JOHNSTON.

J. Scoble, Esq.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Copy of Resolutions unanimously agreed to at a Public Meeting of the Hampden Congregation, held on the 8th July, 1844:—

1. That the cordial thanks of this meeting be transmitted to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the firm stand which that intelligent and philanthropic body has made in favour of free-grown produce, and in opposition to the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market.

2. That this meeting entertains the most decided opinion, that if slave-grown produce be admitted into Britain, so as to compete with the produce of the colonies, the wages of the free labourers will be reduced to a state quite incompatible with their personal and family comfort.

3. This meeting further expresses a fervent hope that the Committee, notwithstanding the obloquy which may be cast upon it by selfish and interested parties, some of whom have proved traitors to the cause of liberty, will continue to prosecute the decided line of conduct which it has hitherto pursued, which is so manifestly calculated to suppress the iniquitous system of slavery, to encourage the honest labourer in habits of industry, and to secure the complete and triumphant success of the grand and generous experiment of emancipation.

4. That these resolutions be signed, in name of the meeting, by the Minister, and transmitted by next packet.

GEORGE BLYTH, Chairman.

In his letter to Mr. Sturge, conveying these resolutions, Mr. Blyth adds:—

I have much pleasure in transmitting the preceding resolutions, which were most cordially and unanimously agreed to by my congregation. All who love the cause of civil and religious liberty owe the Committee a heavy debt of gratitude for their arduous and persevering efforts to suppress the crime of slavery throughout the world. The emancipated labourers of the West Indies have derived peculiar advantages from their strenuous and successful exertions in favour of emancipation; and their obligations to the Committee have been greatly increased by the late opposition to the introduction of slave sugar into Britain.

SLAVE-SUGAR.—Extract of a letter, dated Spanishtown, July 23, 1844:—

"I do greatly rejoice in the stand you and other friends have made for righteousness in the late anti-slavery discussions. It is a grievous thing that the advocates of free-trade should include sugar grown by the unrequited labours of the slave as an item in their list. Apply the arguments of Lord John Russell, and others, to the case of a storekeeper bringing into fair market competition goods known to have been stolen, and then they will appear in their proper colours."

STATE OF THE ISLAND.—It must be evident to all who turn their attention to Jamaica's affairs, that the management of estates must undergo complete revision: under the present system, what can the most upright, intelligent, and practical manager do? He is cramped in every possible way. The proprietor requires him to ship produce, without being willing in the first place to remit that capital which is necessary for its production; and even where this is not the case, the manager may feel a deep and lively interest in the prosperity of the estate confided to his care—it may be the subject of his thoughts at night, and by day—he may endeavour to carry his plans into execution—he commences and carries on his operations for a time; but before they can be completed, some rival neighbour contrives to cause it to be whispered in the ear of the proprietor at home, that the manager of his estate is extravagant, or wild in his projects; and that his estate will consequently suffer: shortly the packet mail brings a letter commanding him to give up the care of the estate to Mr. So-and-so; and thus the labour he has bestowed upon it is lost—the capital expended is sunk; the new manager enters upon his work, and in a few months he also has to give place to another. If it could be compiled, it would not be an uninteresting document, to have a list of all the sugar estates in the different parishes, with the names appended to each estate of every attorney and overseer that has successively been engaged in the management since freedom. It is evident, that the present attorneyship and overseer system must give place to some other plan of management

better adapted to the circumstances of the times. When the sugar duty question is settled, in order to prosperity, long leases must be given to practical managers, or the estate must pass into the hands of proprietors who are thoroughly acquainted with the cultivation of the soil, and who are not too proud to attend to their own business.—*Baptist Herald.*

BARRADOS.—**THE CENSUS.**—The following is the result of the late census, as given in the *Globe* of the 4th of July:—

A Census of the Population of the Island of Barbados, taken on the 3rd of June, 1844.

NAME OF PARISH.	Men above 18 employed in agriculture.	Women above 18 employed in agriculture.	Men above 18 employed in trade or other business.	Women above 18 employed in trade or other business.	Men above 18 having no employment.	Women above 18 having no employment.	Males under 18.	Females under 18.	Total.
	Men above 18 employed in agriculture.	Women above 18 employed in agriculture.	Men above 18 employed in trade or other business.	Women above 18 employed in trade or other business.	Men above 18 having no employment.	Women above 18 having no employment.	Males under 18.	Females under 18.	Total.
Bridgetown	137	90	3,553	5,008	356	2,009	3,900	4,180	19,362
St. Michael, Rural.	1,437	1,497	1,896	2,317	241	915	2,285	3,384	14,982
Christ Church	1,720	2,128	1,382	1,492	160	608	3,319	3,181	14,089
St. Philip	1,852	2,041	999	2,125	663	505	2,979	3,066	12,820
St. John	1,329	1,445	602	638	108	529	2,032	1,855	8,538
St. Joseph	1,141	1,107	445	537	70	292	1,587	1,574	6,753
St. Andrew	1,098	1,045	823	480	72	290	1,394	1,291	5,995
St. George	1,522	1,539	859	901	100	517	2,346	2,390	10,174
St. Thomas	1,566	1,369	506	563	109	504	1,905	1,962	8,504
St. James	847	886	430	468	131	367	1,248	1,321	5,704
St. Peter	846	1,030	929	1,263	157	331	1,870	1,917	8,343
St. Lucy	1,081	1,252	418	595	63	260	1,574	1,691	6,964
	14,576	15,429	12,348	15,777	1,739	7,217	27,341	27,771	122,198

Extract of a letter from Mr. Prescod, dated July 22, 1844:—

"With our labourers, whose welfare, I know, you are anxious about, things are getting on generally well. Abuses still exist, wrong is still to some extent committed; but time and the legislative action which we are now striving, by all honest means, to bring to bear upon the strongholds of injustice and corruption, will, I hope, correct these ere very long. Occupancy is the great grievance now, as it has been for the last two or three years: and in the tenure of lands particularly, for which an enormous rent is paid, with little or no security for crops, (and none even thought of for improvement by culture,) the renting being in almost every case weekly, the injury sustained by these poor people is immense. The law in this matter is defective; and a planter magistracy, I need scarcely say, makes the most of the defect to the disadvantage of the ejected tenant. Scarcely a week elapses without bringing me a case or two of downright robbery, for which the law affords no redress, had the poor labourer even the means to purchase it. All I can do is to advise not to hire land on such tenure; but so great is the desire among our peasantry for a bit of land to work on their own account, and, as they persist in hoping, to some profit, that my influence with them here is of no avail.

"The drought has, this year, given place to excessive rains during crop, (the same, I see, in many of the neighbouring colonies,) which have kept back and diminished, to some extent, the make of sugar. On some estates the crop is not yet finished; and on the whole, I understand, on good authority, that we shall fall short, by at least 5,000 hogsheads, of the crop that was expected at the commencement of the year."

TRINIDAD.—**THE SUGAR DUTIES.**—The Agricultural Society of Trinidad have passed a resolution on the impending alteration of the sugar duties, to the effect that they must meet the evil by a large reduction of the salaries of managers, mechanics, and labourers. The *Standard* well and wisely warns them that they cannot safely tamper with the wages of labour; but the salaries of managers and other expenses of this class may be worth looking to. What would the Trinidadians say to Lord Stanley's recommendation of a resident proprietary?

FREE LABOUR.—Daniel Brosius, one of our young anti-slavery friends, who used to live in Lancaster county in this State, went out to Trinidad about six months ago, and has since been employed as an overseer or manager on Providence plantation on that island. There are 200 emancipated slaves on the plantation, and he says they will make 130 more hogsheads this year than they ever did before with the same number of hands. The stimulus of wages is so much better than the whip; that it is no uncommon thing for him to pay his hands for doing double tasks in a day.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—**PROCEEDINGS OF THE AUXILIARY.**—At a meeting of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society in this colony, held on the 17th of July, the following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That this Committee gratefully acknowledges the prompt interest with which the Parent Society in London has responded to the resolutions of the 29th of April last, relating to the Half-Million Immigration Loan Bill. Whatever may result from their application to Lord Stanley on the subject, this Auxiliary will not cease to appreciate their evident regard for the true prosperity of this province.

2. That this Committee is impelled to congratulate the London Society on their recent escape from a suicidal change in one of the distinguishing features of the constitution of the Society; and rejoices in their firm adherence to the article which refers to "fiscal regulations in favour of free labour," which, at their annual meeting, they were moved to reconsider.

3. That this Committee has heard, in utter amazement, the reiteration of pro-slavery arguments in favour of slave sugar, on the part of men who had hitherto been regarded as the advocates of the oppressed; arguments which Messrs. Thompson and Anstie might themselves have been forward to denounce, had slave-owners and men-stealers given utterance to them; and have accounted the authors unworthy a name or a place among civilized people.

4. That, with a distinct expression of their delight in the uniform consistency of the Anti-Slavery Society, amidst many trials and dangers, this Committee will feel encouraged to renew their exertions to afford pecuniary assistance in furtherance of their noble objects.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—CASSIUS M. CLAY AND HIS SLAVES.—Mr. Clay is a young man, not more, we think, than thirty-five years of age. Every relative he has, we believe, is a slaveholder. He has been the owner, *in part*, of about forty slaves. For many years past he has been in the habit of paying his slaves small wages, as an alleviation to their condition, and also to avoid the use of punishment. Six slaves he gave to his sister, having purchased them of an insolvent brother-in-law for her benefit. Two slaves he sold, at their own desire; one to her husband's master; and one for crime, he having killed another in quarrel. He has bought, in his life, five slaves.—One set consisted of a man, and wife, with her child. He bought them because they had a cruel master. They are all dead now, from broken constitutions, occasioned by former severity and exposure. The other two were, a woman, the wife of one of his slaves, and her child, for whom he paid 1000 rix-dollars, a sum greatly above their value. He lately liberated nine slaves, the act to take effect the 1st day of January next, as they have been hired out till that time.—Two of them are a young woman and her child; three old men; four able-bodied, middle-aged men; and the whole value is about 6000 rix-dollars. Besides these, he had the control of twenty-five slaves, entailed on his children by his father's will, whom he cannot emancipate. He proposes to keep with these an account, paying to them equitable wages, and hiring those who may be freed, if they will remain with him. Our inquiries have also disclosed to us the fact, that the anti-slavery career of Mr. Clay has subjected him to the foulest slander in his own State, concocted with an express desire to destroy his usefulness. Nor have his enemies stopped at this. The mob and the halter have been openly threatened, and a certain portion of the press has constituted itself to a most reckless warfare upon him. That Mr. Clay's efforts have been attended with great good, we are well assured. In his own State, now the subject of persecution, he has numerous sympathizers. Public sentiment, so far as we can learn, is re-acting in favour of the principles he advocates; and, at all events, whatever may happen, Cassius M. Clay is pledged, body and soul, to the glorious cause of human rights.—*Cincinnati Herald*.

INQUIRIES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—Considerable attention has been paid by politicians and journalists to the announcement that all British consuls in the United States had received instructions from the home government, "to inquire into the condition of the slaves and blacks in all the states, and to report upon the same." It is supposed that these instructions have reference to a law recently passed in England, making it felony for any British subject to deal in slaves, wherever he may be. This act of Parliament is deemed to reach English or Irish born, but naturalized citizens of the United States, and the whole matter is regarded as a stretch of power (I speak the language of politicians), on the part of Great Britain, over a portion of the citizens of this country. Quite an excitement on the point has been all at once produced by a further statement, to the effect that the British consuls in the southern states have received additional instructions to "inquire whether any British subjects have rendered themselves liable to this law, and to forward a statement of all such cases to her Majesty's Government." Now, as the statements I refer to are not made on official authority, though there is no doubt entertained of their correctness, it will hardly be necessary to dwell upon the matter at any length. It is right, however, to record these statements, and to notice the feelings they inspire in this country, as interesting features in the history of the times.—*Times Correspondent*.

It might be supposed from the language and the tone of the American newspapers in the slave states, that the British Government was, through its consuls there, engaged in a conspiracy against American slavery; when the truth is, that the inquiries directed to be made as to slavery—the amount and treatment of the slave population—by our consuls, which have so riled trans-Atlantic editors, are general throughout the world, and not confined to the United States. Nor is there anything secret, or calculated to arouse jealousy in these inquiries. Lord Aberdeen's circular of instructions to British consuls in slave-holding countries, and their answers to these instructions, so far as they have yet been received, are all published, and quite as much at the service of the American as of the British public. The information so obtained is principally statistical, legal, and economical; and there is not a single query put by Lord Aberdeen that has any direct political tendency. The inquiries are, in fact, such as legitimately come within the ordinary scope of consular duties.—*Morning Herald*.

A MULATTO YOUTH called one day on a respectable gentleman of Baltimore, and with tears in his eyes begged for assistance. "My father and mother," says he, "are about to sell me in Georgia." "Your father and mother!" replied the gentleman with surprise; "what right have they to sell you?" "My father," answered the boy, "is a white man, Mr. —, a merchant of this place. My mother is a yellow woman. She has had several children by him, all of whom have been sold in Georgia but myself. He is at this moment bargaining with a slave-trader for me." The gentleman promised his assistance, but too late. The bargain was already made, and the unfortunate youth was immediately borne off, in spite of tears, execrations, and entreaties; handcuffed and chained, he was at once driven like a brute to a distant market.—*Frontier Gazette, St. Andrew's, New Brunswick*.

MR. WEBSTER ON ANNEXATION.—At Springfield, Mass., Mr. Webster said, "The great, fundamental, everlasting objection to the annexation of Texas is, that it is a scheme for the extension of the slavery of the African race." And he observed upon that institution, as existing in the United States—"The constitution, at the time of its adoption, found each state with the power of regulating its institutions, in this respect, for itself; and the constitution so left the matter, and so I would be content it should stand. I can see no benefit to either party to this question in breaking up the constitution. And I advise the South not to risk that breaking up by the attempt to force more slavery into the constitution, with the same sincerity with which I would advise the North

against the foolish attempt to force out what is already in. The constitution has provided nothing for the perpetuation of slavery. It leaves that with the states themselves. And it appears to me one of the very foolish extremes into which the minds of men will sometimes run, to talk of the dissolution of the union and overthrow of the constitution for either purpose—the one of the abolition, the other of the perpetuation, of slave institutions."—*Times*.

MURDER AND LYNCH LAW IN MISSISSIPPI.—Mr. Wm. Boyd, a planter, living near Torrey's store, was about to correct one of his negroes for some offence, when the fellow turned upon his master, and was about to overpower him. The latter called upon two negro women, who were at work in the same field, for assistance; but, instead of helping, they fell upon him with their hoes, and soon put him to death. The three negroes secreted the body of Mr. Boyd in a brush-heap; but in two days' time it beginning to smell, they removed it to a log-pile, set everything on fire, and burnt the body to ashes. The negroes, suspecting that the absence of their master would soon be known, assumed boldness enough to tell some of the neighbours that Mr. Boyd had been absent for some days—that his horse came up saddled and bridled, and that they suspected foul play. A search was immediately instituted by the neighbours, and after some time they came upon the spot in the field where the combat had taken place between Mr. Boyd and the negroes. One thing led to another, until the negroes were arrested, when they all acknowledged their crime, as stated above. The excitement among the people assembled was very great. About one hundred persons were collected on the 31st ult., one week from the day of the murder. They appointed a jury of eighteen men, to decide what should be done with the negroes. Fourteen of the jury were for hanging the negroes, and four against it. Two of the negroes, the man and one of the women, were hung instantly. The other woman, being pregnant, was spared.—*Natchez Courier*.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The bill repealing the laws of 1838 and 1839, in relation to fugitive slaves, and which is intended to prevent any of the officers of the State from becoming slave-catchers for other States, passed the House yesterday without a division. It will probably also pass the Senate.—*New Haven Palladium*.

INHUMAN.—A slave—white slave—who was found by his master in this city, and taken possession of, succeeded in wresting himself from the grasp of those who held him in durance, and was pursued near to the river, where he was caught. After he was caught, in order that he might more easily be bound, one of the human pursuers, butcher-like, knocked him down with his missile, by a blow on his head, making a deep gash; after this his hands and legs were tied with strong cords, and he was thrown into the yawl of the mail-boat, *Pike*, the officer in command very kindly ordering it across the river into Kentucky. This is slave-catching humanity!—*Cincinnati Herald*.

THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA have sixteen churches, twenty-one schools, eighty beneficent societies, six literary associations, three reform societies, two lyceums, two newspapers, and pay taxes which more than support their own poor.—*The Clarkonian*.

JUDGE STROUD has written the ablest work on the slave laws ever published in the United States. It presented so frightful a picture of slavery, and was so effectively made use of by abolitionists, that its author has used every effort to suppress it, and will not allow another edition to be printed.—*Liberator*.

SLAVE CASE IN NEW YORK.—Some time since eight coloured men, claimed as slaves, escaped in a boat, in company with a white man from some part of Florida. Their owners offered one hundred dollars for each of the slaves, and one thousand dollars for the white man. This advertisement fell into the hands of our police officers, who, on Sunday morning last, found a man answering the description given of one of the boat's company. Having the love of one hundred dollars before their eyes, and forgetting they had no authority to act in the premises, they arrested him, and brought him before Judge Drinker, of the Police Court, for commitment. The man spoke to a coloured man in the street, as they were taking him to the office, saying they had arrested him as a slave; this man had himself been arrested, in like manner, some years ago, and after a long and arduous struggle, made for him by the Vigilance Committee, obtained his liberty. Knowing, therefore, the value of a friend in such a case, he immediately gave notice to the Vigilance Committee of this arrest; they were soon on the spot, and on Monday morning, attended with their indefatigable and able counsel, Horace Dresser, to defend the man and secure his liberation. The office was crowded, not only by many coloured people, who may naturally be supposed to take a deep interest in the fate of their friendless brethren, but also many others. Among the rest we observed the firm old friend of the slave, Isaac T. Hopper, and others who knew the law well enough to feel secure of the man's release, which was at length announced by Mr. Dresser, who had a private interview with Justice Drinker, they concluding the Court had no jurisdiction in the case. Thus ended the labours of the sapient police officers, who, in their zealous service of slavery, or rather of mammon, got their due reward, and verified the description of certain characters mentioned by Solomon, whose wisdom failing them, proclaim to every one that they are fools.—*Anti-slavery Standard*.

SLAVE HUNTERS IN THE FIELD!—During three or four days of last week a carriage-load of slave-hunters have been prowling through the townships of Buckingham, Solebury, and Plumstead, in pursuit of fugitive slaves. Their plan of operations has been to make use of a certain vagabond ex-justice of the peace as a pioneer, who has been seen in close conference with them in different places within a few days. On sixth day morning last, the gang came very near securing one; but through the sagacity and presence of mind of his wife they were put on another track. But in the afternoon of the same day they were more successful. On that day they arrived in Centreville, and were seen at different intervals talking with their out-riders, who appeared to direct all their movements. This man went to a place near Forestville, where a number of choppers were employed in a wood. He soon recognized Big Ben among them, made a few observations to some of the company, and left the place. In a short time the carriage came near the ground; two remained in the

vehicle, and five were actively employed in the capture. One of the latter approached Ben, inquired the way to Kirk's store, who, being informed, introduced some other topics of conversation; allowing time for the rest of the company to come up, he still approaching nearer to the object of pursuit. When the favourable moment had arrived, the first speaker arrested Ben with a tap on the shoulder. The latter not suspecting the object, or from some other cause, consented to go with the man, and was about making preparations, when handcuffs and manacles for the legs were handed out, and preparations made to secure their victim. The sight of these emblems of slavery aroused the ire of this sable Samson, who now saw his situation! But he was not intimidated. He told them that the fetters should never go on his limbs, and he alive! A terrible conflict now ensued. Ben drew his axe, and would have laid open the scull of his adversary, had not his arm been partially arrested. There was force enough left, however, to cut a terrible gash in his head, and to lay the assailant on the ground. All the address and force of the gang were now in requisition, for they had aroused a slumbering lion. They assailed him with clubs, and one of the company drew a pistol from his pocket, and presented it at Ben; but he had now come to a state of feeling that was beyond flinching—he told the man to "shoot and be damned." The conflict progressed with various success, and for a time seemed likely to give victory to Ben, although such fearful odds were against him. But the man who was most active in the arrest at first, and who has doubtless served a regular apprenticeship to this business, rallied his company (and there was need), for Ben had dealt his blows with such Herculean strength, that the captors found it convenient not to come too near. In this state of the battle, the chief assailant called to his companions, "For God's sake to assist." The onset was renewed, and although Ben had exhibited great strength, he dealt his blows like a blind Polyphemus. He had received many himself on his arms, legs, head and shoulders, which were almost lacerated with bruises. He suddenly became very sick. His hands were then secured, and the captors were about to put the manacles on his limbs, which he still resisted with giant power. The five men having secured their prisoner, he was driven to Kirk's store, having expressed a wish to see S. Kirk, in whose employ he had been. From this place, I am informed, he was taken to Doylestown on the same evening, and lodged in the jail. I have since heard no further particulars. This has been a bloody work! The loss of blood from the wound of which I have spoken, was such that the carriage could be tracked by the blood dripping through the bottom. Big Ben has been a good citizen. He has sustained the character of an industrious, honest man. He owned a house and lot in Buckingham, at the time of his arrest. He was well known to most of the inhabitants of this section, having resided here nearly 15 years. More anon. HUMANITAS.—*Newtown (Penn.) Journal.*

HAYTI.—In the manifesto of the 28th ult., we have a copy of the proclamation of the President of the republic, and which states that "it is in the power of the government to congratulate the citizens of Hayti upon the restoration of peace to this previously distracted island. The President, Guerrier, has left us to go to the north part of the island."

GUADELOUPE.—*Marronage* (the flight of slaves to the woods,) which was said to have ceased, has become so frequent that orders have been given to shut the slaves in at 8 o'clock. If they are found in the streets after that hour, they are arrested, and flogged in prison. As a reward of half-a-crown is given for every arrest, the agents of the police often take up free persons of colour, which occasions frequent quarrels. The slaves of two plantations in the district of Basseterre have fled into the woods. Not a week passes without an escape to Dominica, or some other English island. After the earthquake, about a thousand effected their escape. Many of them are in Dominica.—*French Abolitionist.*

A CONVICTION.—The following intelligence has recently been received from Guadeloupe. "All the preparatory measures of which so much has been said are fallen into desuetude. Recently a slave-master prosecuted before the tribunals for having kept one of his slaves in irons during an unreasonable length of time, and for having otherwise treated him with great severity, said aloud before the Court, in order to procure his acquittal, that he could, if it were needful, point out more than 500 masters much more guilty than himself. He was nevertheless condemned to pay a fine of 500 francs (20*l.* sterling) as guilty of unjustifiable severity, and contravention of the ordinance of the 16th of September, 1841. This is the first and the only instance in which this ordinance has been put into execution. The colonists cry out against the three magistrates presumed to be the majority by whom the award was made, as having introduced the abomination of desolation by such an attack on the colonial system."

FRENCH GUIANA.—M. Revoil, royal judge in Guiana, and of independent fortune, has just married a young person of colour. The Governor signed the marriage contract. The attorney-general, the prefect apostolical, the colonial inspector, with several magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were present at the nuptial ceremony. Five months before an officer of marines had contracted a similar marriage. These are gratifying instances of the mingling of the races, and of the destruction of the prejudice against colour. We congratulate the colony on them, and wish to hear of similar occurrences in Bourbon and the West Indies.—*French Abolitionist.*

BATAVIA.—SLAVE TRADING.—Capt. F. A. d'Aguino, commanding the Portuguese ship *Margarida*, has been found guilty by the Council at Batavia of having carried on slave-trade, and has been condemned to five years' imprisonment, and to twenty years' banishment from the Dutch East India possessions.—*Morning Chronicle.*

PORTUGAL.—In my last letter I mentioned the capture of a slave vessel, with 850 negroes on board, by Mate Domingues, of the Portuguese corvette *Urana*. I have now to state, that, in reward for this important service, he has been promoted to a lieutenancy, and honoured with the Cross of the Tower and Sword.—*Morning Herald.*

HOLLAND.—THE SUGAR DUTIES ACT.—Utrecht, July 29. The Netherlands government positively refuses to admit English agents into Java. The new English law on the sugar-duties allows the importation of sugar the produce of free labour at a reduced duty; but, in order to enjoy this privilege, an English agent residing on the spot must sign a certificate of origin. The Netherlands will rather lose the advantage of this reduction than admit English agents in its colonies.—*Times.*

Miscellanea.

HILL COOLIES.—A correspondent informs us that the 10,000 Coolies which government has allowed to be transported from Calcutta and Madras are to be sent, one half to Demerara, and the remaining 5,000 in equal proportions to Jamaica and Trinidad, these three colonies having given the requisite securities in regard to them. They are to leave the East Indies some time between the months of October and March. Each ship in which they are conveyed must carry a surgeon, and the number of Coolies in each is to be regulated in the terms of the Passengers' Act. It is expected that the cost of transporting them to the West Indies will be about 12*l.* per head. The transport of these, it is thought, will require from fifty to sixty vessels of 400 tons each. It is understood that government mean to apply to Parliament early next session, for an act to permit the introduction of any number of Coolies to the West Indies.—*Greenock Advertiser.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter from an officer on board the *Dolphin*, 3, brigantine, Lieut. Commander Hoare, South America, Bahia, June 24, 1844:—"We are now 850 miles nearer home, at anchor in Porta, a nest of slaves. Three days since we left this at three in the day, in chase of a splendid brig bound to the coast of Africa for slaves, but a bad night coming on, and a scant wind placing *Dolphin* on a lee-shore, we had to haul off and return; although we gave her enough, as she sprung her foremast, and also returned next day. We are now anxiously looking out for her again, and as she talks of fighting, we hope for some fun. We should certainly have had her, had her Majesty's vice-consul here done his duty, and given us proper information as to her departure, but being a merchant, and interested in sales of his cotton goods with the slave merchant, he neglected doing so, and she retained too good a start on a short half-day. However, we trust to be nearer to her next time. Our duty is anything but a pleasant one, and we never put foot on shore without our hands on the hilts of our swords, and had they an opportunity they would serve our commander as they did poor Willis."—*Hants Advertiser.*

ARMED SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The Liverpool Peace Society has presented a petition to Parliament on this subject, going into it at much length. The prayer of the petition is thus expressed:—

"Your petitioners, therefore, being convinced that no external force can be effected to crush this trade so long as it continues a profitable one; and feeling, also, that however good the object to be accomplished, they have no authority to seek its accomplishment through the destruction of human life, do most respectfully and most urgently entreat your honourable House to assist in putting an end, without delay, to the unchristian and life-destroying system of armed interference by this country for the suppression of the slave-trade."

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>
Kendal—Ladies' Auxiliary	7 0 0	
Norwich—Gurney, J. J. (to make up £100) ..	25 0 0	
Staines—Ashby, Thomas	1 0 0	
Ashby, Charles	1 0 0	
Ashby, Frederick	1 0 0	
Guisborough—Coning, Ann	1 0 0	
Bristol—Thomas, George	50 0 0	
Thomas, Edward	50 0 0	
From one who purchased twenty shares in the Imperial Brazilian mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves, Interest, &c.	5 0 0	
London—Gurney, Samuel	100 0 0	
Harpden—Curtis, James	1 1 0	
Birmingham—Sturge, Joseph	50 0 0	
Wilmer, Ann	0 10 0	
Jamaica—Blyth, Rev. George (Hampden)	2 0 0	
Watson, James (Lucea)	1 0 0	
Waddell, H. M. (Mount Zion)	2 0 0	
Cowan, J. (Caron Hall)	1 0 0	
Simpson, J. (Port Maria)	1 0 0	
Niven, W. (Stirling)	1 0 0	
Anderson, P. (Bellevue)	1 0 0	
Jameson, W. (Goshen)	1 0 0	
Niven, James (Friendship)	1 0 0	
Elmslie, James (Green Island)	1 0 0	
Aird, John (Mill Gully)	1 0 0	
New Broughton Congregation	1 0 0	
Dawson, John (Hill Side)	1 0 0	
Camp Hill, Newcastle—Wedgwood, Sarah	25 0 0	

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, September 4, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXV. VOL. V.—No. 19.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

AFFAIRS OF DOMINICA.

In turning over our files by the West India mail which arrived on Monday, we looked in the first instance at the papers from Dominica, and learnt with sincere pleasure that the mercy of the Crown has been extended to the five persons who, at the last dates, were under sentence of execution. Their sentence is commuted into hard labour for five years. This act of clemency, however, is not to be ascribed to Mr. President Laidlaw. It is not clear that he even referred the matter to the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy. It seems rather (we speak under correction) that the day for the execution of these unhappy men had been fixed by Mr. Laidlaw, and that Sir Charles Fitzroy interposed his authority to prevent it. He is said to have wished the captain of the vessel who bore the reprieve "a prosperous voyage, as the lives of five persons depended on his arriving in time." The work of vengeance being now over, it may be hoped that the kindlier feelings will come into operation. We regret to say, however, that the opinions expressed in the papers respecting the cause of the late outbreak, disclose a state of things giving little promise of future tranquillity. The real origin of the disturbance is strongly asserted to lie in the fact that the government of the island is in the hands of Mr. Laidlaw. To understand the bearing of this fact, it should be borne in mind that Major M'Phail, the Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica, is absent on leave, and that the actual government has thus devolved upon the gentleman (whoever he may be) who holds the post of president of the council. This gentleman, in the present instance, is Mr. Laidlaw. Now Mr. Laidlaw is the owner of two estates in the island, part proprietor of a third, and attorney for some sixteen or eighteen of the principal estates besides. To this it is to be added that he was in the same capacity during slavery. Such a man could neither inspire the confidence of the peasantry, nor become in fact a just and impartial governor. In truth, his conduct seems very quickly to have deserved the suspicions with which he was regarded. It is stated that, almost immediately after he had assumed the reins of government, he formed a plan for forcing an obnoxious rate of house-rent and wages, which caused an unprecedented excitement among the peasantry, and on some estates a strike which continued for three months; since which period the people have not worked either so willingly or so well. It was further unfortunate that the execution of a despatch of Lord Stanley's, enforcing on those in possession of Crown lands to petition for leases—a measure in itself very unwelcome—should have been confided to this "planter president." It is alleged that, in the course of this business, attorney Laidlaw has petitioned for leases to president Laidlaw, and that caveats to the petitions of attorney Laidlaw were to be heard and decided by president Laidlaw: while president Laidlaw has fixed the fees to be paid by attorney Laidlaw (out of the money of his constituents) into president Laidlaw's pocket. It can surprise no one that a course of such administration as this should have exasperated the peasantry against their planter-governor; and this view of the case fully explains (although it is far from justifying) the reason why the rioters cried out, "It is Laidlaw's head we want."

The same conclusion is arrived at by another method. A correspondent of the *Dominican*, who gives his name, (Charles Leathem,) sends to that paper a deposition which we give below, stating it to be "from a respectable man of his class." It is as follows:—

"DOMINICA.—Personally appeared before me _____ Esq., one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said island—T. S., of the _____ Estate, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith,

"That he lives on the _____ Estate, and when the people there first heard about giving their names they said they would not do so—as Mr. Laidlaw was the Governor—but if they had an English Governor sent out by the Queen, and he wanted their names, they would give them—but Mr. Laidlaw had so many estates that he wanted to take all their names and get them made slaves again—and they all see what he do already with the people on the Queen's land at Loubierre and all about the sea shore (*Bords la Mer*) and make them pay for their lands again—and that the whole of the negroes on the _____ Estate would say the same thing.

mark of
T. S.

"Sworn to before me
"this 11th day of July 1844."}

Confirmed as these views are by the letter of our private correspondent given below, we confess we are led to the conclusion, "that the late disturbances would not have occurred had not the planter president been at the head of affairs."

Mr. Laidlaw seems to have been as incompetent to meet the crisis which his administration produced as he was to conduct the general affairs of the government. His abrupt and precipitate proclamation of martial law was too plainly an act of violence

inspired by fear; an act of power in desperation, which a small amount of courage, or even of coolness, would have prevented. On this point we shall extract the following passage from one of the letters in the *Dominican*:—

"It is a matter of history, that men who have not been trained to command that self-possession which is so essentially necessary in times of emergency—in the moment of difficulty and doubt—dubious what to do—looking to others as embarrassed and undecided as themselves for advice and counsel, generally adopt harsher measures and inflict severer punishments than would be the case were they capable of exercising their cool and deliberate judgment—and the acts and conduct of Mr. President Laidlaw during and since martial law tend far to strengthen this assertion. Contrast his timid conduct with what would have been that of Major McPhail or any Lieut. Governor, and the result is obvious. Martial law would not have been proclaimed—at the head of a handful of soldiers he would have repaired forthwith to the scene of disturbance—dispersed the rioters—punished the most guilty, and terrified the most ignorant, and the country would have been spared the present unhappy and impending troubles and obloquy. For a shindy or row at Pointe Michelle the whole country was put under armed martial law—in the disturbed quarters the innocent, frightened at they knew not what, sided with the guilty."

Before continuing the extract, which we here for a moment break off, we must say with unfeigned regret, that we are constrained to admit the justice of the strictures it contains on the conduct of the Governor General:—

"Sir Charles Fitzroy arrived. He could not undo what had already been done; but he might, he ought—it was his bounden duty to have remained to witness the trials of the most guilty of the prisoners, and pass on them that sentence which an *English* Governor might be expected to inflict. Instead of doing so, he deputed to President Laidlaw *full power to decide upon the fate of the unhappy prisoners*—left it to *the man whose head they had cried for to pronounce their doom!* Having done this, his Excellency departed to Martinique, to make purchases of *bou bous* and scent-bottles. What was the consequence? Jean Philip Motard, a man who had hitherto been of an unblemished character, was hanged!! Scarcely were the remains of the unhappy man cold, when despatches were received from the Governor-in-chief, expressing a hope that no capital indictments would be necessary; and, at all events, *that no capital punishment would take place!*"

The real root of all this mischief is to be found in the management of affairs at home. It has in former times been a rule with the Colonial Office (taught, no doubt, by experience) never to suffer the government of a colony to fall into the hands of a planter; and it is the departure from this golden rule which has convulsed Dominica. We are astounded to learn by our correspondent's letter that four of the West India islands are in a similar predicament, and some of them becoming very "feverish." We conjure the Secretary for the Colonies to look to this matter without delay. The noble lord will surely feel that a weighty responsibility rests upon him for all the agitation that may arise, and for all the blood that may be shed, in consequence of his leaving official situations of the highest importance unsupplied with men adequate to the effective performance of the duties they impose. If he has imagined that planters *now* may be trusted, we hope the disastrous outbreak in Dominica will dispel from his mind such an illusion. The planters, too plainly, are still what they were, and cannot safely be trusted with power. The peasantry will confide in a Queen's governor, and in no other; and why should they not have one?

The private letter from our correspondent is as follows:—

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

St. Christopher, 30th July, 1844.

SIR,—By the last advices from Dominica, it appears that affairs are still carried on with the same violent and vindictive spirit on the part of the authorities of that island. Happily, the five unfortunate persons under sentence of death have been almost providentially reprieved. Their execution had been resolved on, and the day fixed for its taking place, by Mr. Laidlaw, when the Governor-general, Sir Charles Fitzroy, awaking at the eleventh hour from his strange lethargy, on reading, no doubt, the case of the unhappy John Philip Motard, judicially murdered for scratching Mr. Bremner's face with a stone, without even the shadow of a shade of proof of his throwing it, according to his indictment, with intent to kill, despatched an express to Mr. President Laidlaw, directing him to commute the sentences of these five unhappy persons. But will his Excellency ever forgive himself for leaving the prisoners, and the unfortunate Motard, to the tender mercies of Mr. Laidlaw and the planters of Dominica? Every one here is at a loss to imagine what were the grounds for the misplaced confidence of the Governor in Mr. Laidlaw, that, visiting an island under his government, said to be in a state of rebellion, and certainly in a state of disturbance, he should, after a brief stay of forty-eight hours, have taken his departure, leaving everything in confusion and disorder, and hundreds of prisoners in the hands of their irritated employers, who were all in one, judges, juries, masters, and militiamen, whilst the heads of those who had already fallen were still exhibited on poles

in the country. Sir Charles is a person of known humanity; but why did he not leave express orders with Mr. Laidlaw not to carry any capital sentence into execution without a reference to him, if the business on his hands was of so urgent a nature as to render his departure from the scene of the disturbance indispensable? The remarks of "Pro bono Publico" and others, that he was influenced by his being a guest of Mr. Laidlaw, and his consort a connexion of that gentleman's lady, are certainly unworthy of any consideration. His Excellency's honour and humanity are beyond question, but he has committed two great mistakes; first, in having placed Mr. Laidlaw at the head of affairs; and, secondly, by trusting to that gentleman's discretion, instead of remaining himself in Dominica to see equal justice done. It is to be recollected that this was not the first disturbance in Dominica under Mr. Laidlaw. Soon after the departure of Major M'Phail, last year, and Mr. Laidlaw's assumption of the government, a general strike took place, which on some estates lasted till October. So much for the confidence that ought to have been placed in Mr. Laidlaw.

The whole course of the law proceedings in these cases has been disgraceful in the extreme. All parties seem to have been equally panic-struck and equally vindictive, and to have combined together to perpetrate injustice. Mark the difference of the two cases—of Motard, for scratching Mr. Bremner's face, and of Pierre and Toussaint for *murdering* (for the poor man is since dead) C. P. Marseille—the former hanged, the two latter sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Why this unaccountable difference? Simply because Bremner is a white man, a member of council, and a planter; whilst poor Marseille was nothing more than a black man and a labourer. This is equal justice to black and white in Dominica!

The coloured people have not, I lament to say, behaved well throughout these unfortunate disturbances, but have combined with the whites to oppress their black brethren. The conduct of Mr. C. G. Falconer, the editor of the *Dominican*, the paper I refer you to, deserves the severest reprehension. He is a coloured man, and his paper is the organ of the coloured party. Yet mark the manner—the approving manner, almost—at least, not condemnatory—in which he speaks of the cruelties exercised by the militia on the unfortunate rioters; such as mutilating them, striking off their heads, and carrying them affixed on poles about the country. One thing regarding this gentleman would be incredible, were it not that his own words avouch it. He, Sir, you will recollect, was the foreman of the jury who condemned Motard, because *his* stone unluckily struck Mr. Bremner on the face, inflicting a wound now no longer visible, after—not *he*, but *Zavier* and others, threatened to have Mr. Bremner's and Mr. Laidlaw's heads. Now, Sir, this very Mr. Falconer says, in his editorial article of the 17th July, speaking of the rioters, “*and talking (whether they meant it, or not, does not matter) about the heads of the gentlemen appointed by the Home Government to govern the island.*” What, Sir, did he, as the foreman of the jury who found Motard guilty for being present when others talked of having the heads of the gentlemen alluded to; did he, I repeat (for such conduct is almost beyond the bounds of credibility), consent to and deliver that disgraceful verdict, being, according to his own words, of opinion, that, whether the poor people *meant* what they said or *not* was *no matter*? After this, let not Mr. Falconer claim to be ranked amongst liberal men. He is, however, it appears, printer to the Legislature: let that be his consolation.

I have said enough for the present, and shall not fail to let you know anything of importance that may yet take place. Allow me to say—and it is of the highest importance to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that he should be made aware of it, for it is a fact—that the quiet, perhaps the existence, of all these colonies is in a great degree dependent on their not being, during the absence or on the demise of their Governors sent from home, placed under the administration of their respective Presidents of the Council, who are almost invariably planters, or mercantile persons in strict connexion with the planting interest, and actuated with the same views. The Governors of not less than four of these islands are at present on leave of absence, and the administration in the hands of planters, who have been all their lives, at least until 1834, holders of slaves. These islands are, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and this island. St. Lucia is in a feverish state; nor would it be matter of surprise if like symptoms should manifest themselves in St. Vincent and St. Kitts. Whenever a planter is left at the head of affairs, there the labouring population are in imminent danger of being goaded into discontent. It should never be permitted for a moment longer than is necessary to send a substitute that can be depended on.

I am, Mr. Editor, yours, &c.

N.

August 6th.

P.S.—I open my letter to refer you to the extraordinary address of His Excellency Sir. C. Fitzroy to the militia, before his departure from Dominica, in which he praises that sanguinary body for their *forbearance!!!* I enclose a printed copy of the Order issued on the subject, and I beg to refer you to the *Dominican* of the 12th June for an article headed “*Proceedings of the Militia;*” from which you will perceive that these blood-thirsty beings, so praised for their forbearance, wantonly shot some negroes who had surrendered, and struck off their heads. Observe also, Mr. Cochrane's tying people, who were afterwards discharged by the Privy Council as innocent, so cruelly as to endanger their lives; yet these are the people whom His Excellency praises for their forbearance!!!

N.

MAURITIUS—IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE CIVIL COMMISSIONARIES.

(From the *Mauritius Watchman*.)

RESPONSIBILITY is the vital principle of justice and impartiality in those who have the administration of law. There never was, and, while human nature remains unchanged, there never will be, a human being who, intrusted with arbitrary authority, does not abuse his power by frequent acts of oppression and injustice. It is on this ground that the British constitution guards and fences every institution and department of government by a universally pervading law of responsibility, attached equally to the highest and

lowest office in the governmental system of subordination. This is the secret spring of that purity and uncorruptedness, for which the British nation in all parts of the world is eminent above all former conquerors that ever figured on the world's theatre. It is the “chief corner-stone” to her Indian and foreign empire; and whilst the aphorism of the poet remains true, “that which is best administered is best,” it must ever abide the very hinge on which her empire's glory and stability hang suspended. How strange, then, how perfectly unaccountable, it must appear to a stranger unacquainted with the mind which governs the Mauritius, to find, by the law on *Guilddives*, the responsibility of the Civil Commissary Assistant Justices of the peace entirely destroyed, by the taking away of the right of appeal from their judgments! A more unconstitutional clause, we will venture to affirm, has never been incorporated into the body of British legislation; or one more directly destructive of the rights and the liberty of the subject. There is, it should be observed, under the circumstances of the case, no other resource, no other remedy, to him who may be unjustly or illegally condemned; so that these magistrates are endowed with a power, as far as their jurisdiction extends, supreme, god-like, absolute, and irresistible. How, we would ask, have these immaculate gentlemen earned so high an homage to their virtue? Has their conduct towards their administered been hitherto so pure, spotless, and irreproachable as that it is above suspicion? Or is their learning so profound and extensive as to lift them above the danger of illegality in their decisions? We shall answer these two questions. To the first our columns furnish an ample reply, in the exposure of various instances of their cruelty, extortion, and injustice. And we could furnish a volume of the history of their corruption and oppression. We have personally become acquainted, without inquiry, with numerous instances in which poor ignorant country people have had four, six, and eight dollars illegally exacted from them, on occasion of deaths requiring a permit for burial, of marriages, of removals of residence, of pretended contraventions, &c. &c. Bribery is commonly practised. On one occasion we knew of a Civil Commissary, who, after uttering a vehement speech, declaring his conviction that a defendant before him was guilty of stealing some fowls, descended from his seat, and walked in the shrubbery hard by for 5 minutes with the said defendant, when he returned perfectly blinded to the culprit's guilt, and dismissed the complaint. He had touched a douceur of 40 dol. On another occasion, one of them called at a poor man's house to charge him with having suffered his goat to trespass on a neighbouring field, when he modestly demanded 15 dol. as a compromise to stop prosecution, but accepted 5 dol. for the first offence. These are matters of almost daily occurrence in the country districts; and we can assure his Excellency, if this law is persevered in, as the only remedy left will be the right of petition to her Majesty's justice and clemency, he may expect to have his table covered with petitions against the arbitrary decisions of the Civil Commissaries. So much for the spotless equity of their administration!

We shall now come to the legal qualifications evinced by these rural magistrates, who have earned to themselves a *carte blanche* to be filled up with the names of the guilty at their own good pleasure. Now it is passing strange, but our inquiries at the right source confirm the fact to be no less true than strange, that, for these last three years, there is scarcely a single instance of the sentence of a Civil Commissary having been confirmed by the Supreme Court on appeal. All their judgments and convictions are regularly quashed for informality or illegality, the very instant they are read. Now this is not the case with the judgments of the *Stipendiary Magistrates*. It very rarely happens that the sentences of the latter are quashed. Indeed, there are very few appeals; and yet the convictions of the Stipendiary Magistrates are more numerous in the proportion of an hundred to one than those pronounced by the Civil Commissioners. In short, the convictions of these Assistant Justices of the Peace have, we are assured, been found to swarm with so many errors—errors open and manifest, that it has been found impossible to support them when deferred to the Appeal Court.

To cure this evil, a very strong, though, in our opinion, a very unconstitutional remedy has been applied. The right of appeal has been taken away; so that now all sentences of the Civil Commissioners, however illegal they may be, though they present a tissue of blunders, are all good and valid in law, since their errors or their injustice cannot any longer be demonstrated and repaired on appeal. This is rather a drastic dose of legislative remedy. We should like to know what English lawyers and judges would think of it. For our part, we should have preferred the milder medicine administered by Sir John Jeremie when Procureur-General, for this evil of Civil Commissary ignorance and oppression is one of old standing. This laborious and conscientious magistrate required all the Civil Commissioners to make him monthly returns of all proceedings before them. These he carefully perused, and his comments and observations thereon served as so many instructive lessons to these gentlemen, for their better guidance in the discharge of their judicial duties. These commentaries of the Procureur-General became, in fact, an excellent practical *école de droit*, whilst the obligation to make a monthly return to the *Ministère Public* operated as a check against favouritism, tyranny, and oppression.

It may be alleged that in England many acts of parliament declare the convictions of Justices of the Peace to be final, and expressly preclude an appeal. True: but it should not be forgotten that, in England, parties who consider themselves aggrieved have other means of redress, by *Certiorari*, *Mandamus*, or *Habeas Corpus*; and by a motion to file criminal informations, without

having recourse to the Attorney-General. All these are so many bulwarks which the wise and jealous policy of the law of England has thrown around the person of every British subject, for the protection of his liberty, character, and property. In Mauritius only these bulwarks of liberty are to be scattered to the four winds of heaven, at the fiat of a foreign Procureur-General. It should not be overlooked, too, that the unpaid magistracy of England are men of birth, rank, and character, raised above the petty influences of favour, patronage, and bribery, and generally assisted by a clerk well versed in the law; and, what is still more important, their jurisdiction is much more limited than that of our Civil Commissioners. They cannot inflict a fine exceeding 5*l.* (and it is generally 5*s.*) or an imprisonment exceeding three days. In all more serious cases, their duty is simply to bind over the parties by bail to appear at the Sessions, Assizes, or other meeting of the courts of Justice. But how stands the case with our Assistant Justices of the Peace? We have recorded the instance of Emile Bon, fined 10*l.* and imprisoned a fortnight, for frightening the Justice's clerk's donkey by driving a sugar-cart rather swiftly, although no harm was done or intended; and we have commonly heard of fines of 20*l.* and 30*l.*, a share of which goes to the Civil Commissary himself or his employés; and imprisonments prolonged until the victim of oppression would accept a contract of twelve months' service to the Justice's particular friend, the planter.

Is the reader curious to know why the sentences of the Stipendiary Magistrates are left subject to appeal, whilst these of the Civil Commissioners are rendered irresistible? We can perhaps tell him. The appellants in the former case are the rich and privileged planters, who are of the Procureur General's rank, and have their interests represented in Council. In the latter, the appellants are the common herd, who are unrepresented, and have no voice in Council. This is what we call in England *class-legislation*, or rank-legislation, and we are sorry to say it is *rank* in a double sense.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

(From a Correspondent.)

In turning over the pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of last month, I found an article upon the "Etat Politique et Moral du Brésil," which contains some observations on slavery, and the social and moral condition of the Brazilian population, to which our attention as abolitionists is absolutely demanded. These observations show us the danger to which the Brazilian empire is exposed by continuing the abominable system of slavery, as also the profound degradation of life and manners produced by contact with slavery. The moral plague infects all ranks, sullies all characters, cuts at the foundations of all that is reckoned dear and pure in civilized life, and sooner or later threatens the Brazilian empire, first with revolution, and then with anarchy and dissolution.

But I shall now collect the substance of what is said on Brazilian society and morality. We have in Brazilian society six classes of people. 1st. Portuguese from Europe, or naturalized Brazilians. 2nd. Portuguese Creoles, born in the country, or Brazilians properly so called. 3rd. The mixture of whites and negroes, producing mulattoes. (These mulattoes are daily increasing, and threaten to absorb all other ranks and classes.) 4th. The mixture of whites and Indians, or Pabres. 5th. The Negroes of Africa. 6th. The Indians, divided into various tribes. The moral state of this society, so mixed and yet antagonistic, where the people abandon themselves to their bad passions and savage instincts, is truly afflicting.

The most remarkable phenomenon, as already stated, is the invasion of the Mulattoes upon the rights, or rather condition, of all the other classes, it being the only class which daily increases, in consequence of the corruption of Europeans. Besides, the immorality of all classes favours the intercourse between them, and removes all the prejudices of caste and colour.

The Mulatto ordinarily passes his infancy and youth in slavery. He owes his liberty to his own labours, and enters society with a feeling of hatred and vengeance against the whites. More active and intelligent than the Brazilians, he aspires to power. Among Mulattoes freed from their youth are many distinguished men. All have a marvellous aptitude for different kinds of labour. The position of inferiority in which their birth places them stimulates their zeal, and they have not the apathy and carelessness of the Brazilians. If they cannot supplant Brazilian and Portuguese society in all the empire, they will certainly do so in some provinces, and especially in Bahia, where supremacy promises favourably to them. The day when this triumph shall be accomplished will be a day of terrible reaction upon white proprietors. The Mulattoes will have no pity for them. Their cry of union will be, "Death to the Portuguese!"

The intellectual activity of the Mulattoes might be supposed to stimulate the Portuguese; but, on the contrary, they see the moral superiority of intellect escape from them without making any effort to save it, or themselves. The greater part of the Brazilians or Portuguese receive no other education than that of the primary schools. What higher schools or universities they have are conducted by the most ignorant and vitiated professors, who grant the diploma of Advocate, or Doctor of Medicine, with the greatest laxity, and to the most incapable students. The journals abound with the most detestable discussions, and it is impossible to read them without disgust.

The moral state of the Brazils corresponds precisely with its intellectual condition. The corruption of Brazilian families is too

well known to require illustration by particular examples. Marriage is only an affair of interest, and the women lead a life purely sensual. You are astonished to see a young wife surrounded with eight or ten children; but one or two only belong to her, the others are the children of the husband. Natural children are everywhere in great numbers, and receive the same education as legitimate children. This, as all other kinds of immorality, is favoured and increased by slavery. Marriage is rejected as a thing too binding, and as being besides a useless expense. In some entire districts are found only two or three families living in the way of legitimate marriage. The inhabitants live in a state of concubinage with either white or Mulatto women. It often happens that a master, having debauched his negress slave-girl, sells the poor thing whilst she is *enceinte*. Others, more shamelessly diabolical still, keep as slaves their own children; and these unhappy beings—sold to death by their own fathers!—can never rise above their original condition. A fact is cited, with an apology for relating such abominable details. "Two brothers, proprietors of considerable estates in the province of Rio Janeiro, have adopted a system which has drawn down upon them the admiration (!!) of the Brazilians. The elder brother renders mothers all the young negress slaves of the younger brother, and the younger brother imitates the example of the elder brother. The female slaves of the two brothers, fearing to produce abortion lest they should incur punishment, submit to the lusts of these unnatural men, and the number of the slaves augments rapidly on the two estates; and their prosperity is now referred to with pride and satisfaction."

Although generally well treated by the Brazilians, slaves are subjected to labours limited only by the mercenary will of their masters. Negress slaves who become mothers have no relaxation from toil granted them, which produces frequent abortions. The number of slaves introduced into the Brazils, in spite of English cruisers, is stated at 30,000 annually; but now, since the administration of O'Donnell, the monster who now wields like a fiend the horrid destinies of Cuba, it is probable the importation of slaves into the Brazils, as into Cuba, is greatly increased, as the slave-trade in both countries reacts one upon the other. This number is scarcely sufficient to counterbalance the annual deficit of the black population, worked to death in the mines and upon some estates. Owing, also, either to there being more men than women, or to the number of abortions, it is rarely that you find an estate where the number of births equals that of the deaths.

But the vices of the Brazilians, produced mainly by slavery, confine themselves not to slavery. So profoundly immoral are these people, that, in the province of Pernambuco, assassinations are committed in the open day, and the murderers publicly boast of the number of victims which they have poniarded. An European once remarked to the president of this province, that, if duels were permitted as a safety-valve of private vengeance and redress of wrongs, there would be fewer assassinations. The president replied, "Do you think that a person offended would, in order to avenge himself, consent to risk his own life? A Brazilian would never commit such a folly!" This reply of the president will enable you to judge of the *point d'honneur* of the most part of the inhabitants.

The Romish clergy, whose influence, it might be expected, would combat this deep and wide-spread demoralization, are the first to give the example of all the vices. Nothing is so contemptible as a Brazilian priest. Ridiculing a religion which he professes, and believing a morality which he ought to teach and practise, he lives in the most shameful debaucheries. Romish priests, surrounded by a numerous family, speak to you of their children without a blush. They have no moral or political influence in the country, and live in a state of voluntary abasement. Some zealous missionaries have attempted to arouse the Brazilians to a sense of their moral degradation; but the first men whom it is necessary to convert are the priests. This undoubtedly is the most difficult.—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1^{er} Juillet, 1844, 1^{re} Livraison, p. 92, 93; *l'Article, Etat politique et moral du Brésil.*

Begging you to find a place for the above in your *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in order that the public of Great Britain may still know, or be reminded, what Spanish, and Portuguese, and all slavery, is in its social consequences,

I am, &c.,

SPANISH SLAVE-TRADE.

(From the Parliamentary Papers.)

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. BULWER.

Foreign Office, December 31, 1843.

SIR,—I have to desire that you will take the earliest opportunity to call the attention of the Spanish government, by a formal note, to the state of the slave-trade and slavery in the island of Cuba.

By the preamble to the treaty concluded in 1817 between Great Britain and Spain, Spain bound herself to Great Britain to "adopt, in concert with her, efficacious means for bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade, and" for "effectually suppressing illicit traffic in slaves, on the part of Spanish subjects." And Spain further engaged by the treaty itself, that from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, it should not be lawful for Spanish subjects to carry on the slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, north of the equator, and that from the 30th day of May, 1820, the slave-trade should be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain; so that after that date, "it should" not be lawful for any

of the subjects of the Crown of "Spain to purchase slaves, or to carry on the slave-trade, on any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever."

The cruisers of each nation were empowered to seize vessels with slaves, if found at sea, under the flag of the other nation. Tribunals, composed of individuals of each country, were to try such vessels, and the slaves taken in them were to be emancipated by those tribunals, and to be delivered over to the Government in whose territories the case was tried; and in the regulations for the guidance of the tribunals, it was specially declared and pointed out to their attention, that each Government bound itself to guarantee the liberty of such portion of the individuals as should be respectively consigned to it.

In consideration of the stipulations of that treaty, Great Britain engaged to give to Spain the sum of 400,000*l.* sterling, in full compensation for all losses sustained by Spanish subjects on account of vessels captured previously to the treaty, and also for the losses which, in the words of the treaty, were described as "a necessary consequence of the abolition of the slave traffic."

The treaty was so far fulfilled that cruisers were appointed to act under it; commissioners were established to try the cases; vessels were taken, tried, and condemned; and the slaves received from the tribunal a sentence of emancipation.

Regulations also were drawn up and agreed upon, providing for a temporary apprenticeship, by which the negroes emancipated might be prepared for final and entire freedom.

Great Britain paid the money required from her, and has from the first laboured sedulously in fulfilment of the obligations of the treaty.

But how has Spain fulfilled her share of the engagement? For an answer to this question it will be sufficient to look to the island of Cuba.

In 1821 the number of slaves in Cuba was estimated at 265,000. A census of the population was taken in 1827, which gave the number of slaves in Cuba to be 286,942. Another census was taken in 1841, when the return of slaves then existing was given at 496,495, thus making an increase, even by the official census, of 210,000, in those last fourteen years. But that census is known to have been incorrect; and it is believed that the real number was purposely concealed, and at this moment, according to the most intelligent inhabitants, the number of slaves in Cuba is not less than between 800,000 and 900,000. Her Majesty's Government regret to say that this unnatural and alarming increase in the slave population is but too easily accounted for. An almost avowed connivance at the trade on the part of the local authorities, aided as it has been by the evasions and delays of the Government at Madrid, whenever the conduct of their subordinate officers has been denounced to them, and the strict fulfilment of the treaty demanded, affords a ready solution of it.

Vessels have arrived and cargoes of slaves have been landed in the face of day, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital itself; the facts have been denounced by the British functionaries to the Captain-General; the name of the vessel, the number of the slaves, the very spot in which they were confined, has been made known to him; and the result has been, that the Captain-General, after going through the form of an investigation, has declared the alleged facts to be unfounded, whilst it has been notorious in Havana that he has received from the slavedealers a price for each slave that has been landed.

Nor has the conduct of the authorities been less culpable in respect to the negroes who have been emancipated by the Mixed Court. Repeatedly, at the conclusion of their apprenticeship, have these unfortunate persons been sold for a new term of slavery, to the profit of those whose solemn duty it was to secure to them complete and permanent freedom.

The British Government remonstrated. Promises were lavishly made; and at length the forcible representations of her Majesty's Government produced, on the 2nd of Jan. 1826, a royal order, enjoining the authorities in Cuba to carry the treaty into faithful execution, without the delay and evasion arising from their custom of referring to Madrid upon every remonstrance or complaint addressed to them. But even this order was neglected in Cuba, and the infractions of the treaty still continued.

Subsequently, in 1835, a treaty was concluded, more stringent than that of 1817, empowering British cruisers to seize vessels under the Spanish flag when equipped for the slave-trade; and it was stipulated, that two months after the exchange of the ratifications, the Spanish Government should promulgate a penal law, affixing a severe punishment upon all Spanish subjects concerned in the slave-trade.

Still the traffic was actively carried on, and though the importation of slaves was less, those who reached the shores of Cuba were suffered to be made slaves, the governor, as before, receiving his bribe for each individual negro consigned to illegal captivity.

So that in January, 1841, her Majesty's Commissioners wrote home that they could "not too strongly express their conviction that from the officers of the Spanish Government they can look for no assistance whatever in suppressing the slave-trade, and that Great Britain must trust to her own acts alone for effecting that object."

At last a short respite occurred in this long-continued practice of bad faith and injustice, so unworthy of any government claiming a title to the respect of nations.

In the spring of 1841, General Valdes arrived as Captain-General at Havana. With a promptness and good faith worthy of his high position, he assembled the slave-traders, and told them that, consistently with honour and with justice, he could not connive, as he confess-

sed he found his predecessors had done, in the disgraceful trade in slaves. He gave them six months to complete the undertakings which, trusting in a continuance of the favour they had experienced from his predecessors, they had entered into before he came to the government; and he declared that after those six months no infraction of the treaty should be allowed to pass unpunished.

The effect of this honest declaration was instantaneous. The number of vessels sailing from the Havana for Africa, which in 1840 had amounted to 56, decreased in 1841 to 31; in 1842 they were only 3. The number of arrivals, which in 1840 were 41, were in 1841 only 27, and in 1842 only 9. Of course the importation of slaves diminished accordingly.

The number introduced into the island in 1840 was not less than 14,470; in 1841 it was 11,850; and in 1842 it was reduced to 3150. But it was not long before the slave-dealers in Cuba made strenuous efforts at Madrid to procure either the recall of this honourable officer, or the issue of such orders as would force him to permit, as heretofore, the evasions of the treaty.

They partially succeeded at the time, and shortly afterwards a new administration was formed in the mother country, and General Valdes was finally recalled, carrying with him from the island the regrets and good wishes of all who were capable of appreciating the probity and disinterestedness of his character.

In this last year, 1843, the importations of slaves have again taken place as formerly in Cuba.

No attempt has been made to check them on the part of the present Spanish authorities. It is in vain that the British functionaries announce them to the governor; and the same disgraceful system of evasion, and fraud, and bribery, and bad faith, appears once more in action.

I furnish you with the particulars of these transactions, contained in despatches from her Majesty's Commissioners and her Majesty's Consul-General, in Cuba.

You will see it stated that the slave-traders in Cuba are carrying on undertakings in that disgraceful traffic, with a confidence in impunity, and a corresponding activity, greater than had been evinced by them for many years past, and that the Captain-General has even refused to receive any more communications from her Majesty's Consul-General upon the subject.

You will also see that such has been the extent of the illegal importations in Cuba, that it is computed that if the slaves imported since 1820 were emancipated according to the intent and spirit both of the treaty in 1817, and of that of 1835, not one-sixth of all the negroes or coloured population would remain in bondage; and that whilst the number of these unhappy beings has been rapidly and constantly increasing, the treatment to which they are exposed, on the part of their masters, has become more and more reckless and inhuman.

Although not absolutely denied religious or moral instruction, none whatever is offered to them. The civil laws are, as far as their protection is concerned, almost a dead letter; and when Gen. Valdes, during his enlightened but too short administration, endeavoured by the force of new regulations for their treatment to obtain an amelioration of their wretched condition, he was compelled almost immediately to issue a circular, diminishing in a great measure the effect of these very regulations.

Other facts might be cited to show that the Government at Madrid were little inclined to follow up the first steps taken by General Valdes, towards a just and honourable discharge of their engagements.

From a note addressed by General Sancho, to this office, on the 15th of July, 1842, (at which time General Valdes was governor of Cuba,) it appeared that five years was the utmost time considered by the Spanish Government as necessary for effecting the complete freedom of those negroes who, in spite of their emancipation by sentence of the Mixed Commission, had, through the negligence and cupidity of the Spanish authorities, never yet had the blessing of full liberty conferred upon them.

Against this prolonged continuance of slavery, for those in respect to whose right to immediate freedom not the slightest doubt existed, her Majesty's Government then remonstrated, and it does seem that at the time these remonstrances were of some avail.

The real liberation of the emancipated negroes commenced in January, 1842. There were then supposed to be about 7,000 of this class in Cuba.

By the accompanying abstract from the Reports of her Majesty's Commissioners, you will see that in the course of that year 920 adult individuals, or about one-eighth of the whole number, besides 295 children, their offspring, received complete liberty. But the number of emancipated negroes restored to freedom within a similar period has since gradually lessened.

In the first four months of 1843, 141 adults, and 19 children, and the next four months only 103 adults, with 29 children, were liberated; in September last there were only 20 adults, with three children; and in October last, only 12 adults, with 10 children, who received this long-promised boon.

I have now to desire that you will state to the Government of Spain, that it is with real sorrow that her Majesty's Government find themselves obliged to confess that it would be culpable on their part were they to continue to act as if any just reliance could be placed upon the fidelity of Spain to the engagements. In 1841, the draft of a convention was transmitted to Madrid, by which it was proposed to institute, by the aid of British functionaries, an examination into the titles by which the slave population of Cuba is held in servitude.

Encouraged by the novel appearance of good faith on the part of the Government of Cuba, as it was then administered, her Majesty's Government admitted the weight of certain objections raised against that proposal by the Government at Madrid, and forbore for the time to press it.

The honourable administration of General Valdes has unfortunately been cut short; and her Majesty's Government have already had sufficient proof that the appointment of his successor has brought with it a return to the disgraceful practices described in the former part of this despatch. Great Britain, then, must trust to her own resources, and to those alone, for the suppression of the slave-trade carried on by vessels under the Spanish flag; and she is prepared to do so. But she is also entitled, by a solemn engagement of the Spanish Crown, to require that those who equip and navigate those vessels, as well as the receivers of their cargoes, shall be criminals by the law of Spain, and that they shall be punished as such. More than eight years have passed since the Crown of Spain took her engagement upon itself, and it is still unredeemed.

You will therefore demand from the Spanish Government, that they forthwith comply with the obligations of the second article of the treaty of 1835, by the promulgation of a penal law against all slave-traders, subjects of her Catholic Majesty. You will also require that the Captain-General of Cuba may be called upon to explain the conduct which, in his note to Mr. Consul-General Crawford, of the 28th of October, he has declared it to be his intention to adopt in his intercourse with that officer; and that he may be enjoined to pay due attention to such communications, bearing upon the infraction of treaties between Great Britain and Spain, as may be addressed to him by the authorised agents of her Majesty. Finally, you will require that orders may be sent from Madrid, directing General O'Donnell to follow up the measures of repression begun by his predecessor, and to carry them out efficaciously, to the redemption, in some degree, of the good faith of Spain, and to the satisfaction of the just demands of Great Britain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABERDEEN.

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.

The two petitions to Parliament from our friends of Hampden congregation, Jamaica, were promptly forwarded to the care of Lord Brougham and Mr. Hawes. The latter we know to have been presented; but, the votes of the Lords not being printed, we have been unable to trace the course of the former.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would feel obliged to any of the friends of the anti-slavery cause who would forward to them copies of Nos. 37 and 111 of the old *Monthly Anti-Slavery Reporter*, to complete Vols. II. and VI. of the series. The Committee will feel pleasure in return to forward any other numbers to their friends who may require them.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 18, 1844.

The address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has attracted the attention of the French papers. To show in what spirit they have noticed it, and how much under the influence of that imaginative faculty by which our lively neighbours are so pre-eminently characterized, we make the following extract from the *National* :—

"In appearance this manifesto is designed to adjure the Haytiens to put an end to the continual and bloody dissensions which desolate their unhappy country. In reality it is a philanthropic diatribe against France, a *methodistic homily in favour of London and Manchester shops, and other warehouses of cottons and hardware*."

It is no wonder that writers endowed with so profound a power of penetration as this, should feel themselves authorized to predict—what no doubt they wish—that the address will fail of its intended effect.

The reference made in the address to the policy and designs of France has evidently created in our contemporaries not a little soreness. The *Presse* murmurs in reply, that, in its present state, St. Domingo is not worth having; and the *National* makes a more distinct and indignant disavowal. All we have to say is, that we wish the disavowal could be believed; no credit whatever can be given to it, however, while facts tell so different a tale.

In the course of the remarks which are indulged in by the *National*, two points are made of considerable importance and utility, and we tender our contemporary our thanks for them. One of these relates to the French government, and the other to our own. Speaking of the address, the writer says :—

"It furnishes a significant warning which the French government ought not to neglect. It shows for what odious insinuations and machinations the continuance of slavery affords a pretext. Let them hasten, then, to abolish it. It will thus accomplish a measure at once of humanity and sound policy."

From whatever feelings it originates, this is good advice, and we hope the French government will follow it.

The hint to our own government is thus given. Construing the address into an insinuation that France is opposing itself to the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, the *National* retorts that this is not honest—

"because England does not sincerely cherish this design in its whole extent, and because the English Society for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the *West Indies* (where British policy was not interested in the maintenance of this double infamy) wilfully shuts its eyes to the continuance of slavery in British India, and to the slave-trade to which, in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, English merchant-men, together with the vessels of the East India Company, and even those of the royal navy, notoriously lend themselves."

In another number, in an article on Cuba, in which the insurrection in that island is without any warrant ascribed to British institution, the writer again touches the same subject. He says :—

"While England with one hand seeks to destroy the slave-trade, she maintains it with the other, and extends and carries it on for her own profit. While her ships suppress the traffic on the western coast of Africa, they encourage it in the latitudes of Eastern Africa. Often may one see the very vessel loaded with negroes liberated in the Atlantic, take in the Red Sea a new cargo of slaves, and sell them in the Persian Gulf or in India, making a double profit of this ingenious commerce."

In so far as these passages contain an imputation upon the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, they must be founded upon simple want of information on the part of our contemporary, who, of course, is not in the habit of reading articles from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, except when the honour of France is supposed to be attacked in them; and who, consequently, does not know with how anxious a jealousy the Committee of that Society have watched the mischief to which he refers. That his representations are not wholly without foundation we are aware; although it is but simple truth to say that he has greatly overstated the facts. We do not believe that British authorities at home connive at the implication of British shipping in the oriental slave-trade; on the contrary, we hope and believe they are anxious for its suppression. Whether as much can be said for every British functionary abroad may be more doubtful. We certainly do not think that the right measures have been taken in the quarters referred to for the suppression of this evil; and we shall be happy if the use made of it by our foreign contemporary should lead the government to greater zeal and perseverance in the accomplishment of this good work.

We have inserted in another place an article from the *Mauritius Watchman*, presenting a marvellous—we wish it were a singular—instance of the facility with which the legislative authorities of that island contrive to outrage both common sense and common decency. There are, it seems, in this dependency of the British Crown, certain functionaries called Civil Commissaries, these functionaries being at the same time Assistant Justices of the Peace. Hitherto an appeal has lain from the sentences of these gentlemen to the Supreme Court of Appeal in the island. Their decisions, however, have been found "to swarm with so many errors," that they have been for the most part set aside. "For the last three years," says the *Watchman*, "there is scarcely a single instance of the sentence of a Civil Commissary having been confirmed by the Supreme Court on appeal. All their judgments are regularly smashed for informality or illegality, the moment they are read." This, no doubt, must be a very serious mortification and annoyance to these Assistant Justices, and one, where the convenience and gratification of persons in authority are preferred to any consideration of justice and the public good, not long to be endured. Accordingly a desperate effort has been made to provide a remedy for it. Not by withdrawing these Commissary Justices from a situation which they are so incompetent to fill; not by taking measures to augment their knowledge of the law, and to reinforce their sense of equity; but by *taking away the right of appeal from their decisions!* Our contemporary well calls this "a drastic dose" of legislation. To us the statement is almost incredible, even for Mauritius. Most effectually, indeed, does such a measure free the Civil Commissaries from the mortification of having any more of their sentences reversed; but at what an enormous cost of public justice and the general welfare! It hands over the entire mass of the peasantry to the arbitrary and absolute will of notoriously incompetent, if not dishonest men, and lets loose for incalculable mischief hands which, beyond those of all men in Mauritius, ought to be most effectually bound. We scarcely know how to believe that the Governor can have given his assent to such a law; but, should he have done so, there may yet be time, it is to be hoped, for making representations on the matter to the ministers of the crown.

By another number of the *Watchman* we are sorry—but not surprised—to find that an attempt is making to induce the Governor to recommend the abolition of the Stipendiary Magistracy in Mauritius. "There are," says our contemporary (and we quote his words with much pleasure), "at Mauritius, ten Stipendiary Magistrates, most of whom, entering into the spirit of their institution, and knowing what England expected of them, have preserved their independence amidst the corrupting influence of wealth, being guided by stern justice and impartiality in their judicial career." Such functionaries must be bitterly unwelcome in Mauritius, and the hatred borne to them by the ruling party is their highest praise. On the present attempt to get rid of them the *Watchman* says—

"In no other British colony was the necessity of a Special Magistracy so urgent as in the Mauritius; because nowhere else did it snatch the

labourer out of the hands of the Civil Commissary—that arbitrary ex-actor upon the poor. The same motives which led to the establishment of the institution imperatively require its continuance; the perpetuity of free-labour contracts and disputes between masters and workmen, and the unchanged spirit and character of the older tribunals. In Mauritius those motives are greatly strengthened by the addition of 50,000 defenceless Coolies around whom the righteous shield of British law requires to be thrown. If the emancipated needed such a protection, the Indians need it a thousand fold. The first have thousand resources in their local knowledge, acquaintance with the vernacular language, and the sympathy of their fellow creoles: the cooly has no resource against oppression and injustice, except in his own cunning and artifice. When a government, by stinting the boon of fair and equal justice, reduces a class of people to these subterfuges of the helpless, it becomes an accessory to their crimes, and morally responsible for one half of the treachery, lying, and theft, by which it is dishonoured. By such a "withholding of justice" our Coolies may be made in five years ten times worse than they are on their first arrival; by a contrary course, which shall preserve them from despair, teach them to respect themselves, and know that justice is obtainable, they may be improved. This improvement is what England looks for; that the Cooly should not be consigned to hopeless thralldom, but assisted to better his condition. Her honour requires it, or the cessation of free immigration. The eyes of other nations are upon her and her free colonies, and, rich as she is in the reputation of a disinterestedness without parallel, she cannot afford to make a holocaust of her fame in the cane-fields of a hundred planters.

"We regard the Stipendiary Magistracy as the vital principle of our agriculture, under the raising of the interdict against immigration. They stand between the living and the dead." Under the destruction of their judicial authority for the labourer's protection, the immigration system would speedily become a foul and gangrenous ulcer, fit only for the knife; and no sooner would the report of its working reach home, than a sudden and final stop would be put to the planter's hopes of cultivating his cane-ground from that source. The English nation have some confidence in the Stipendiary Magistrates, whom they have appointed, and who act under English laws especially drawn up for their guidance: but what confidence can they have in our *Commissaires Civils et Notables*, whose authority sprung up under the French system in its worst times and most inauspicious circumstances, when men's minds, agitated in the whirl of revolutionary violence, were much more fitted to pull down than to build up the edifice of a social system, and when slavery yet abode in its strength. There never, we imagine, was, in any country an order of magistrates whose duties were so undefinable, whose general mode of procedure was so arbitrary, vexatious, illegal, and irresponsible as that of our Civil Commissioners. To transfer their office of Assistant justices of the peace to the Stipendiary Magistrates, and let their other functions die a natural death, would be one of the greatest boons the governor could confer on this island, and infinitely a more sound and constitutional policy than to recommend the abrogation of the Stipendiary Magistracy. We have indeed, no fear of his Excellency recommending this latter measure. He will first compare the regulations for their guidance in judging between the master and the workman, with those rules which the creatures of the landowners might be expected to follow, from habit and from the spirit of the Napoleon Code. He will pause before he yields, as he seems to have done in recommending the 1st. duty to be taken off, prematurely and inconsiderately. Every experience of the snares into which an interested oligarchy, whose only object is to take the reins of government virtually into their own hands, lead him, will be a landmark of danger and warning, presenting itself in full front of the premises of their future sophistries, having inscribed upon it in legible characters, 'beware!'

BESIDES the news from Dominica, which we have treated at large in another place, the West India mail has brought intelligence of some importance from British Guiana. The efforts made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to induce the colonial secretary not to recommend the Immigration Loan ordinance for her Majesty's sanction had become known there, and torrents of abuse are in consequence being poured on the head of "ungrateful" Mr. Scoble. This is as it should be. We should think we had done no good if they were not angry. In reply to our argument that the ordinance was, not in unison with the wishes of the people, one of the papers gravely asserts that the wishes of the combined court are the wishes of the people. This logic, however, does not satisfy Mr. Rose, the author of the measure, who is getting up a document to persuade Lord Stanley that the inhabitants of the colony generally are in favour of it. A letter which we have received from our private correspondent gives the following view of his doings in this matter:—

"The Hon. Peter Rose, who is manager of the Colonial Bank, and the cunning introducer of the two obnoxious bills, is on the alert, anxious to make to the Colonial Office demonstration of what he will call *public opinion*, by sly getting up a petition, to go by this packet, numerously signed by planters, merchants, &c.—many of them under his thumb as a banker, and all interested, more or less, in sustaining the ascendancy of the oligarchy at present legislating for the colony, or rather for themselves. As if intentionally to throw an obstacle in the way of counter-petitions, a new regulation, put forth from the Government Secretary's office last week, requires that all communications intended for the Secretary of State shall be sent to the Governor forty-eight hours before the mail leaves. By the time, therefore, that a movement of the kind Mr. Rose is promoting gets wind, the time for a counter-movement has passed away. The Bank Manager's hole-and-corner petition, however, whether signed by many or few of his partisans, will not afford anything approaching to an adequate representation of the public opinion of the colony, unless the views and wishes of the great mass of the labourers are to be put down as worth nothing in the calculation. I should hope that Lord Stanley will not allow himself to be moved to recommend the sanction of the two bills by Mr. Rose's memorial, even although no numerously signed counter-statement should either accompany or follow

it. Whether, before the next mail leaves this, any general movement or demonstration will be made throughout the colony *against* the obnoxious bills, I am not able at present to say; but, should such not be the case, it will only prove the comparative inability of the injured many to help themselves against the dominant few. Whether the victims of the contemplated injustice be enabled to speak, or not—whether the Colonial Secretary will consider the matter, or not,—it will remain true, that, should the Royal sanction be given to the unprincipled immigration loan scheme, the rights and interests of the great mass of this colony's population will be sacrificed thereby."

By the same arrival we find that dissatisfaction is stirring in Trinidad. It seems that the reduction of the sugar duties has induced the planters of this island to resolve upon reducing the wages of agricultural labourers two-fifths, or nearly one-half. This has, of course, created much excitement among the labourers, and has given occasion to the formation among them of a society for the protection of their interests, under the style and title of the *Trinidad Free Labourers' Society*. From the resolutions passed on this occasion we quote two, which will show the good sense and the good temper by which the meeting was actuated.

"That, having taken into serious consideration the proposed reduction in the duty of foreign sugar, and the proposed reduction of two-fifths on our present rate of daily wages, we will nevertheless, in the meantime, go on devoting ourselves to the cultivation, not because we willingly submit to any reduction, but because we consider it to be our individual interest, as well as to the general welfare of the colony, to keep up the cultivation of the estates.

"That, should such reduction of two-fifths on our present rate of wages take place, we not only consider it oppressive, but totally inadequate for our maintenance."

They also voted thanks to Charles G. G. Mackay, Esq., a gentleman who seems to have strongly sympathized with them, and whom they requested to furnish them with such information as might relate to their interest, in a manner "consistent with the interest of the proprietors, and the welfare of the colony at large." We learn by a private letter that the proceedings of the peasantry have been met by the planters in the usual spirit of violence and oppression. When will this madness end? It is a hard name that is given to those who will learn by nothing but experience; but we know of no name yet devised sufficiently expressive of folly to be applied to those whom bitter experience itself can never make wise.

We learn also that an ordinance has been passed by the Legislature in substance similar to that of British Guiana, for raising a loan of two hundred thousand pounds for immigration purposes, that is to say, for the introduction of East Indian and Chinese labourers into the Island. This ordinance, like that of British Guiana, is highly objectionable, and, in our judgment, will prove most injurious, should it be allowed, to the welfare and prosperity of the colony. All we can do in our present number is to call attention to this piece of colonial legislation.

We observe with pleasure that, at a banquet which the workmen of Paris partook of during "the glorious days" of July, in a toast proposed by the editorial committee of the *Union* journal, there was the following clause:—"The immediate emancipation of the negroes." This remembrance of the enslaved is worthy of the part which the Paris workmen have already taken on the great question of abolition, and may be regarded, we doubt not, as a pledge that, in due time, they shall be renewed and extended.

Literary Notice.

Liberté Immediate et Absolue, ou Esclavage. Observations sur le Rapport de M. le Duc de Broglie, président de la Commission instituée par décision royale du 26 Mai, 1840, pour l'examen des questions relatives à l'Esclavage, et à la Constitution politique des Colonies Françaises; addressées à tous les Français amis de la liberté et de l'humanité. Par GEO. W. ALEXANDER, et JOHN SCOBLE, de Londres. Paris: 1844. pp. 55.

Immediate and absolute Freedom, or Slavery. Observations on the Report of M. the Duke of Broglie, president of the Commission instituted by royal decree of May 26, 1840, in order to examine certain questions relating to Slavery, and the political Constitution of the French Colonies; addressed to all Frenchmen, friends of freedom and humanity. By GEO. W. ALEXANDER and JOHN SCOBLE, of London. Paris: 1844. pp. 55.

We have translated the title of this brochure, as the best way of introducing the work itself to the acquaintance of our readers. They will infer from it that the pamphlet is one of the fruits of the visit of the Treasurer and Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in the spring of the year, of which frequent notices were inserted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. We have read it with great pleasure, and can say with confidence that it pleads the cause of abolition in a manner at once worthy of enlightened English abolitionists, and conducive to the progress of the cause in France. Containing nothing by which offence might be given to the most sensitive of our fellow-labourers across the channel, it clearly and strongly directs their attention to a view of the subject—the duty and policy of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery—which, in our judgment, they have not yet sufficiently regarded, and takes out of the way some stumbling-blocks by which their advance has too long been impeded. We cannot help pronouncing the work to be admirably executed, and we trust it has

received a degree of attention in France justly proportioned to its merits. Wherever circulated, it cannot but do good; and it deserves to hold a high rank among the contributions which enlightened and benevolent men have made towards advancing the great cause of humanity and freedom.

UNITED STATES—LETTER FROM LEWIS TAPPAN.

New York, July 31, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I was very glad to see in your Annual Report, and in a subsequent *Reporter*, honourable mention of the Liberty party in the United States. Though I stood aloof from this movement awhile, believing I could labour more efficiently in the cause if disconnected from it, yet I always voted for their candidates. And I have been for some time persuaded that all the abolitionists in this country (thorough-going abolitionists) will either unite with the Garrison party, or be out-and-out Liberty party men. A day or two since a Liberty Association was formed in the city of Brooklyn, where I reside. We took for our motto a sentiment of Washington, as follows:—"There is but one proper and effectual mode by which the overthrow of slavery can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage can go, shall not be wanting." The object of the Association, as stated in the constitution, shall be "to elect to office honest and capable Liberty men; to rescue our country from the oppressive domination of the slaveholding oligarchy; to deliver the nation and state from all responsibility for slavery; and to carry out the principles of impartial justice and equal rights into practical application, by the instrumentality of the ballot-box." An association had existed in Brooklyn previously, and several abolitionists here, good men and true, have done good service to the cause; but the new Association includes the other, and is proceeding more formally and efficiently. Similar associations exist in many parts of the country, and are battling for liberty with energy and increased success.

Recently, at Detroit, Michigan, a public discussion was held in the town-hall, before the *elite* of that city, respecting the principles of the Liberty party. Our friend Mr. Birney, who was there on a visit, was invited to engage in the discussion, and acquitted himself with unusual ability. In that city, where a mere handful of abolitionists met in some obscure hall a few years since, the principal people now assembled in the largest hall in the place, to hear a discussion of the principles they had so lately contemned. Surely this indicates progress. The District Judge of the United States for Michigan, a distinguished jurist, came forward recently and avowed himself a Liberty man, and has joined the Association.

Mr. Leavitt's new daily paper, the *Boston Chronicle*, meets with much encouragement. It is acknowledged to be one of the best, if not the best, commercial paper in that city, and it discusses with freedom and ability the principles of the anti-slavery cause, and especially the distinguishing principles of the Liberty party. Dr. Bailey, of Cincinnati, Ohio, also edits a daily anti-slavery and commercial paper, which is highly esteemed. The other anti-slavery papers in this country, chiefly weekly publications, are too numerous to be mentioned here. The largest part of them advocate the principles of the Liberty party. As soon as we can procure a suitable editor, our Committee intend to resume the publication of the *Reporter*, and hope to issue it regularly.

The Union Missionary Society (an anti-slavery association) publish a paper called the *Union Missionary*, and have issued large editions of the first two numbers. The leading men in the northern states, both clerical and laical, belong to the great religious institutions of this country, viz., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the American Home Missionary Society; the American Bible Society; the American Tract Society, &c., &c.; and these institutions have done little or nothing to oppose American slavery, while some of them are favouring it by many indirect means. To the honour of the Home Missionary Society it should be said, that, in their annual report of May last, they spoke in decided terms against the cruel system; and it is the first time that either of the societies above-named have ever uttered condemnatory language against it. The language referred to is as follows:—"Another obstacle" (to the moral renovation of the country) "and one of increasing magnitude, which may well fill the heart of philanthropy with deep concern, is the existence of that horrible anomaly in American institutions, slavery; covering so large a portion of our territory, and enthralling more than two and a half millions of souls, made in the image of God, in a bondage worse than Egyptian, that prevents the most direct and effectual efforts for their salvation." The Union Missionary Society hope, by the blessing of God, to convince the leading religious men at the North, who at the best are only abstract abolitionists, that slavery is the greatest obstruction to the progress of the gospel and the conversion of men; and to induce them, as individuals and as associations, to oppose slavery directly, as the *obstruction* to the spread of the gospel, so far as the American churches are concerned. The great obstacle to the prevalence of anti-slavery doctrines in this country, from the beginning of the contest, has been the apathy of the great religious institutions above named, and the countenance they have given to slaveholders and to slavery. In this connexion, I would say that Dr. Lafon's address, showing that oppression is the great obstruction to the conversion of souls at home and abroad, has made a powerful impression in this country. He was a slaveholder, was several years a missionary at the Sandwich Islands, and is now here, labouring with his pen and tongue to convince clergymen and laymen that American slavery is the great obstruction to the progress and success of the gospel here and in foreign lands, where American missionaries labour.

There is no just cause of apprehension that Texas will be admitted into the Union under the present administration. If Mr. Polk should succeed, he will exert his influence to bring about annexation; but already there is a schism in his party on this very subject. The general opinion is that he will not be elected President. Mr. Clay's prospect is more favourable. He and his party, the Whigs, are apparently committed against annexation; but, if you read attentively his letters and declarations, you will perceive that this wary politician, this great compromiser, nowhere asserts that he is opposed to the annexation of Texas. He is opposed to the violation of treaties; he is opposed to admitting Texas

unless a considerable portion of the people are in favour of it. But, if he is elected President, and popular feeling is manifested in favour of annexation, Mr. Clay can easily, without violating any of his declarations, favour the object, and use his powerful influence in consummating the deed. What need, then, of Liberty Associations, of untiring vigilance on the part of American abolitionists, of the watchfulness of our transatlantic brethren, of wise and firm action on the part of European governments, of untiring supplications to the Almighty Disposer of human affairs!

I am in correspondence with Judge O'Neale, of South Carolina, the judge who sentenced Brown to death. He is, it seems, a deacon of the Baptist church. He seems to think that slavery is a Bible institution; that the wickedness of it consists in the ill-treatment, physically, of the slaves. I am trying to convince him of the moral turpitude of slavery—that chattelism is the great iniquity of the system—and that sound policy, as well as enlightened Christianity, require immediate emancipation.

Rev. Charles T. Torrey, of Massachusetts, long known as an active abolitionist, is now in the common jail at Baltimore, having been indicted, both in Maryland and Virginia, for aiding slaves in attempts to escape. He has able counsel, and collections are making in different parts of the country to aid him in his defence. Should he be convicted, the punishment is twenty years' imprisonment in the State prison. Mr. J. Q. Adams, who honoured me with a call on his journey from Washington to Quincy, thinks that Mr. Torrey should be taken before the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Taney, (pron. Tawney,) who resides in Baltimore, by a writ of *Habeas corpus*, that the question as to the constitutionality of the law may be argued.* Mr. Adams thinks that Judge Taney, who once liberated all his slaves, and is not now a slave-holder, would be inclined to pronounce the law unconstitutional; but, if he should not, he advises that an appeal be taken to the Supreme Court at Washington, and the first talents in the country be engaged to argue the various important points connected with the case.

Mr. Adams has now entered his seventy-eighth year. Though he appears more hale than men usually do at that advanced age, yet he is evidently becoming weaker and more infirm. His powerful mind, like a steam-engine, is too strong for the fragile house in which it operates, and bids fair, ere long, to break it down.

Rev. John Cross, of Illinois, long labouring in the Anti-slavery cause in this State, and in the State of Illinois, where he now resides, was arrested some months since on a charge of aiding slaves in their flight through Illinois from a Slave state; the "free" State of Illinois having, to please a slaveholding sister, passed laws inflicting punishment upon her own citizens who should act against the policy of the slave States. When Mr. Cross was brought into court for trial, and it was found that, instead of seeing pro-slavery lawyers to defend him, he was prepared to defend himself, rather than suffer the anti-slavery harangue in open court, a *nolle prosequi* was entered, and Mr. Cross was set at liberty.

We are exceedingly mortified that the Free Church of Scotland has treated our remonstrance with such neglect. They have, by their virtual sanction of the conduct of their commissioners in this country, rebuked the abolitionists, and encouraged the slave-holders. If the religious people of Scotland cease to aid us in our responsible work, let them not throw obstacles in our way. The 9000*l.* sterling solicited here is dearly acquired at the expense of disheartening American abolitionists, and cheering on the upholders of American slavery.

I rejoice at the stand you and your coadjutors have taken on the sugar question.

With affectionate attachment to you and to the members of the Committee, I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

J. SCOBLE, Esq.

SLAVE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES—LETTER OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MISS THAXTER,—In declining the invitation which I received last summer to attend the celebration of the first of August, it was in no wise my intention to express disapprobation of the celebration itself. The abolition of slavery in the Colonies of Great Britain, by the Parliament of that realm, was an event, at which, if the whole human race could have been concentrated in one person, the heart of that person would have leaped for joy. The restoration of eight hundred thousand human beings from a state of grinding oppression to the rights bestowed upon them by the God of nature at their birth, was of itself a cause of rejoicing to the pure in heart throughout the habitable earth. But that is not the only nor the most radiant glory of that day. It was the pledge of power and of will of the mightiest nation upon the globe, that the bondage of man shall cease; that the manacle and fetter shall drop from every limb; that the ties of nature shall no longer be outraged by man's inhumanity to man; that the self-evident truths of our Declaration of Independence shall no longer be idle mockeries, belied by the transcendent power of slavery welded into our constitution. It was the voice of the herald, like that of John the Baptist in the wilderness, proclaiming, as with the trump of the archangel, that the standing, fundamental policy of the British empire was thenceforth the peaceable abolition of slavery throughout the world.

Well, then, may the friends of freedom and of man rejoice at the annual return of that day.—Well may they, from far and wide, assemble and meet together in mutual gratulation at the return of so blessed a day. Well may they come in crowds to cheer and encourage one another to contribute, every one according to his ability, to the final consummation of this glorious and stupendous undertaking. My unwillingness to participate in it arose only from shame for the honour and good name of my country, whose government, under a false and treacherous pretence of co-operating with Great Britain for the suppression of one of the forms of this execrable system of slavery, has been now for a series of years pursuing and maturing a counteraction of the purpose of the universal emancipation, and organizing an opposite system, for the maintenance,

* By the laws of those States, a person who is indicted at the same time in both States cannot be admitted to give bail: thus the great constitutional right of bail is denied; and whenever persons residing in different States enter into a conspiracy, and get a man indicted, there is, under existing laws, no relief.

preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery throughout the earth.

For the last fifteen years this unhallowed purpose has been constantly, perseveringly, and unblushingly persisted in, with a pertinacity of exertion and a perfidy in the use of means, never surpassed by any conspiracy ever formed against the liberties of mankind. The dismemberment of the neighbouring republic of Mexico, the reinstatement of slavery throughout an immense portion of her territory, and the purchase or conquest of California, with the lying pretension of reannexing Texas to this Union, have been, and yet are among these profligate and unprincipled means. An absurd and preposterous attempt to pick a quarrel with Great Britain, upon false and frivolous pretences, is another. The utter prostration of the exclusive constitutional power of Congress to declare war—the whole compound budget of blunders and of crimes—the abortive negotiation of a treaty of plunder and robbery, which the Senate had the common sense and common honesty almost unanimously to reject—the glaring falsehood by which the Texans themselves were inveigled into the negotiation—all these, and many more enormities of the deepest dye, are but parts and parcels of the agony of slavery, struggling for existence and perpetuation against the awakening conscience of mankind.

The abortion of slave-mongering diplomacy, miscalled a treaty, attempted in the last hours of an administration detested and despised even by its own partisans, is the last act of this knot of conspirators against human freedom. Their foul and filthy purpose has at length been extorted from them. It is, by an exterminating war, to rob Mexico of her provinces and to defend and perpetuate slavery by open war against England, for undertaking to abolish it throughout the world. A self-styled president of the United States, and two successive secretaries of state of his appointment, have, with shameless effrontery, avowed that their project of wholesale treachery, robbery, and murder, was undertaken and pursued for the deliberate purpose of overreaching, overturning, and destroying the system of policy of the British nation to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world. I have long foreseen and watched the progress of the two systems towards this issue, and have given formal warning to my countrymen of it, by speeches in the House of Representatives in 1836, 1833, and 1842, by addresses to my constituents, in 1837, at Quincy, in 1842 at Braintree, and 1843 at Dedham, and by an address signed by twenty-two other members of Congress and myself, to the people of the free States at the close of the session of 1843—an address falsely charged by the forty-bale weathercock hero of Texas annexation, nullification, and the blessings of slavery, as threatening the dissolution of the Union. I have seen the steady and gradual approaches of the two systems to the conflict of mortal combat, in all their phases, from the strictly confidential letter of Andrew Jackson, of 10th December, 1833, to the secretary, not governor, of Arkansas Territory, to that consummate device of slave-holding democracy, the two-thirds rule of the late Democratic convention at Baltimore, and to the casting down of the glove of defiance, by our present secretary of State, in his letter to the British plenipotentiary, of 18th April last. The glove was indeed not taken up. We are yet to learn with what ears the sound of the trumpet of slavery was listened to by the British queen and her ministers. We are yet to learn whether the successor of Elizabeth on the throne of England, and her Burleighs and Walsingham, upon hearing that their avowed purpose to promote universal emancipation and the extinction of slavery upon the earth is to be met by the man-robbers of our own country with exterminating war, will, like craven cowards, turn their backs and flee, or eat their own words, or disclaim the purpose which they have avowed. That, Miss Thaxter, is the issue flung in their faces by President Tyler and his secretary, John C. Calhoun. And that is the issue to which they have pledged, to the extent and beyond the extent of their power, you and me, and the free people of this Union, and their posterity, for life and death, for peace and war, for time and eternity!

Shall we respond affirmatively to that pledge? No! by the God of justice and mercy! No! My heart is full to overflowing, but I have no more room for words. Proceed, then, to celebrate and solemnize the emancipation of eight hundred thousand British slaves, whose bonds have been loosened by British hands. Invoke the blessing of the Almighty, with prayer that the day may speedily come when the oppressed millions of our own land shall be raised to the dignity and enjoy the rights of freedom, and when the soil of Texas herself shall be as free as our own. I cannot be with you, for age and infirmity forbid; but for every supplication breathed by you for the universal emancipation of man and the extinction of slavery upon earth, my voice shall respond Amen!

From your faithful friend and kinsman,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Miss Anna Quincy Thaxter, Hingham.
Quincy, 29th July, 1844.

Colonial Intelligence.

TRINIDAD.—[From our own Correspondent.]—You have, ere this, I presume, heard of the bold attempt made by an hon. member of Her Majesty's Council of Government here, Mr. Losh, a planter, to raise a loan, on Government security, of 200,000/- sterling, for immigration purposes. The introduction of this ordinance, the manner in which it was hurried through the Council, and the apparent disregard manifested by that hon. Board to the views and feelings of the community generally on that question, have created a degree of excitement which I have not witnessed before in Trinidad. The hon. member introduced his measure for the salvation (?) of the colony, at the bidding of some fifty or sixty planters, whom he styles "the inhabitants of Trinidad," as though there were no regard to be paid to the views of "the people," upon whom the whole burden of this blind legislation must inevitably fall. A day or two previous to the introduction of the above ordinance to the Board of Council, the hon. gentleman, who is also secretary to the "Trinidad Immigration and Agricultural Society," called a meeting of planters in Port of Spain, in consequence of the change in the sugar duties, and the meeting decided on reducing the wages of the labourers and others on the estates, without delay; and, for the benefit of those planters not present, a circular letter was drawn up, and addressed to the planters generally, urging them to adopt the resolution come to at the meeting alluded to.

In consequence of this step, most of the proprietors, attorneys, and managers, notified the labourers of the decision come to. The excitement created by this measure among the labouring classes proves, beyond a doubt, that they are beginning to comprehend more clearly every year the necessity there is for looking after their own interests. At Couva River, about six hundred of the labourers, natives and immigrants, have formed themselves into a society, designated "The Trinidad Free Labourers' Society." They met, and passed resolutions, in which they expressed themselves in the most becoming, temperate, but firm manner. Since that time they have held their meeting of the 1st of August, to commemorate the anniversary of freedom, and discuss questions bearing upon their interests. A gentleman who was present informed me that it was a numerous meeting of labourers, quietly conducted, so far as they were concerned; but that the planters of the quarter, headed by the church minister, came there to produce confusion, by contradicting the speakers, and claiming to be heard themselves. To a certain extent they succeeded, but were soon told by the labourers that neither their presence nor their conduct was agreeable. A deputation from this body of labourers is now about to visit other parts of the island, to communicate their views and feelings to their brethren in like circumstances with themselves.

On the evening of the 1st of August we held our anniversary meeting in Grey Friars church, in Port of Spain, kindly granted for that purpose by the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, the unflinching friend of freedom. The great excitement abroad was proved by the crowded audience which attended. The Rev. Mr. Kennedy was called on to preside, and was surrounded by a goodly number of coloured gentlemen, with one or two white friends, who agreed to spend the evening rejoicing with the free, and sympathizing with the bound. For some days before, it was rumoured abroad that a combination had been entered into by the gentlemen of the town, to disturb the peace and proceedings of the meeting. We were not, therefore, surprised to witness on this occasion a respectable number of that class who generally "tarry long at their wine" in the evening, but whose conduct afterwards proved anything but creditable to them. I should much like for some of the capitalists of England, to whom our nobles humble themselves, to have had a peep at their conduct on that occasion. Connected with the same class, however, we have, I am proud to say, high-minded and honourable gentlemen, who would censure as loudly as any the disgraceful conduct exhibited; but they are few in number compared with the attorneys, and other servants of absentees, whose zeal for the welfare of their employers displays itself in conduct of the most turbulent and boisterous character, even in the sixth year of freedom. The question of the loan ordinance was introduced by Mr. Hinde, in an able speech, which greatly excited the enmity of the planters and their friends. The interruptions to this gentleman's address were fierce and frequent; nor was it in the power of the chairman to restore order for a very considerable time. The old spirit, so long kept under, really burst forth, on the evening of the 1st instant, with fearful fury; insomuch, that the town police were called in by their superior, to assist, if necessary, in keeping order.

The expectation of having the loan ordinance sanctioned by Her Majesty, and the consequent prospect of a large increase of Coolies, to which our planters look with some certainty, seem to have made them resort to their usual bullying line of conduct before freedom. I would add, before closing, that, by the late census, our population is at least 60,000, though I am of opinion this is short of the true number. Now, I do honestly maintain, that the culivated portion of this island is as densely populated by the above population as is Barbadoes, or very nearly so. The necessity, therefore, for an increased labouring population, for the same extent of private property, cannot easily be shown. Money is required rather than men: and in this most persons here concur.

BRITISH GUIANA.—THE CROP.—We give the sugar crops, as returned for taxation, for 1842 and 1843:—

CROP OF 1842.	Pounds of SUGAR.	RUM—GALLONS, PROOF.							GALLONS of MO- LASSES.
		24.	23.	22.	21.	20.	19.	18.	
Demerary	26,349,663	168,581	487	7,549	1432	9,475	381,201	220,163	844,856
Essequebo	17,664,411	156,012	9,647	18,332	1349	39,632	168,932	40,466	762,833
Berbice ...	10,659,935	181,740	16,932	12,079	...	16,103	23,664	...	412,653
British Guiana }	51,674,009	506,366	21,066	37,961	591	65,210	573,797	260,629	2020,354
CROP OF 1843.									
Demerary	26,956,544	221,698	1,956	1,048	1748	4,056	342,331	178,141	832,517
Essequebo	18,480,822	200,508	1,616	11,938	805	15,862	83,759	34,565	882,799
Berbice ...	10,139,698	155,069	1,060	12,868	...	506,090
British Guiana }	*55477,064	577,275	3,572	12,986	2553	21,028	438,958	212,709	2,322,606

* The return for one estate, which made 495,000 pounds of sugar in the year 1842, has not yet been tendered for 1843.

The last year's crop presents, as may be seen, a slight improvement on that of the preceding year. The returns for 1841 were 52,043,897 lb. of sugar, 1,543,652 gall. of rum, and 1,584,806 gall. of molasses.—*Royal Gazette.*

CAPTURE OF TWO SLAVERS.—Her Majesty's sloop *Star* arrived at Ascension on the 7th of July from Prince's Island (Cape Coast) after a successful cruise of five months on the west coast of Africa, during which time she captured two slavers, a small schooner, and a large brig upwards of 500 tons register; both of which have been proved lawful prizes.

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, September 18, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXVI. VOL. V.—No. 20.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2ND, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

TORREY'S LETTER TO MARYLAND.

The following noble address from this imprisoned friend of humanity appears as an advertisement in the *Baltimore Sun* :—

To THE PUBLIC.—The undersigned, a prisoner in the city jail, in Baltimore, asks your attention to the following statements. If I was as widely known to the good people of this state as I am to the citizens of New England, New York, and several of the western States, it would be of very little importance to me that a class of persons, such as traders in slaves, professional fugitive hunters, and subordinate officials, with a few slave-holders of the violent and fanatical class, should employ the venom of tongues reckless of truth, to assail my character, and endeavour to make Christian men deem me a fit associate for felons, or men of their own grade of society. But to all, save a few college classmates, and a few others whose acquaintance I have in most cases recently formed, I am a stranger. I am imprisoned on charges that render me obnoxious to the displeasure of that class of the people—not very numerous, it is true—who deem their interests involved in the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade.

Let me be distinctly understood—I do not ask for any man's sympathy. Did I desire it, a statement of the real facts respecting the charges against me, and the recklessness of my prosecutors could secure it. But my demand is not for the sympathy due to even the most obscure and guilty of our race, but for JUSTICE. The verdicts of the courts of law and equity, some of which, in my case, will not be given, in all likelihood, before February, 1846, will, if they are what I confidently expect, render me but tardy justice. Meanwhile, I have an appeal to make to the men of intelligence of all parties, who are for the GOOD NAME and the PROSPERITY of Maryland, and of our whole country.

First, I have to state a few facts relative to my personal history. I do this with reluctance, and solely because certain persons, to whom allusion has already been made, have employed base means to convey an impression to the religious public, far different from truth.

It is not, then, a matter of boasting, but of simple justice, for me to state, that my family, education, station, employments, and character, have ever placed me in the highest and purest class of society. Deprived of both parents before I was four years of age, I was educated by my mother's father, the late Hon. Charles Turner, of Scituate, Plymouth county, Mass., who will be remembered by the older politicians of this State, as one of the few republican members of Congress in 1812-14, who dared to hold fast their integrity, in the face of a frowning constituency, and vote for a declaration of war. From him—a soldier under Washington when Boston was occupied by the British—I learned to hate slavery in all its forms. To all who have known me in the thoughtless years of childhood, or when a student in Philips's (Exeter, N. H.) Academy; a classmate in Yale College, with a Robbins, a Kerr, a M'Clellan, and others from this State; a member of Andover Seminary; a pastor of churches in Providence, R. I., and Salem, Mass.; agent of benevolent societies; a contributor to, or editor of public papers; or any walk of life in public and private; to the tens of thousands in all the States named, in all classes of society, and to all with whom a brief residence in the South has introduced me, I confidently appeal. Let them say that I am chargeable with one act that is unbecoming the character of an educated Christian gentleman; one act that shall ever cause my children to honour their father less than nature and affection would bid them. I make this appeal with a distinct remembrance of the past, that during the last seven years in public life, I have often come in collision with the views, the prejudices, the angry passions of religious and political partisans of almost every class; and, at times, have been assailed, and assailed others, with a temper that even the excitement of partizanship poorly justifies. But I AM WILLING TO BE JUDGED BY MY ENEMIES, so far as they themselves belong to the reputable portion of society—slave-traders and their abettors do not. In THIS state the first effort was made to stamp ignominy on an unsullied name. In January, 1842, by the advice and at the request of several gentlemen among the most prominent whig and democratic members of Congress, I attended a public convention—open to all the world—in the city of Annapolis, called to perpetuate the curse and crime of slavery in this state. I was an entire stranger in Maryland, having previously spent but eleven hours in it, seven of which were employed in passing through it. By the malicious acts of certain members of the gambling fraternity, whom I had offended by exposing their characters, a lawless and drunken mob was excited against me, and I was thrust into jail. No complaint was made, no oath taken, no violation of law, actual or possible, was ever hinted at, to excuse such a violation of the laws, constitution, and hospitality of the state. In all the week of subsequent investigation, not a shadow of a pretext for my detention appeared; yet certain under-

lings of the press, from that hour have sought to connect my name with epithets belonging to the class of felons who figure in the loathsome police reports. The wrong done me by the citizens and authorities of Maryland at that time remains unredressed; how much to their and her honour, the world will judge.

Four months since I came to this city, to make it my permanent residence. Within a week from my coming, a noted slave-trader commenced that series of machinations that resulted in my arrest. Whether that arrest, in its results, will bring honour or shame to the individuals and States who are made parties to it, of one thing I am sure; it will never destroy my good name, in the eyes of any considerable portion of the Christian and honourable part of mankind. This leads me to my second object.

2nd. I wish, while I would carefully avoid any statement that can be deemed a *prejudgment* of the issues to be tendered to the courts of law and justice, to have the public understand the nature of these issues.

I am charged with aiding a man, a native of Maryland, sold into Virginia, to escape from slavery in the latter state. The governor of Virginia, in the common course of law, demands my delivery for trial there, as a "fugitive from justice." My open residence in Baltimore, with a railroad to Winchester, whence I am charged with aiding this man to flee, looks very much like flight, to be sure! I am also charged with aiding two women and a boy to escape from an obscure person in this city. It is said that I have been humane enough to help these persons to escape to some free state. To do such acts of kindness to the penniless slave, I am told, has been by statute, made a penal offence in these two states. Whether the facts are truly charged or not, is of very little moment to any but the poor people themselves. If they are free, there is room for twice four more free labourers south of Mason and Dixon's line. To myself, while I am neither a martyr nor a stoic, to pretend to be insensible to the evils of a separation from my family, from society, from all opportunities of gaining knowledge and of benefiting society, by an imprisonment with the felons of your penitentiaries, yet I say, without hesitation, I had rather be the prisoner than the judge who may sentence me.

What are the legal issues? 1. One is not peculiar to my case. It is, whether a mere requisition from the authorities of another State, unsupported by evidence of the commission of any crime, or of the identity of the person, shall be deemed sufficient warranty to drag a man from his home, his family, his friends, into a foreign jurisdiction, to be tried by strangers? If so, we have gained little by the revolution of 1776. 2. The second issue is, is it "felony or other crime," within the meaning of the constitution of the United States, to aid a slave to escape to a free state? The local laws of one half of even the SLAVE states do not make it so. 3. Has SLAVERY any constitutional or legal existence in Maryland or Virginia? Or does it exist by mere sufferance? the subject of restriction and regulation, as gambling is in Hamburg, and was in New Orleans at a very recent period? 4. Is it a crime at all, by the law of God, by the common law, or the constitutions of Maryland and Virginia, to help a man out of slavery? If not, can a mere local statute law make it so? Can laws make acts of humanity and mercy to the helpless and poor become crimes by the words written on a parchment, and signed by officials? Can Maryland, who voted public thanks and swords of honour to those who delivered a few of our countrymen from slavery in Tripoli, make it a crime to help her native born citizens to escape from slavery on her own soil?—Do the waves of the Atlantic change the nature of justice, mercy, humanity, and make them crimes and felonies?

3. Here, then, are the issues, not stated with legal form and precision, as my learned counsel may do before the proper tribunal, but plainly, the issues on which THE STATES OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA WILL GO TO TRIAL BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF MANKIND.

The issue is not whether I have or have not aided four or four thousand slaves to escape from slavery in Maryland or elsewhere. Had I done the last, Maryland with her population kept sparse, her resources diminished, and her proud name dishonoured by slavery, should hold me a public benefactor. But, not without mature deliberation I aver it, I AM NOT ON TRIAL: I shall not be in the eyes of mankind. This thing cannot be, shall not be, done in a corner. It is no obscure fanatic, reckless of right and duty, with whom the question is brought to an issue. No Judge O'Neal can slander me as he has poor Brown, not only in that parody on piety, his judicial sentence, but in a recent letter to the British public, through the Glasgow Argus; and endeavour to lessen the infamy of making it a crime to help men out of slavery, by showing that the personal character of the man, in other respects, is such as justly to deprive him of every one's sympathy. No, thank God! Maryland and Virginia must go to trial before the tribunal of the civilized world on this broad issue: Will you, in order to maintain slavery,

(which lives in your impoverished States only by the annual sales of its increase in the southern shambles)—will you condemn a man of blameless life and unspotted Christian character to your prisons as a common felon?"

When the Foreign Secretary of State of Great Britain, Lord Aberdeen, from his place in parliament, seconded Lord Brougham in proclaiming the infamy of Brown's judges, he uttered no mere British philippic against anything American; he spoke the sentiments of all the enlightened part of mankind, save a narrow and daily decreasing circle in our own slave states, in respect to the system of slavery, and in regard to all who attempt to make it a crime to relieve its victims. Already scores of public meetings in the free states, numbering from one to eight thousand persons each, have spoken of my imprisonment in terms like the following. These resolves were passed at a 4th of July celebration, on Mount Pleasant, the spot fortified by the Americans after the battle of Bunker Hill, by the fathers of many of those present, to my personal knowledge. About two thousand persons were there.

"Resolved, That we have heard with mingled feelings of indignation and sorrow of the arrest and imprisonment, in Maryland, of a citizen of Massachusetts, Rev. Charles T. Torrey, through a requisition of the executive of Virginia, charging him with having carried out in practice the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, and with literally obeying the injunction of holy writ:—' Hide the outcast, and betray not him that wandereth!'

"Resolved, That as citizens of a state whose bill of rights recognizes no slave in the universe of God, assembled upon the grass-grown remains of one of the first entrenchments thrown up by the men of 1775, within view of the first battle-fields of the revolution, and of the old cradle of liberty, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, we protest in the name of that declaration against this denial of its truths and violation of its principles, on the part of the authorities of Virginia and Maryland, in the case of our fellow-citizen, Mr. Torrey; and we call upon all who love liberty and hate oppression, to unite with us in indignant reprobation of a system which can only exist by making humanity a crime—a practical belief in the doctrines of the revolution, felony—and obedience to the commands of God a penitentiary offence!"

Nor are the persons who express such views abolitionists merely. Few men can be found in the entire North who cherish, none who will avow, any other sentiments, unless it is to serve some base purpose of a partisan political nature.

I may be tried, convicted, of doing that which mankind will pronounce a good and honourable deed, and sent to your penitentiary; the thoughtless crowd, the heated partisan, may think lightly of it; the fanatical, nullifying slaveholder, may gloat over his fancied triumph; but there are not wanting men of higher calibre and more intelligence, in this city and state, who will know that the judge who consigns me to a prison will not send me alone. The honour and good name of the state will bear me company. How will it affect the value of Maryland stocks in Anti-slavery Europe, to find such a proof of a fierce zeal to sustain that slavery which is the bane of your prosperity? What Christian minister, what Christian man, from Maryland, can hold up his head in Europe, when asked, "So you send Christian ministers to a felon's prison in Maryland, do you, for helping slaves escape from bondage?"

Liberty may be taken from me: my good name cannot, until I have done something more to forfeit it than acts which nine-tenths of the civilized world deem to be the bare performance of the duties imposed on us by common humanity and the Christian faith.

I said, I make no appeal to public sympathy. Let the guilty do that! I shall give the eminent counsellors who plead my cause in the courts but one instruction; it is, that they make no admission, even by way of argument, that it can be a crime to aid one of God's children, formed in his image, to escape from slavery. The crime is to make God's child a slave!

If any who read this deem my language that of pride, I have only to say that the world will judge. I am a man, and I am right, and therefore I speak boldly to those who are my equals, and no more.

CHARLES T. TORREY.

Baltimore Jail, Aug. 29th, 1844.

SLAVES AT BOURBON LIBERATED BY LAW, BUT THROWN BACK INTO SLAVERY BY REPEATED ACTS OF THE COLONIAL COUNCIL.

(From the *French Abolitionist.*)

THE Society for the abolition of slavery, in its sitting of July 23, 1844, received a report which was made by one of its members, on the refusal of liberty to 500 negroes by the colonial council of Bourbon, in spite of the efforts of the government; and it resolved to give publicity to the facts, before adopting official methods for obtaining a remedy.

We find these facts in a document not liable to suspicion. It is the *Dictionary of Colonial Legislation*, published in 1844, by a lawyer, senior member of the order of advocates at Bourbon.

In 1810, the British government being then in possession of the isles of France and Bourbon, it liberated the greater number of a colonial gang formed of blacks obtained by the slave-trade, because that traffic had been abolished by act of parliament in 1807.

In 1815, after France resumed possession of the colony of Bourbon, the colonial authorities possessed themselves of the remnant of this gang, and it is alleged that they purchased some others; it is

more probable, however, that it was augmented by means of the slave-trade, which was re-established in our colonies, although a royal ordinance of the 8th of January, 1817, and a law of 1818, had been directed to its abolition.

A few seizures took place from 1819 to 1832, the period of the final suppression of this infamous traffic: these seizures increased the colonial gang to 1,000 slaves.

The liberation of these blacks would have been effected in 1837, since the law of the 4th of March, 1831, limited their servitude to seven years.

The colonial council alleged that these blacks belonged to the colony, and not to the state, and that they could not be liberated: but, on being consulted, the commission appointed by the ministry of marine for the suppression of the slave-trade, and for the execution of the law of 1831, and of a royal ordinance of the 25th of September, 1837, which was extremely well designed, but which the department of marine had the weakness not to publish, declared that the blacks ought to be liberated, and that the pretensions of the colonial council were without foundation.

Beaten at this point, the colonial council next passed a decree, (and the governor ventured so far as to sanction it provisionally on the 9th of August, 1838,) which subjected 520 blacks to a new servitude of seven years.

The minister of marine consulted the same commission on the validity of this decree. The opinion of the commission was that the blacks were completely liberated by the law of 1831, and that certificates of freedom ought to be delivered to them.

The king having, in conformity with this opinion, refused his sanction to the provincial act of 1838, the governor laid before the council a plan of liberation. The council rejected this proposition. The royal authority pronounced its dissolution; and, after new elections, the question came again before the council.

On the 28th of October, 1841, a proclamation of the governor announced the liberation, by name, of 547 slaves. Art. 5, of this proclamation says—"There shall be opened a new register at the registry of the tribunal for those *engagés* (persons in limited servitude) who have not completed their time." For the honour of the French name it must be supposed that this relates to blacks seized subsequently to the law of the 4th of March, 1831, by foreign vessels, whose captures were confirmed by the tribunals of Bourbon.

In 1840, according to the colonial returns, there were in the gang 980 persons, of whom 823 were said to be free, and 157 slaves. The official return of 1841 gives as the number of this gang 964 persons, of whom 808 were free by virtue of the law of the 4th of March, and 156 slaves. The difference arises no doubt from deaths.

We cannot, however, understand how it happened that the liberated blacks were inscribed in the slave-registers of the civil department (note 5, p. 265 of the *Record Coloniale* for 1844). This was to deprive them of their position as free men, and to say that the fresh engagements to service were nothing short of slavery.

In a report made to the colonial council on the 10th of May, 1842, is found, under date of the 31st, a decree which superseded the engagement for seven years, annulled by the home authorities, and substituted for it an engagement of four years. It is affirmed that all these free blacks, with the exception of 34, signed this engagement. As they cannot write, it was easy to allege a willingness which did not exist.

Further, the governor, who, misunderstanding the wishes of the mother country, and of his government, provisionally sanctioned the colonial decree, by an ordinance of the same date (May 31), subjected the *engagés* who should commit offences against discipline to eight days' imprisonment, besides loss of wages. Enforce a voluntary contract by imprisonment! There is no such arbitrariness but in a land of slavery. The administration reserves to itself the right of breaking the engagement, but it does not acknowledge the same right on the part of the persons bound.

An ordinance of the 6th of September, 1842, forbids them to quit the premises without being furnished with passports, and, in case of disobedience, authorises their arrest.

The colonial advocate, who reports the proceedings relative to the discipline of the *engagés*, reports as in full force a local ordinance of July 21, 1820, which allows marriage (that only foundation of families) to such only of the *engagés* as are of irreproachable conduct, of good constitutions, and advanced in religious instruction: it prohibits it to those who are not baptized, and who do not distinguish themselves in the exercise of their profession. There must, in fine, be a permission of the governor to authorise the record of these marriages in the registry of the civil department. They can be neither announced, nor published. That is to say, these liberated blacks shall not be deemed worthy of the honour of marriage; and, instead of being encouraged to enter upon it, they shall be retained, as far as possible, in a state of brutal and promiscuous association.

Finally, a decree of the 4th of August, 1831, gives authority to transport them, under the name of punishment, to the French possessions in Madagascar!

Such are the laws in force over men who are declared legally free! What worse could be done with slaves?

If the French government does not promptly annul the colonial ordinance of 1842, and the series of police ordinances connected with it, the freedom of the blacks and mulattoes in these colonies will be nothing but a vain word, a bitter deception. By continuing pretended voluntary engagements from one term of four years to another, slavery may be perpetuated as long as you please. It is impossible more openly to trifle with the law of the 4th of March, 1831, and the powers which were then voted.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

We take from the Parliamentary Papers to-day two communications from Mr. Hamilton, British minister at the court of Brazil, demonstrating the flagrant manner in which the slave-trade is carried on in that empire.

MR. HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Rio de Janeiro, April 12, 1843.

MY LORD.—Sr. Vasconcellos, a member of the Imperial Senate, hazarded in that chamber, some few weeks ago, the bold assertion that not an African had been imported into Brazil within the last twelve months. Though eliciting expressions of surprise from some of the more conscientious of the senators, it provoked no decided contradiction. It seemed incumbent on myself, therefore, to disprove the statement; and I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a recapitulation of the slaves which had landed their cargoes, and an estimate of the numbers of which those cargoes consisted, within a much more limited time than that quoted by Sr. Vasconcellos, and, likewise, on a limited part only of the Brazilian coast.

But this opportunity appeared favourable also for again demonstrating to the government the practices of the slave-dealers, carried on with so much effrontery, and yet with so much impunity, and at different points of the empire; and I entered at some length into the subject.

For the details with which I rebutted the assertions of Sr. Vasconcellos, as well as for those exhibiting the malpractices here referred to of the slave-merchants, and the connivance of some of the local authorities, I beg leave to request your lordship's attention to the accompanying copy of my note to Sr. Carneiro Leao. The occurrences, however, there represented are not all I might bring under his Excellency's consideration; but I have been unwilling to lay too severe a charge, by exposing transactions still more culpable, which have passed, as it were, under the very eyes of the government authorities. The following grave and inexcusable occurrences might have been added to the catalogue; but what are to be found in my note will suffice to show that her Majesty's officers are alive to all that is passing, culpable or irregular, on the part of Brazilian functionaries, in carrying out the stipulations made by treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Vessels placed by their proprietors a few months ago at the disposal of the government, in a spirit of patriotism, as was alleged,—a pseudo spirit, as it would appear by the result,—for the transport of troops to the southward, have been employed subsequently in illegal expeditions to the African slave marts; the fittings and other equipments on board adapted for the transport of soldiers being available, likewise, for that of negroes.

On the 16th March, two parties of *Boaçes* (new negroes) were marched through one of the principal streets of this capital at noon-day. And that exhibition was by no means a solitary one. In this said street are several places of deposit, where such negroes are openly offered for sale.

On the succeeding morning, about seven o'clock, a very large open launch, crowded with Africans in a state of nudity, was seen crossing the harbour. This occurrence, too, was witnessed by many persons, but no interruption whatever was offered to the boat, and she pursued her way with her contraband cargo.

Not many months ago, one of the forts near the entrance of this harbour received and gave shelter to new negroes just landed in the vicinity, at so many reis per head per night; and there is every reason to believe that these asylums are still open to the violators of the law.

The details here given, as well as those mentioned in my note to Sr. C. Leao, are collected from various quarters, and reports made to me. But if through channels of communication often irresponsible and precarious, it has been possible for her Majesty's Legation to arrive at such important information, can it be unreasonable to expect that the Brazilian government might, through its official channels, and with means and appliances comparatively unlimited, obtain earlier and more copious intelligence on these matters; and that, obtaining it, it might, in fair and honest zeal for the discharge of its engagements, and through due exercise of the powers vested in it, utterly suppress such flagrant and culpable misdoings?

Of two things, one: either the government does not exert itself to acquire the needful information on such infringements of law and treaty; or, being in possession of it, it fails to employ it with the good faith and the energy requisite to attain the meritorious object in view. This is a dilemma difficult to escape from. In either alternative, the Conventions entered into by the two Crowns to put down conjointly such an intolerable system of injustice and oppression have not been honestly executed by the Brazilian government. The means hitherto devoted by Great Britain to this end, through this divergence on the part of Brazil, have unfortunately proved insufficient; and it is for her Majesty's government, therefore, to decide whether any, and what others, can be resorted to, that may lead Brazil to a line of conduct which, by applying an immediate and effectual remedy, would relieve the alliance altogether from the moral responsibility attaching to such a fearful state of things.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) HAMILTON HAMILTON.

MR. HAMILTON TO SR. CARNEIRO LEO.

Rio de Janeiro, April 7, 1843.

In a late debate in the Imperial Senate, a distinguished member of that Chamber, also member of the Council of State, advanced, and more than once, that not a single African had been imported into Brazil within the last twelve months, and that he conceived no better encomium could be passed on the moral character of the Brazilians. And again he advanced, that Brazil had been stigmatized in the English House of Lords for carrying on such an illicit commerce; and that it is the duty of the government to repel such calumnies, as offensive to the dignity of Brazil. And he invited information, likewise, as to the individuals by whom the traffic was being carried on: declaring at the same time, however, that it had absolutely ceased.

As a set-off to this most extraordinary statement, the undersigned, &c., takes leave to bring under the notice of Sir. Carneiro Leao, &c., the following return of slave vessels—by no means, as he apprehends, a complete one,—which have landed their cargoes of human beings, within points on the Brazilian coast not very distant from Rio de Janeiro, and only recently,—that is to say, since the 1st of November of last year, a space of five months. In some of its items, the return may possibly prove inaccurate; and if it is so, the government possesses the means of verifying to what extent.

From the date of November 1, 1842, there have arrived at Ilha Grande three vessels; at Dois Rios, one; at St. Sebastian's, five; in the vicinity of Santos, seven; at Cape Frio, four; Rio das Ostras, near Barra de S. Joao, three; Macahé, eight; Manquinhas, near Campos, eight; being—

To the southward	16
To the northward	23

Together	39
--------------------	----

vessels; which number, allowing to each an average of three hundred negroes—a very low rate—would have conveyed a total of 11,700; a more probable average being at least a moiety more, or 450 each vessel, giving a cipher of 17,550 negroes.

Now if this return be correct, as in the main the undersigned believes it to be, the statement advanced in the Imperial Senate, in a contrary sense, is clearly erroneous; and all the corollaries deduced therefrom by the distinguished senator in question, of necessity must fall to the ground.

With regard to the names of leading individuals engaged in the odious commerce, the subjoined list may in part supply the desired information. It is sufficiently numerous, perhaps, to satisfy the illustrious senator; if not, other names can be given.

The Commandator, José Bernardino de Sá.—Sír. Antonio José Moreiro Pinto.—Sír. Manoel Pinto da Fonseca.—George José de Souza.—José Antonio dos Santos Xavier.—Franco e Moreira.—Barboza and Castro.—Rocha Pacheco.—Antonio Ferreira do Amorim.—Amaral & Bustos.—Barboza & Guimaraes.—Francisco Fernandez Guimaraes.—Clerk of José Antonio Ferreira.—Sír. Vergueiro & Brothers, &c., &c.

With further reference, however, to this traffic, and in order to exhibit the regular and systematic way in which it is pursued in various parts of the empire, the undersigned would invite the attention of Sr. Carneiro Leao to the subjoined particulars.

In the neighbourhood of Pernambuco and Bahia are establishments where newly-imported Africans are received and taught the language of the country, before they are sent hither by coasting vessels for sale, or, as the *Jornal do Commercio* expresses it, *para entregar*. On one occasion, lately, so many as eighty-four of these *Boaçes* were conveyed hither in one vessel.

At Macahé, also, are establishments belonging to Francisco Domingos d'Arango Vianna, and others, for the purpose of shipping merchandise in vessels bound to the coast, which vessels, with a view to avoid detection and capture, leave Rio de Janeiro in ballast; and of equipping such vessels in all other respects for their illegal pursuits, as well as for the landing and receiving of the negroes on the return voyage, the proprietors of these establishments acting as agents of the slave-dealers in Rio de Janeiro.

Sr. Vergueiro and Brothers, likewise, with a view to facilitate and augment the traffic, have recently formed other establishments to the southward of Santos, viz., at Taipui, near Queimada, and Guarachu, ten or fifteen miles distant from Conceição.

At Santos, and in the vicinity, the trade is greatly on the increase. There, and at St. Paul's, new negroes are driven publicly through the streets, and sold with as little ceremony as when the traffic was legal.

Among other instances which might be quoted as to the activity prevailing there, the slave-dealers recently fitted out a vessel called the *Julia*, ostensibly for a voyage to Montevideo, with a cargo of mules, such cargo supplying a pretext for laying in a greater quantity of water than would otherwise be legal. When the *Julia* sailed, however, she had on board boilers, manacles, and other slave equipments. An American vessel, lately purchased there by these dealers, name unknown, was preparing to assume the Brazilian or Portuguese flag—if not indeed both—with a view to a trading voyage to the African slave marts, having already on board the necessary equipment. A vessel, too, called the *Cæsar* was in a very forward state of preparation for a similar expedition; and on many of the traders the Custom-house fails to exact the usual anchorage and other port dues.

At Perrequé the local authorities do not hesitate to declare openly and unreservedly their determination to encourage and defend the contraband commerce.

Divers other indefensible occurrences, also, extracted, in like manner, from reports addressed to her Majesty's Legation, might here be enumerated, showing how deeply even many of the subordinate authorities of this capital and the municipality are implicated in these unlawful practices. But the undersigned is reluctant to place on record cases of such serious and painful import. The details already furnished appear more than adequate to the object the undersigned proposed to himself; and in bringing them thus collectively to the knowledge and under the consideration of Sr. Carneiro Leao, (as it will be his duty to do by his own government,) he is persuaded all comment must be superfluous. The intelligent mind of his Excellency will not fail, of itself, to perceive immediately the important results to which they may give rise. The undersigned limits himself to one observation alone, that her Majesty's government are determined to see all the provisions of the treaties entered into for the abolition of slave traffic honestly and fairly carried out.

The undersigned, &c.,
(Signed) HAMILTON HAMILTON.

The following is an extract of a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to Mr. Hamilton, in relation to this manifest violation of its obligations by the Brazilian Government:—

With every allowance which Her Majesty's Government can make for prejudice, for mistaken feeling, for jealousy, and for weakness, such gross violations of the existing engagements between Great Britain and Brazil cannot be passed over by Her Majesty's Government without notice, nor suffered to remain without remedy.

Remonstrance upon remonstrance has been made, and not only has there been no diminution of the just cause for complaint, but the evil complained of continually increases. And that this cannot be entirely owing to weakness on the part of the Government is evident, since, when in 1840 and 1841, the administration for a time showed an intention to fulfil the obligations of the treaty, the importations immediately and steadily decreased; whilst now, that a contrary disposition has unfortunately been evinced, the unforeseen absence of the British cruisers from the Brazilian coast has, in the space of a few weeks, been followed by an increased activity in the trade, so immediate and so decided, as to show too plainly that the speculators in the condemned traffic have no fears of interruption on the part of the officers of the Imperial Government.

Nor can the British Government forget how frequently, since the Convention of 1826 was concluded, they have endeavoured to induce the Government of Brazil to render more complete and effective the provisions of the existing compacts between the two countries, by adapting to the altered state of things under which the entire abolition of the slave-trade has been declared by treaty, the several stipulations which had been framed when the object was only to suppress a portion of that trade, or to subject it to fixed regulations.

Conventions have been drawn up, framed upon memoranda put forward by the Brazilian Government itself; but when proposed for formal acceptance on negotiation, they have been at once rejected.

This was the case with the convention proposed by Viscount Palmerston's directions in the month of August, 1840.

Articles adapted to make the existing stipulations more stringent have not only been negotiated, but signed; and the ratifications of these, after a lapse of eight years, remain unexchanged.

Other propositions for rendering effectual the intentions of the parties to the convention of 1826 were proposed under my direction by you to Sr. Aureliano, and the discussion of them was peremptorily refused by the Government of Brazil.

The time is therefore arrived when it becomes Her Majesty's Government to declare distinctly to the Brazilian Government, that they do not intend that the obligations contracted by the convention of 1826 shall fail, for want of the co-operation so continually and vainly asked by this Government from the Government of Brazil.

And if that Government still decline to enter with Great Britain into formal arrangements, calculated to give full effect to the declared intentions of the parties to the conventions of 1826, for the total and final abolition of the slave-trade, it will remain for Her Majesty to take alone, and by her own means, the steps which she may feel called upon to adopt, for carrying into full and complete effect the humane object of the obligation imposed upon Her Majesty by the first article of the convention of the 23rd November, 1826, between Great Britain and Brazil.

You will embody this despatch in an official note to the Brazilian Minister.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ABERDEEN.

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 2, 1844.

WE inserted in our last an important despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to the British minister at Madrid, directing that functionary to remonstrate with the Spanish government on its notorious disregard of the stipulations entered into with Great Britain in relation to the slave-trade. In the present number we exhibit, in two communications from Mr. Hamilton, our minister at Rio de Janeiro, accumulated proofs of the extent to which the slave-trade is carried on in the empire of Brazil, together with an extract of a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, in the same tone with that addressed to the British minister at Madrid.

THE papers received by the last mail from the West Indies brought accounts of the holding of several anti-slavery meetings, on a day very fitly chosen, the first of August. One was held at Port of Spain, Trinidad, at which, as appears by an account which we have inserted elsewhere, the planters succeeded in causing distraction. The meeting of the auxiliary in British Guiana was held at George-town, Demerara, and an able and interesting report was read, from which we have given some extracts (taken from the *Congregational Record*) in another column. The resolutions passed at this meeting we insert below:—

" 1. That in adopting the report now read, this meeting concurs in the expression of gratitude for the solicitude with which the Parent Society in London watches the interests of the emancipated colonies, especially evidenced by their prompt attention to the resolutions of April 29th, relative to the Half-Million Loan; rejoices in the Society's firm adherence to their original constitution, and their consistent opposition to the introduction of slave-grown sugar to the British market; and engages to furnish grateful pecuniary aid to the Parent Society in its persevering endeavours for the abolition of slavery throughout the earth.

" 2. That this meeting concurs in the view, that every encouragement should be secured to the consumption of free-grown produce of foreign nations, consistent with a due regard to the special interests of our own dependencies. Yet, alive to the practical difficulties of the question, in reference to free productions in slave countries—the abuse to which the admission is liable, especially on the part of unprincipled slave-masters—and the several ways in which the best arranged fiscal stipulations may be evaded—this meeting urges and implores the exercise of the utmost caution on the part of the friends of liberty, in relation to any measures to which they may be required to give countenance for this end.

" 3. That this meeting deeply deplores the infatuation by which men, whom they had been accustomed to regard as the friends of the oppressed, have recently become the advocates of the foreign slave masters, as well as of the reckless abandonment of the recently emancipated colonies, by making the cheapness of the unrequited toil of the slave a plea for the consumption of slave sugar in Great Britain; by means of which, if it succeed, the hands of the abolitionists will be weakened—the abolition cause impeded—renewed vigour infused into the abominable traffic in slaves—and the noble act of British emancipation stultified before the world."

By a private letter we have received accounts of a similar meeting held in Jamaica, at Fuller's Field, when a collection was made towards the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, amounting to three pounds ten shillings. The resolutions passed at this meeting were as follow:—

" 1. That this meeting returns sincere thanks to Almighty God for his goodness in sparing them to the sixth anniversary of freedom, and determined to do all in its power to promote the welfare of this island—the emancipation of those of their fellow-creatures still in slavery—and the salvation of the whole human family.

" 2. That this meeting has heard with the deepest regret that some of their friends in England advocate the introduction of slave-grown sugar into Great Britain; and feeling that such a step will inflict great injury on this and other free countries, and that it will tend to increase the miseries of their brethren in bondage, as well as promote the slave-trade, they earnestly entreat their friends in the mother country to resist by every lawful means such an injurious and wicked course.

" 3. Believing that, by a reduction of the enormous amount of taxation now levied on the inhabitants of this island, which is made to bear especially on the poor in the shape of duties on those articles principally consumed by them; and particularly by leaving religion to be entirely supported, as it ever ought to be, by the voluntary principle, and the abandonment of the immigration scheme, by which so much of the public money has been wasted of late,—this country would be able to supply England with sugar as cheap and good as any free country in the world; this meeting, therefore, resolves to petition the House of Assembly, at its coming session, for this purpose, and would call on every taxpayer to sign such petition, and would further urge on those who possess the elective franchise to use that privilege as becomes freemen, patriot, and Christians."

We are truly happy to find these tokens of surviving vigour in the Anti-Slavery Societies in the British West Indies, and we trust that the example which has been thus set will be extensively followed. No persons are more loudly called upon to aid the destruction of slavery throughout the world than those who have so lately escaped from its miseries, and begin to share so largely the blessings of freedom.

THE American mail which arrived on Monday, has brought intelligence of much interest to the anti-slavery cause, relating especially to the struggle which the South is making to crush abolitionists by legal proceedings and imprisonment. The prosecution of three young men, students of the Mission Institute at Theopolis, Illinois, and

their condemnation to twelve years' confinement in the penitentiary, for aiding slaves to escape, will be fresh in the recollection of our readers, and they will read with interest a letter respecting them which we have received from a correspondent. The arrest of the Rev. Charles Torrey is more recent, and the proceedings to which it has given rise are exciting a deep sensation in all parts of the Union. The case has by this time been heard before Chief Justice Taney, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, to try the constitutional question of right, and some of the ablest counsel in the States are employed on his behalf. In the meantime he has issued a noble and stirring address from his prison to the State of Maryland, which will be read with great interest on both sides of the Atlantic. We have transferred it entire to our columns, and warmly commend it to perusal. To the cases of the three students and Mr. Torrey is now to be added a third, that of Jonathan Walker, of whose seizure at sea, and imprisonment at Pensacola, in Louisiana, on the same charge of aiding slaves to escape, we have given an account in another column. These multiplying instances shew the ferment into which the admirers of the "peculiar institution" of the South have been thrown, and into which they are rapidly throwing the whole length and breadth of the Union. Many hopes are entertained, and most fervently do we share in them, that the numerous and important legal questions which arise out of the cases of Torrey and Walker, will be decided in favour of humanity and freedom.

We have received with great pleasure the first number of the second volume of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Too long suspended by want of pecuniary means, the renewed publication of this interesting and important journal has at length been resolved upon by the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and we trust the effort will be fully sustained. We rejoice to know, however, that, during the suspension of the *Reporter*, the anti-slavery cause has been constantly and powerfully advocated in the United States by various journals of extensive circulation and influence.

It has all along been known that the ruling party in the French Colonies has shown an obstinate resistance to all measures having the remotest bearing on the ultimate liberation of the slaves. The *French Abolitionist* for August, however, brings to light an instance of the audacity and pertinacity of these wilful gentry which surpasses, we think, everything of the kind before heard of. We have given the article at length elsewhere, and commend it to careful perusal. The French government cannot consent to be beaten in this manner by the colonial council of Bourbon, without a loss of character and moral power which must altogether disqualify it for the great conflict with these infatuated dependencies which it has declared its purpose to undertake.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT—*Thursday, September 19th.*

[Before Mr. Justice WIGHTMAN and Mr. Justice CRESSWELL.]

Thomas Jennings, the captain of the *Augusta*, for the fitting out of which for purposes of slave-trading M. de Zulueta was tried and acquitted some months since, was placed at the bar, charged with navigating, manning, fitting out, commanding, &c., the vessel, for the purpose of trading in slaves.

Mr. Payne and Mr. Lush appeared for the prosecution. Mr. Hill, Q.C., Mr. Prendergast, and Mr. V. Williams, were counsel for the prisoner.

The prisoner pleaded *autrefois acquit*.

A short narrative may be necessary to explain the nature of the proceeding.

The ship *Augusta* was a notorious slaver. She had been engaged on the coast of Africa for a long time, and sailed under Russian colours and a Russian name. She was taken and condemned as a Russian slaver, and sold. Subsequently, she was again reported as having been seen under Spanish or Portuguese colours off the same coast, and after some trouble she was again captured, condemned, and sold. She was then purchased in London, and sent round to Liverpool, where her slave-decks, water-tanks, and other slave fittings, were taken out, and she was thoroughly repaired and English rigged. She was then named the *Augusta*, and having been laden with silk goods, Manchester cottons, and other articles suited to the African trade, she was despatched to the African coast, the Gallenias being her destination. Captain Hill, who had captured and condemned her previously, fell in with her, and recognized her again, and having examined, he seized her, alleging that the goods on board were for the purpose of exchanging for slaves at the barracoons. He carried her to Sierra Leone, where the captain (Jennings) was tried for felony, in having commanded a vessel engaged in the slave-trade. There were two counts in the indictment. The prisoner was acquitted. At the time that M. de Zulueta was charged with felony, in having fitted out, &c., the vessel, Captain Jennings was arrested and indicted for navigating, manning, and commanding her. His trial was postponed for the purpose of obtaining from Sierra Leone the record of the mixed commission court, and the record having arrived during the last session of this court, the trial was again postponed, in order to give the counsel an opportunity of considering it.

Mr. Payne now rose for the purpose of arguing a demurrer on the part of the Crown, to the plea put in by the prisoner. He contended that the acquittal at Sierra Leone could not be pleaded in bar of the present prosecution. The material question for the court was, whether the defendant had been formerly tried upon the same identical charge now made against him, and he was prepared to contend that the charges were of a totally different character, and that the plea of *autrefois acquit* could not be sustained. The learned counsel proceeded to state, that it appeared by the record of the proceedings that the defendant was tried under a

commission at Sierra Leone, and that the offence of which he was accused was the taking charge of a vessel, well knowing that it was to be employed in dealing for slaves; and in the second count he was charged with putting goods and merchandize on board the vessel, with the same object. The charge contained in the present indictment was, that the defendant with two other persons, named Beanardas and Zulueta, had unlawfully manned and equipped a vessel at London for the purpose of dealing in slaves. He submitted that these were distinct offences, and he cited a case in which Lord Tenterden had decided that the plea of *autrefois acquit* could not be supported unless the defendant showed clearly that the offence with which he was charged was the precise offence in every particular of which he had been before acquitted. The learned counsel next proceeded to make some remarks relative to the venue and the jurisdiction of the court, and concluded by observing, that the natural questions were, whether the prisoner was put in any jeopardy by the form in which the indictment had been preferred at Sierra Leone against him? and, secondly, whether the present charge was entirely identical in all material particulars with the former one?

Mr. Justice Wightman observed, that the distinction appeared to be, that at Sierra Leone the prisoner was charged with having commanded and navigated a vessel intended to be employed in the slave-trade; and the present charge was, that he manned and equipped the vessel, and put goods on board her, with the same object.

Mr. Payne said this was so, and he apprehended there was a great distinction to be made between the two charges.

Mr. Lush followed Mr. Payne in support of the demurrer.

Mr. Hill next addressed the court in support of the plea, and after some general observations with reference to the law and the nature of the charge as it had been framed in Sierra Leone and in this country, he said, that although there might be some variation in the details of the charge now brought against the defendant and the former indictment, yet there could not be the slightest doubt that, substantially, both charges were the same, were connected with the same vessel, the *Augusta*, and arose out of the same state of facts; and he urged that, even if any slight doubt should arise upon the point, it would be a greater assertion of the dignity of the law, and avoid the cruelty of trying a man twice for the same offence, than to put him in that jeopardy upon a mere trifling variation in the form of the indictment, which, he contended, was all that had been done in the present case. If the present proceeding were successful, then it would go a great way to create an opinion that a colonial acquittal was of no avail; and as it was one of the great principles of the English law that no man should be vexed by being tried twice for the same offence, he trusted the court would give effect to the plea put upon the record, and quash the present indictment. With regard to the present indictment itself, he (Mr. Hill) would contend that it was untenable on the four last counts, from duplicity; the allegations being that he, the prisoner, manned, equipped, fitted out, loaded, commanded, and navigated the vessel for the purpose of the slave-trade. Every one of those allegations constituted a separate felony. The learned counsel argued the point at considerable length.

Mr. Prendergast and Mr. V. Williams followed on the same side.

Mr. Payne replied, observing that he felt fully the force of the objections to the indictment made by his learned friend; but as it was not then the time to argue in support of the present indictment, he should confine his remarks to the plea and the demurrer.

On the conclusion of the learned counsel's argument,

Their lordships announced their intention to consider their judgment. They would deliver it to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

Mr. Justice Wightman, addressing Mr. Hill, said that after a consideration, so far as time permitted, of the various points at issue regarding the validity of the plea of *autrefois acquit* put in by the prisoner, they were of opinion that although there were several of them which admitted of no doubt whatever, there were one or two questions of grave consideration and great public importance upon which they could not think of delivering judgment without mature deliberation. The case, therefore, should stand over until the next session.

Mr. Hill complained greatly of the hardship to which his client would be subjected by any further postponement.

Mr. Payne, on behalf of the prosecution, could not admit of the gravity of the hardships upon the prisoner. He might stand out on the same bail as he had given before.

Mr. Justice Wightman did not understand what Mr. Hill required. What was the nature of his application?

Mr. Hill objected to the further postponement of the case. His client would be subjected to great hardship by being detained under this already too long protracted charge.

Mr. Justice Wightman: How can it be avoided? We cannot give our opinion on the points raised before the next session. You have not only argued the similarity of the charges under the two indictments, but you have also raised objections to the validity of the present indictment. We must take time to consider such grave and important matters. Your client can in the meantime stand out on bail.

Mr. Payne regretted that his learned friend should have made any observations upon the hardships which his client should undergo in waiting upon the investigation of this important case. It provoked a comment upon the awful hardships to which men, women, and children were subjected by the carrying on of the horrible traffic which it was the object of this prosecution to put down.

Mr. Hill persisted in objecting to the great hardships which his client would be subjected to by the postponement.

Mr. Justice Wightman: What is your motion, Mr. Hill? What do you propose?

Mr. Hill: That my client be allowed to stand out on bail, my lord.

Mr. Justice Wightman: Why, that has been offered to you by the learned counsel for the prosecution. I understood Mr. Payne to offer it; and the court has no objection.

Mr. Payne: Certainly. We have no objection to the prisoner standing out on the same bail as formerly.

Mr. Hill (to the court): Then, do I understand that to be your lordship's judgment?

Mr. Justice Wightman: Certainly not. The court delivers no judgment in the matter. The counsel for the prosecution offers to let your client stand out on bail, and we have no objection. I cannot see what more you want.

The subject was then allowed to drop.

UNITED STATES.

THE THREE PRISONERS—WORK, BURR, and THOMPSON.

HAVING received from a correspondent at Theopolis the following interesting narrative, we present it to our readers:—

In accordance with a previous arrangement, they set out, on the 11th July, 1841, to assist a few slaves in crossing the Mississippi, about three miles below Quincy. They were betrayed by one of the slaves, and consequently taken by the Missourians. After much abuse they were thrust into a gloomy jail, chained with a heavy iron chain, kept on the most miserable fare, denied the privilege of intercourse with friends, and even of the occasional visitation of ministers of the gospel from this state; and, at the expiration of fourteen weeks, subjected to a mock trial, and condemned, on the charge of Grand Larceny, to twelve long, long years imprisonment in the penitentiary! Thus are they cut off from the society of dear friends, their plans of usefulness for life frustrated, and they numbered with transgressors. And why? Because they remembered those in bonds as bound with them, and, in their zeal for their neighbour's welfare, forgot their own.

Mr. Work was an industrious mechanic, a peaceable and upright man, and a consistent Christian. He has a family, wife and four children, residing in this place, who were dependent on his labour for support.

The two young men, Burr and Thompson, were members of our institution, zealous in doing good, and pursuing a course of study preparatory to the gospel ministry. Thompson especially has talents of a high order, and gave promise of eminent usefulness. Ardently devoted to the Saviour's cause, ever ready to reprove sin, and to engage in doing good, he was greatly beloved by those acquainted with him. The Lord has been with them in the prison, and blessed the instructions they have been permitted to give their fellow-prisoners to the salvation, it is hoped, of many. There is much sympathy for these brethren in different portions of the northern states. It may be the force of public sentiment will effect their deliverance in the course of a few years. While those brethren were in jail, awaiting their trial, they had opportunity to converse with several coloured people who came early in the evening, and spoke with them through their iron-grated window. Such they instructed in regard to the plans and operations of abolitionists, and told them the way to Canada. In consequence of this, more than a hundred slaves in Missouri have escaped to the dominions of Queen Victoria; and it is said that most of the slaves in Missouri now know the way to Canada.

It was not long after the slaves began to escape that our institution (the Mission Institution at Theopolis, Illinois,) was accused by the Missourians as engaged in stealing, secreting, and running off their "niggers." They accordingly issued their anathemas against us, and threatened to burn all our houses, and destroy the institution. At length they succeeded in burning our chapel, and a small portion of our library. The damage was estimated at 1200 to 1400 dollars. We have since erected a brick chapel, much better than the former, and also added to our library a greater number of volumes than were destroyed. We have no fears of further interruption on the part of the Missourians. So many are now the advocates of freedom in this part of Illinois, that the enemy will not dare to commit such depredations in time to come.

ANOTHER VICTIM AT THE SOUTH—ARREST OF JONATHAN WALKER.

We take the following narrative from our file of the *Liberator*:—

"Mr. Walker is a native of Massachusetts, and has a family in Harwich. He went to Mobile last fall, passenger in a schooner from Chatham, to work at his trade, being a shipwright, and took a boat with him to use if he should want it, or to sell. He did not succeed in selling his boat; and on the 2nd of June, left in her for Pensacola, with an intention of raising a sunken wreck in Pensacola Bay; but the owner and Walker could not agree as to terms. Not finding a sale for his boat, after being there several days, he made an arrangement with some men to take them to New Providence, providing they would risk themselves in an open boat. They made up their minds to go, and on the night of the 22nd, they came on board, (seven in number,) and went to sea. The first five or six days, they had constant head winds, and squally, blustering weather. They followed the coast round towards Cape Florida, generally keeping in with the land, and went on shore several times to get water and cook some victuals; but as they drew nearer towards the Cape, were prevented landing by the abundance of mosquitoes. When within forty or fifty miles of the Cape, where they intended to stop for water, &c., they discovered at daylight on the morning of the 9th of July, a sloop close by, standing for them, and in a short time she was alongside the boat. The captain inquired where from and where bound to? and was answered, from St. Joseph's, bound to Cape Florida. [They went to St. Joseph's after leaving Pensacola, intending to stop at the Cape for water.] The sloop sailed much faster than the boat, and took them in tow, saying she was bound the same way. At the same time they managed to get four of the passengers on board the sloop, and by some means found out they were fugitive slaves. The sloop was then put about, and ran to the westward a few miles, and came to anchor in company with two other sloops. They were all wrecking vessels, belonging to Key West. The sloop *Eliza Catherine*, Captain Roberts, (for this was the vessel that had taken the boat in tow,) remained there during the day, and at night got under way, and ran for Key West, where she arrived next day. Walker was taken before a magistrate, and required to give bail in 1,000 dollars. Not being able to do it, he was taken to jail. The passengers were put on board the sloop *Reform*, and sent to Pensacola.

"Here I will remark, that Walker was somewhat unwell two days before leaving Pensacola, and continued to grow worse for six or seven days after, so that he twice despaired of life, but his disease abated a little. But when taken by the sloop, and carried to Key West, he was so weak that

it took two men to support him from the wharf to the jail, which was but a short distance. He was kept in jail four days, and then put on board the steam boat *General Taylor*, (in the government service, doing nothing.) Here Walker received the most inhuman treatment. He was put down the hold, and had to lie among filth and rubbish, both hands and feet being in irons; and when the boat was under way, he was nearly suffocated with the steam. He was on board seven days, during which time she went to Pensacola. There he was taken from the steam-boat, and carried eight miles in a small boat, and rain-storm, to the city. On landing, he was met by a large concourse of men and boys. The street leading to the court-house was also thronged. Some threats and black-guardism were dealt out, but no violence used. He was taken to the court-house; court then being in session, his trunk and bundle were examined. Not finding anything in them as evidence, he was required to give bail in ten thousand dollars; and not being able to do it, was taken to jail, put in a room by himself, and a large chain, twelve or fourteen feet long, attached to his ankle by a shackle weighing five or six lbs., where he now remains.

"The court will sit the first Monday in November, when he will have his trial, if nothing previous takes place to prevent it. Although in a strange jail, the judge did not think it safe, without placing a guard over him, night and day, to prevent the violence of a mob!

"Walker lived in Pensacola from the year 1837 to 1842, and sustained a good character, (which, I hope, will be of service to him on his trial.) He was generally known to be anti-slavery. The punishments prescribed by the laws of the territory are, I am informed, fine, imprisonment, branding, and putting in the pillory! Mr. Walker is not allowed private correspondence."

In a letter to his "wife and children," which appears in the *Boston Morning Chronicle*, (the whole of which we would insert if we had room,) Mr. Walker uses the following touching language:—

"Jane! what is to become of you and the children? I have lost nearly what little I had in the fracas, and I am confident that you are needy at this time. You had better send and get the proceeds of that iron and spars which I sent to Fall River, and do as well as you can. Write me as soon as you get this, that I may know how it is.

"The Lord Jesus has been abundantly good to me through all my afflictions thus far, and I feel and trust that his Spirit will accompany me through—for I cannot let him go. Should I be taken away to-day, I feel that all will be well beyond the grave. My confidence is strong in Him, for he has purchased redemption by his blood for such vile sinners as me.

"Dear wife and children, trust to Jesus for help. If you do in earnest, he will prove your best friend here and hereafter. Get your information from the New Testament, and do not trust in flesh.

"O my dear old parents, don't worry about me, for I am in good spirits, and shall weather the storm.

(Signed) "JONA. WALKER."

TRINIDAD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Trinidad Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society convened a public meeting in Greyfriars Church, Port of Spain, on the evening of the 1st of August to celebrate the anniversary of freedom. The meeting was numerous and noisy beyond precedent. The *plantocracy* mustered in great strength, and gave plain indications that the spirit of past times possesses them still. The Rev. Mr. Kennedy was called to the chair. Mr. Anderson, the secretary read the report, the adoption of which was moved by Mr. Scotland, and seconded by Mr. Clunes. The Rev. Mr. Cowen moved, and Mr. Fitzwilliam supported the second resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting regrets that the British Government should have reduced the duty on foreign sugars without making a proportional reduction on sugars produced in her own colonies, the more especially as there is every reason to fear that slave-grown sugars will find their way into the British market by a circuitous route."

This resolution was unanimously approved of.

Mr. Hinde proposed the third resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting deprecates the proposed immigration loan of 200,000*l.*, on the credit of the colony, for the following reasons:—1st. The financial condition and prospects of the colony do not warrant such a step. 2nd. The measure is characterised by infatuation, to say the least of it, as the price of labour has been or is being reduced two-fifths, thus destroying the only argument that can be successfully employed to induce labourers to emigrate to this island. 3rd. It will be compelling the labourers already in the colony to pay for a further reduction of wages. 4th. Immigration to the extent contemplated and in the time specified would be productive of a fearful amount of physical and moral evil, as no arrangements are likely (from past experience) to be made for their accommodation and protection."

During Mr. Hinde's address great uproar was created by those desirous of a forced and redundant immigration; and to such a number had they and their lackeys assembled on the occasion, that when the resolution was put to the vote they claimed a majority for its rejection. From the density of the crowd and the ungovernable excitement that prevailed, it was impossible to decide with any degree of accuracy how the vote stood. Order being restored, Mr. Anderson proposed the fourth resolution, viz.:

"That this meeting condemns the shutting up of Crown lands from the vast majority of the people.* Forcing immigration under the present restrictions regarding Crown lands will result in the certain and increasing poverty of the people, owing to the limited extent of private property in the island."

The home truths taught in this resolution were exceedingly unpalatable to many present. When the vote was taken—approve or disapprove, it did appear that the disapprovals constituted the majority. The committee regret that, in this case, selfishness triumphed over truth and justice; but, as the meeting had the appearance of being packed by the enemies of freedom, the result was not unexpected or wonderful. They have the happiness of knowing that liberal principles are making rapid strides in this beautiful, fertile, and important colony.—*From a Correspondent.*

* Not less than 320 acres can be purchased. This law amounts (as intended) to an actual prohibition as regards the middle classes.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN BRITISH GUIANA.

The Auxiliary in this colony to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held its Annual Meeting on the 1st of August, at George-Town, Demerara. From the Report presented on that occasion we give the following extracts:—

The past has been an eventful year; wearing, in some respects, a sombre aspect, as relates to the general abolition cause. This observation embraces not only the shameful attempts of the American Government to incorporate Texas with the Union, for the purpose of affording facilities to their domestic trafficking in slaves; the open inhumanity and disgusting licentiousness of the Southern States, as developed in the condemnation of John L. Brown, and the subsequent exposure of that individual by the judge who condemned him; the fearful violence with which the slave-trade from Africa is still carried on, as evinced by the captures which have been reported; and other occurrences of a distressing character in the free republic of Hayti, and in that island of appalling and cruel bondage, the island of Cuba;—but also the more remarkable advocacy of the cause of the man-stealer and the slave-master of Cuba and Brazil, on the part of some of our former anti-slavery friends; and though last, not least, (because more immediately affecting our own condition as an emancipated people,) the disgraceful attempt of our colonial legislature to burden the whole community with a half-million loan, for the purpose of inundating the country with immigrants, after the manner of the infatuated Mauritius.

These latter, as appearing to threaten disastrous consequences, immediate and remote, have called forth the active exertions of your Committee, if possible, to avert them.

Surprised by the approving announcement in the government *Gazette*, of the Combined Court's having introduced (without previous notice) the two notorious measures of the Civil List Prolongation Bill, and the Half-Million Loan Bill; and especially by the *Guiana Times* of the following day chronicling, without remark, the astounding fact of the twin bills having been read the second and third time, and passed; we were irresistibly aroused into action, being convinced that unless something were immediately done to counteract this precipitate legislation, our liberties, civil and sacred, would be demolished at a stroke, and the whole community delivered over to the tender mercies of the avaricious, and to the cruelties of civil and ecclesiastical despotism; rendered unendurable by the oppressive and persecuting power of legislative enactments.

The stillness of the unofficial paper (which, we supposed, would have been indignant, had it not approved of the measures) increased our alarm. This combination of circumstances led to the prompt issue of the *Congregational Record and Christian Philanthropist*—the immediate object of which was to call the special attention of our friends in England to the critical state of affairs; and further to direct public attention to the principles of New Testament liberty, as contrasted with national church establishments, which, in the judgment of Congregational Dissenters, lie at the base of all the ills that afflict the community.

The Committee was summoned to meet, to consider the matter. The result was, that certain resolutions were forwarded to the noble Secretary of State for the Colonies, through his Excellency the Governor; and copies to the Parent Society in London, with an earnest request that they would seek an interview with Lord Stanley on the subject. This they sought with a promptitude which has our thankful acknowledgment, by a memorial which deserves a grateful record, and with an efficiency which cannot be mistaken: insomuch, that the Colonial Minister has, in his place in Parliament, denounced the indecent haste with which the measures were carried through the Court; asserted that he cannot approve of them at present; and waits the expression of public opinion in Guiana, before giving any decision, in answer to the inquiries which have been twice put to his Lordship in the Imperial Legislature.

The reply of Lord Stanley to the Committee in London—"that there was no necessity to trouble them with an interview, as he had received the documents from Governor Light, to which he would give his best attention"—induces the belief that, while the evidence of clandestine injustice, which was sought to be perpetrated here, was undeniable; yet, annoyance was felt by his Lordship, possibly occasioned by his Lordship's acquaintance with Governor Light's accompanying despatches, the tenor of which may be sufficiently gathered from the reply of his Excellency to the Secretary of your Auxiliary on forwarding the Resolutions of the 29th of April.

These circumstances, combined with the prevailing feeling that the bills were so barefaced that no government would allow them; that therefore it would be unnecessary to petition; and the wiser policy of the aristocracy in getting up petitions numerously signed in favour of the bills,—induces strong fears in the minds of your Committee as to the result. The importance attached to petitioning by Lord Stanley, shows the folly of practical indifference, and the ease with which the active few might for ever destroy the liberties of the too-confiding multitude.

Three redeeming facts inspire a contrary hope. First—the evident sense that the bills were clandestinely introduced and passed. Second—that at least three petitions or memorials, signed in behalf of many thousands of the labouring population, have, ere this, reached his Lordship. And third—the general exposure of the atrocity of the whole transaction, against which your committee have taken so prominent a part.

Another question of moment has also engaged the attention of your committee.

The sugar question, as at present agitated, involves important interests, the extent of which cannot, as yet, perhaps, be fully perceived. Your committee have meddled with it only in two respects, namely:—The inconsistent advocacy of the principles of slavery, which it has involved, on the part of professed abolitionists; and the imminent peril to which it exposed the Parent Society to give countenance to a free trade in slave produce:—and the consequent abandonment of the original constitution of the Society, which also they had been moved to consider.

The first of these we at once lament and abhor, as distinctly and unequivocally as they (the advocates for slave sugar) themselves once professed to abhor the practice of the men whose abominations they now encourage and uphold.

The second, your committee are glad to report, has been successfully opposed by a large majority of the *bona fide* members of the Society.

There is one point, however, in which we respectfully differ from the Parent Society; not in an abstract principle, but in the indiscriminating application of it. The principle is good, that all free-grown produce of foreign nations should be encouraged, as an inducement to abandon compulsory labour. But, we respectfully submit that the free of foreign nations will acknowledge that to be wisdom and justice which protects from wanton injury those interests which might be affected by an unlimited introduction of their commodities. Perfection itself does not require that we should love our neighbour *better* than ourselves; which would be the case if the productions of others were admitted to the unlimited injury of our own. It would be practical inequality, which even those affect to repudiate who plead for free-trade in slave sugar.

That is not free which oppresses another. It is libertinism, rather than freedom. That is not free trade which compels a neighbour to work without wages—which offers, in barter, that which is stolen. That is not worthy the name of *free* trade which purchases ill-gotten commodities on the score of getting them cheaper, by reason of their unjust possessors having obtained them by dishonesty. It is a sort of freedom that benefits one person or community, by injuring and distressing another. Now, if such would result from the admission of the free sugar of other countries on equal terms with the produce of our own free colonies, can that be fair, however freely it may be done?

Give that measure of liberty to free trade that will benefit a neighbour, a stranger, a foreigner, without destroying ourselves in granting it; and we shall be in a capacity to do many another generous act, and be blessed in doing it. But, disable ourselves by prodigality in our favours, and we shall not barely deserve no thanks for our pains—but, with merited rebuke for want of wise "fiscal" limitations, we are rendered incapable of either relieving others, or of obtaining relief ourselves.

That part of the question which apprehends the advantage which traffickers in slaves will take, by contrivance and by stratagem, to introduce slave sugar for free, when a fair advantage is given to free-grown produce, your committee considers unworthy to be entertained by a noble-minded philanthropy, beyond the exercise of that due precaution with which wise measures are usually accompanied for the prevention of abuse. After you have spent your revenue on police and magistrates, the propensity and cunning of the thief will often prove more than a match for you. You will not, therefore, retrench the liberties of the upright citizen, but rather exercise the greater vigilance, and combine the wisdom of experience with the stringency of your laws. But the "law is not made for a righteous man."

In every other respect your committee regard the Parent Society as worthy of your highest confidence and grateful support. Your committee are glad to report the prospect of pecuniary assistance in furtherance of the Society's objects, by means of associations to this Auxiliary, which it will be their duty to encourage in every part of the province.

The Milmount Association, of which Mr. J. Berkley is secretary, has handed to your treasurer their first donation of 26 dollars; and your committee hope that the gratitude of the emancipated will be made manifest in a speedy remittance, to the Parent Society, of a sum worthy of those who enjoy, by the mercy of God, the blessings of freedom. The sum of 80 dollars was remitted about two months since.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Extract of a letter addressed to Joseph Sturge, dated, August 6th, 1844:—"While I think the alteration in the sugar duties will affect the people in some degree, by leading to the withdrawal of capital from the colony, and the giving up of estates, that is no reason why it should not be made ultimately useful. I am persuaded it will tend to their benefit. I do, however, sincerely trust, not for the sake of Jamaica or of the emancipated, but for the sake of the slaves of Africa, that slave-grown sugar will be kept out of the market. Not that I fear competition in the long run, had we but a prudent resident proprietary, and an economical local government; with those improvements which science is making in agriculture, there can be no doubt that we could successfully compete with the slave-holder in the production of sugar; but until these changes take place, they would drive us out of the market."

"As regards the actual cost of the cultivation and the manufacture of sugar, I am more than convinced that the great principle contended for by abolitionists is true, that free-labour is as cheap, or cheaper, than slave-labour: and were it not that we have an absentee proprietary, wasteful management, an enormous load of taxation, and heavy freightage far beyond that of slave colonies, we could supply sugar at as low a rate as any of them. I have a document before me published by the Clarendon Agricultural Society, showing that, on Dembigh estate, 145 hds. 9 qrs. of sugar, weighing 140 tons, 9 cwt., and 3,833 gallons of rum, were made at a cost of 1,338*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*, (inclusive of domestics, building, tradesmen, buying coppers, &c.) being at the rate of 9*6*1** per cwt. for the sugar. On Halse Hall estate, 154 hds., weighing 155 tons, 5 cwt., 3 qrs., and 6,613 gallons of rum, were made; total expenditure, (inclusive of tradesmen, domestics, and poundage,) 1,384*l.* 1*s.*, being 8*10*4** per cwt. for the sugar; leaving the rum, I presume, to meet the expenses of management and taxation. I scarcely think that sugar can be produced at a lower cost than this (less than one penny per pound) in slave colonies."

Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Kingston, May 8th, 1841.—"I pray you to keep our anti-slavery friends alive about Cuban matters. The monsters in that island have really hundreds of black men, British subjects, in slavery. I have by me legal evidence of the fact. There is no difficulty in discovering the locations of the poor men, and it is impossible to hide the fact."

Extract of a letter addressed to Joseph Sturge, dated Kingston, June 22nd, 1844.—"Our friend — goes home by this packet. He will tell you how bad our case is; but the whole is premature. God has seen meet to humble all classes by withholding the usual rains from certain districts. There is a great change in the tone of public sentiment. We are, indeed, in the midst of that purifying revolutionary process that all societies need from time to time. Happily ours has hitherto been bloodless. The old proprietors must either come out, or yield their properties to

purchasers or lessees. Agriculture is improving rapidly, and the rate of expense, of course, proportionally decreasing. Properties that under the old system have been yielding only loss, are applied for by lessees willing to pay tolerable rents. An economical system is thus very rapidly introduced. To support it we need only some better facilities for procuring to such parties the small pecuniary accommodation they need from crop to crop. Were there a few mercantile houses willing to maintain relations with these new hands, it would make a great impression on our prospects. It is *that* support mainly that we need. We have well laid out estates, buildings, machinery, &c., which I feel assured would more than enable us to compete successfully with the poor Siamese or Chinamen. I am truly gratified to observe that yourself and others of the tried friends of freedom have resisted the sophistries by which the friends of free trade would have sought to displace you. We are great free trade people here; but we think that is no free trade which would entertain for a moment the proceeds of a system of open crime carried on in the face of subsisting national treaties, as well as of the principles for which our Government has expended so many millions. Give us a place in a fair field of competition, and we shall not be afraid; but call us not into competition with these slave-traders. The black people here are rousing themselves, and they see that the whites are suffering, and that both must suffer, and that their cause is a common one. We shall be a prosperous people, if we get the aid which our change of circumstances needs, the support of a small and well-directed capital, distributed wisely through the medium of either banking or mercantile houses. I trust the English capitalists will not continue to do as they have been doing, frowning upon all applications for loans or accommodation. What is to become of our estates and sugar manufacturers if they do? Believe me, it is *mainly* well-directed capital that we need, to foster the new system that is growing out of the ruins of the old one."

MARRIED, on the 1st of August, at the parish church of St. Andrew's, Jamaica, David Turnbull, Esq., H.M. Judge of the Court of Mixed Commission, to Alice, daughter of the late John Musson, Esq., of Paynter Vale, Bermuda. The ceremony was performed by the Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, brother-in-law to the bride.

BARBADOS.—THE ELECTIONS.—The Attorney-General and Mr. Prescod have been returned as members of the next House of Assembly for Bridgetown, by an equal number of votes, 184; Mr. Crompton, the unsuccessful candidate, having only 118. The excitement is stated to have been very great.—*Barbados Mercury.*

ST. LUCIA.—The census of this island had been taken and the returns published; number of inhabitants, 21,001—*Jamaica Times.*

TRINIDAD.—By arrivals yesterday from Trinidad, we learn from passengers and private letters that a great many of the immigrants who were enticed to go to that charnel-house under false promises, are in a deplorable state, begging about the streets and wandering about the country, destitute and friendless. Two batches returned here during the week, and many others are expected.—*Guiana Gazette.*

We have learned with much regret that the sounds of discord have been heard, and that the labourers and their employers are disunited in some places; that, in fact, many of the labourers have struck work, and have given indication of a combined resistance to the present proposals of their employers.—*Standard.* [The proposal rejected is to lower wages two-fifths.—*Ed. A. S. Reporter.*]

BRITISH GUIANA.—Extract of a letter to Mr. Scoble, dated New Amsterdam, August 15, 1844:—"I feel confident as to the truth of the following positions: 1st, that immigration from the east is not wanted, will not realise the expectations of its promoters, and will be productive of untold evils; 2ndly, that the people's wages are at present a mere pittance, when the expensiveness of the place through over-taxation is considered; 3rdly, that by more economical management, and a different treatment of the present race of labourers, sugar might here be produced so as to compete even with slave produce."

THE LOAN ORDINANCE.—With regard to our own Loan Bill, the general feeling, we believe, in this colony is, that it is not likely any more than the Civil List Ordinance, enacted at the same time, of being confirmed by her Majesty's Ministers. The occasional expressions, and if we may so term them, hints, thrown out by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, when questioned by Mr. Hawes and others, appear to give some strength to this impression. The disappointment, however, occasioned by his lordship's parliamentary declarations has been much allayed, if not wholly removed, by the semi-official assurance, of which we have lately been made aware, that it is the intention of the ministry to sanction a general loan of a million and a half to the West Indies, for their assistance in the matter of immigration.—*Royal Gazette.*

Foreign Intelligence.

THE UNITED STATES DEALING IN SLAVES.—Our readers will recollect the case of six slaves who took a pilot boat at New Orleans, and endeavoured to make their escape. A United States vessel arrested them. They were carried into St. Augustine, libelled, and sold for salvage, by direction of the U. S. marshal, at 2,300 dollars. We should like to know where a United States officer gets power to sell human beings as property?—*Cincinnati Herald.*

The *St. Augustine Herald* adds—The U. S. revenue schooner, *Vigilant* arrived here on Saturday last from St. Marks, via Key West. The *Vigilant* brings a demand from the governor of Louisiana for the eight negroes who ran away from the *Belize*, and were wrecked on the Tortugas Reef. Six of these negroes were sold on Tuesday last, by the marshal. Considerable interest is excited on the subject. Several novel questions are presented, as to the effect of the demand of the governor of Louisiana, and the probabilities of indemnity to the purchaser. The cause of lawful liberty will lose nothing by this litigation.

The schooner *Franklin*, Captain Simpson, arrived at Philadelphia on Thursday afternoon, from Newbern, N. C., having on board 21 negroes—11 females and 10 males, emancipated by executors, by the will of Joseph Physic, Esq., deceased, of that place.—*Essex Transcript.*

CUBA.—THE CROP.—Accounts from Havana to August 3 state, 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, 171,259 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.—*Colonial Gazette.*

THE REVOLT.—A gentleman recently arrived from Havana states, that he had it from undoubted authority that one thousand slaves have been recently flogged to death in the neighbourhood of Havana, because they would not swear to facts touching the insurrection of which they knew nothing.

The Key West Light of the Reef states that on the 5th inst. two Americans and five negroes were hung in Havana for being implicated in the recent slave revolt.

BRAZIL.—SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated April 18, 1844:—"The slave-trade unhappily continues to be carried on to a dreadful extent, and numerous cargoes of wretched beings are constantly landed at Campos and Macaé. On the 2nd of last month the American schooner *Agnes* arrived at this place from Liverpool, consigned to Manoel Pinto de Fonseca, a notorious slave-dealer here. Her cargo consisted of British manufactured goods adapted for Africa, and she sailed for that quarter two days after her arrival at this port."

THE RUMOURED TREATY WITH ENGLAND.—Letters have been received from Pernambuco, by the *Priscilla*, to the 12th of August, which repeat the rumour received, both from Bahia and Rio, that a new commercial treaty between England and Brazil was about to be concluded, and that the packet (which is now very much behind her time) is detained in order to bring it. Surprising and unexpected as this intelligence is, it comes from so many quarters that it is just possible that there may be some truth in it; though, after the position taken by our Government with regard to slavery and the slave-trade, it is difficult to conceive how a treaty can have been concluded by the present ministry with a country in which both those evils are so deeply rooted. Still, where there is a will there is generally a way; and as it was evident, in the course of last session, especially from some of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, that ministers were anything but satisfied with their own policy with regard to slave-grown sugar, and as it is even still better known that the Brazilian Government has the strongest financial reasons for desiring such an arrangement with England as will improve its position in the money market, it is not impossible that the basis of a new treaty may have been arranged by mutual concession. The terms of this treaty (supposing it to exist) are unknown, but to render it valuable it must include the admission of British goods into Brazil, and of Brazilian sugar and coffee into England, on moderate terms. Any treaty that does not effect both these objects will be of little value, and the extent of the value of the treaty which is said to have been just concluded will altogether depend on the completeness with which these objects are effected.—*Liverpool Times.*

PRUSSIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Presse* states, that in consequence of a convention concluded between the five great Powers on the 20th of December, 1841, for the suppression of the slave-trade, the Prussian Government has published an ordinance, by virtue of which the captain, supercargo, and the first pilot of every ship, convicted of having been engaged in the slave-trade, are condemned to hard labour for a period varying from five to twenty years. The same punishment will be inflicted on the owner, the insurer, or on any person advancing funds knowing the destination of the vessel. The crew are to be liable to an imprisonment of from six months to five years, if it be proved that their operation in this trade has been voluntary.

Miscellanea.

ESCAPE FROM SLAVERY.—On Thursday last arrived in Falmouth harbour the *Lord Bruce* brig, Capt. Poole, with a cargo of sugar, from Pernambuco. A few mornings after the *Lord Bruce* left Pernambuco, a very fine Bongo black lad, about eighteen or twenty years of age, made his appearance on deck, to the no small surprise of the captain and crew of the *Lord Bruce*. He is not able to speak a single word of English, but talks the Portuguese language tolerably well, from which we learn that he was slave, and had been brought to the Brazils in a slaver, from a far distant country. It appears he, with many other slaves, had been sent off to the *Lord Bruce* with barges of sugar, and again returned on shore, and the night previous to the sailing of the vessel, he stole a craft peculiar to the South Americans, called a catamaran, taking with him a tolerable stock of provisions, and some very good clothes, and came on board, and stowed himself away, unobserved, amongst the cargo, and did not make his appearance until he knew the vessel was so far at sea that there was no chance of his being sent back; thus effecting his escape from slavery. The captain treated him with every possible kindness, but, as the poor fellow seems rather unfit for the sea, he will be thrown on the parish of Falmouth, until some means can be adopted to get him to provide for himself.—*Devonport Independent.*

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, October 2, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXVII. VOL. V.—No. 21.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

DUTCH SLAVERY—SURINAM.

(From the Parliamentary Papers.)

NONE of the information presented to us in the slave-trade papers recently laid before parliament do we read with so much pain as that which relates to the Dutch colony of Surinam. Both for the people and the sovereign of the Netherlands we feel an unfeigned respect, and we should rejoice to be able to speak of the state of things in Dutch Guiana in a manner that should be gratifying to both. We cannot do this, however, so long as slavery, that essential and unchangeable outrage upon all that is just and benevolent, is upheld in that colony; and painful as the duty is, we yet feel it a duty to bring forth to the view of the world, as far as lies in our power, the facts which from time to time transpire, and the opinions of known and responsible functionaries respecting it. With this view we shall devote a part of our present number to some extracts from the despatches of Mr. Schenley, British Commissioner in the Mixed Court at Surinam, to his government.

After referring to the vigour with which the British government had interposed with respect to Cuba and Brazil, Mr. Schenley says—

"Great Britain has, in my opinion, just as strong incentives for interfering in behalf of the slaves of Surinam. The august monarch who reigns over this territory owes the acquisition mainly to the valour and generosity of the British nation; and the return that has been made for so valuable a cession is, violation for twenty years of the sanctity of treaties; shameless and systematic deception by public officers; and the commission of acts of cruelty towards the wretched negroes, unexampled in modern times. Your lordship's official records will prove the first part of my accusation, and the almost ceaseless voice of wailing, (for the most part too, in good English,) occasioned by the infliction of private flogging, against which there does not exist any law, furnishes terrible proof of the truth of the latter.

"The criminal jurisprudence of Surinam is a disgrace to civilization, and many of its enactments ought to be abrogated. So recently as the year 1833, it sanctioned the burning at the stake of three negroes, who were accused, upon slender evidence, of the crime of arson.

"It is, I conceive, impossible that the British nation, when agreeing to the restitution of this colony, could have contemplated the perpetration of such cruelties. Deep and heartfelt would be the blessing showered upon your lordship, if, through your means, a voice be raised for their suppression."

One of the earliest despatches in the series now given to the public encloses the following note, addressed by Mr. Schenley to the governor of the colony.

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"Paramaribo, Nov. 29, 1842.

"SIR,—I am compelled to intrude upon your Excellency a complaint on a subject, which, considering the nature of my official duties, in this colony, I could have much wished to be able to refrain from.

"This morning, about nine o'clock, my family, especially my wife, whose nervous system is easily affected, was thrown into deep affliction by the unceasing sound of the lash, and the most frightful shrieks of an unfortunate female, upon whose naked person a most cruel punishment was inflicting. The yard in which this barbarity was perpetrated is immediately behind my house, and we were driven from our breakfast table by the shocking spectacle.

"If, sir, these proceedings are contrary to law, I respectfully claim your Excellency's authority to prevent a recurrence of them; and if not, and that the system of slavery admits a master to inflict in this manner, some hundreds of lashes, as the period occupied was upwards of a quarter of an hour, then, sir, I venture to crave the kindly interference of your Excellency's high station, to relieve us from the almost constant distress which these punishments occasion us, and which I have found it no longer possible to endure, without making some effort to suppress.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "Edw. W. H. SCHENLEY.

"His Excellency the Governor-General,
&c. &c.

"P.S. I have been informed that the person in whose yard the above punishment took place, is Sissy Heysveldt, a mulatto woman, (the mother of a Miss Lammers,) and that the individual punished, is of the same cast. The fact is easily verified, as there were several women present on the occasion. The victim was tied with ropes, and the flogging inflicted by a negro man.

(Signed) "E. W. H. S."

In conveying this note to Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Schenley says,—
"On the receipt of my letter, the case was placed in the hands

of the Procuror-General, who summoned the parties before him, and made a report to the Governor; for, on the 5th instant, the Colonial Secretary waited upon me, by orders of his Excellency, to read to me the report of the chief police officer, wherein it is stated, that, having examined the mulatto 'Agnes,' belonging to Miss Lammers, he did not find that the flesh had been cut!

"I took occasion to observe to the Secretary, that I trusted the investigation sufficiently proved my complaint had not been made upon frivolous or insufficient grounds; and that I had been informed, that a gentleman of the colony residing next door to me, in speaking of the above punishment, had expressed his horror at its severity, declaring that, from the duration and intervals, he supposed there must have been three persons flogged. The Secretary replied, that it appeared by the examination, that one of these intervals was occasioned by the girl's hands getting loose, when it became requisite to tie her again, as in defending her person from the lash, they might have been injured, so as to unfit her for work; and that the renewed flogging upon the other intervals was, because the girl seemed stubborn, and would not say 'Tankee, Missee,' which, I am told, is a mode of showing contrition and asking pardon, that is exacted from them after every lash, and before they are finally untied. Nothing retributive was required from the owner of the slave, because, as the Secretary further informed me, the practice of thus privately flogging, although not sanctioned by any law, still there was no law to prevent it; but he added, that the Governor held these cruelties in such horror, that he was resolved to adopt measures for putting a stop to them."

We shall now present to the reader a series of extracts from the despatches of Mr. Schenley, arranged according to their respective dates; and we beg him, whoever he may be, to ask himself what the state of a community must be of which such details as those here given are a sample.

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

"Surinam, February 10, 1843.

"MY LORD,—The cruelties practised towards slaves, I believe, since the establishment of the colony, and which have given to Surinam such a frightful notoriety, though now abated, are not entirely exploded; for I regret to say that it has reached my knowledge that very recently, upon the estate of Boelen, near Fort Amsterdam (the place where the emancipated negroes are detained), the manager of the estate, a native of Holland, caused a young female, for a very trifling fault, to be whipped to death! dismissal from his situation being the only punishment which, I have been able to learn, has been inflicted upon him for this barbarity."

"Surinam, March 17, 1843.

"MY LORD,—Between four and five o'clock, P.M., on the 7th current, three negroes passed my house, writhing under the torture of a recently inflicted flogging. The blood streamed from their lacerated persons so as literally to leave traces of their path upon the gravel of the road!

"This shocking spectacle at noon-day, though by no means uncommon, induced me to make particular inquiries respecting the wretched sufferers, when I was informed, by credible authority, that they belonged to the class of 'Emancipated Negroes'; and the direction in which they were proceeding, being that of the locality where these unfortunate beings are penned, would tend to justify that information."

"Surinam, August 14, 1843.

"MY LORD,—I have heretofore purposely refrained from intruding upon your lordship details of the disgusting state of society here, and the cruelties that are practised towards the slaves; but if the impression in my mind be a correct one, namely, 'that the Dutch government have no right to permit such barbarities to be practised upon persons ceded to them in the manner that the population of this colony was, and who for many years were the happy and prosperous subjects of Great Britain,' then it may be desirable that her Majesty's government should possess fuller information upon these points. But until I am honoured by instructions from your lordship to that effect, I shall confine myself to stating a few instances, that may serve to convey some notion of the morals of society here, and of what the negroes have to endure from their relentless owners.

"The first circumstance I shall attempt to describe is one that took place between two and three years ago; but it is the only one having reference to so remote a date that I shall trouble your lordship with, and I select it because I will not spare the misdeeds of the government, any more than those of individuals; and this case, in my opinion, involves a very serious accusation against the authorities who were cognizant of it at the time, as well as those who have allowed the individual who is the chief actor in it to continue in his present situation.

"There is a mulatto man here named Gelderline, who, though once a slave, has filled the office of Superintendent of the government free labourers for some years. It is under this man's charge that are placed the negroes emancipated from the *Snow*, and likewise those who were delivered up to the Governor of Surinam by Sir Thomas Cochrane, in *La Légère*, as well, indeed, as all the persons of the above denomination who are kept in the city of Paramaribo.

Gelderline had under his charge a woman named Stanky, or Anky, whose daughter Grasina (I give the negro pronunciation, as I cannot get access to documents) had some quarrel with one of the negro drivers. This driver, according to custom, brought Grasina before Gelderline, who, without listening to her story, abused her as an impudent woman, and desired the driver to take her before the Procuror-General (acting), Mr. Fiers Smeding, now President of the Court. On their arrival at the residence of this functionary, the only protector of the slaves, Gelderline and the negro driver were admitted to give their version of the story; but the poor woman had no opportunity given to her of justifying herself, or stating a syllable in mitigation of the cruel fate that awaited her; the sentence which the Procuror-General pronounced upon the statement of these two men, being the horrible punishment of the Spanish buck! She was taken back to the place where the people are kept, and there, by the orders and in the presence of Gelderline, the same driver, her accuser, inflicted this terrible description of flogging. After sustaining the torture for a considerable time, it became apparent even to the negro driver that the woman was dying, and he remonstrated with Gelderline against continuing the flogging. This man stated that it was only fear that caused her to writhe and clench her teeth (the poor sufferer being actually in the convulsions of death), but not until the negro driver, the original cause of Grasina's flogging, had actually refused to strike another blow, did Gelderline permit the woman to be carried to her hut. From that moment she never spoke; her mother took some steps which caused it to become known to the Governor-General, and the woman was next morning carried to the Military Hospital, where, either just previous to her arrival or immediately after it, she was pronounced to be dead. The bereaved mother was immediately removed from the scene of her daughter's murder, and Gelderline continues to exercise the functions of Superintendent of 'Government Free Labourers.'

"The British Commissioner omitted to report this important case to her Majesty's Government.

"The period since the other circumstances have occurred embraces about six weeks from this date; and the next case I shall describe is one of rape, committed upon a coloured child of very tender age by a man of sixty years of age, named ——, a Member of the Medical College.

"This child, together with its mother, were the slaves of an Englishman named Welbore Ellis, who died last year, and they then became the property of a surviving infant son, by one of the coloured women of the country. Immediately on the perpetration of this rape becoming public, the wife of —— purchased the mother and daughter at an enormous price, from the executors of Welbore Ellis, and thus getting them into her power, as her own slaves, materially diminished the chance of a successful prosecution being carried on against her husband. The affair, however, became known to the Governor, and he ordered that the Procuror-General should institute proceedings against —— before the Court; and when, on the 28th ultimo, I was admitted to an audience with his Excellency, he told me, with great apparent indignation, that the Court, having examined several witnesses, had declared there were no grounds in the evidence pronounced for pursuing —— for rape!

"During these proceedings, reports reached me of the shameless termination that the case was likely to have; and considering that the sufferers had belonged to a respectable British subject, I felt no hesitation in trying to procure justice, perhaps liberty for them. Unfortunately, however, my first effort proved how ineffectual would be the attempt; for the evidence of a slave is not admitted against the owner, and the enclosed correspondence from an eminent lawyer shows that, even had I given freedom to the child and her mother, they would not then have been in the condition to prosecute for injuries done to them whilst slaves.

"The next is a case of cruelty and depravity, practised towards the negroes of an estate called Soribo, in the Commewijne River, by the manager Van Thol. The estate is under the administration of one Freudenberg, a member of the Colonial Raad, or chief council of the colony.

"Some intelligence reached Governor Elias, that Van Thol was exercising cruelties towards the negroes of Soribo, and his Excellency was about to despatch the Procuror-General and a commission to investigate the report, when the district officers, at the head of whom is Freudenberg, solicited and obtained permission to examine into the matter. By this course the estate escapes considerable expenses, and the district officers avoid all chance of their mal-practices or omissions becoming public.

"A report was returned to the Governor to the effect that the negroes had been refractory, and the flogging inflicted necessary; but that Van Thol had been dismissed, because it was established that he had mixed human excrement with the spirits which he served out to the negroes, morning and evening, before and after their labours; a fact, too, which this fiend aggravated, if possible, by communicating the fact himself to the poor creatures. He was also accused of having had recourse to a horrible species of torture,

which is practised by some of the slave owners, namely, to cause a negro to be heavily ironed, and then kept working near the furnace of the steam-engine, whereby his irons become so heated, and his consequent sufferings so great, that it is said language cannot convey an idea of the torments thus occasioned. Van Thol met this accusation by declaring that he could produce the written order from Freudenberg to inflict this punishment upon one of the negroes; but when, the next day, he was called upon to do so, he denied the existence of any such document; and for thus screening his principal, received from him in a few days another and better management. The Governor applied to the Court respecting the mixture of human excrement with the spirits served out to the negroes, and was informed that there did not exist any law to punish such an offence.

"The next act of cruelty and injustice is that of a merchant named Degenhard towards his cook, an elderly and well-behaved man of colour, whom he accused of allowing the soup to burn. The cook in his defence tried to show that the blame ought to fall upon the mistress of Degenhard. Any insinuation from a negro towards this class of persons is sure to cause resentment of the worst kind; consequently, Degenhard seizing a hand-whip made of brass wire, and, as I am told, of most formidable dimensions, inflicted with this a punishment upon the cook that fractured his skull in two places, and completely severed one of his ears from his head. Governor Elias caused Degenhard to be prosecuted before the Court, when that tribunal pronounced a sentence stating that he had a right to inflict the punishment upon his own slave, and that nothing had been adduced showing the least necessity for the interference of the authorities in the matter; thereby sanctioning the mutilation of slaves by their owners.

"I shall only trouble your lordship with one more case, and it is remarkable, inasmuch as it proves, like the former one, that the highest as well as the lowest of the whites are imbued with the same spirit of cruelty towards the negro.

"A member of the Colonial Council, named Roperhoff, seventy years of age, who possesses an estate with five or six hundred negroes, caused to be inflicted upon a negro who is upwards of one hundred years old, the horrible punishment of the Spanish buck.

"The negro is not expected to survive, and Governor Elias is determined to put the law in force towards this man; but, as his Excellency said to me, "with a court of justice so constituted as this is, little can be hoped for in the way of justice to the poor negroes."

"As regards other crimes, during the period (about six weeks) that the above atrocities were committing towards the negroes, there have been discovered, *flagrante delicto*, five soldiers of the garrison, one lawyer's clerk, two shop assistants, one lieutenant in the Dutch navy, and one cabin boy, guilty of unnatural crimes; but I do not believe that any public example is to be made of these persons."

"Surinam, October 10, 1843.

"*My Lord*.—On the 23rd ultimo, a negro came to my house and requested permission to exhibit the shocking condition of bodily suffering to which his master's repeated cruelties had reduced him, likewise to pray for an asylum and relief.

"The nature of my appointment and duties rendering it necessary to observe great circumspection in regard to any interference with the administration of the laws of the colony, I forbid my servants to admit any negroes, excepting those emancipated from the slave vessel *Snow*, or British subjects, Barbadoes negroes; consequently this poor creature was turned from my door, without my knowledge, but he was recommended to address himself either to the Governor or the Procuror-General.

"On the following Monday a statement was made to me, that, on the Sunday morning, a negro had been found by the police dying in one of the ditches which intersect the streets of this city; that he was carried to the house of the Procuror-General, where, in a few minutes, he expired; and, moreover, that he was the same individual who had applied in vain for relief at my residence the day previous.

"I instituted an inquiry into the circumstances, and considered it my duty to address the Governor upon the subject, explaining in how far I had any knowledge or concern in this shocking occurrence, and offering at the same time the evidence of my servants before the Criminal Court, should it be required.

"These persons being highly respectable in their class, and one of them a native of the country, there is no doubt upon my mind of the correctness of the account they give, both of the negro's bodily condition, and of the statements he made to them, viz., that he bore evident marks of having been burnt or branded upon parts of his body, which might not interfere with his working, though calculated to cause excruciating pain, for instance, on both sides of his neck; and, as the melancholy sequel corroborates, 'that he told them he had long laboured under severe internal disease, which, rendering him unable to work, was declared to be laziness, and for which cause he was thus inhumanly treated by his owner.'

"Surinam, October 30, 1843.

"*My Lord*.—One of the barbarities that are of frequent occurrence in this ill-fated colony, referred to in my despatch of September 8, 1843, took place a few weeks since in the Commewijne, when a patrol, headed by a person of the name of Bonn, was ordered out for the purpose of capturing or killing, as it might be, a camp of runaway negroes. The nature of these excursions, or to subserve myself of the shocking levity here, 'Surinam battues,' have been already described. I shall only, therefore, say that,

upon the recent occasion, casualties have been reported to me as—

- "Killed, six;
- "Captured, nine;
- "Fled wounded, two;
- whilst a considerable number escaped scathless.

"The law does not award the punishment of death to a slave who shall abscond from his owner, so that these poor wretches are thus indiscriminately shot at, simply because, when summoned to stand, and return to the certain infliction of the Spanish buck and slavery, they make an effort to escape."

To say that we read these statements without the deepest affliction and disgust, would be to confess ourselves either more or less than men. A state of things like this obviously constitutes a just occasion, and a loud call, for the interposition, both of the government of the Netherlands, and its people. We are happy to find that, in one instance, the governor of the colony has practically shown his displeasure towards some distinguished delinquents, and that he has also contemplated a salutary plan for the protection of the slaves, concerning which Mr. Schenley thus writes:—

"Surinam, Sept. 15, 1843.

"My Lord,—I beg leave to acquaint your lordship that Governor Elias has dismissed from the Colonial "Raad," or chief council of the government, the two principal delinquents, Roperhoff and Freudeberg, whose atrocities towards the unfortunate slaves I had the honour to communicate in my despatch of the 14th August, 1843.

"The effects of this measure are likely to prove very serious to these individuals, inasmuch as the non-resident proprietors who, from the ostensibility of their appointments, conferred upon them the lucrative employment of administering their properties, will now, in all probability, withdraw their confidence, and place their affairs in other hands.

"I am informed that Governor Elias contemplates the establishing of salaried magistrates in each district throughout the colony, whose sole duty shall be to superintend the treatment and condition of the slaves.

"This measure has, I am told, been met with the most violent opposition, as one causing additional expense upon the already crippled finances of the colony; but I suspect the true motive for opposing it is the restraint which it will impose upon the conduct towards the slaves of the administrators and managers, whose habitual injustice and cruelties render them deaf to any proposition that is likely to prepare the negroes for another condition than the abject one they now suffer under. If, however, something be not speedily done to eradicate or soften the hatred that persecution has engendered in the bosoms of the blacks, I fear the white population will, at no very distant period, receive a lesson that they are totally unprepared for."

Much more, however, than the measure contemplated by Governor Elias is demanded. *An end should be put to slavery.* Justice, benevolence, wisdom, all dictate this; and every one of them deprecates delay.

MAURITIUS—ITS CAPABILITIES.

FROM the *Mauritius Watchman* we have inserted in former numbers some instructive articles on the management and probable issue of the immigration system in progress there. In the same paper we find another article which we think of sufficient value to lay before our readers, on the capabilities of that island for the production of sugar. These have been loudly vaunted; and upon the assumption of their being very large the demand for multitudinous immigration has been founded. In relation to this matter, the following statement of our contemporary will be found deserving of consideration:—

"In this review of the land, we may put out of the question altogether the district of Port Louis, as non-productive of sugar, and enter upon that of Pamplemousses. Passing through this district by way of Bois Rouge to Mapou, where, we ask, is the reclaimable land for the production of sugar? So far from there being any, it is clear that this part of the district has become much less productive than formerly, from the destruction of the timber, and long use; the former cause producing drought,—the latter, the natural consequence of a number of consecutive crops of such an exhausting vegetable as the sugar-cane is to the soil. Returning through this district by the other side of the Mapou road, is not the same thing manifest until we arrive at the Nouvelle Découverte. There, perhaps, a few tons of sugar may be produced; but nothing at all adequate to compensate for the diminution arising from the causes we have mentioned, as much of the land at present under cane in this district, especially about the Calebasse River and Long Mountain, and indeed elsewhere, must soon be abandoned.

"Let us now examine the rich district of Rivière du Rempart, and where is the reclaimable land to be found? Every inch is under cane, and much of it greatly deteriorated by long use, and drought in some measure arising from the destruction of the timber. Not a Verger now remains to offer a cooling shade or a refreshing fruit to the families; all is under sugar-cultivation, and in a few years will be a barren waste. No increase of sugar can therefore be looked for from this quarter.

"We now enter upon Flacq. Its plains, early cultivated, and now wrought out; and its heights, little productive, and likely to be less so, as the Victoria estate, under the most favourable circumstances, with no want of capital or hands, demonstrates. In Flacq, then, there can be no increase expected.

"Let us now cross the Cammizar Mountain to Grand Port, and here there is still much unreclaimed or waste land that may still be made productive. But the old estates in the neighbourhood of Mabébourg are nearly wrought out; though, upon the whole, we believe that in this district a considerable quantity of sugar may be produced, perhaps two or

three millions, but nothing to justify the exaggerated calculations of Commissionaires, or others who have an interest in keeping up their exorbitant valuations of estate property.

"In the Savanne also, along the Rivière du Poste, there may be a little increase; but it is a poor and cold district, and towards the heights unproductive in the extreme.

"We then cross the Montagne de la Baie du Cap, and enter upon Rivière Noire, on which it is not necessary to waste a word. But what shall we say of Plaines Wilhems and Moka? No increase of sugar there can be looked for; and most fortunate will they be to produce as they have done hitherto. It follows, that, of the eight sugar districts, a diminution may be yearly anticipated in two of the best under the most favourable circumstances—in Pamplemousses and Rivière du Rempart; a little increase in two others—Grand Port and Savanne; four will remain much as they were when well cultivated in 1836 to 1839. Taking the whole island, there is no solid ground to look for a larger annual crop than seventy millions.

"Now to produce eighty millions of sugar, at 300 men to the million, including the domestics of the *habitants*, would require 24,000 men, about the number actually arrived, in addition to those we had previously, since the removal of the interdict. But it is confessed that, at the end of the year, we shall have 30,000, with at least 10,000 more available, leaving 16,000 for other purposes than the cultivation of sugar.

"But," says the *Cernéen*, "hands are required to produce 120 millions of sugar." The island, we reply, can produce no such quantity. The largest crop ever produced, under the most favourable circumstances, did not reach eighty millions, and we believe the soil fit for the growth of the sugar-cane cannot produce more. The average may be between sixty and eighty millions, according to the seasons, and will seldom reach seventy millions. Where is the soil to be found for 120 millions of sugar? We have inhabited this colony for many years, and traversed it east, and west, north and south, not omitting its forests. We have some knowledge of agriculture. The moral improvement and physical condition of the inhabitants, closely connected as it is with the capabilities of the soil, has been our constant study; and we do not travel from Dan to Beersheba to find all barren. We therefore pray the *Cernéen* to accompany us in a peregrination round the island, and point out to us the land fit to produce 120 millions of sugar; or allow us to point out to him where seventy millions may be profitably raised.

"The above perambulation through the cane-field of evidence has confirmed us in what we have long been in the habit of thinking, that the parent-curse of this island has been that monstrous exaggeration of the value of estates and property generally, which it is the special mission of the *Cernéen* at this crisis to keep up. This has created the prevalent and absurd notion that a sugar-plantation at Mauritius is a mine of gold; and hence those habits of speculation and bad economy which have plunged so many planters' families into a gulf of ruin; until, at length, things have come to that pass, that sober-minded men begin to look around them for a new race of sugar-planters,—a race of honest farmers, who, cutting up their four-wheeled carriages into fagots of fuel, if need be, shall be content to live in the plain and hardy way which becomes those who have yet their fortunes to make. Such men might live in plenty, if not in enervating affluence, upon the no longer virgin soil of Mauritius; and when this change takes place, comfort will again visit our plantations and mansions. Until then, domestic misery, the distraction of being perpetually dunred, and bankruptcy staring them in the face like a madge owl, must remain the lot of a great majority of our once thriving proprietors."

RUSSIAN SERFAGE.

• (Translated from "Russia in 1839," by the Marquis of Custine.)

I HAVE heard many singular things concerning what is called the Slavery of the Russian peasants.

It is difficult to form a correct idea of the condition of this class of persons, who possess no political rights, and nevertheless constitute the nation itself. Deprived of everything by law, they are not so much morally as socially degraded. They exhibit courage, sometimes bravery; but that which prevails in their character and their whole conduct is artifice. No one has a right to blame them for this too natural consequence of their condition. Always on their guard against their masters, whose shameless bad faith they are incessantly experiencing, they compensate by knavery the want of justice in the lords towards their serfs.

The relations of a peasant towards the possessors of the soil on the one hand, and towards the state—that is, the Emperor, who represents the state—on the other, would be an object of study worthy of a long residence in the interior of Russia.

In many parts of the empire the peasants think that they belong to the land—a condition of existence which seems natural to them, since they find it difficult to understand how men can be the property of a man. In many other parts the peasants think that the land belongs to them. These are the most happy, if not the most submissive, of the slaves.

There are some who, when they are put up to sale, send to a distance to entreat a master reported to be kind to purchase them, their lands, their children, and their cattle; and if this *seigneur*, known among them for his kindness—I do not say for his *justice*; for the sentiment of justice is unknown in Russia, even among men stripped of all power—has no money, they give it him, in order to render it certain that they shall belong to no one else. Then the good-natured *seigneur*, in order to content his new peasants, buys them with their own money, and accepts them as his serfs; thenceforward exempting them from imposts during a certain number of years, reimbursing to them in this manner the price of themselves, which they paid in advance by discharging for him the sum which represents the value of the domain to which they belong, and of which they have (so to speak) forced him to become the owner.

This is the way in which a rich serf puts a poor lord in possession of himself and his descendants in perpetuity. He is happy by this means to escape the yoke, either of a master of whom he knows nothing, or of one reputed to be severe.

The greatest affliction which can happen to these human vegetables is to see their natal soil disposed of. They are always sold with the land, to which they are inseparably attached. The only real advantage which they have derived from the mildness of modern laws is, that they cannot be sold without the land. This defence, however, is eluded by means which everybody understands. Thus, instead of selling a whole estate, with its peasants, a few acres are sold, and one or two hundred men with each acre. If the authorities were made acquainted with this fraud, they would be angry; but they have rarely an opportunity of interfering, because between the culprit and supreme justice—that is, the Emperor—there are a multitude of people interested in perpetuating and concealing the abuse.

Proprietors as well as serfs suffer by this state of things, especially those in embarrassed circumstances. It is difficult to sell land; so difficult, that a man who is in debt and wishes to pay is generally obliged to borrow of the Imperial bank the sum he requires, the bank taking security on the goods of the borrower. It thus happens that the Emperor becomes the treasurer and auditor of the whole Russian nobility, and that the noblesse, thus curbed by the supreme power, are unable to fulfil their duties towards the people.

On one occasion, a seigneur wished to sell an estate. The news of this intention set the country in alarm. The peasants sent to the lord a deputation of the oldest men of the village, who threw themselves at his feet, and declared with tears that they wished not to be sold. "I must do it," replied he; "it is not consistent with my principles to augment the impost paid by my peasants; and I am not rich enough to keep an estate which brings me in nothing." "Is that all?" cried the deputies: "we are rich enough ourselves to enable you to keep us." And immediately they fixed the dues at double what they had paid from time immemorial.

Other peasants, with less good temper, and a more subtle artifice, revolt against their master, only in hopes of becoming serfs of the Crown. This is the highest ambition of all Russian peasants.

Suddenly enfranchise such men, and you set the country in a blaze. The instant the serfs, separated from the soil, should see that it was sold, or let, or cultivated without them, they would rise in a mass, and exclaim that they were robbed of their right.

Recently, in a distant village where a fire happened, the peasants, who complained of the tyranny of their master, took occasion of the disorder (which, perhaps, they themselves had caused) to seize their enemy—that is, their master—to draw him on a cart, to put him on a spit, and roast him at the fire during the conflagration. They thought it a sufficient justification to declare on oath that their master intended to burn their houses, and that they had acted only in self-defence.

On such occasions, the Emperor often orders the whole village to be transported to Siberia. This is what is called at St. Petersburg *peopling Asia*.

When I dwell on these things, and on a multitude of other cruelties, more or less secret, which are of daily occurrence throughout this vast empire, where revolt and oppression are equally favoured by the distance, I hate the country, the government, and the whole population; an undefinable wretchedness seizes me, and I care for nothing but to fly.

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, OCTOBER 16, 1844.

We have seen a letter written by Mr. Joseph Reynolds, of Bristol, announcing his withdrawal from the Auxiliary Anti-slavery Society of that city, and assigning his reasons for that step. While we are sure that this estimable man regrets, as we do most sincerely, the necessity under which he has found himself, and while the manner in which he has executed his task commands our respect, we yet feel it our duty to examine the reasons which he has assigned, and to give, without offence as we hope, our judgment of their validity.

Mr. Reynolds says he disapproves of the efforts made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society "to uphold the law which in effect prohibits the importation of Cuban and Brazilian sugars for our own use." We think this is not a fair statement of the question. The Committee have not opposed the importation of any sugars as either Cuban or Brazilian, but that of all sugar which is *slave-grown*, whether Cuban, Brazilian, or of any other country. Well knowing this, Mr. Reynolds must, of course, be understood as applying his arguments to the case thus stated.

He commences with a serious charge, and one which, if true, would at once settle the whole controversy—namely, that the re-

fusal on the part of our rulers to admit for consumption slave-grown sugar "is a direct infraction of the law of God;" and then he quotes the divine precept, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." The meaning of this is, that, if we were raising sugar by slave-labour, and the Cubans or Brazilians had a market for it, we should wish them to allow its introduction; and that, consequently, as they are raising sugar by slave-labour, and we have a market for it, we should allow its introduction. It seems to us, however, that this is a misapplication of the precept adduced, founded upon a misunderstanding and erroneous interpretation of it. It can scarcely be the actual wishes of a party as to conduct towards himself that should regulate his conduct towards others, liable as our wishes are to be wrought into innumerable extravagances and improprieties by ill-instructed or ill-regulated passions. An attempt to carry the precept out on this supposition would quickly lead to embarrassment. To take an example:—If I had committed a robbery, and were detected by any person, I should wish him not to give information of it; therefore, should I detect a thief, I ought not to give information of the crime. It is obvious that the precept so understood, instead of furnishing a rule of morals, would throw the whole science and practice of morals into inextricable confusion. Our wishes must be reduced to reason before they can properly be our guide. Now we affirm that a person employing slaves cannot reasonably wish another party to take the produce of their toil. His blind selfishness may dictate such a wish; but all just considerations tend to a different issue, and would lead him to renounce the fruits of oppression and wrong. Our conclusion is, that refusing to consume the produce of slave-labour, so far from being an infraction of the divine law, is a fulfilment of it. It is doing what every slave-holder ought to desire.

Mr. Reynolds's second reason is, that "the refusal to import and use such sugars is highly injurious to the people of this kingdom; is partial in its operation, weighing heavily on the middle and labouring classes of the community; and is a breach of the ancient constitution of England."

As to the last of these items, we do not profess to comprehend its meaning. If, moreover, it were a part of "the ancient constitution of England" that the produce of slave-labour should be admissible for consumption, we should think it "more honoured in the breach than the observance." The rest of this reason may perhaps be true; but it is for the people themselves to decide, through their representatives, whether it is not better to make a possible sacrifice than to incur the responsibility of aggravating the miseries of slavery and the extent of the slave-trade.

The third reason is as follows:—

"Every prohibitory law is an impediment to the progressive increase of that commercial intercourse between nations, through which they confer reciprocal benefits on each other, and which is, in the ordering of Providence, instrumental in preparing mankind for the reception of permanent and universal peace. Therefore every law which prohibits or restrains the progress of commerce, tends to prolong the practice of war, and ought to be repealed."

We need not do more here than take Mr. Reynolds on his own ground. No wars are so dreadful as those which are kept up for the supply of the slave-trade; and no measure can more powerfully tend "to prolong the practice of war," and to augment its ferocity, than the admission of slave-produce to universal consumption.

In his fourth reason, Mr. Reynolds simply states that this nation and its governors "are not responsible for the conduct of other nations." We know no one who ever asserted that they were. It is enough that the British nation and government are responsible for their own conduct, and *for the consequences* which flow from it. "Deal at my shop—I stole the goods, and, if I get a good trade, I shall steal more." "Very well: I am not responsible for your conduct; and, as you sell cheap, I will."

We quote the fifth and sixth reasons together:—

"The lawfulness or unlawfulness of using sugar, or any other product of slave-labour, is a question of conscience; like that respecting the use of meat which had been offered unto idols, which was proposed to the Apostle and by him answered, 'Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake; yet the consumption of that meat contributed to the encouragement and support of idolatry.'

"As the Apostle asks, 'Why is this my liberty (to eat such meat) to be judged of (or condemned) by another man's conscience? for if I by grace be a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks; so they who would thankfully eat the prohibited sugar, may ask, why they are to be deprived of that liberty by the judgment of other men's consciences?' And they have the precept and example of the Apostle to support them, in claiming to have the law, by which they are deprived of that liberty, repealed by the parliament of England."

Two fallacies, we think, lurk in the affirmation that "the lawfulness or unlawfulness of using the produce of slave-labour is a question of conscience." In the first place, no question has been raised as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of using slave-produce. This is a personal question, and, for all that the Committee have done, lies as much at every man's decision as ever it did. The only existing question is one of fiscal regulation, whether or not slave-produce shall be admitted into the market, a question which may be determined either way without in the least degree affecting the other. In the second place, the use of slave-produce cannot fairly be said to give rise to "a question of conscience." It may be very true that certain parties may, in their conscientious judgment,

see no objection to the use of slave produce; but no man, we imagine, feels himself bound in conscience to use it. It can, therefore, be no burden to his conscience to let it alone, nor any violation of his conscience to prevent his being able to get it.

The only part of the seventh reason which bears upon the question is the last; in which Mr. Reynolds says, that "we have no right to refuse to share the benefits of commerce, and to cultivate feelings of kindness and good-will with other states employing slave-labour, in order to do away with slavery, or even to prevent an increase in the present sufferings of the slaves." As to the cultivation of kindness and good-will, there is no dispute. Mr. Reynolds has certainly never supposed that the efforts of the Anti-slavery Society were dictated by malice or resentment. As to sharing the benefits of commerce, we humbly conceive that every nation *has* a right to use its pleasure in this respect. That this right ought to be used wisely, is true; and, in our judgment, it can never be used more wisely than when it is rendered instrumental in promoting the great cause of humanity and righteousness.

In concluding our remarks, we have only to say, that we are sorry to lose the co-operation of a coadjutor so long and so highly esteemed, even for a time. It will, we trust, be for a time only; and we shall unfeignedly rejoice when further consideration shall induce our valued friend to re-unite his endeavours with ours, in a cause which we are sure he must have so much at heart.

In our last, we gave an account of a slave reported to have escaped from Pernambuco, who had arrived in this country on board the *Lord Bruce*, Capt. Poole. We have seen the person referred to, (the *Lord Bruce* being now in the port of London), and from his own lips, through an interpreter, gathered the following particulars. At an early period he was taught the Portuguese language in his native place, Angola, and he knew how to speak fluently the dialects of the native tribes on the coast of Africa; this made him of some service to the slave-traders in that neighbourhood. A few years since, he was shipped on board a slaver carrying a Portuguese flag as a seaman, having signed the usual articles. This vessel left Angola with 900 slaves, about eighty of whom were women, for Pernambuco. On their arrival at that place his papers were forcibly taken from him, and he was sold by the Captain to a ship-jobber on the coast. Here he continued for some time, suffering much from the cruel treatment of his master. Having heard from some of the English sailors, that, if he could get to England, he would be free, he made up his mind to get there, if possible. The opportunity offered itself of escaping shortly afterwards; for being engaged to assist in loading the *Lord Bruce*, he found out a place where he thought he could secrete himself in the hold, and the next night, after procuring some manioc, he took a canoe and stowed himself comfortably without detection. The vessel sailed, and, after she had been out four days, he made his appearance, to the great terror of the ship's crew who looked upon him as the evil one himself. On recovering, the captain threatened to return to port; he did not do so, but brought him to England, having treated him with great humanity and kindness the whole voyage. On being asked if he should like to remain in England, he stated that, if he did so, he should probably be begging about the streets soon, rather than do which, he would take the offer of Capt. Poole, who agrees he shall go with him to Ichaboe, regularly *under articles as a seaman*. Capt. Poole speaks well of Paulo (for this is the African's name), and, as an honest Englishman, declares he would never consent to his returning back to slavery. We think, therefore, he is in good hands. Had there been any doubt upon this point, he would have been taken care of, until an opportunity occurred of his being sent to the West Indies, or his beloved Africa.

Our West India files bring us the welcome intelligence that Lord Stanley has deemed it his duty not to recommend to her Majesty in Council, to give her sanction to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances of British Guiana, to which we had lately occasion to draw the attention of our readers. It appears that the rumoured intention of Government to lend to the principal West India Colonies a million and a half for immigration purposes, has been changed into the settled purpose of presenting to them nearly thirteen thousand Coolies within the next year; 5000 to Jamaica, 5000 to British Guiana, and 2500 to Trinidad. A circular despatch from Lord Stanley inviting these colonies to measures of preparatory legislation, evinces the serious determination of his lordship in this very grave and important matter, which must engage the closest and most anxious attention of the Committee.

From Dominica the only news we have is an extract of a despatch from Lord Stanley approving of the conduct of the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy, and complimenting President Laidlaw and the militia! We give below the very words employed by the Colonial Secretary, which certainly must have been written in haste, and cannot be taken to show less than that his lordship has not taken the trouble to understand the merits of the case. We are sorry that an opportunity of rebuking parties so richly deserving it should have been lost. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, however, have deemed it their duty to draw the noble secretary's attention to the facts, and we would yet hope that something like justice may be done.

The extract is as follows:—

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 21, of the 11th ult., with its enclosures, reporting the occurrence of disturbances among the labouring classes in Dominica, consequent on the attempt to

take the census on 3rd June, and the measures resorted to by the authorities, both civil and military, for quelling those disturbances.

"With whatever regret her Majesty's Government have received this intelligence, it is gratifying to them to have to acknowledge the wisdom and decision which characterised the proceedings adopted by Mr. President Laidlaw on the occasion. The course pursued by yourself, on your arrival at Dominica, has appeared to her Majesty's Government to have been judicious and proper, and I have to signify to you her Majesty's approval of the prompt issue of a special commission to try, by the ordinary course of law, the insurgents who were in custody.

"I have not failed to bring under the notice of his Grace the Commander in Chief the favourable mention which is made of the conduct of Major Hill and of her Majesty's troops.

"I request that you will convey to Captain McCoy, 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."

The last arrivals from St. Helena bring the intelligence that it is the intention of Government to make that island a dépôt for captured slaves, with a view, we suppose, to their being ultimately shipped to the West Indies as emigrants. Our information as to the treatment of those unfortunate Africans who have already been taken there, imperatively demands that a complete alteration of the system, as inhuman as it has been found expensive, should take place, before another of these unhappy people should be sent thither. It will scarcely be believed that the schooner which brought the last batch of captured Africans, some six or seven months ago, to the island, was there when the last mail was despatched, with all those who survive (about one-half) on board. It appears that they have not been allowed to land; but whether this has arisen from instructions received from the Colonial Office, or whether it results from the mere will of the Governor of the island, we are unable to say. Some of those who had previously arrived, and were allowed to land, our informant assures us, are half-starved.

It is really sickening to read the accounts which have been submitted to us of the hardships endured by the liberated Africans at St. Helena, previously to their being despatched to the West Indies. We trust we shall soon be permitted to publish the details with which we have been furnished on this point. It is estimated that about seven thousand Africans have been introduced into St. Helena, a part of whom have been removed to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and the Cape of Good Hope; the remainder, a few in number, still continue on the island. We can scarcely venture, at the present moment, to state the mortality which has occurred, partly from the diseases taken on board slavers, and partly, we regret to say, from want of due care and attention on the part of the authorities of the island; but, as we shall shortly return to this subject, we content ourselves, for the present, with calling public attention to it.

The last papers received from Mauritius bring several interesting articles of intelligence, which will be found under their proper head. After all that has been said of the precautions by which the transport and return of immigrants from India to that island should be preserved from abuse, it seems that grave abuses have lately occurred, in the overloading of two ships with returning immigrants, and a consequent frightful mortality. Even the *Calcutta Star* is eloquent in the denunciation of this flagrant act of official negligence. There is negligence, however, not only at Mauritius, but in India; for one of the vessels above referred to carried twenty emigrants more than her lawful freight from Madras.

NOTWITHSTANDING a statement which we have seen, to the effect that a reaction has taken place among the Africans at Sierra Leone on the subject of emigration, and that they are now anxious to leave for the West Indies, we are enabled to state positively, from very recent information, that the dislike to emigration is in that colony more prevalent and more powerful than ever. If greater numbers have lately quitted it, it is because measures of a very questionable character (to use the mildest term) have been adopted by the Government to coerce their departure.

WE scarcely need direct attention to an article on our first page, relating to the Dutch colony of Surinam.

Literary Notice.

The Emancipation of the Negroes in the British West Indies. An Address delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, on the 1st of August, 1844. By R. W. EMERSON. London: Chapman, pp. 32.

THE United States of America is the great battle-field for the abolition of slavery. What is the news from thence, to encourage or to damp the combatants in the same cause in the Old World? We quote part of a letter recently received from one of the best friends of the slave in America. He says, "The anti-slavery subject is more discussed in this country than it ever was before. Both of the great political parties now eagerly and passionately engaged in the measures relating to the pending presidential election, are obliged to discuss the Texas annexation question, as a matter of policy—and with this question other topics relating to slavery are discussed. Meantime the Liberty Party is increasing in numbers and strength." This is cheering. It is cheering, too, to know that there are yet in

America men worthy of the descendants of a Benezet and a Jay, and of the most illustrious among English abolitionists, whose efforts are continually directed to promote the further progress and early triumph of the anti-slavery cause. Among these efforts are the establishment and circulation in the free states of the Union of newspapers almost or quite exclusively devoted to the advocacy of emancipation, and others in which this subject has a prominent place. The press is also in other ways largely employed in the promotion of the anti-slavery enterprise; and no means appear to be neglected by our transatlantic friends which is likely to assist in striking off the fetters by which nearly three millions of their fellow subjects are now bound. The flame that has been lighted at the north has reached a portion of the south, notwithstanding the corrupting influence of slavery, and the peril which is there incurred by the expression of humane and virtuous sentiments. We have lately seen Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, denounce slavery in the state in which he resides, in language which for its force and boldness would not have disgraced the freest portion of the Union, and would have done honour to the seat of American legislation. Cassius M. Clay has done far more than this—he has given liberty to those whom he lately held as slaves, an example which will not be without its influence, although his words alone might be disregarded, in hastening the fall of slavery in an important section of the American Union.

We turn to the little work which is placed at the head of this article. This is another contribution to the anti-slavery cause, from the state which produced a Channing. We hail it with much pleasure, and are glad to find it already reprinted in London. We select from its pages the following account of the British struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery:—

"On reviewing this history, I think the whole transaction reflects infinite honour on the people and parliament of England. It was a stately spectacle, to see the cause of human rights argued with so much patience and generosity, and with such a mass of evidence before that powerful people. It is a creditable incident in the history, that when, in 1789, the first privy-council report of evidence on the trade, a bulky folio, (embodiment all the facts which the London Committee had been engaged for years in collecting, and all the examinations before the council,) was presented to the House of Commons, a late day being named for the discussion, in order to give members time,—Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, (the prime-minister,) and other gentlemen, took advantage of the postponement, to retire into the country to read the report. For months and years the bill was debated, with some consciousness of the extent of its relations, by the first citizens of England—the foremost men of the earth; every argument was weighed, every particle of evidence sifted, and laid in the scale; and at last, the right triumphed, the poor man was vindicated, and the oppressor was flung out. I know that England had the advantage of trying the question at a wide distance from the spot where the nuisance exists; the planters are not, excepting in rare examples, members of the legislature. The extent of the empire, and the magnitude and number of other questions crowding into court, keep this one in balance, and prevent it from obtaining that ascendancy, and being urged with that intemperance, which a question of property tends to acquire. There are causes in the composition of the British legislature, and the relation of its leaders to the country and to Europe, which exclude much that is pitiful and injurious in other legislative assemblies. From these reasons, the question was discussed with a rare independence and magnanimity. It was not narrowed down to a paltry electioneering trap; and, I must say, a delight in justice, an honest tenderness for the poor negro, for man suffering these wrongs, combined with the national pride, which refused to give the support of English soil, or the protection of the English flag, to these disgusting violations of nature."

We had marked another extract from this eminently interesting and beautiful composition, but its length, together with the crowded state of our columns, compels us to postpone it to our next. The whole address is so exquisitely true and touching, that we should gladly have inserted it entire; but it is at the same time so small and cheap, that our readers can have no difficulty in supplying themselves with this gratification. We earnestly recommend them to lose no time in doing so.

Fine Arts.

Scene on the Coast of Africa. Painted by H. F. BIARD, engraved by C. E. WAGSTAFF. [Legatt and Nevill, Cornhill; Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without.]

This is a picture of the slave-trade—or rather of one scene in it—taken, as we understand, upon the spot, from an actual group witnessed by the artist; and in its simple truthfulness it affords a stronger comment upon the horrors of that atrocious system than the most laboured eloquence could adduce. Even the masterly exposition of the matter recently delivered in the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, luminous as it was, derives fresh and vivid illustration from it; and the painful interest attaching both to that speech and to the picture before us, is enhanced by the fact that they confirm one another in every material point. The scene is on the coast of Africa, the time just before the break of day, for the sun must not shine upon the tragedy so revolting to human nature which is enacting. In the distance looms the outline of the hateful slaver, in the foreground the traffic and torture of human flesh which is to freight it is actively going forward. The various groups which the subject affords, and which are all skilfully arranged, have each their separate points of interest. No single figure, but, by its circumstances and expression, helps to swell the general tide of woe, or to illustrate the degenerate *morale* of the mercenary agents who cause it. In the centre, where the principal light is thrown, we behold a negro lying on his back with his hands rudely bound, undergoing the ordeal of inspection whilst his price is bartered for; a hoary-headed ruffian is knocking on his chest with his knuckles to

ascertain the soundness of his wind, whilst another rudely pulls open and inspects his mouth. In the rear are four negro chiefs or officers, two of whom, by their gestures and expression (full of character, and evidently taken from the life), show that they are haggling about the price which they are to receive for their hapless brother. Close adjoining to the left of this group we have an incident of still more painful and touching interest—a young female, who has just been purchased, is being branded on the shoulder by a powerful desperado, who, cigar in mouth, seems only intent upon the skilful manner with which he shall perform his task, altogether heedless of the cry and look of despair which his victim casts up. Between these two groups is a young urchin, whose early familiarity with horrors of this description is remarkably illustrated in the following manner: whilst he holds the lantern by which the match is lighted for the purpose of branding the unfortunate female last described, his attention is altogether diverted off to the other side, where the bargain is going forward for the as yet unpurchased negro—a matter which to him, in the true *esprit de corps*, is of far more curiosity and interest. In the rear, on the left, the purchased slaves are being driven into the launch which is to convey them to the ship in the offing; and between these and the spectator are huddled together some whose fate is still more wretched; being unworthy of purchase, they have been cast there to die of starvation. One, a female, partially lifts herself, extending her arm in despair towards a man who is being driven off past her (it is probably her husband or her brother); he turns round with a look of anguish, but the fierce strokes of the scourge, and the efforts of the man to whom he is manacled, force him on his way. Turning to the other side of the picture, in the extreme right we see fresh batches of slaves being driven to the scene of barter, fastened together, six abreast, by means of a pole passing along the backs of their shoulders, and to which they are yoked with rude wisps of hemp by the neck.

Such are the various stages and processes of this dreadful traffic, as described in the present picture. It now remains only to speak of two other figures, which complete the group, and which occupy the extreme right in the fore-ground. The one is the captain, or chief speculator in the expedition, who, armed to the teeth, and lolling carelessly back, with a book and ink-horn before him, observes the proceedings. He has an experienced eye for the "points" of the live cargo on which he is venturing; he is calm and determined in his mien, and totally indifferent to the pain and misery of the unfortunate wretches passing before him.

Equally brutalised by callous indifference is the face and demeanour of the African chief or king, who has brought all these captives into the Christian man's hands. Squatting there, decked in gaudy and fantastic attire, he smokes his long hookah, and looks on with a dull, careless eye at the medical examination of the prostrate negro. Of the two, however—the negro chief and the Spaniard—he is to our mind the more respectable; his brutalised aspect is the less odious, for it is obviously that of one who never knew better, whilst that of the other is the result of a wilful habit and a depraving education. We have entered into so much detail of this performance, because, not only on account of its subject, but of the manner in which it has been treated, we consider that it deserves attention. Odious as the incidents depicted are, devoid of natural beauty as the principal actors are, it might be apprehended that a picture too disgusting for contemplation would be the result. Such, however, is not the case: the picture is one which tells a dreadful story, and calls up the deepest feelings of abhorrence against the system which it describes, but does not offend the eye in the actual inspection of it. This is high praise to the artist, as evidence of the skill and taste with which he has treated a subject so difficult to deal with. His success is mainly owing to this fact, that he has not exaggerated the more revolting features of the case. He has not committed an error, too commonly fallen into by injudicious artists, of transferring to the actors any of the sentiments which should properly belong to the spectator of the scene; there is none of that assumed sentimentality and ferocity commonly understood as "stage effect." All the dismal transaction is going forward in a business-like manner, as if nobody were looking on; and the admirable expression depicted in the various faces, tells "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." We have only to add, that the engraving, which is of large dimensions, has been executed by Mr. Wagstaff in a manner quite worthy of the subject.—*Morning Chronicle*.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the *Belfast News-Letter*.

SIR,—The United States of America constitute the great stronghold of slavery in the world, and form an almost insurmountable barrier to the general overthrow of that system, which was so well denominated by the Rev. John Wesley, "*the sum and substance of all villainies.*" With the boasted freedom and delusive political theories of the Americans, it requires the utmost prudence, faithfulness, and energy in all intercourse with them in relation to this subject, and more particularly for the support of the noble abolitionists in that country, who have been enabled, under the Divine blessing, to make a stand against an iniquity which is likely to ruin the country. Whatever tends, in the most remote degree, either to disown or encourage this part of "the mystery of iniquity" should have due publicity, in order that all should know who are and who are not the real friends of the slave, as, in the present state of the world, there can, on this question, be no neutrality. They that are not for the freedom of all mankind are against it.

Several abolitionists in this country are anxiously waiting the decision of the committee of "the Free Church of Scotland," as to the propriety of retaining "the filthy lucre," received from the slave-holders of Charleston, South Carolina.

In this state of the question, it might be well that the views of the American abolitionists, in relation to the late deputation of the Free Church, should be known to the Presbyterians of the United Kingdom, in order to see how far they will coincide with the sentiments of the Free Church, and for this purpose I beg to add an extract from a letter of one of the most active and influential abolitionists in the United States, Lewis Tappan, Esq., dated New York, July 31st, 1844, and addressed to J. Scoble, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

and published in the *Reporter* of the 18th ult. It is as follows:—"We are exceedingly mortified that the Free Church of Scotland has treated our remonstrance with such neglect; they have, by their virtual sanction of the conduct of their commissioners in this country, rebuked the abolitionists and encouraged the slave-holders. If the religious people of Scotland cease to aid us in our responsible work, let them not throw obstacles in our way. The 9,000*l.* sterling, solicited here, is dearly acquired at the expense of disheartening American abolitionists, and cheering on the upholders of American slavery."

From the published speeches of the Rev. Drs. Cunningham and Burns, members of the late deputation, since their return home, it is much to be regretted that they understood so little of the real state of the American churches in their connexion with slavery, previous to their arrival in that country. A noble opportunity was thus lost, to their bearing faithful testimony, as ministers of the gospel, against the national sin of that country. It is evident, from the above extract, that the visit of the deputation has done evil to the cause of abolition, by their not having fearlessly and openly denounced the sin of slavery when an opportunity offered.

It seems hardly credible that ministers who had contended so well for the rights of Christ's kingdom at home, in preaching in a country almost universally infected with a moral leprosy, should totally omit saying a single word on that subject *in public*.

Surely the continuance of slavery in the world is ten times more injurious to the cause of Christ's kingdom on earth than all the evils, great as they were felt, by the Free Church of Scotland, previous to its separation from the state. What is passed cannot now be undone; but it is earnestly hoped that the conduct of the Free Church will, for the future, be more consistent in their intercourse with the American churches, and that they will return the blood-stained gift to the Charleston slave-holders.

Your giving this letter a place in your valuable columns will greatly oblige a Presbyterian abolitionist.

Belfast, Oct. 5th, 1844.

F. A. C.

Colonial Intelligence.

BARBADOS.—THE CENSUS.—Of the total number of the inhabitants there are 56,004 males, and 66,194 females; showing an excess of 10,190 females. There are 30,005 over 18 years of age employed in agriculture, of which 14,576 are men, and 15,429 women; an excess of 853 in favour of the women. There are 28,125 over 18 years engaged in trade or other business, of whom are 12,348 men, and 15,777 women—an excess of 3,429 women. There are 8,956 persons of both sexes without employment, and 55,112 boys and girls, the latter exceeding the former in number by 430; 19,362 persons living in Bridgetown, and 14,982 in the rural part of the parish. Most persons are of opinion (and his Excellency the Governor, in his late speech on opening the Legislature, stated it) that this census falls short of the amount of the population by upwards of 10,000.—*Liberal*.

ST. KITT'S.—THE CENSUS shows a total population of 23,177; namely, 10,523 males, and 12,654 females;—of these, 8,797 (of both sexes) are agricultural labourers. The population of Ba'terre, the chief town, is 1,908 males, and 2,785 females, or a total of 4,693.

GRENADA.—THE CENSUS shows a total population (including the island of Carriacou, 3,835) of 29,082—namely, 13,804 males, and 15,278 females; of these, the population of the town of St. George is stated at 1,921 males, and 2,476 females—total, 4397.—*St. George's Chronicle*.

TOBAGO.—THE CENSUS shows a total population of 13,208—namely, 6,152 males, and 7,056 females. Of these, 2,335 males and 2,517 females above the age of 18 years are engaged in agriculture. The population of Scarborough (the chief town) is 605 males, and 869 females,—total, 1,474. A census was taken in January, 1839, when the population was found to be 11,748; thus showing a total increase since that period of about 12 per cent., or an annual increase of 2·2 per cent.—*Tobago Chronicle*.

ST. VINCENT'S.—THE CENSUS.—Population of the island of St. Vincent and its dependencies, as taken on the 3rd June, 1844:—

Parishes.	Males.	Females.	White.	Coloured.	Blacks.
St. George	2,715	2,961	152	349	5,175
Charlotte.....	3,542	3,861	202	933	6,268
St. Andrew	1,129	1,224	106	278	1,968
St. Patrick	1,187	1,307	106	387	2,001
St. David.....	1,012	1,067	62	283	1,734
Grenadines.....	871	1,017	122	269	1,497
Kingstown.....	1,903	2,866	473	1,767	2,529
Calliaqua.....	241	345	29	203	354
	12,600	14,648	1,252	4,469	21,527
Under ten years old			7,464		
From ten to twenty			4,396		
,, twenty to forty.....			9,257		
,, forty to sixty			4,415		
Over sixty			1,716		
Total	27,248				

The entire population of this island and its dependencies, as stated above, amounts to only 27,248, a number far less than was anticipated. On the 31st July, 1834, there were of slaves alone 22,245, being 718 more than the whole of the present black inhabitants. If to this number of 22,245 we add 4,467 for the coloured inhabitants, and as many more

for free blacks, together with 1,252 for the white inhabitants, and something for the Charaibs (who are included in the present census), we find that the population in 1834 was about 33,000. Now supposing the deaths from that period to the present to equal the births, the astounding fact is arrived at, that 6,000 labourers have left the island since August, 1838.—*St. Vincent's Gazette*.

District.	Country—Natives of	Age.	NUMBER AND DESCRIPTION OF PERSONS IN EACH RETURN.						Total number of persons.
			Under five.	Five to ten.	Ten to twenty.	Twenty to thirty.	Thirty to forty.	Forty to fifty.	
Port of Spain district.	8,899	3,344	441	1,373	762	409	1,748	1,823	2,665
Western district	82	4,533	1,001	94	285	1,118	164	864	855
Toco district	3	424	39	2	72	13	..	90	75
Southern district.....	26	2,035	563	78	497	713	72	396	376
Carapichaima district.	79	3,024	1,911	65	198	1,541	224	688	613
St. Joseph district	100	8,036	1,453	99	669	1,371	598	1,458	1,491
Eastern district	17	765	129	14	24	360	53	165	140
Naparima district	218	5,412	3,665	76	505	1,409	376	1,174	211
	936	3,3128	1,2106	869	3,623	7,287	1,896	6,583	6,519
									9,701
									13,391
									10,909
									5,917
									3867
									2052
									646
									230
									30,713
									29,102
									59,815

MARTIN SORZANO, Surveyor-General.

Troops not included.

MAURITIUS.—RETURNED IMMIGRANTS.—The *Calcutta Star* accuses the Protector of Immigrants of having embarked, or allowed to be embarked, on board the *Watkins* and *Baboo* a number of passengers exceeding that allowed by the law, and out of proportion with the size of either vessel, and attributes to this serious fault the unfortunate events which occurred on board. The *Watkins* carried from Madras to Mauritius 118 persons, that is to say, 30 more than it could reasonably take, and left our port with 149 passengers! During the passage, the fever broke out on board, there was a scarcity of water, and what they had was of a bad quality, and the death of 44 individuals, including the captain, was the consequence. The passage was a long and difficult one—seventy-four days. It appears that, shortly after their departure from our island, the Coolies complained of not receiving a sufficient ration of water, and that five of them jumped overboard, three of whom only could be saved. The *Baboo*, which was licensed to carry only 210 emigrants from Calcutta, took back 274 to India. Eleven deaths took place on board. Three of the passengers had embarked in a dying state; in fact, the captain had been prevailed on with difficulty to take charge of them. One of them jumped overboard.—*Mauritius Watchman*.

THE CATTLE.—The last accounts give further particulars of the epidemic that had prevailed among the cattle, and which came so suddenly that the editor of the *Mauricien* says it could hardly be believed, were it not related by eye-witnesses. It is also said to break out at opposite quarters, and pass over places in the centre of contagion,

bidding defiance to theories to explain the cause, as well as all the efforts of science to arrest its progress. Such is its virulence in some cases, that there is hardly time to try any remedy whatever. One proprietor had lost eighty-two, and another fifty-five, in a single day: another had upwards of forty, seemingly quite well on Thursday night. On Friday morning one died, and by Saturday twenty-six were dead, and they were digging holes to bury the remainder, as they were all so ill, that they had not many minutes to live. The vast number of putrid carcasses seriously alarmed the people as to spreading fever amongst the lower orders in some quarters, and unless the mortality ceased, the crop would be seriously affected. It was suggested that Government should offer a premium for the importation of cattle, as in the case of rice.

DESENTERS.—If our opinion on this subject be that of our local government, the unofficial members of council did not much overrate the amount of desertion, when they *laid it a few months ago at from 6,000 to 8,000 men, judging merely by the numbers daily arrested by the police department.* —Cernéen.

STATE OF THE IMMIGRANTS.—Many of the Madras emigrants recognized me, and they all regretted their expatriation. Many of them have been imposed upon, made to work, and not paid. Others have preferred quitting their hard taskmasters, and flying to the hedges and bushes, and into the town. Some engage themselves as domestics; but, in all cases, they get less than in India. I cannot see how the Indian labourer is protected at the Mauritius. They seem to me to be literally sold by the importer for from ten to fifteen dollars, and must serve the person they are consigned to for one year, and remain five years in the colony. If they wish to quit their first master, they must give from forty to fifty dollars as release-money. They have not the means of doing this. It is a farce to say, they can on landing choose their own masters, forty-eight hours being ostensibly allowed for this purpose!

The labourers' wages do not now exceed six rupees monthly, and for women and youths one rupee. They are not paid in specie, this being exceedingly scarce, and consequently too much valued to give them! They are put off in some way, so that at least for the first year they have no choice but to submit. They are not in their own country. They are helpless, without facilities, and cannot find redress. I give one or two instances, out of many.—One poor fellow, who never took up a pick-axe in his life, was put to work by his master's wife, a negress. He worked, but got no pay, and was ill fed. He flew to town, I saw him, and gave him work. I advised him to go to the magistrate or protector, but he was afraid. He dreaded going with me to the police, lest he should bring punishment on himself.—Another, who worked for three rupees a month, got but two-and-a-half, left his master, and was living by purchasing plantains!—Correspondent of the *Friend of India*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ATTEMPT OF THE REV. C. T. TORREY TO ESCAPE FROM PRISON.—An attempt to escape from the Baltimore jail, on the part of Charles T. Torrey, imprisoned on a charge of aiding the escape of slaves, both from Maryland and Virginia, having been discovered and frustrated, the city press of Saturday morning comments upon the circumstance in a manner calculated to increase the popular prejudice always intense in the slaveholding States against any person labouring under a similar charge. Attention is especially directed in the papers to the seeming incongruity of this attempt, with his previous public assertion not only of a readiness, but of an anxious desire to meet the important legal issues involved in his case. I feel bound to state, in justice to Mr. T., and without having consulted him, and in order that his recent attempt may have no other prejudicial effect upon the public mind than that which would naturally result, that this apparent inconsistency does not in fact exist. The legal issues specified by Mr. T., in his late address to the public, can only be tried in the courts of the United States, first in the Circuit, and then in the Supreme Court. In order to get a hearing upon these points before those courts, it became necessary as a preliminary step, to give bail in the city court in the sum of 2,000 dollars. We have endeavoured for several weeks assiduously, to obtain bail, making every exertion in our power to that effect, but without success. Although the bail would not have discharged Mr. T. for a moment from custody, and might have been released in a week, in case of an unfavourable decision in the Circuit Court, (the only object of it being to procure him a hearing before that court,) we were unable to obtain it—not, as we became entirely satisfied, from apprehension of risk on the part of those to whom we applied, but solely on account of the odium attached to the unpopular nature of the charge. Had it been manslaughter, arson, or rape, the difficulty might have been obviated. Under these circumstances, I informed Mr. Torrey several days ago, of the utter hopelessness of obtaining bail, and, consequently, of getting the important points which both himself and numerous friends at the North were sincerely and ardently desirous to have tried and adjudicated, before the highest tribunals of the country. Mr. Torrey did not, therefore, I am persuaded, desire to escape from prison to avoid a thorough investigation of the questions of law involved in his case while that seemed attainable, but was, on the contrary, I am inclined to believe, driven to this unfortunate attempt by despair of being able to procure such investigation. For one, I do not find in my heart to reprehend very sternly the unwillingness of any man, especially a northern abolitionist, to meet a jury in a slaveholding State, upon a question touching in any way the interests of slavery. Interest and passion and popular clamour may influence even the purest of men. Mere surmises may, in the willing or incautious mind, ripen into proofs. A penitentiary is, at best, an uncomfortable home, and even the tedium and annoyances of confinement in the city jail, with declining health, have been, I think, but little alleviated, with a few worthy exceptions, by "the active agency," "the honourable sympathy," or the solicitations and friendly inquiries of the citizens of Baltimore, though these are often bestowed upon the most degraded felon. Thus much I have felt it my duty, as the counsel of Mr. Torrey, to say, fearing that an undue use might be made, by those anxious to convict him, of an occurrence which is neither novel nor surprising under circumstances such as these I have indicated,

and which has no intrinsic connexion with the questions of the truth or falsity of the charges against my client, or the guilt or innocence of the acts charged.—S. P. ANDREWS, of counsel for C. T. Torrey.

CUBA.—The *Jamaica Royal Gazette* states, on information just received by the *Trent* steamer, that the authorities had deported no less than 18,000 free coloured and black people from the island.

BOURBON.—IMMIGRATION.—We see by the *Feuille Hebdomadaire*, that immigration begins to assume an important aspect at Bourbon. From our knowledge of the Bourbon planters, and the state of things in that colony, we do not anticipate a very enviable lot for the immigrants domiciled in that island. The authorities will doubtless take care that those who may be dissatisfied do not escape to "bring up an evil report of the land."—*Mauritius Watchman*.

FRANCE.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.—From the *French Abolitionist* we take the following particulars of the petitions for the immediate abolition of slavery, recently presented to the Chamber of Deputies.

The first petition was signed by Julien Galée, No. 1, Rue Neuve-des-Mathurins, and 1,505 others. Among them may be observed, Marul Verdier, 58, Rue Montmartre; Guebault, a man of letters; Guaball, a colonial ex-magistrate, 29, Rue-du-Dragon; La Rivallière, painter; Fontalba, retired captain; Agricol Perdignier; Saint-Remy Mondesir; the workmen at the printing-office of Schueider and Langrand, at the printing-office of Fournier, at the printing-office of Paul Dupont, at the manufactory of Pleyel and Co., at the lithographic press of Gosselin, at the printing-office of Bathune and Plon, at the lithographic press of Lemercier, Rue-de-Seine, at the printing-office of Duceoissois; the workmen at Offroy House, Rue Sainte Marguerite; at the foundry, Rue Madame, &c., &c. This was presented by M. Isambert, February 19th.

The second petition, containing 1,903 signatures, was presented on the 11th of March, by M. de Lamartine.

The third petition, containing 620 signatures, was presented on the 30th of March, by M. Ag. de Gasparin.

The fourth, containing 612 signatures, by M. Jouvenel, deputy from the Tenth Arrondissement of Paris, on the 22nd of August.

The 5th, containing 404 signatures, by M. de Larochejacquelain, on the 26th of April.

The sixth, containing 476 signatures, by M. Taillandeir, deputy from the Third Arrondissement of Paris, on the 27th of April. Among the names may be observed those of MM. Eugène Sue, Emm. Arago, A. de Saint Cheron, E. Scribe, Ferret, L. Blanc, V. Schoelcher, Altarache, Félix Pyat, Roy, an old colonist, Ferdinand Denis, brother of the reporter, Pilert, Bonnard, Astrem, Songère, Mauvais, member of the Institute, F. Flocon, Al. Mic, Lieut.-Gen. Viscount Villiers, Edward Genonde, l'Abbé Migne, founder of the *Univers Religieux*, Mery, &c., &c.

The seventh petition, containing 475 signatures, of which 175 were those of artists, and among which were those of MM. Pradier, David d'Angers, Drolling, Verdier, Vabet, an old deputy and man of letters, &c., was presented on the 27th of August, by M. Carnot, deputy of the Seine.

The eighth petition was presented on the same day by General Paixhans, and contained 603 signatures of citizens of Metz and the Moselle.

The ninth petition, containing also 603 signatures, and comprising that of M. Ed. Dupont, advocate, was presented on the 28th of April.

The tenth petition, presented on the 4th of May, by M. Abatucci, deputy of the Loiret, contained 120 signatures, and among them those of MM. Michelet, Ed. Quinet, Count Charles de Lasteyrie, Jules Renard, &c.

M. Ledru-Rollin, deputy of the Sarthe, presented on the same day the eleventh petition, from the workmen of Lyons, containing 1705 signatures.

There were, in the whole, 9,038 signatures.

Miscellanea.

FREE LABOUR—THE COST OF PRODUCING SUGAR.—One of the most encouraging circumstances with regard to the British colonies in the West Indies, is the great improvement which is taking place in agriculture, and which the Earl of Elgin and the other governors are doing everything in their power to promote. Amongst the numerous agricultural societies formed in Jamaica is one in the parish of Clarendon, and amongst the prizes offered by that society was one of 20*l.*, to be given to the manager of the plantation who should produce the greatest quantity of sugar at the smallest cost. It appears from the report of the *Jamaica Royal Agricultural Society*, that two managers competed for this prize, one of whom succeeded in producing sugar at a cost of nine shillings and sixpence halfpenny per cwt., and the other at an expense of eight shillings and tenpence three farthings. This is a surprisingly cheap rate of production, much cheaper indeed than anything we had supposed to be possible, and would justify much stronger hopes of the triumph of free labour over slave labour than we should before have ventured previously to indulge.—*Liverpool Times*. [We should know better what to make of this, if we were informed what charges were included in this amount.—*Ed. A. S. Reporter*.]

IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.—From private accounts we derive the gratifying information, that Government, having procured the necessary security from Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, have resolved to convey to these colonies, between October and April, 5,000, and 5,000, and 2,500 Coolies respectively.—*Guiana Times*.

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, October 16, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXVIII. VOL. V.—No. 22.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN ALGERIA.

ADDRESS OF THE INSTITUT D'AFRIQUE TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD, NOW DUKE OF ISLY.

Paris, September 27, 1844.

To Marshal Bugeaud, Governor of the French Possessions in Northern Africa.

MONSIEUR MARSHAL.—We acquit ourselves of a duty towards the Institut d'Afrique, of which you are one of the oldest presidents, in calling your attention to the traffic in slaves which is daily carried on at the markets of Bona, Oran, and Algiers.

One of our most ardent wishes would be to see you, after having subdued the warlike people of Algiers, abolish by a proclamation, signed with your own name, the sale of human beings.

We acknowledge that you have nothing to add to your military glory; but after the sanguinary struggles of war should come the serious cares which humanity demands.

It is, then, in the name of humanity that we conjure you to put an end to this infamous traffic, anathematized by philosophy, resisted by morality, and denounced by religion. Not only do we obey the voice of conscience, but we are the echo of a thousand voices which arise from all sides, to reproach us with the maintenance of the odious institution of slavery in Algeria.

Whatever may be the causes which have prevented your predecessors from giving satisfaction to wishes so generally expressed, we doubt not, from our personal knowledge of you, that your generous heart and resolute temper will not hesitate a moment to put an end to these criminal sales of human beings which scandalize the world.

This grand measure, be well persuaded, Monsieur, will give to your glory an ineffaceable splendour. It will, without doubt, produce an immense sensation in the markets of the East, and will be received with profound satisfaction by all humane men of all nations.

Will you hear the prayer of your colleagues, who assure you beforehand of their unalterable gratitude?

We have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, Monsieur Marshal,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

The President of the Institut d'Afrique,
LE DUC DE MONTMORENCY,
The Secretary-General,
HYPP. DE ST. ANTHOINE.

(Adopted in Session.)

DOMINICA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. BARON STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, ETC. ETC.

MY LORD.—The events which have transpired in the island of Dominica have filled the friends of the emancipated classes in this country with sorrow and alarm. That any outbreak should have taken place among them, from whatever cause it might have arisen, would have been matter for regret; but that such an outbreak should have occurred as to have led to the proclamation of martial law for its suppression, and to the sacrifice of the lives and liberties of not a few of the peasantry to secure the peace of the colony, gives rise to feelings and apprehensions of the most painful nature. Under the influence of these feelings the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg permission to address your Lordship, not for the purpose of justifying any act of the Dominica peasantry which either the law of the colony or the law of morals condemns; but for the purpose of securing to them that justice and consideration which their circumstances imperatively demand.

The outbreak commenced on the 3rd of June last. The ostensible, if not the real cause of its occurrence, was the taking of the census of the island. It was confined in its operation principally to Grand Bay and Point Michelle, and included, when at its height, comparatively few of the labouring class, the great bulk of the population having quietly submitted to the progress of the enumerators, and continued at their usual peaceful occupations. The suddenness of the outbreak, and the acts of those implicated in it, prove that there was no pre-concert or organization among the peasantry; and at no time did it assume any other form than that of riotous opposition to certain of the enumerators, attended with excesses on the part of some of them against obnoxious individuals, which the Committee cannot but condemn, and which deserve undoubtedly both reprobation and punishment. They cannot, however, disguise from your Lordship their conviction, that, had proper means been adopted by the President of the island, to explain the real object of the Census Act, and had judicious persons been selected to act as enumerators, the outbreak would never have occurred; and that, such as it was, had his Honour acted with the promptness

and calmness which the circumstances of the case required, the ordinary police of the island would have been sufficient to have quelled the disturbance, and to have brought the offenders to justice.

Instead of doing this, however, the President proclaimed martial law on the following day, despatched orders to Barbados for troops of the line, to reinforce those already in the island, reorganized the militia, issued commissions, and armed for the most part a body of young men, who, either under the influence of exaggerated fears, or of evil passions, marched to the disturbed districts, not to put down an insurrectionary movement on the part of the labourers, (for none such existed,) but to capture all whom they chose to consider rioters or rebels.

How this undisciplined militia acted is matter of record. On the 5th of June, a detachment of seven volunteers and three pioneers, under the command of Mr. H. Bellot, who had been maltreated on the 3rd instant, proceeded to the house of one Jerome, who, it is alleged, had been a principal in the assault. On his refusing to surrender, he was ordered to be taken into custody, but the fear of the party prevented this being done; and, on his showing resistance, he was first bayoneted, then shot in the arm, and finally shot dead by Mr. Bellot, who, not content with the death of his victim, caused his head to be severed from his body, and stuck on a pole on the Bencoa cross-road! Jerome was unarmed when this military party of eleven men, eight of whom were armed, ordered him into custody; his capture was easy; a mere rush upon him might have secured him; but the alarm of the militia led to the death of this unhappy person; and the subsequent uncalled-for act of ferocity must be regarded as a standing disgrace to the body to which they belonged. This was not the only act of the kind which disgraced the militia. At Point Michelle, a man named Jean Charles had been taken into custody on the charge of having struck certain parties during the riot. On his attempting to make his escape from them, he was immediately shot dead, and his head was also severed from his body, and exposed as an object of terror to the negroes in that quarter! A poor fellow, named Jean Baptiste, who, hearing angry words pass between the prisoner and the militia detachment, came out of his house for the purpose of advising him to go on quietly, as he was "in the hands of the law," was inhumanly fired upon, and dreadfully wounded. The party who committed these outrages was commanded by Sergeant James Watson.

By the time the militia turned out on the 5th of June the riots were over, and they were therefore principally engaged in securing persons as prisoners who offered them no resistance. Many parties of them were taken into custody, some in their own homes, others at their labour, none of them in arms. They were tied or fettered, and sent by escorts to Roseau; and some of them were so inhumanly fastened with cords, especially a body composed of eighteen labourers and seven women, one of them large in the family way, that the ligatures were obliged to be cut.

Three hundred prisoners were captured by the militia, upwards of two-thirds of whom were released by the court of inquiry, composed of the privy council, assisted by the attorney-general: a clear proof that the militia did not exhibit either discrimination in their seizures, or humanity in their conduct.

The prisoners committed for trial were ninety-four in number, and among them was one Motard, who stood charged with *wounding with intent to kill* the Hon. J. Bremmer. This unfortunate man was without counsel to aid him in his defence; the only two counsel in the island, Messrs. Blanc and Letang, having refused to assist him, on grounds dishonorable to their professional character, and most cruel to the prisoner. One of them is reported to have said, that it would "establish a bad precedent;" and that "he thought it a hard case that the prisoner at the bar should be defended by the money of that public, whose property and lives he had recently endeavoured to take!" The consequence was, that no exception was taken to the indictment, no cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, no defence of the prisoner. The jury, however, would have given a qualified verdict in favour of Motard, but were not permitted to do so by the court, and he was found guilty on the capital charge, sentenced to death, and executed by order of the President, without any previous appeal to the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy (which ought to have been made), although there was nothing in the evidence which clearly proved that Motard had thrown the stone which slightly wounded Mr. Bremmer in the cheek, or used the violent and rash language attributed to him by the prosecutor. In reviewing this case, so far as the facts have transpired, the Committee cannot but express the opinion, that Motard was sacrificed to the spirit of colonial violence. His prosecutor, who was he? A planter, and brother-in-law of the President. The attorney-general, who was he? A man without a legal education, and who conducted the prosecution in a spirit abhorrent to British law and British feeling. The judges and jury, who were

they? Planters, colonists, and militia-men, whose unworthy fears had led to the proclamation of martial law, and whose insane prejudices and want of self-control were but too clearly marked throughout the unhappy affair. And the President, who suffered Motard to be executed, who was he? A planter and large planting attorney, on one of whose estates (Canefield) the first outbreak is alleged to have taken place.

From such men, and under such circumstances, it was too much to expect that the trials of the prisoners would be conducted with that impartiality which would have ensured the innocent acquittal, and afforded the guilty no just cause of complaint. The Committee, therefore, deeply regret that the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy,—who arrived off the island on Saturday, the 8th of June, but did not land until the following day, and while yet martial law was in existence, and the jails crowded with prisoners,—should have deemed it to be consistent with his duty, a short time after his arrival, to have departed thence on a complimentary visit to the governor of the French island of Martinique. The only acts of his Excellency which attracted public attention were his visit to the jail, the issue of a military order thanking the militia for the manner in which they had performed their duty, a proclamation to the negroes who had fled from their homes, and sanctioning the ball given by the President, during his brief stay in the island, by his presence.

The visit of his Excellency to the jail was remarkable. Accompanied by the President, the Board of Council, the Attorney-General, and others, he is represented to have addressed the prisoners upon their shameful conduct, the state in which they had placed the country, and the consequence which must result to the guilty; and after this harangue he called on the Attorney-General to address them also! The Committee make no comment on this act of his Excellency, further than to say, that, in their judgment, it was altogether unwarranted, and calculated seriously to prejudice the cause of the accused when brought before the criminal tribunals of the colony. Another act of his Excellency having a similar tendency, was the proclamation issued to those negroes who had fled from the disturbed districts and sought refuge in the woods and mountains. These are all treated as guilty persons who deservedly merited punishment. It never seems to have struck his Excellency that many, or that most of them, might have been instigated by their fears of oppression to fly from their homes at the approach of the militia, from whom past experience had taught them to expect no favour.

Throughout the whole of the proceedings, the Committee grieve to say, a disposition evidently existed on the part of the authorities to prejudge the cases of the accused negroes, and even to deprive them of the means of defence. Mr. Letang, the only resident counsel in the island besides the Attorney-General, stated publicly, that he had offered his services to that functionary to assist him in the prosecution. And an extra session of the House of Assembly was actually convened to secure the services of Mr. Blanc, who had come from Tortola to the island, probably for the purpose of assisting the same functionary to carry on the prosecutions. Happily, however, for the credit of the House, the motion was resisted as unconstitutional, and it was not carried, notwithstanding the Speaker of the House insisted that they were competent to appoint Mr. Blanc to assist the Attorney-General in his duties.

In inquiring into the cause which led to the outbreak, it is clear to the apprehension of the Committee, that the resistance of the negroes in the disturbed districts to the Census Act, arose from the fear that it was intended to reduce them again to the condition of slaves. In proof of this it is but necessary to peruse the evidence taken on such of the trials as have already taken place. To the Committee it is also clear that the responsibility of the outbreak may be traced to the conduct of certain of the planters and enumerators, and they believe that this will become apparent if a rigid and impartial examination of the whole affair be instituted by the Government. No doubt the alarm felt by the negroes was increased by the fact that a planter was President of the island, whose conduct under the system of slavery was open to the gravest censure, and who, subsequently to his taking office as President, has laid himself open to charges of such a character as to justify the immediate interposition of the home government for his removal.

Such is a bare outline of the facts connected with the recent outbreak. Having submitted them to the serious consideration of your Lordship, the Committee would venture to express the hope that her Majesty's Government will feel it to be necessary, first, to cause a rigid and impartial inquiry to be instituted into the cause or causes which led to that outbreak; secondly, to obtain attested minutes of the trials of the prisoners, including copies of the indictments, evidence, verdicts, and sentences, in each case respectively; thirdly, to secure correct lists of the parties who filled the offices of judges and jury, stating their occupations, whether they acted as militia-men during the late disturbances, or were in any way, directly or indirectly, connected with the districts where they broke out. The Committee would also venture respectfully and earnestly to recommend to your Lordship the revision of the sentences passed by the Court on the prisoners. In reference to five unhappy persons sentenced to death, the Committee are happy to find that a respite from his Excellency, Sir Charles Fitzroy, arrived just in time to stay execution. On many of the prisoners sentences of imprisonment, varying from six months to two years, with hard labour, have been passed; and to punishment have been added fines, varying from 10*l.* to 40*l.*, to be paid at the termination of their imprisonment; at which period also they will be required to enter into recognizances,

both personally and by sureties, to keep the peace for a period of two years. Now the Committee need scarcely inform your Lordship that such sentences are tantamount to imprisonment for life, for it is not probable that persons in their condition will ever be able to pay the fines, or obtain the sureties required. The Committee trust, therefore, that the grace of the Crown will be displayed in reducing the period of their imprisonment to the shortest term, and in remitting the other part of their sentences altogether. Such leniency, they are convinced, will not be abused, and will have the effect of quieting the minds of the people at large, by an assurance that no sinister design exists against their freedom.

In reference to the prisoners who are untried, of whom there are a considerable number, it is understood the trials were put off for a period of nearly one month, in consequence of one of the judges, Mr. Doyle, from some personal cause, not being able to attend. This gentleman, a civilian, is the editor of the *Colonist*, and, judging from the tenour of its articles, not the most suitable person to preside as a judge over the parties implicated in the outbreak.

In reviewing the whole of the affair, the Committee feel convinced that her Majesty's Government will judge it to be indispensably necessary, that the government of the West India colonies should henceforth be administered by functionaries having no connexion whatever with their commercial or agricultural pursuits. It is a well-known fact, that, shortly after Mr. President Laidlaw came into office, he suggested to a body of planters the propriety of reducing the wages of the peasantry, already low enough, which terminated in a strike, lasting about three months; and that, in the matter of removing parties from the Crown lands, his conduct has been far from unexceptionable. The Committee consider this a vital point to the future peace and prosperity of the colonies. Nor less so do they esteem the continuance of the special magistracy. Without the presence of such a body of men to administer law between employers and labourers, and exclusively devoted to their duties, the Committee are convinced that justice cannot be secured to the emancipated classes. To supersede them, either to gratify the vanity or ambition of the colonists, and thus to arm the employers with power over their dependents, would, they are convinced, be fatally injurious to the welfare of the colonies, and the happiness of the great mass of the people. The Committee, therefore, trust her Majesty's Government will firmly resist every attempt to substitute a local for the special magistracy which at present exists.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, October 15, 1844.

REPLY.

Colonial Office, October 24, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst., and to acquaint you in answer that his lordship is in communication with the Governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands on the various subjects connected with the late disturbances in Dominica which appear to require the attention of her Majesty's Government.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

To John Scoble, Esq.

LEGISLATION IN BRITISH GUIANA.

In the month of June last, we called the special attention of our readers to an extraordinary piece of legislation in which the Combined Court of British Guiana had indulged, without notice, without reason, and involving a heavy charge on the colonial funds for many years to come. The Court is composed of planters and merchants whose interests are identified, and of five or six high civil functionaries, including, of course, the Governor. A body thus constituted, however well it might have represented the colony during the period of slavery, when the great bulk of the people were regarded, not as *men*, but as *things*, does not represent it now. The slave population have become free, and, with their freedom, they have become large contributors to its revenue, and ought, therefore, as well as their employers, to have a voice in its disposal. This, at present, they have not; and, as might be supposed, the predominant class use the common fund for their own interests. The only real check on arbitrary legislation, heavy taxation, and extravagant expenditure, is lodged in the Queen in Council; but, should her Majesty's advisers concur with the Combined Court as to the necessity or expediency of the measures they adopt, there is no help for the over-taxed community, who must bear the burden as they best may.

The legislation referred to embraced two measures; the one for raising half-a-million sterling for immigration purposes, the other, for securing an extravagant civil list to the Government until the year 1855, embracing items of the most objectionable character, but which it was thought might smooth the way for the acceptance of the Loan ordinance. In fact, it might have been regarded as a bribe, inasmuch as its sanction by her Majesty was made contingent upon the Loan ordinance becoming law. The ordinances, however, did not become law; the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, having refused to recommend them to the sanction of her Majesty, on the ground of the haste and precipitation with which they had been passed, and the illegal and unconstitutional manner in which

they were enacted. The noble Lord, however, did not object to the principle of the Loan ordinance, but took exception simply against the mode in which it had been passed, and the details which it comprehended; and he intimated, in a despatch to the Governor, that, provided his views were met and his suggestions adopted, another Loan ordinance might be passed; provided also, that the Civil List ordinance were re-enacted for a period of time commensurate with that which might be required to pay off the loan and interest accruing thereon, by means of a sinking-fund drawn from the taxes.

On the arrival of his Lordship's despatch, announcing the disallowance of the previous ordinances, a special session of the Combined Court was summoned by the Governor, when he laid before them the instructions he had received, whereupon they commenced legislating, if it may be so termed, *de novo*. Within the first twenty-four hours of their sitting they voted away 75,000*l.*, to be appropriated to the introduction of 5,000 Coolies by the end of March next year; and, during the last twenty-four hours, they re-enacted the Loan and Civil List ordinances, without, in either case, giving the tax-payers the slightest opportunity for the expression of their opinion, and without the least regard to their ability to bear the enormous debt sought to be imposed upon them.

As might be supposed, this mode of dealing with the great majority of the colony as nonentities, has excited their indignation; but as the leading local press is either under the control of the local Government, or in the pay of the planters, they have not been able to communicate their views with effect, or to adduce their reasons for opposition both to the principle and details of these obnoxious measures. They have, moreover, by an arbitrary regulation of the Governor's, been prevented from forwarding to her Majesty's Government, through the regular channel, their memorials against them; for the whole proceedings of the Legislature were conducted with such privacy, as well as haste, as to preclude the possibility of any organized opposition. It surely, therefore, cannot be too much to hope, under these circumstances, that the Government will suspend its sanction to the ordinances in their new form, until the parties who ought to be heard have been heard in relation thereto.

Had the Loan ordinance been passed for the purpose of meeting any public and pressing exigency, some excuse, perhaps, might have been found for the course pursued; but, in fact, it is not a public measure, intended for the public benefit, but really for private ends. It is an ordinance intended to enable certain great planters in British Guiana to bring from Africa and Asia masses of men, wherewith to extend the cultivation of their estates, and, at the same time, to lower the rate of wages of the native labourers, already low enough, at the public expense. Anything more objectionable in principle than this we can scarcely imagine. But the expense does not end with the original loan for the introduction of immigrants. The public are to be burdened still further. At the expiration of five years the colony must supply funds to return the immigrants imported, or the survivors of them, to their native land. These Lord Stanley computes at two-thirds. Thus other loan bills must pass to raise an additional 333,000*l.* for this purpose. And then—what then? Another half-million loan must be raised to introduce more labourers, or the cultivation in which they were engaged must cease; and so on until the colony is ruined, which it must be by such a series of measures. And whence are the vast sums to be appropriated to the introduction of foreign and transitory labour, and the interest thereon, to come? The population of the colony, at its last census, was under one hundred thousand, and these, with the exception of a few thousands, are labourers. Already they have heavy burdens to bear, and yet it is proposed greatly to increase them, and that, too, for an indefinite period of time. But in addition to the objection they feel to this monetary burden, they decidedly and unanimously protest against the introduction among their wives and daughters of hordes of idolatrous and sensual Chinese and Hindoos, whose presence they dread, and justly dread, as that of a moral pestilence. In the appeals which they have forwarded to us, they entreat their British friends to aid them to the utmost of their power in preventing an evil they so much dread. Against the fair competition occasioned by spontaneous and free emigration into Guiana they do not strive, neither would they hinder the proprietors of estates from introducing as many labourers as they please at their own cost and charge, provided they are brought in free, and allowed to remain so; but against any other mode of supplying the alleged want of labour they declare their most decided opposition; and we declare our opposition also, for reasons we shall hereafter lay before the friends of humanity, justice, and liberty in this country.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

From the admirable address of Mr. Emerson, which we noticed in our last, we quote a passage in which the grievous wrongs to which citizens of the free states are exposed by the iniquitous laws of the slave states of America are forcibly stated:—

"Forgive me, fellow-citizens, if I own to you, that in the last few days that my attention has been occupied with this history, I have not been able to read a page of it, without the most painful comparisons. Whilst I have read of England, I have thought of New England. Whilst I have meditated, in my solitary walks, on the magnanimity of the English Bench and Senate, reaching out the benefit of the law to the most helpless citizen of her world-wide realm, I have found myself oppressed by other thoughts. As I have walked in the pastures, and along the edge of woods, I could not keep my imagination on those agreeable figures, for other images that intruded on me. I could not see the great vision of the pa-

triots and senators who have adopted the slave's cause:—they turned their backs on me. No: I see other pictures—of mean men: I see very poor, very ill-clothed, very ignorant men, not surrounded by happy friends;—to be plain,—poor black men, of obscure employment, as mariners, cooks, or stewards, in ships, yet citizens of this our commonwealth of Massachusetts, free born as we, whom the slave-laws of the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, have arrested in the vessels in which they visited those ports, and shut up in jails so long as the vessel remained in port, with the stringent addition, that if the ship-master fails to pay the costs of this official arrest, and the board in jail, these citizens are to be sold for slaves, to pay that expense. This man, these men, I see, and no law to save them. Fellow-citizens, this crime will not be hushed up any longer. I have learned that a citizen of Nantucket, walking in New Orleans, found a free-born citizen of Nantucket—a man, too, of great personal worth, and, as it happened, very dear to him, as having saved his own life, working chained in the streets of that city, kidnapped by such a process as this. In the sleep of the laws, the private interference of two excellent citizens of Boston has, I have ascertained, rescued several natives of this state from these southern prisons. Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts, as the floor on which we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. The poorest fishing-smack, that floats under the shadow of an iceberg in the northern seas, or hunts the whale in the southern ocean, should be encompassed by her laws with comfort and protection, as much as within the arms of Cape Ann and Cape Cod: and this kidnapping is suffered within our own land and federation, whilst the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States ordains in terms, that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the Governor break the broad seal of the state; he wears the sword in vain. The Governor of Massachusetts is a trifler; the State-house in Boston is a play-house; the General Court is a dishonoured body, if they make laws which they cannot execute. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity. The rich men may walk in State-street, but they walk without honour; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men. If the state has no power to defend its own people in its own shipping, because it has delegated that power to the Federal Government, has it no representation in the Federal Government? Are those men dumb? I am no lawyer, and cannot indicate the forms applicable to the case, but here is something which transcends all forms. Let the senators and representatives of the state, containing a population of a million freemen, go in a body before the Congress, and say, that they have a demand to make on them so imperative, that all functions of government must stop, until it is satisfied. If ordinary legislation cannot reach it, then extraordinary must be applied. The Congress should instruct the President to send to those ports of Charlestown, Savannah, and New Orleans, such orders and such force, as shall release, forthwith, all such citizens of Massachusetts as were helden in prison without the allegation of any crime, and should set on foot the strictest inquisition to discover where such persons, brought into slavery by these local laws, at any time heretofore, may now be. That first;—and then, let order be taken to indemnify all such as have been incarcerated. As for dangers to the Union, from such demands!—the Union is already at an end, when the first citizen of Massachusetts is thus outraged. Is it an union and covenant in which the state of Massachusetts agrees to be imprisoned, and the state of Carolina to imprison? Gentlemen, I am loth to say harsh things, and perhaps I know too little of politics for the smallest weight to attach to any censure of mine,—but I am at a loss how to characterise the tameness and silence of the two senators and the ten representatives of the state at Washington. To what purpose have we clothed each of those representatives with the power of seventy thousand persons, and each senator with nearly half a million, if they are to sit dumb at their desks, and see their constituents captured and sold;—perhaps to gentlemen sitting by them in the hall? There is a scandalous rumour that has been swelling louder of late years,—perhaps it is wholly false,—that members are bullied into silence by southern gentlemen. It is so easy to omit to speak, or even to be absent, when delicate things are to be handled. I may as well say what all men feel, that whilst our very amiable and very innocent representatives and senators, at Washington, are accomplished lawyers and merchants, and very eloquent at dinners and at caucuses, there is a disastrous want of men from New England. I would gladly make exceptions, and you will not suffer me to forget one eloquent old man, in whose veins the blood of Massachusetts rolls, and who singly has defended the freedom of speech, and the rights of the free, against the usurpation of the slave-holder. But the reader of congressional debates in New England, is perplexed to see with what admirable sweetness and patience the majority of the free states are schooled and ridden by the minority of slave-holders. What if we should send thither representatives who were a particle less amiable and less innocent? I entreat you, sirs, let not this stain attach, let not this misery accumulate any longer. If the managers of our political parties are too prudent and too cold;—if, most unhappily, the ambitious class of young men, and political men, have found out, that these neglected victims are poor and without weight, that they have no graceful hospitalities to offer, no valuable business to throw into any man's hands, no strong vote to cast at the elections, and therefore may with impunity be left in their chains, or to the chance of chains,—then let the citizens, in their primary capacity, take up their cause on this very ground, and say to the government of the state, and of the Union, that government exists to defend the weak and the poor and the injured party; the rich and the strong can better take care of themselves. And as an omen and assurance of success, I point you to the bright example which England set you, on this day, ten years ago."

SUSPECTED AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADERS.—An examination has been made of the cargoes of the schooners *Manchester* and *Devereux*, of and from Baltimore, which were seized last week by order of the collector of Boston, on suspicion of being fitted out for the slave-trade; but nothing has been discovered to sustain the accusation. It is admitted that their destination was the coast of Africa, but the captains declare that they only contemplated engaging in lawful commercial business.—*Liberator*.

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 30, 1844.

OUR columns will be found largely occupied to-day with the affairs of Dominica; but the subject is of sufficient importance to justify the room we have allotted to it. In the first place, we are enabled to present to our readers the memorial which has been addressed to Lord Stanley by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the late disturbances in the island named. The answer of his Lordship, although short, is not altogether unsatisfactory. He admits that there are some points in this unhappy business which require notice, and states that he is in communication with the Governor-General of the Leeward Islands in relation to them. Of course, we cannot expect a disclosure of the tenor of this correspondence. We can only hope that, when it shall be laid before Parliament, it will be found to do honour to the Colonial Secretary, and justice to all the parties concerned.

In the next place, we insert a letter which has been addressed to us by a correspondent in the island of Dominica itself, giving a detailed account of the alleged riotous proceedings there. Although the letter is long, and contains much which has already appeared in our pages, we have made an effort to insert the whole, partly out of respect to our correspondent (of whose name we are in possession), and partly on account of the new matter, which could not be very well separated from the rest. As the letter is, with a becoming boldness, published on the spot, its statements will be subject to an immediate revision, and, if inaccurate, to prompt correction. It will be found strongly to confirm the view which we have throughout taken of the outbreak, and to throw the blame where we can entertain no doubt it most justly lies.

The Dominican informs us that no fewer than eighty-seven persons have been convicted in the course of these extraordinary prosecutions, and that the whole are undergoing sentences dooming them to various degrees of fine and imprisonment. In the House of Assembly it has transpired that Mr. Le Blanc, one of the only two counsel in Dominica, was secretly retained by the Executive to help the attorney-general!—when, if either party wanted help, it was pre-eminently the poor ignorant labourers who were upon their trial. Upon a remuneration of 100/- being asked for this service, a spirited speech was made by Mr. Gordon, which we have read with much pleasure, and from which we make the following short extract:—

"It now comes out that Mr. Le Blanc was retained in secret. Was this to be added to the unfavourable impressions which were already in the world against us? Was it to show the members of the Anti-Slavery Society and the people of Aldermanbury that here, in an English court, men were tried for their lives by judges who had committed them, jurors who had hunted them, and a legislature who had strained every nerve to convict them by depriving them of every means of defence! I have said it before, and repeat it here, that those men had not, in the common acceptation of the term, a fair trial, although I do not for one moment say that any judge on the bench or jurors in the box tried them with a predetermined to convict them; but I do say that these things have left a handle against us; and here we are to-day confirming all that has been said, and may still be said, to our disadvantage."

FROM a correspondent at Oran we have received a translation of an address to the Duke of Isly (Marshal Bugeaud) from the Institut d'Afrique at Paris, in relation to the slave-trade notoriously carried on under French dominion in Algeria. The address does great credit to that body, and must, we should think, have a powerful effect. We trust it is only the first of a series of steps which will be taken by the Institute, if further measures should be found necessary in order to efface this foul blot from the fair fame of France.

Since writing the above we have seen in the *Morning Herald* Marshal Bugeaud's reply to the address of the Institut d'Afrique, on which we cannot at the moment make any extended remarks. It is, strange to say, in the negative, and pleads strongly for the continuance of the slave-trade in Algeria! Of the arguments which he urges upright and benevolent men can form but one opinion. It is evident, however, that he is not acquainted with the facts of the case. He writes, for example, as though the purchase of slaves was confined to the Arabs, and seems not to know that it is practised by Frenchmen. Many proofs of this have already appeared in our columns; but we give another, supplied to us by the last letter of our correspondent from Oran:—

"A captain of the chasseurs, a Mons. Traversier, now resident here, has just purchased a little black boy for 200 francs. An English lady asked the captain if he was not afraid of his government. 'No,' he replied, 'I purchased him at my own risk. If he runs away, the law does not permit me to reclaim him. This is my punishment.'"

WE have been struck by the following passage in the Address of the King of Holland to the States-General of that kingdom. His Majesty is reported to have said:—

"Notwithstanding some partial failures of the crops, our East Indian possessions enjoy tranquillity and prosperity."

"I regret that our West Indian colonies continue in a languishing state. However, means have been proposed to me to recover them, the applicability of which must be judged on the spot."

This official acknowledgment that the Dutch West India colonies are in a languishing state, is worthy of record. We cannot help asking why this should be the case. It is not for want, either of a fertile soil, or abundance of labour—or of *slave-labour* too, that peculiar kind of labour which is tenaciously held by some persons to be so advantageous to proprietors of estates. Had such a statement been made respecting our own West India colonies, how would the pro-slavery advocate have triumphed! In truth, the state of Dutch Guiana is substantially that of every other slave-colony or country in the world; and the real cure is the abolition of slavery, together with the creation of a resident proprietary, who will do justice to their own interests.

An account will be found in our columns to-day of some interesting and important proceedings in the Portuguese Legislature on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. After the lapse of nearly twelve months, Count Lavradio has renewed his motion for the abolition of slavery in the Indian possessions of the Portuguese crown; and he has again been met by the allegation on the part of the Government that they want information! No one can regard this as anything better than a pretext; a flimsy pretext, ill concealing a want of principle and purpose. We are glad to find the Duke of Palmella expressing his belief that the abolition of slavery is necessary to the extinction of the slave-trade; a position which derives but too painful an illustration from the fact, that an unwillingness to interfere with the profits of the slave-traders is at the bottom of the reluctance manifested by the Portuguese Government to abolish slavery. The peers of Portugal who have acted so noble a part on this occasion are entitled to the thanks of all friends of humanity, and they have set an example which is highly deserving of imitation in other countries. The Diet of Sweden, the States of Denmark, the Cortes of Spain, and the States-general of Holland, are all now in session: are there no Lavradios or Sa de Bandeiras in them?—individuals who might make the voice of benevolence and justice heard in the high places where it is their prerogative to sit?

WE inserted in our last a letter of Mr. Andrews, giving an explanation of Mr. Torrey's attempt to escape from Baltimore jail. We insert to-day two other documents, throwing some further light upon this matter. Mr. Torrey's letter to his wife is enough to break a heart of stone. We fully sympathise in the following remarks, which we extract with pleasure from the *Emancipator*:—

"Our friends may too hastily enter up judgment against brother Torrey, but the circumstances under which judgment is rendered *here*, and the suffering under which action was impelled *there*, are widely different. Brother Torrey had been confined in an old filthy prison, with felons of the basest kind for—days—his trial had been put far off—overtures for *bail* had failed—a long, tedious, insufferable imprisonment, stared him in the face—fever preyed upon his brain, and the tears of a lovely wife and children, swelled every river of the heart, and who can or will blame him for seeking relief from the accumulated sufferings which had gathered so thick upon him? We can be very cool in our philosophy at home—at a distance from the scene—with a good bed at night, pure air, kind friends, good food, and clear, cool water—and imagine how like martyrs we would endure the imprisonment; but the '*truth*' in his case, '*was no fiction*,' and health and life wasted under it, and *self-protection, self-preservation*, demanded effort for release. He sought it, and say not you would not have done it under like circumstances and in like prison."

"Torrey is still in jail—in a gloomy cell, and perhaps still in chains. He needs your prayers more than ever—your sympathy and your money. The great questions in his case must be legitimately settled—Torrey's fate and the interests of the slave are deeply involved in these questions, and let no man, with the heart of a man to feel for the slave, or for the suffering philanthropist, draw back or flinch in this matter."

SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE INDIA.

(From the Correspondent of the *Times*.)

ON the 7th of September, the Count de Lavradio called the attention of the Chamber of Peers to a project of law for the abolition of slavery in the Asiatic possessions of Portugal, presented in September, 1843, by him and the Viscount de Sa Bandeira, and which had been then postponed at the request of the Minister of Marine, in order to obtain further information on the subject. At the expiration of eleven months it was not unreasonable, he hoped, to call on the Chamber to take the subject into consideration.

Every member of that Chamber, he was sure, desired the extinction of the slave-trade in all the possessions of Portugal, and expensive efforts had been made to put down the traffic by means of cruisers. He was persuaded, however, so long as the state of slavery was permitted in any Portuguese possession, whatever more treaties might be made or cruisers employed, it would be impossible to put a stop to the slave-trade. From the port of Lisbon vessels were despatched for Africa; and he knew of some individuals who, since 1842, (the date of the treaty with Great Britain), had acquired riches by that traffic. The subject was allowed to drop without discussion, and was again brought before the Chamber by the Count de Lavradio on the 11th inst., when the project of law for the

abolition of slavery in the Asiatic Portuguese possessions was defeated by a majority of 23 votes against 18, all the supporters of ministers voting for the continuance of slavery; and Senhor Cabral, the specious talker against slavery and the slave-trade (whose interests are identical and mutually dependent), when the Chamber was called on to decide between the interests of slavery and those of humanity, strenuously opposed a measure calculated to promote the latter. He dwelt a good deal on his respect for the charter, and the sanctity of the rights of property secured by it, which would be invaded by the measure before the Chamber. The government, he said, must have fuller information on the subject (eleven months were given to obtain it), and the respect due to the rights of property required that the slaveholders should be indemnified (it happens that almost all the slaves in the Asiatic colonies belong to government). The real cause of the opposition of ministers to this measure is the prejudice to the slave-trade which is apprehended from it. It is said that two individuals largely interested in it are government contractors, among the late successful candidates for the soap and tobacco monopolies. The Minister of Marine opposed the measure on the same grounds on which it had been opposed by him eleven months ago, viz., the want of sufficient information. The Duke de Palmella supported it with great zeal and ability, as did likewise the Viscount de Sa Bandeira and the Count Lavradio. To the two latter peers great credit is due for their noble efforts on this occasion, as well as on former ones, in respect to the same subject. It is worthy of observation, that the same incontrovertible argument used by the Count de Lavradio was also urged at considerable length by the Duke de Palmella, "that the only way of abolishing the trade in slaves was by abolishing the market for the stolen men."

Senhor Cabral has at length proved the consistency of his character, and showed that he never professed to be a supporter of any cause that he did not ultimately abandon or betray. His earnestness, his simulated ardour in the cause of humanity when its interests were to be talked of, imposed on some, and on the writer among others. He has, however, shown, what indeed might have been expected, that a man who is a foe to freedom in his own land cannot be a friend to it abroad.

Among the members who voted with ministers for the continuance of slavery, it is painful to find a prelate, one of the new order, recently introduced into the Chamber. The bishop of Elvas commenced his parliamentary career with voting for an iniquity which desolates a large portion of the globe, and dishonours humanity—shame upon him!

In a preceding discussion Viscount Sa de Bandeira called the attention of the Chamber to a traffic in slavery on a small scale, carried on between Lisbon and the Brazils by persons who brought from Africa negroes, who were represented as free, and being sent to the Brazils from Lisbon were sold into slavery.

On the 12th inst. the Count de Lavradio moved for the appointment of a permanent committee of inquiry, charged with the examination of all matters connected with the state of slavery in the Portuguese possessions in Asia and Africa, and the traffic in slaves carried on in those possessions with other countries, especially the Brazils; the committee to consist of seven members, and to report annually to the Chamber on those subjects.

This proposal, on the 14th, received the sanction of the Chamber, and met with no opposition from ministers; the interests of the slave-trade were only distantly and slightly affected by it. When a measure that did tend to the immediate and complete destruction of those interests was brought before the Chamber, Senhor Cabral strenuously and effectually opposed it.

(From the Correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.)

The question of the extinction of slavery in the Indian possessions of Portugal, including Macao, and the islands of Timor and Solor, has been again brought before the Peers by Count Lavradio. Eleven months back the project of law for effecting this abolition, presented by the Count, in conjunction with Viscount Sa de Bandeira, was indefinitely postponed by the declaration of the Minister of Marine, that he must wait for information from the colonies on the subject. Friday last was fixed for the debate, when, after the lapse of a year, the Minister of Marine arose at the commencement of the discussion and made the same excuse which formerly cushioned the question—that the Government is not yet sufficiently informed upon the subject. And upon this ground he moved that the debate should be adjourned *sine die*. Count Lavradio expressed his astonishment at this apathy and negligence, and remarked on the presence of the late governor of Portuguese India in that Chamber as depriving the excuse of all value. He held that the adjournment was proposed that the question might never be discussed. There were still fairs held in their Indian possessions for the sale of slaves, and a contraband import and export of slaves was therefore inevitable, notwithstanding their humane professions, their treaty of July, 1842, with England, and the cruisers which they maintained under it for the nominal suppression of the blood-stained traffic. He argued that the number of slaves in those possessions was limited; that they belonged for the most part to the Government, which acquired possession of them at the period of the extinction of the convents, and that their ransom therefore would be little burdensome to the Treasury. Viscount Sa de Bandeira suggested that the difficulty of the question of compensation might be got rid of by voting the emancipation in principle, and postponing the details of the money question. The Duke of Palmella was of opinion that the adjournment was not sought upon sufficient grounds, it not being indispensable that they should have more minute information than they possessed. *He inclined to think that the slave-trade never can be effectually abolished until slavery itself disappears.* The British nation had given a splendid example of disinterestedness, but that example had been but meagerly followed, and the slave-trade still continued on a grand scale, though reduced to a contraband traffic. Portugal had solemnly adhered to the principle of abolition, and had contracted the obligation to act legislatively and executively in this sense. And assuredly the best means of obtaining this object was to adopt the proposed measure of abolition. The project did not interfere with the Portuguese possessions in Africa, where the best mode of cultivating the soil would remain a separate question. But he implored them to take this first step in Asia, to give this testimony of their sincerity in so holy and so just a cause. The conditions of the proposed emancipation were gradual, practical, prudent, and most favourable to

the slave proprietor. The slaves were to continue to work for some time without remuneration; after that time they were to receive a small amount of wages, and the proprietors were besides to be paid an indemnity. He therefore entreated the Minister to withdraw his motion of adjournment, and not to leave to their heirs the fulfilment of an act of humanity, to which they were in some measure bound, and which could only redound to their honour. The Minister of the Kingdom declined to desist from the policy of adjournment, and said, that if the Chamber precipitated the question, Ministers would not be responsible for the consequences. He likewise dwelt on the financial difficulties which the question of compensation to the slave-holders would involve. Senhor Trigueiros made an observation which appeared to reach the marrow of the question:—"The Government said, a year since, that it was without information: to-day it says the same thing. The Government is consistent, and does not deceive the Chamber, since it confirms to-day what it said last year." This argument was, of course, unanswerable. The debate having here terminated, Viscount Sa proposed that the clause relating to compensation should be postponed, and the rest adopted; but this amendment was not admitted to discussion. Count Lavradio proposed that the first clause (that relating to Goa) should alone be debated, and all the rest postponed, which was likewise rejected; and the question of adjournment *sine die* having then been put, was carried by 23 votes against 18. What the real feelings of the Government and of Portuguese politicians are upon this question may be inferred from the following language of the *Diario* in reference to the foregoing debate:—"Sentimentalism may inspire eloquent philanthropists in the tribune; but in the Cabinet it is a rock which must be cautiously shunned!" I have always declared that the Portuguese had no serious intention of emancipating their slaves, and is not my prediction verified? The Duke of Palmella's feelings of philanthropy are wonderfully sharpened by finding himself in opposition; and if he were in office he would perhaps be as slow to wound the interests of the slaveholder as he now is quick to wound the Minister.

CASE OF MR. TORREY.

(From the *Emancipator*.)

AFTER Mr. Torrey was defeated in his attempt to escape from jail—an attempt to which, as will be seen by Mr. Andrews' note, he was impelled by despair of other help—he was thrust into a dungeon, and forbidden to write to his friends. He, however, through the intercession of a humane gentleman, obtained permission on Saturday to write to his wife; and from this letter we are permitted to take an extract. It will deepen the sympathy of every generous heart both for him and for his family. Bear it in mind, all of you, that, whether Torrey has or has not done the things charged upon him, there is nothing charged but acts of common humanity—aiding oppressed and enslaved men to escape from slavery, and regaining that liberty which God has made their "inalienable" birthright. It is for humanity that he suffers. Let humanity sympathize with him and succour him. The letter will speak for itself:—

"My dearest Wife,—I am in much affliction. When I wrote you last week, I was suffering with a brain fever, the effects of long and close confinement. Yesterday I made an attempt to escape, which was detected, or rather betrayed, by a counterfeiter named Dryer; and myself and others put into the cells, in irons. The excitement, with a cold cell, and irons so heavy and painful as to prevent all sleep, have brought on the fever again. I suppose I shall be so confined till October, if I survive so long. I deemed it my duty to try once to escape out of the hands of my enemies. But God knows best, and has ordered it otherwise."

After giving some directions in regard to his children, if he should be taken away, he proceeds:—

"Do not feel concerned for me, my dear wife. In the darkness and anguish of the last night, loaded with a chain that prevented my sleeping, standing up, or lying down, I was enabled to look up to our Saviour with cheerful confidence, knowing that his gracious hand will order all things for our good; and whether by suffering or otherwise, will help me to come off more than conqueror, through Him that loved us. The chain that is riveted to my ankles will not hinder our Lord from communing with me. I suffer for his sake, and in his cause, and he will not forsake me."

"Thank God! the good men who aided me are more than one hundred miles off, and far out of the reach of my persecutors. I will never allow others to suffer on my account, if I can help it. The man Dryer, who betrayed us, is a negro-trader, and is in prison for passing counterfeit money. He tried to get my confidence, professed to have become an abolitionist, and encouraged us to escape; all the while betraying our plans to the keepers. There is no trust to be put in such wicked men."

"You need not fear that the abortive attempt will harm me, except so far as present suffering is concerned. May God bless and comfort you. Kiss both our dear children for me. Tell them never to forget to pray for 'poor father.' I was much comforted a few days ago by a letter from brother B., of Cambridge, informing me how extensively I was remembered in the prayers of Christians in New York as well as in New England, and even in Pennsylvania and Ohio. God will hear them, however unworthy may be

"Your affectionate husband,

"Baltimore Jail, Sept. 14, 1844.

"CHAS. T. TORREY."

The same paper contains the following letter from Mr. Andrews:

"Baltimore, 18th Sept., 1844.

"FRIEND LEAVITT,—I send you a copy of my card in the *Sun* newspaper, respecting Mr. Torrey's attempt to escape, with corrections of several gross printer's errors.

"Since my last note to you, I have been confined most of the day to my bed by a violent cold, and have been unable to think or write. I have not visited Mr. Torrey for three days, but hope to be able to do so to-day. He is still in chains, and his health is rapidly failing. Mr. Cox, the partner of Mr. Gallagher, (who is himself absent from town,) visited him yesterday, and found him almost too feeble to converse with him. He is thrust into a dark and damp lower cell, and his recent attempt to escape is made the pretext for every species of petty tyranny. His situation is indeed intolerable.

" My position here is one of difficulty, and a painful sense of responsibility without much prospect of benefit. I am unable to write you at length to-day. I have only to beg, through you, of the friends of Mr. Torrey, and of humanity, not to form an unfavourable judgment of his course from the partial and hostile accounts of portion of the Baltimore press, but to wait with patience a full development of facts not now before the public.

" Meantime, let his condition as a suffering man, guilty of no crime, call loud for the sympathy of all good and benevolent hearts.

" As respects the course to be taken in his case, I am not now able to advise you distinctly, as there has been no meeting of counsel. It is probable, however, that the course will be a *change of venue*, and a speedy trial in the Maryland case. If he should be acquitted in it, the same opportunity will again occur for a *habeas corpus* before the United States' courts. If convicted, he goes to the penitentiary, which he will not leave unless the doors are thrown open by the loud thunders of American and European indignation, by which the people of Maryland are certainly much more assailable than those of South Carolina.

" Let O'Connell speak now, and he will find a heart in Baltimore to respond. Do you see that the repealers of New Orleans, with a noble contrition, have doubled their contribution to the repeal fund which was returned to them, and forwarded it, with an humble apology for their previous reprimand upon O'Connell for his abolition. But the anti-slavery sentiment, even here, though it exists widely disseminated, is timid almost beyond conception, and might as well be dead, with a few noble exceptions, for all active and open measures, unless it can be either shocked or stung into energy from without.

" I still hope to be able, in a very few days, to come north.

" Yours, for liberty, S. P. ANDREWS."

THE LATE OUTBREAK IN DOMINICA.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR.—As many garbled and incorrect statements of the late disturbances in this colony have found their way into the columns of the English newspapers, especially one which I read in the *Atlas* of 20th July, I deem it a duty which I owe to my unfortunate countrymen to transmit you the following narrative of the transaction, in order that the real state of the case may be laid before the British public, and to disabuse their minds of any wrong impressions which the statements alluded to may have made upon them.

The 3d of June being appointed as the day upon which the census of our population was to be taken, the enumerators for the various districts commenced their operations. In Roseau the people cheerfully gave their names, with the exception of a man named Charles Ambroise, a very violent and ignorant person, who alleged that the cause of the census was to make the black people slaves again, and that the coloured people were leagued with the whites for that purpose. About this time, also, the enumerator for Charlotte's Ville came into Roseau, and stated that one John Woodman had prevented his proceeding with the taking of the census there; that he had threatened to take his life; that he (Woodman) was supported by a host of labouring people, armed with cutlasses, who one and all declared that they would rather die than give their names, because it was intended to reduce them to slavery again. At this intelligence that part of the town became one scene of bustle and excitement, and rumour with her hundred tongues commenced to proclaim that the labouring population in the interior were up in arms, and were meditating a descent upon the town. Whilst in this state of ferment, a person by the name of Cochrane arrived in Roseau, and stated that on his way to town he was pulled from his mule, beaten, and his watch and papers rifled from him by a body of labourers who were assembled at Canefield, and who were declaring that they wanted the president's head.

A privy-council was immediately convened at Government-house, and, whilst sitting, intelligence was received that Mr. Commissioner Bremner was beaten by the labourers of Saint Luke (South of Roseau); and that Mr. Stipendiary Magistrate O'Sullivan narrowly escaped with his life; and that his horse was severely wounded. This was, however, false, as Mr. O'Sullivan shortly after came into town, and stated that Mr. Bremner was wounded with a stone, and he (Mr. O'S.) had received no other injury than a blow from a stick thrown at him, and a slight cut which his horse had received, and which was not dangerous; but that the people were violent and excited. The alarm was then immediately fired, and martial law proclaimed.

The next day 18 or 20 militiamen and a detachment of the 1st W. I. Regt., accompanied by the inspector of police and five men, went to Canefield. The people who were assembled there, upon being spoken to by the officers, and told to disperse, or they would be fired upon, commenced reluctantly to do so, evidently dissatisfied with the explanation they had received of the object of the census. It was at this moment that an unfortunate African, who had been foremost among the "rioters," as the people have been termed, went into his house and commenced beating a drum: the house was immediately surrounded by the militiamen, and, finding that he was to be made a prisoner, the man attempted to effect his escape by leaping through his window and running away. He was instantly fired upon by a militiaman named Boy, and shot through the back, the bullet issuing at the abdomen! Some of his fellow-labourers took him into a house and ran away; and upon a gentleman, who had ridden out after the militia, entering the hut to see him, the poor fellow said, "Ah! massa, see what you buckra do we poor negro!" He shortly afterwards expired in the extremest agony. A girl was also shot accidentally in the leg by a militiaman, who, perceiving a man running on the road, fired at him, but struck the poor girl, who happened to be on the road at the same time.

It was in the course of this day that one W. N. Johnstone arrived in Roseau and gave information that the Grand Bay people had destroyed the dwelling-house of the estate upon which he is the manager—robbed his clothes—pillaged his shop—taking a puncheon of rum from the cellar which they consumed; and were committing unheard-of devastations in that quarter. This turned out to be unhappily too true, but the cause which led to this disgraceful conduct on the part of the people there was

the highly injudicious conduct of Mr. Commissioner Lockhart, who, on finding several of the labourers' huts shut as he went round with the enumerator, proceeded to break into them, the inmates at the time being at work in the field; who upon being informed that their huts had been broken open returned to their houses highly excited, and commenced congregating in great numbers, declaring that their liberty was about to be taken from them. They would listen to no explanation, and in their fury beat the enumerator, pursued Mr. Lockhart, and commenced the destruction of his property. From thence they proceeded to the Stowe estate, and destroyed Mr. Ellissonde's shop, taking away all it contained; they next went to his dwelling-house and destroyed all they could lay their hands upon. They then went to the Colibri estate, and after threatening the manager with personal violence, robbed him of his watch and some articles of clothing. Next they proceeded to the Bon Repose estate, and robbed, beat, and wounded the owner, Mr. Bellot. This seems to be the length to which the people went in this quarter; and which is highly censurable and much to be lamented, and for which those convicted at the Court of Oyer and Terminer have been deservedly punished.

On the next day (Wednesday the 5th) two companies of militia were marched to Grand Bay, whose proceedings there you will find narrated in the *Dominican*, of the 12th of June, which I herewith send you; as well as the revolting conduct pursued towards a man name Jerome, on the suppression that on the Tuesday before he had struck Mr. Bellot a blow.* The same paper will also show you how persons were allowed to assume militia command, and to seize, bind, and drag into town and thrust into jail, men and women who had done nothing, or against whom they had no cause of complaint. I allude to the cases which you will see marked.

It is not unworthy of remark, sir, that in all the excitement on the part of a people ignorant as our peasantry in general are, and left in the unmolested possession of so extensive a portion of the country as the Grand Bay quarter until Wednesday evening, the 5th of June, not one solitary act of murder or arson was perpetrated by them; whilst the militia had no sooner reached the quarter than the life of an unoffending woman was sacrificed. She received a shot from the musket of a militiaman, and died from locked jaw in consequence! and a man butchered through revenge had his head severed from the yet quivering body and placed upon a pole by the orders of a man who is not ashamed to call himself a Briton! whilst there are others to be found in this land who not only defend, but openly applaud this inhuman act! "A man, whose name we have not heard, having defied the soldiers, was slightly wounded; he immediately ran to his house, and afterwards rushing towards the troops with a dagger, exclaiming that he had drunk gunpowder and rum sufficient to withstand a dozen bullets; he bared his breast to his opponents, when one fatal ball levelled to the dust this misguided and wretched man; 'his was not a charmed life,' his imprecations and ravings no longer animated his rebellious companions; the awful beacon which is now exhibited on the high-road to Grand Bay, will, we trust, act as a solemn though silent monitor to those misguided people, that the laws of the land are not to be set at defiance, nor her Majesty's peaceful and loyal subjects threatened with death and destruction of property.

" The head of this rebel now blanches upon a pole erected at the junction of three roads near the scene of this dreadful tragedy!"—EDITOR, *Dominica Colonist*, June 8.

But this is not all: for the act of throwing a stick at Mr. O'Sullivan, which he himself admits inflicted but a slight blow, a man was shot at St. Luke, not at the time the blow was given, but in the course of the night of Saturday, five days after, he was taken from the house of his friend, and attempting to escape was shot, and his head severed from the yet living body: whilst his unfortunate friend and godfather hearing the cries of his godson, goes forth to request him to go on peacefully with his captors, is also fired upon, and dreadfully wounded through the arm, and left alone to crawl back to his hovel, where he remained in pain the most excruciating till the next day, when he was brought to town.

From the south side of Roseau turn we now to Colihaut, along the coast on the north. Here, too, through the injudicious conduct of Mr. Commissioner Gardie (a Frenchman), who said that the object of the census was to re-enslave the people, and that of his enumerator, Pichaud, who added that the use of the "cat" was to be "revived," the people resisted the operation of the census Act in that quarter—assembled in great numbers displaying much wrath and threatening personal violence to the Commissioner and his enumerators who had to escape, or the threats, I have every reason to believe, would have been carried into effect. At this place also a man was shot by the militia, because on his perceiving them approaching him he attempted to escape by fording a river. This individual died subsequently at the Roseau infirmary.

Thus you will perceive, sir, that the rebellion, or revolt, or outbreak, as it has been called, was confined to but four localities,—Grand Bay, St. Luke, Canefield, and Colihaut; and that only in the Grand Bay quarter, was anything like injury to property committed by the rebels. I do not seek by this, sir, to defend their conduct, which has been shameful and unpardonable; but at the same time I think it right, if only to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity in this island, to publish what they did, and what was done then, and subsequently, to them.

They destroyed property to a large amount at Grand Bay, and beat an individual. Two lives were taken there, and many of them are now undergoing imprisonment, solitary confinement, and hard labour.

A commissioner and magistrate were struck at St. Luke;—one man was shot in consequence and his head cut off; one wounded, one hung (by the law), and many are undergoing imprisonment and hard labour now.

At Canefield they assaulted and beat an individual;—one life was taken; three men sentenced to death, but the sentences were commuted by the Governor-General into imprisonment with hard labour.

At Colihaut, although neither property nor person was injured—one man was killed—many are undergoing imprisonment, at the expiration of which term they are to pay heavy fines.

From the foregoing it will be seen, sir, that the cause of this unfortunate outbreak is mainly attributable to the mistaken notion on the part

* A respectable woman, Mrs. John Marie Lafeillieu, is ready to prove that Jerome was working in his grounds at the time Mr. Bellot was beaten, and that he (Jerome) was not at Mr. Bellot's place that day.

of our ignorant peasantry, that the taking of the census was but a prelude to their being re-enslaved : and I am free to confess that the steps taken, since the assumption of the reins of government by our present Chief, to dispossess persons in the temporary occupancy of Crown lands, to turn them off from what has been termed the Queen's Three Chains, greatly favoured this impression upon the minds of the people, and in a great measure I am of opinion led to this lamentable transaction.

But, sir, that the authorities were aware of the impression upon the minds of the people before the outbreak did take place, take the following from the speech of the Attorney-General in his place in the Assembly on the 28th of May, six days before the census was taken. "There was no doubt that at the present moment a considerable degree of suspicion prevailed amongst the lower orders, not only with reference to the superior tribunals which administered justice, but even towards the deliberative bodies—the council and assembly which enacted the laws. *Has it not been circulated through some of the remoter districts that the object of so innocent and interesting a process as the intending counting of the people is but a preparatory step to re-establish slavery?* Some designing person first started the idea, and lo ! the trouble it has given to efface it. (?) He saw a large number of the class of persons he alluded to about the windows of the house to-day—rather an unusual muster ; and therefore he took this opportunity, with permission of the House, to tell them thus publicly, that the report was as false as it was foolish, and that they need never fear their interests would ever be injuriously assailed—so long as they sought that interest only in subordination and not contrary to the laws, and to the general interests."

Now, sir, if such was the impression, nay, the certainty upon the mind of the Attorney-General, is it not highly culpable in that functionary that he did not represent the matter to the executive, and leave it to him to take such measures as would have disabused the minds of the people, and save the country this disaster into which it has been plunged ? Ought not the taking of the census to have been postponed till it was ascertained that the taking thereof would be accomplished without danger, as was the case when a census was to be taken in Scotland and Ireland some years ago ? But no, our authorities neglected these preventive measures ; and now that evil has accrued from their want of foresight all the blame is sought to be thrown upon the shoulders of the unfortunate, but in this instance highly censurable, blacks.

It will thus be perceived, sir, that *five individuals have been shot under MARTIAL LAW, and two of their heads were severed from their bodies*, under circumstances the most unjustifiable and revolting ; the raising of these heads upon poles is barbarous in the extreme : and one man has been executed under *civil law* for throwing a stone at and striking the President's brother-in-law.

Such, sir, is a true and faithful account of the late outbreak and its results. Apologising for the space which I have occupied in bringing the matter before you,

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,
TAUTER.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(From the *Pilot*.)

On the 22nd instant, the annual meeting of the Birmingham Anti-slavery Society was held in Cannon-street Chapel.

The MAYOR having been called to preside, said that he felt great pleasure in taking the chair upon that occasion ; it was a gratification to him to be connected with such a society, and he thought any man might be proud of presiding over its meetings. He believed there had been great progress made in emancipation, but there was still much to be done, and they ought not to relax in their efforts, whilst there were three millions of slaves in the Brazil, and from two to three millions in America. There was, however, encouragement in the fact, that society was advancing. Discoveries in the arts and sciences had done much towards the advancement of humanity. Free trade would do still more, and he thought that, in combination with Christianity, such agencies would, by civilizing society, and increasing the intercourse between nations, do much to forward the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. W. MORGAN, after announcing letters of apology from Reverends Messrs. James and Roberts, read the report, which will be found along with the resolution, in our advertising columns.

The Rev. Mr. MORGAN moved that the report be received. He was sorry to find it of so gloomy a character. It was now sixty years since Clarkson and his fellow-labourers commenced the anti-slavery agitation, and it was very disheartening to see how little had been done. So far from slavery having been abolished, it had, taking all countries into consideration, actually increased. Africa now exported four times as many slaves as at the period to which he had alluded. When the allied sovereigns were in England, they were unanimous in their condemnation of the slave-trade, and promised to abolish it. But what had been done ? What had France done ? What had Spain done ? What had any of them done ? Governments had been lavish in their promises to extinguish the traffic, but its horrors had been actually increased by their preventive measures. He believed that the gospel was the only efficient engine for the suppression of slavery, and he thought that they would do well to direct their energies to Christianizing Africa.

Mr. SWANN seconded the resolution. He said that he could not altogether agree with Mr. Morgan on the melancholy view of things that he took. However much remained to be done, there was still room for glorying in what had been already accomplished. He could not agree with the policy of merging anti-slavery efforts into missionary efforts. He had no great partiality for government aid, but he thought that they must employ every means for the attainment of their object. Neither were Christian churches to be entirely depended upon. The Free Church of Scotland had taken 10,000/- from the slaveholder of America. Their own church, too, was implicated. All denominations of Christians in America were contaminated ; even the Quakers were so ; and he should almost expect to be corrupted himself, were he to come in contact with the system. There required strong-minded men to grapple with these evils—white slavery as well as black slavery,—and he rejoiced in the belief that such radical men were springing up.

The Rev. Mr. DAWSON moved the second resolution. He said that they were told on high authority that it was useless to put "a new patch on an old garment." Now he believed, that, to attempt to put down slavery by military power was to commit this mistake. Soldiers themselves were slaves to their commanders ; and, in the endeavour to abolish slavery through their instrumentality, we were encouraging one system of slavery for the purpose of destroying another. Moral ends must be attained by moral weapons. Cannons and gunpowder would never put down slavery. It might be shown, too, that the physical-force system was inexpedient, inasmuch as it increased the evils it was intended to prevent. The men employed by it were demoralized by it. They cared not for the slaves ; the prize-money was their object ; and these poor creatures, when rescued from bondage, they were not any better treated than on board the slavers. Nay, it appeared that in some cases they got "out of the frying-pan into the fire." Slavery could not be cured by such peddling systems. They would never gain a good end by evil-means.

Mr. SCOBLE seconded the resolution. After enlarging at some length on the topics treated of in the other speeches, said that, before concluding, he would venture to call attention to a subject pregnant with importance, namely, the emigration of African, Chinese, and Indian labourers to the British emancipated colonies. Having glanced at the results of successive schemes for supplying these colonies with labourers arising from the dreadful mortality and the great expense attending them, he stated that it was now understood the Government were bent upon a new and gigantic scheme of emigration, the fruit of the combined wisdom of the West India body and the Colonial Office, and that no expense or exertion would be spared to realize it. Lord Stanley, it is reported, promises the colonies a loan of a million and a half of money, upon their complying with certain conditions for its repayment. To obtain it an appeal will be made to Parliament at the opening of the next session. This large sum is to be devoted to the introduction of the natives of Africa and Asia as agricultural labourers. The former will be taken from the British settlements, but chiefly from Sierra Leone. Now for the circumstances under which they will be removed. Until a recent period the captured Africans, on their liberation from slavery, by sentence of the Mixed Commission courts, were taken under the care of Government. They were fed, clothed, and sheltered, until they could be placed in a position to earn their own living. And this was both natural and necessary, arriving, as they usually did, in a state of great emaciation and weakness. For the diseased, of whom there was often a large number, a hospital and medical care was provided ; but henceforth there is to be no hospital for the sick ; no superintendents, as formerly, to care for them ; and Sierra Leone, instead of being a colony for their reception and location, is to be merely a dépôt, an appendage to the British colonies. It is now stated that these liberated Africans are to be called upon, after a residence at this settlement, within a week or ten days, to prove either their ability to maintain themselves, or to quit it as emigrants for the West Indies, or as aliens who have no right to be there. And this mode of peopling the colonies is to be dignified with the appellation of free emigration ! The inhumanity of this arrangement is as great as its injustice. With respect to the Chinese and Coolies, as well as the African emigrants, the former regulations enforcing a certain proportion of the sexes to be taken to the colonies are renounced, so that it will now be competent to the importers to introduce none but the male sex. The consequence of such a measure must be deplorable, not only on the morals and welfare of the emigrants themselves, but also on the enfranchised negroes, who are under the care of our missionaries, just emerging out of a state of society, whose moral degradation was not less than the principle on which it was based was impious and cruel. Imagine masses of idolatrous and sensual Chinese and Hindoos thrown amongst the enfranchised population of our colonies, and the consequences, in a moral and religious point of view, must appear to all reflecting men as appalling. Yet for this, your money, the money of the nation, is to be rated as loans to the West Indians ; your representatives are to affirm the views of the colonial secretary, and the planters and money, and men and morals, are to be sacrificed to the lust of gain. You will be called upon—the country will be called upon to resist this scheme as unsound in principle as it will prove injurious in practice. It is not in opposition to the West India body that you will be called upon to act, for their real interest will be found connected with economizing their resources, and calling into vigorous exercise the elements of prosperity which already exist in the colonies. They want not men, but capital, enterprise, and skill. They want a resident proprietor to take the place of absentees, mortgagees, attorneys, and merchants. Let them have this, and they may bid adieu to all schemes of emigration, save only those which are spontaneous and free, and which, while it benefited all parties interested in them, would involve no expense or responsibility on themselves. Mr. Scoble also observed that the legislation of the colonies, on the subject of contracts for labour, was beginning to excite attention and alarm. Trinidad had already passed an ordinance legalizing contracts made out of the colony for a period of twelve months, and, no doubt, would be followed by British Guiana and Jamaica. This was a most serious affair. Ignorant Africans, Chinese, and Hindoos, were to be bought under engagements for low wages, to perform a certain amount of work, the real nature and extent of which they knew nothing. The guarantees that had hitherto existed that they would be free to choose that employment and employer on arriving in the colony, is to be destroyed. Mr. Scoble said he would not dwell on the influence which such schemes would leave our foreign nations holding slaves in their colonies and territories. They also would become importers of nominally free, but really slave-labourers ; and behind that there would undoubtedly arise a slave-trade which nothing could check or hinder. Let the Birmingham Society unite with the London Society in earnest protests against any scheme which would have such an issue. Let all the Anti-slavery Associations throughout the country petition the legislature against it, and then we may hope to see the colonies placed on a basis of sound, not factitious prosperity.

Mr. SRURGE moved the third resolution. He said, Mr. Scoble had stated to them the great evils of this government emigration scheme, and he fully believed that it was impossible to prevent great oppression so long as the system was in action. The object of this emigration was to get cheap labour ; and, to promote it, they proposed taking a million and a half of money from the public. In reference to the remarks made by

Mr. Morgan, the case of America proved that slavery might exist, notwithstanding the presence of religious teachers and the profession of Christianity. There had been, of late, some unfavourable reports of the state of things in Jamaica, from which it was made to appear that the elevating effects of emancipation had not been so great as was anticipated; and he himself was rather inclined to think that they had been somewhat too sanguine. He had, however, lately received some very encouraging accounts.

Mr. HOOPER seconded the resolution.

Votes of thanks were then passed and acknowledged, and the meeting separated.

SLAVERY—IRELAND.

To the Editor of the *Banner of Ulster*.

SIR.—Slavery will never be abolished until the Christian churches take the lead in the cause of justice and humanity; but, alas! in the United States of America it is not so; for the venerable John Quincy Adams describes the spirit of slavery as having placed its cloven hoof in the pulpits, and says, "whilst professors of colleges teach slavery as a lesson of morals, ministers of the Gospel profess to find authority for it in the word of God."

Thank God, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland have nobly come forward to the relief of the oppressed. At their late annual meeting in Derry, the following passage occurs in their letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:—

"Whilst thus adverting to the influence of the church upon the world, we feel constrained to call your attention to an evil which has long disfigured your civil polity. We refer to the existence of slavery. And here we beg most respectfully to submit to your consideration the following resolution, adopted by us at our annual meeting of last year:—

"That we consider the enslavement of our fellow-creatures subversive of the natural rights of man, opposed to the spirit and precepts of the gospel, and ruinous to the temporal and eternal interests of multitudes of the human race. That, as an oppressive system of slavery exists in America, and particularly in many parts of the United States, where the knowledge of Christianity might have been expected to destroy so great an evil; and, as our intercourse with our brethren of the Presbyterian Church in that country affords us an opportunity of turning their attention to this subject, we do, in our communications to them, earnestly recommend their taking such practical steps as may tend to abolish an evil of such awful magnitude." And they go on to say, "As lovers of liberty, you are bound to plead for the deliverance of your captive countrymen, and as the servants of Him who came to undo the heavy burdens, we trust you will not rest until the oppressed are permitted to go free."

The General Assembly received also a letter from the Associate Reformed Synod of the South United States of America, and in their reply, say—

"The subject of slavery has, of late, occupied our attention: and, on scriptural grounds, we feel bound to support those who are labouring for its universal abolition. We venture to hope that we may reckon upon your co-operation; and, as the evil prevails so extensively in the United States, we trust that you will not cease to protest and remonstrate until it is utterly extinguished. When taking up this question, we do not believe that we are travelling beyond our proper sphere, for slavery is at variance with the character of our holy religion; and the gospel, if fairly carried out into its legitimate application, must establish the political, as well as the ecclesiastical and spiritual freedom of the species."

Would to God, Mr. Editor, that the bishops and clergy of the Established Church in England and Ireland would remonstrate with their brethren in the United States who are tainted with this hateful leprosy!

JAMES STANFIELD,
Honorary Secretary of the Belfast
Anti-Slavery Society.

Belfast, 26th September, 1844.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.—Wednesday, Oct. 23.

(Before Mr. Justice MAULE and Mr. Baron ROLFE.)

At the sitting of the Court this morning Thomas Jennings, the captain of the *Augusta*, surrendered on discharge of his bail, to answer an indictment charging him with having navigated the said ship with a view to carry on the slave-trade.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that the defendant at the last sessions of this court had put in a plea of *outrefois acquit*, to which a demurrer was taken on the part of the Crown, and the question was argued before the presiding judges, Mr. Justice Wightman and Mr. Justice Cresswell. Those learned individuals took time to consider their judgment, and to-day,

Mr. Baron Rolfe read a lengthy judgment, which overruled the objections which had been taken on behalf of the prisoner, and held that the prisoner had not been tried at Sierra Leone for the offence specifically charged in the present indictment.

The case was ordered to stand over, and the prisoner retired from the bar.

October 24.

(Before Mr. Justice MAULE and Mr. Baron ROLFE.)

Thomas Jennings was placed at the bar this morning, charged on an indictment for feloniously navigating the ship *Augusta* on the high seas, for the purpose of carrying on the slave traffic.

Mr. Payne appeared as counsel for the prosecution, which arose out of the case of M. de Zulueta, owner of the said ship, which has already appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

M. Prendergast and Mr. Clarkson were retained for the defence, who made application to the Court that the trial, which had been so long postponed, should either come on at once, or a day fixed for next session.

Mr. Payne, on the affidavit of a clerk in the service of the prosecutor, Sir George Stephens, moved to postpone the trial until next session. The Sirdavit stated that a material witness for the Crown, Captain Henry Worsley Hill, was absent on duty, as governor of the Gold Coast.

The learned counsel said that every endeavour had been used to hasten Mr. Hill's return, and he hoped that in the course of the present month he would have returned home.

The Court allowed the motion, and the prisoner was permitted to stand out on his former bail until next sessions.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—[From a Correspondent.]—Our present Governor is a mere tool; he is in the hands of five or six large planting attorneys, and they govern the Governor. He is a man of no energy—no decision—no philosophic principles; and of the science of government I believe he knows nothing. O what a blessing to 400,000 people, just in the crisis of their history, would be a nobleman of nature's own moulding—a man that would learn for himself the actual condition of the people. If you were to ask me for an epitome of our prospects, I should say in a few words that, taxes, direct and indirect, are extravagantly high; provisions have been very dear; labour (in consequence of the drought) very difficult to be obtained, and wages generally 1s. a day; proprietors at home bound hand and foot by the English merchant; mammoth attorneys finding that in their labour a great profit; overseers afraid to make the best of estates; a vicious system of cultivation still continued; very many of the people becoming a middle class, so that labourers will be less abundant; whilst in every department of public expenditure the most shameless extravagance prevails. Such is Jamaica in 1844. No country under heaven could prosper with such management as we have in Jamaica. Our English friends have well nigh ceased to trouble their heads about us. The people are free, say they, and they must look out for themselves. But I assure you, that unless you are prepared to sacrifice all the great educational, moral, and political interests involved in the good or bad management of the free system; unless, too, you are anxious to convince the Spaniards, and the Americans, that freedom is a failure—you ought to continue a paternally jealous oversight of all our doings in this island. My opinion is, that now is the time for a deputation of clear-headed men to come to investigate the results of emancipation.

Foreign Intelligence.

GAUDELOUPE.—A letter from Guadeloupe, of the 29th of July, mentions that the blacks would be slaves no longer, and became maroons in great numbers. A decree of the Governor of the 11th of March, promises a reward of 30 francs (in addition to that payable by the owner) out of the fund of 100,000 francs inscribed in the colonial budget, for the capture of any black. It further enumerates fifteen maroons on the estate Juston; thirteen on Canet et Duc; eight on Ronjol; and sixteen on Dubos: in all fifty-two. All these are in a single district, that of Petit Bourg. In the districts of Grand Terre maroonage is still more frequent. French Abolitionist.

MARTINIQUE.—The *Univers*, the organ of the Catholic clergy, publishes in its number of September 27, a letter from Martinique, of the 22nd of June, which states that, for some time past, the owners of slaves appeared to have become more covetous and more cruel than ever. In a great number of gangs the slaves were treated in a most barbarous manner. Efforts were made to extort the utmost possible amount of labour from them, without regard to their strength. They expected their freedom, and already accused France of having broken its promises. Religious instruction retrograded instead of advancing. The voice of the Catholic priest is not listened to by the colonists; the children of the slaves are not permitted to attend school; the ordinance of 1840 is altogether disregarded.—French Abolitionist.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations.	Subs.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
M. C.	10 0 0	
Bristol—Charlton, James	50 0 0	
Northrepps—Buxton, Sir T. F., Bart.	100 0 0	
Lowestoft—Cunningham, Rev. F., A.M.		1 1 0
Leeds—Wailes, George	10 0 0	
Hitchin—Sharples, Joseph	25 0 0	
Demerara—Congregation of Rev. J. Ketley....	17 0 0	
Tottenham—Gibson, Mr.		0 10 0
Berbice—Congregation of Rev. S. Heywood ..	10 0 0	
Helstone Auxiliary, per R. Fanning, Sec.	2 2 6	
Barnet—Robarts, Nathaniel	10 0 0	
York—Harris, Charles	10 0 0	
Saffron Walden—Day, Richard	5 0 0	
London—Gurney, W. B.	5 5 0	
Hounslow—Ashley, William.....		1 0 0
Chelmsford—Ladies' Auxiliary	8 0 0	
Dublin—Pimm, Jonathan		1 0 0

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, October 30, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXIX. VOL. V.—No. 23.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE IN THOSE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE THAT POSSESS SLAVE COLONIES.

In addressing to you some considerations on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade, and on the great importance of taking such steps as may be most likely to promote the early and entire termination of those great evils, an apology on our part will not, we hope, be deemed necessary. Although resident in a foreign country, we cannot feel indifferent to the continuance of those cruelties and crimes in other lands which once existed in many of the dependencies of the British crown. Whilst we rejoice in what has been accomplished for more than seven hundred and fifty thousand of our fellow-subjects who have for some years past been placed in the enjoyment of freedom, we turn with deep sorrow to the consideration that there yet remain nearly or quite one million of our fellow men subjected to an inhuman and degrading bondage in various European colonies, besides a number little short of six millions in the United States of America and Brazil. We mourn, too, the fact, that, in order to supply the waste of human life, and to satisfy the cupidity of the slave-holder, in two West India islands belonging to Spain and in the empire of Brazil, the African slave-trade is yet carried on to a vast extent. We might also advert to a slave-trade of great magnitude and revolting character, which exists between the Southern States of the North American Union.

The African slave-trade has been declared illegal by every country professing Christianity in Europe and America; but the extent to which a slave-trade, either external or internal, is prosecuted in the principal slave-holding regions of the world, proves the great difficulty, if not the utter impracticability, of terminating the traffic in human beings so long as man can be held as property.

We would, however, appeal to the free citizens of those nations which have abolished the slave-trade, whether it is less a duty to release from a hopeless and cruel bondage the victims of that trade and their descendants, than to cease from its future prosecution. The slave-trade, by which the present generation of slaves or their ancestors were reduced to slavery, is the immoral title-deed on which the claim of the slaveholder to treat his fellow man as a chattel is founded.

But slavery is no less unjustifiable in principle and in practice than in its origin. Futile must be every apology for a system which deprives man of that freedom of action which is his inherent right, until it has been forfeited by crime; which denies to the labourer the fair reward of his toil, and substitutes the brutal stimulus of coercion; and which consigns the happiness, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, of its victims, to men who are not only liable to all the infirmities, the passions, and the crimes of human nature, but who are in general more vitiated than their fellows, by the demoralizing influence of the system they administer.

In proof of the dreadful consequences of slavery wherever it is found, we might point to the large amount of labour exacted from the slave, frequently by night as well as during the day; the scantiness of his diet; the insufficiency of his clothing, either for use or decency; the frequency and severity of his punishments; the almost entire neglect of his education; the shameful disregard of his morals; and the few instances in which his highest interests are properly considered. We might refer to the statistics of slavery, so far as they are known, as indisputable evidence of its baneful results on human life and on morals. If we turn to the register of births and deaths in a slave population, the proportion of the former will be seen to be much fewer, and that of the deaths much more numerous, than in free countries. The most favourable result in the European slave colonies exhibits the slave population as nearly stationary, whilst in some of these colonies, especially those which possess the greatest fertility of soil, there is a large excess of deaths over births. Where the number of marriages amongst slaves is recorded, the painful fact is revealed that few of this class enter into the marriage state; the joint effect of a neglect of moral training, of the insecurity of domestic ties, and of the baneful example of the free portion of the community in slave countries.

Attempts have been made at different periods and by different governments, to mitigate the dreadful evils of slavery, without abolishing it. This was done during a series of years in the British colonies, and subsequently in the colonies of France. The result has been in all cases the same—that they have almost entirely failed, owing to the determined opposition which the slaveholder has always offered to such efforts, whether they related to an increase of the physical comforts of the bondsman, to the diminution of his sufferings, or to his intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. The English apprenticeship, which in its provisions appeared to offer better guarantees for the protection of the semi-bondsman than any code of slavery with which we are acquainted, utterly

failed of securing those advantages which it promised. Reason and experience alike demonstrate, that no measure short of perfect freedom and equal laws can enable man to protect himself against oppression, and to secure his just interests.

We contend for the entire liberty of the slave, because it is his right, no less than that of his master, and because it is indispensable to the welfare of him who has far too long been unjustly and cruelly deprived of that precious privilege. There can now be no pretence that such a measure would be unsafe. This is disproved by the peaceful results of emancipation in the British colonies, which have been thus acknowledged by the French Royal Commission, presided over by the Duke de Broglie:—

"For eight years past, that is to say, in order to be exact, from the 1st of August, 1834, emancipation has been proclaimed in the slave colonies of Great Britain. These colonies are nineteen in number. They contain about eight hundred thousand negroes, whilst France only possesses four slave colonies, which do not contain more than about two hundred and fifty thousand negroes. They are dispersed in the Caribbean Sea, the southern extremity of Africa, and at the entrance of the Indian Ocean. Their origin is very different. Some were founded by the British government itself; others were successively obtained by conquest from France, Spain, and Holland. All are still strongly marked by the manners and the habits of their founders and by the laws of the country to which they first belonged. Twelve are self-governed, to a certain extent, by legislatures of their own; seven are more immediately under the government of the Crown. Under the influence of various climates, and of social and political circumstances so different, emancipation took place everywhere in 1834, and has continued since that time, peacefully and without violence. It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that an event so formidable at first sight as the summons of 800,000 slaves to liberty, on the same day, at the same hour, has not caused, in eight years, in all the English colonies, the tenth part of the troubles that are ordinarily caused amongst the most civilized nations of Europe, by the least political question that agitates, however little, the public mind."—*Rapport fait au Ministre Secrétaire d'état de la Marine et des Colonies.*

It is conceded by all impartial persons acquainted with the results of emancipation in the British colonies, that that great measure has been attended with the most beneficial results upon the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the enfranchised population. Similar beneficial results may be reasonably anticipated from the adoption of the same righteous conduct in other countries, but varying in degree, according to the pains that shall be taken to promote the moral and religious welfare of those who shall be set free—pains which are almost fruitless so long as slavery prevails, but which may be expected to produce the most salutary effects wherever liberty is enjoyed.

The principal objections that have been recently advanced against the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, are the anticipated decrease of tropical productions from such a measure, and the cost of that compensation which it is thought by many should be given to the slaveholder.

In reference to the decrease of production we may remark that this is likely to be only temporary, where it takes place. It may be regarded as a consequence to arise principally from a discontinuance of that excessive labour, without distinction of sex, by which slave populations in all sugar colonies are either kept nearly stationary, or are actually reduced in number. The large exports from the British colonies during the period of slavery, and the semi-slavery of the apprenticeship, were procured not only at a dreadful cost of human life and suffering, but at the expense of the future welfare of colonies thus long deprived of a natural increase in the labouring population. This continues to be the case in the slave colonies of other countries at the present time. It may be reasonably expected that in those colonies in which slavery has already been, or shall be hereafter abolished, the same result which takes place in other free countries will be experienced, and that a larger number of labourers will shortly prove more than a compensation for a few years of diminished exports, arising from a needful reduction in the hours of labour and the partial change of employment incident to freedom. Thus we think it is shown that a present reduction in colonial exports, should it take place as a consequence of freedom, ought not to be regarded as a real loss to the colonial proprietor, whilst it will greatly promote the welfare of the labourer.

On the subject of compensation it may be safely asserted that a large part, if not the whole, of the value now set upon the slave will be added to that of the land, where the labour of the enfranchised slave is secured by just and kind treatment. Such has been the case very extensively in the British colonies. Should it, however, be otherwise, we contend that this is no sufficient reason for withholding from the slave that freedom which is his due. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," is a rule which we are bound faithfully to apply in our efforts for the abolition of slavery, as well as in relation to all social duties. Were we, and those that are dearest to us, groaning under the yoke of

bondage, would it not be our reasonable desire that earnest efforts should be used, and that without delay, to free us from so degrading and cruel a condition? Neither do we think that a proper consideration for the slaveholder will in any degree lessen our efforts. We desire only to take from him that which he cannot rightfully possess—a property which he can hold only at the expense of supporting a fearful system of iniquity, and which has proved, with few exceptions, as ruinous as it is wicked.

In conclusion, we beseech all whom we address to endeavour to obtain as full information as is practicable of the extent and circumstances of slavery in the colonies of their country, in order to form a just estimate of the great importance of its abolition. Such a knowledge will also enable them more effectually to advocate the cause of the slave, whether in private society, in public assemblies, or by the press. We deem it of great importance that information respecting an evil which exists at a great distance should be generally spread amongst the free inhabitants of countries implicated in the maintenance of slavery, and that thereby a just public sentiment should be created. The existence of such a sentiment is in itself calculated to hasten the downfall of a vicious system, by the influence which it must exercise upon the conduct of those in authority. It may also be expected that some, and we hope not a few, among the persons whose attention may be called to the injustice of slavery, will exercise the right, where it is possessed, of petitioning for its abolition; whilst others who occupy a seat in the Legislature, or who are members of the Government, may be induced to advocate, or to recommend, that object in their respective places. We would further respectfully, but earnestly, recommend that especial pains should be taken by the friends of the slave, on every occasion of the meeting of legislative bodies, to have the abolition of slavery brought under their notice by suitable motions, by addresses to the Crown, or in any other way that may be deemed eligible. It was by the adoption of such means as those to which we have referred that the freedom of the slaves in the British colonies was effected, notwithstanding the most formidable opposition by colonial proprietors, and by those who undertook the defence of their supposed interests. It is our cheering belief that similar measures will be successful wherever they are resorted to, in removing from each of those countries in which it exists the guilt and reproach of slavery; whilst every instance of national emancipation will, by the powerful influence of example, hasten the universal triumph of freedom, and therewith the abolition of the slave-trade.

AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

On the 26th of June, 1839, the governor of British Guiana forwarded to the then Secretary of State, Lord Normanby, an ordinance to regulate immigration into that colony. Its object was to procure labourers from British India, the Bahama Islands, and the Western coast of Africa. In the despatch which accompanied it the Governor states that another ordinance for raising a loan of 400,000*l.* for similar purposes had been submitted to the Court of Policy, in conformity with the wishes of the Combined Court, but that he had effectually resisted its passage, because he was "satisfied of the impolicy of burthening the colony with a debt for forty years, subject to a vote of the Combined Court for the mode of taxing the colony to pay the interest." Not content with giving this opinion, he added, "No debt ought to be contracted which should anticipate revenue, and which would probably place the colony at the command of merchants in England, from whose thralldom the compensation money has enabled the great body of the proprietors to escape." The immigration ordinance was disallowed by her Majesty in council on the following grounds, as stated in the despatch of Lord Normanby to Governor Light, dated 15th August, 1839:—First, because it was not considered "wise or just to appropriate the public revenue in aid of this service." The case is thus put by the noble Lord,—"If," says he, "the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which every member of society is a contributor, should not, for this purpose, be directed from their more legitimate destination." Secondly, because it was "proposed that the Governor should appoint emigration agents at Calcutta, at the Bahamas, in Africa, and any other place where a Mixed Commission may be established under the treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade." To each of the places selected there were grave objections. "With regard to the introduction of labourers from India," Lord Normanby observed, "more than enough has already passed to render her Majesty's Government decidedly hostile to every such project;" and, he added, "we are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West Indies from Africa;" and for this reason, "no precautions which have been, or which could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery." As to the Bahamas, the Government could not consent to their depopulation by emigration on grounds of state policy. Thirdly, because the ordinance provided "that only one of every three emigrants must be a female," whilst to the Government it appeared "indispensable, if any bounties are paid, that there should be an equal number of each sex." And, fourthly, because no "provision is made to secure to the emigrants, on their arrival, a proper

reception, or to determine in what manner they shall be settled amongst the different candidates for their services."

Such were the principal reasons which induced the Government, in 1839, to resist the Immigration scheme of British Guiana, and to throw the planters on their own resources for the supply of additional labour. As may be supposed, great excitement was occasioned by the despatch of the Colonial Minister. The Governor took alarm, and feared that difficulty would exist when the Civil-list bill should require to be re-enacted. Minutes, memorials, and petitions were sent home, and Lord John Russell, who succeeded Lord Normanby in the Colonial Office, condescended to reason the subject with the colonists. The whole of the noble Lord's despatch, dated 15th February, 1840, to Governor Light, is worthy of perusal; we, however, can only present our readers a few extracts from it. On the subject of Coolie immigration, he said, "I confess I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, after the failure of the former experiment," alluding to the fatal results of the Gladstone scheme; and, as a wise and humane man, added, "*I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a measure which may lead to a dreadful loss of life on the one hand, or on the other, to a new system of slavery.*" But, in reference to African immigration, the noble Lord said, that whilst he did not "anticipate much benefit from such importation," confining it exclusively to "the negroes captured by our cruisers in slave-ships," he was not "determined to exclude this source of supply." At the same time he justly remarked, that, should "any large addition be made to our rich colonies from this source, *our whole policy in putting down the slave-trade would be exposed to suspicion, and we should, not improbably, be told, that we were indirectly recruiting our own possessions with compulsory labour, by the very means which we employed to suppress the traffic of other nations.*"

To show how little was likely to be gained by the introduction of Asiatic labourers, the noble Lord observed—"When you should have removed to Guiana a large number of labourers, they are still to be free labourers; the soil is fertile, the climate invites to indolence. The Asian race love ease and enjoyment, at least as much as any other; you have still no certainty for your sugar crop. In the meantime, it is a mere calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan to bring to England, and to clear of duty; and whether, all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. *If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation.*" In concluding his despatch, his lordship says, "But in whatever degree I might be disposed to yield to the representations of the merchants and proprietors, whether in this country or the colonies, I must enjoin upon you to bear in mind, that the happiness of the inhabitants of the colony you are appointed to govern is the chief object." *** "The Queen, whose commands I convey to you, looks for her reward in the faithful attachment of a million of Her people, whom it has been Her care to render worthy of the boon which it was the happiness of Her predecessor to be enabled to grant, by the liberal assistance of His parliament, and amid the joy of His subjects."

The draft of an ordinance was transmitted to Governor Light, by the same mail which conveyed this despatch, allowing immigration into British Guiana, *on bounties*, to be paid out of the colonial funds; that is to say, out of any *surplus revenue* that might exist after the payment of the ordinary expenses connected with the local government, provided that no emigration agent should be appointed "at any port or place within the limits of the East India Company's Charter;" and that no such agent should be appointed, without the previous consent of one of the Secretaries of State, "at any port or place on the Western or Eastern Continent, or at the island of Madagascar, or at any other island adjacent to the said coasts of the said Continent, and inhabited by the Negro race; and that "the number of female emigrants above fourteen years of age, embarked on board any vessel for British Guiana, shall be equal to the number of male emigrants above fourteen years of age, embarked in the same vessel."

Thus began the first step in the wrong direction, namely, the application of the public funds to that which should ever have been regarded as a matter of personal interest and private speculation. Had not the noble Lord given way on this point, whatever immigration there might have been to any of the colonies, the funds would have been found by the individuals likely to have been benefited thereby. We have a striking exemplification of this in the fact, that as soon as Lord Normanby's despatch became known in Guiana, a voluntary subscription emigration society was formed, whose operations are fully set forth in the parliamentary papers; but, of course, as soon as the planters knew they might finger the public money to promote their interests, they no longer levied contributions on themselves, nor cared who bore the expense of immigration, so long as they were permitted to enjoy its fruits.

In March, 1840, Governor Doherty, of Sierra Leone, having intimated that some of the settlers in that colony, Maroons and others, were desirous of emigrating to the West Indian colonies, Lord John Russell communicated the information to Governor Light, among others. In reply, he stated, that he "should view with jealousy any commencement of emigration from Sierra Leone, except under the control of her Majesty's Government," inasmuch as "if once their (the planters' agents) are admitted to the coast of Africa, the cupidity of the captains of vessels sent to receive volunteers for a freight, would most undoubtedly be tempted to fraudu-

lent practice ;" and he added, " If, hereafter, emigrants should be obtained from Sierra Leone, the proportion should be at least one able-bodied person in three ; *they should on no account come without their wives and families.*"

In January, 1841, an immigration ordinance, founded upon a draft-ordinance forwarded by Lord John Russell, was enacted. It differed, however, in several essential respects from the model, but was principally remarkable for its omission of the provision requiring that an equal number of sexes should be introduced. How it escaped, if, indeed, it did escape the vigilant eye of the noble lord, is marvellous ; yet, though the ordinance was rigidly scrutinized, so far as it invaded the rights of the Crown, and the necessary amendments proposed, not a word was said, either by Governor or Colonial Secretary, in relation to the important omission referred to. The effect of this measure was to open, with the consent of the Home Government, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to the planters of Guiana. An agent was appointed, at a salary of 400*l.* per annum, to reside at Sierra Leone, to superintend the emigration thence ; and the boon that was conceded to British Guiana, was also allowed to Jamaica and Trinidad.

In consulting the instructions forwarded by Lord John Russell to the Governor of Sierra Leone, the late lamented Mr. John Jeremie, we find him thus express himself :—" I am entirely opposed to any plan for taking the liberated Africans to the West Indies, against their will ; but," and we beg our readers to mark this, " but, on the other hand, I consider that we are not bound to maintain, in the colony of Sierra Leone, all the captured negroes who are sent thither ; and that Africans landed there in future should, at the expiration of three months, be bound—1st., To show that they are in a state to maintain themselves on the spot ; or, 2ndly, to signify their consent to emigrate to the West Indies ; or, 3rdly, to leave the colony." We confess, that when we first read this, we were shocked at what we conceived to be its inhumanity. Considering the purpose for which Sierra Leone was established, the miserable condition in which captured Africans usually arrived in the colony, the youthful age of a large number of them, and their perfectly friendless position, it did appear to us inhuman to present to them the alternatives of emigration to the West Indies, or expulsion from the colony, if, within three months after their arrival there, they were unable, either from youth, incapacity, illness, or other causes, to maintain themselves. Besides clothing, cooking utensils, and implements of husbandry, the rations allowed the captured Africans, until they were fairly able to support themselves, say, from six to twelve months, was threepence per day, for adults, and half that sum for children.

We will not stay to inquire whether the Government legally possessed the power of expulsion, under the circumstances indicated ; but we will ask, how could there be " free emigration," under such regulation ? The alternatives presented by the noble Lord were, exposure to re-capture by the slave-traders who infest the whole country round Sierra Leone, or transportation to the British colonies. How could there be freedom of action here ?

On another and most important point the noble lord writes as follows :—" You will perceive that I have omitted to lay down any rule as to the proportion of females who may accompany the male emigrants. Undoubtedly it would be desirable that the number of the former should equal the number of the latter : but it is obvious that the adoption of such a rule would have the effect of restricting emigration within limits so narrow, as to amount to a total prohibition." Here then we find another step taken in the wrong direction—the noble lord having given up what had been previously and pertinaciously insisted on, an equal number of the sexes. Had there been few or none of the female sex at Sierra Leone, that might have been a reason for the noble lord abandoning his original ground, or, at all events, of modifying it according to circumstances. But what is the fact ? By a return of the General-Superintendent of the liberated African, there were in the colony on the 31st Dec., 1842—20,846 males, and 17,099 females, or five females to every six males.

The evils connected with the incomplete instructions given by the noble lord, to regulate African emigration, soon began to manifest themselves ; and with a view to put a stop to them the Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone in council framed an act, on the 28th Dec., 1841, supplemental to the one previously transmitted to Mr. John Jeremie, by the Home Government. In introducing this act to the attention of Lord Stanley, who succeeded Lord John Russell as colonial minister, he speaks of " practices of a most nefarious character, which certain of the emigration agents, in their anxiety to obtain candidates, had so far forgotten themselves as to have resorted to, but which were detected and remedied by Mr. Jeremie, the Government agent for emigration." The evils guarded against in the supplemental act were the following, viz. :—that no ship should depart without having on board a proportion of adult females amounting to not less than one-third part of the whole number of adult emigrants embarked—that no ship should take away any children, or persons under age, without the sanction, in writing, of their parents or guardians—that no liberated African shall be removed from his village without a written notice being given to the manager of the district, at least ten days previous to such removal—that no person should leave the colony as an emigrant without having resided for a period of at least six weeks therein—that no ship shall leave with emigrants without its being certified by an authorized officer that the provisions on board are sufficient for the voyage—and that all attempts to delude the emigrants shall be punishable by a fine of not less than ten, nor more

than twenty pounds. Amendments were suggested by Lord Stanley, which did not, however, materially affect the protective part of the Act.

In legislating anew upon the subject, Governor Macdonald, who succeeded Mr. Fergusson, omitted the clause requiring that at least one-third of the adult emigrants should be females. On this point Lord Stanley thus wrote to him on March 31st, 1843 :—" It appears from the minutes, that, on the representation of the West India emigration agents, and of Mr. Jeremie, the Government agent, the Council assented to the abolition of the clause which requires that the proportion of female emigrants shall not be less than one-third of the number embarked. Her Majesty's Government have never sanctioned any Immigration Act which did not provide that one-third, at least, of the immigrants should be females ; and they are not prepared to authorize any deviation from this regulation." In a subsequent despatch, dated 25th May, 1843, the noble lord again adverted to this subject, he says, " I observe that by the present act, all restrictions on the proportions of the emigrants are withdrawn. The former Act required that at least one-third of the adult emigrants should be females, except in the case of Kroomeen, and *I consider that provision to be indispensable.*" It would thus appear that something, at least, was gained by the accession of the noble lord to office. But this, we regret to say, has not been the case, as the sequel will abundantly show.

In the month of February, the noble lord, in conjunction with the leading West India merchants, had concocted a grand scheme of emigration from Africa, to be carried on under the exclusive control of the Government. Emigrants were not only to be allowed to be taken from Sierra Leone, but from Boa Vista and Loando, where the Government had recently, in conjunction with Portugal, established mixed commission courts. The emigrants were to be collected by the agents of the colonies as heretofore, who were to be superintended by another agent appointed by Government. On their arrival in the colonies, they were to be received by the Government immigration agent, and would be entitled to a free passage back at the expiration of five years' service. In the first instance, the emigration was to be limited to Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, but ultimately extended to the whole of the West India colonies requiring labourers.

Of course, the noble lord anticipated a large supply of labourers by this means for the colonies, but it has not fully answered his expectations, and, therefore, other measures than those originally contemplated have been resorted to, to quicken emigration from Sierra Leone, and to lessen the heavy expense connected with it as lately carried on. The noble lord, therefore, in a despatch to governor Macdonald, dated 5th June, 1843, prepares him for great changes. The first point dwelt upon by the noble lord, is " the great advantages which Her Majesty's Government anticipate as likely to accrue to the population of Sierra Leone from quitting their present home to seek employment, and its attendant benefits, in the West Indies." This is dwelt upon at large. Then it is assumed that the liberated Africans in the colony " have arrived at a stage of civilization qualifying them for the management of their own affairs without further tutelage," and, therefore, the establishments which have been kept up for their benefit, are less necessary than heretofore. Various officers connected with the liberated African department are to be forthwith discharged, and the collector of customs in future is " to take charge, under the direction of the Governor, of such Africans as may be landed at that station, and to attend to their distribution and location, observing that any requisite supplies of provisions or clothing, or any expenditure for the Africans, will continue to be provided and defrayed as at present by the commissariat, and that their medical treatment will be also attended to by the colonial medical officers." The next step of the noble lord was, to reduce " the period of residence in the colony, prior to emigration, from six to four weeks." This was done in December, 1843. Still even this was not deemed sufficient, for we find in a despatch to governor Macdonald, dated 10th February, 1844, the following extraordinary passage :—" Since the introduction of the Government scheme of emigration, the captured Africans landed at Sierra Leone have the option of being forthwith provided with the means of removing to places where they may find immediate employment, and be enabled fully to maintain themselves ; and they should be apprised, therefore, that in case they should prefer to remain in the colony, *they must provide entirely for themselves ; all issues or allowances to them should be discontinued, except their clothing and maintenance whilst under adjudication, and until they are enabled to embark for the colonies,* the proper medical treatment of such as are landed in sickness being still continued." The acting governor has issued a proclamation to this effect, and now starvation or transportation is the order of the day at Sierra Leone. One only point remained to be conceded to the West Indians, and that was, that no proportion of females should be required to be embarked as emigrants for the colonies, and that, too, has been granted by Lord Stanley. Thus, step by step, the Government have given way on a subject of vital importance. Every restriction has been removed that was deemed necessary for the protection and welfare of the native African, and the Creole labourer, or which tended to the real and permanent prosperity of the emancipated colonies. Taking advantage of the concessions which have been made, the colonial legislatures, representing the planting interest, almost exclusively, are appropriating the public funds to immigration with a want of consideration and recklessness likely to prove ruinous.

AT the ANNUAL MEETING of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at Cannon-street Chapel, Oct. 15th, 1844. THOMAS WESTON, Esq., Mayor, in the Chair. After reading the Annual Report and Cash Account, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by the Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, seconded by the Rev. T. SWAN.—

1.—That the Report and Cash Accounts now read be received and adopted by this meeting, and that the same be printed for circulation under the direction of the Committee, and that the following be the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Moved by the Rev. G. DAWSON, M.A., seconded by JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., of London—

2.—That this meeting, being fully convinced that the only certain means of abolishing the Slave Trade will be found in the Abolition of Slavery itself, deprecate the employment of armed cruisers, the utter inexpediency of which long experience has abundantly proved.

Moved by JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., seconded by the Rev. JONATHAN HOOPER—

3.—That this meeting feel it to be their duty earnestly to protest against the scheme of emigration of Chinese Coolies and Africans to the British emancipated colonies, as proposed to be carried on under the sanction of the British Government, and call upon the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to oppose it by every legitimate means in their power.

THOMAS WESTON, Chairman.

Moved by Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, seconded by Mr. J. C. WOODHILL—

4.—That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Mayor for his kindness in presiding, and to the Officers of this Chapel for the loan of this place of meeting.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman.

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, NOVEMBER 13, 1844.

Most gratifying intelligence has reached us from Sweden. We recorded with pleasure and with hope, the movement made in the Diet of that country in 1841, when an address to the King was voted, praying for the abolition of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew's. We now learn with high satisfaction, that King Oscar has returned an answer to this address, altogether concurring in its prayer. But the fact shall be presented to our readers in the words of the valued correspondent from whom we have received it:—

Extract from a letter to George William Alexander, from Edward B. Hale Lewin, dated Stockholm, 29th Oct., 1844.—“ You will, I am sure, feel interested in the purport of a recent communication from King Oscar I. to the States of Sweden, now assembled, on the subject of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew. The following is a literal translation of the paper in question. ‘ On receipt of the address from the States of 30th April, 1841,’ requesting that his Majesty will cause inquiry to be instituted as to the manner in which slavery may be abolished in the island of St. Bartholomew, and likewise adopt such measures as may be found necessary for the accomplishment of that object, his Majesty required a report to be furnished by the governor of the said island. From this report, while it appears that the condition of the slaves in the island has been materially ameliorated, his Majesty finds nevertheless more than sufficient reason to participate in the wishes of the States for the early discontinuance of slavery. The number of slaves in the island, amounting in 1842 to 595, is now reduced to 532. For the liberation of these the King has not been able to discover any other means consistent with fairness and justice than that of redeeming them from their owners, for which, should the liberation take place immediately and all at once, the sum of 97,320 Spanish piasters, or about 250,000 rix-dollars banco, would be required. But if the slaves were to be ransomed by degrees, and as successive opportunities occurred for the purchase of slaves at a reduced price, the sum necessary might perhaps be limited to about 50,000 Spanish piasters, and be distributed over a period of five years. In the event of the island being ceded to any foreign power before the emancipation of the slaves shall have thus been effected, the necessity for a grant of funds for this purpose will be diminished, or cease altogether, according to the terms upon which the cession shall have been agreed upon.’ You will perceive by the last sentence that there is a project on foot for disposing of the island, which has, I believe, for many years, been a source of debt and annoyance to the Swedish government.”

We tender our sincere acknowledgments to the King of Sweden for this communication. He is the first of the sovereigns of Europe, since the act of British emancipation, to render such public homage to the great principles of humanity and justice; and he has set an example well worthy of being imitated by other potentates. We trust it will be speedily followed. In the measures which may be adopted in Sweden for carrying out the King's suggestion of equity to the planters, we hope it will be recollect that the first and paramount consideration is equity to the slave. The latter part of

* The address of which you are aware the brothers Geijer were the joint originators.

the message, however, gives strength to a rumour which has obtained considerable currency, namely, that negotiations are on foot for the transfer of St. Bartholomew's to the sovereignty of another power. The decrease in the population of the island, we should think, must have arisen from deportation, which, however, we suppose to be illegal.

THE letter of Marshal Bugeaud on the subject of slavery in Algeria will be found in our paper of this day, together with some effective remarks in reply by the editor of the *Annales de l'Institut d'Afrique*. The Marshal's letter is valuable in our view, chiefly because, by implication, it admits the fact that both slavery and the slave-trade exist in Algeria *under the sanction of the French Government*. As a fact this may be regarded as at length established beyond question. It now stands broadly before the world, that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the midst of movements tending to the abolition of slavery throughout the world, France, one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, has added another to her slave colonies; and that, having subjugated and added to her empire, on the plea of extending the benefits of civilization, a vast region in which slavery and the slave-trade exist, she has not the resolution to put an end to these atrocious crimes! What the Bey of Tunis has done, France dare not attempt! Among the first of the nations, she stands rebuked by her comparatively insignificant neighbour, whom she proudly styles a barbarian! Will Frenchmen, so sensitive to the honour of their country, exhibit no sensibility to this disgrace?

THE information brought by the last mail from British Guiana affords a signal illustration of the obstinacy with which the oppressive and infatuated course of the planters is pursued. In the first instance, the Combined Court passed the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances in a manner so hurried, that Lord Stanley found it his duty to administer a pointed rebuke, and to enjoin a mode of legislation which should allow an opportunity for the wishes of the inhabitants at large to express themselves. If there had been the smallest measure of fairness in the members of the Combined Court, this injunction would have been complied with in a manner setting future complaint at defiance. Instead of this, however, it has been not even seemingly complied with, but glaringly set at naught, and a second act of the farce of legislation enacted with a degree of studied art and audacity altogether astounding. Let the facts of the case be taken as they are stated in the *Congregational Record*.

“ All are now aware of the Governor's notorious prohibitory notice against the admission of memorials to the Home Government that may not be in his Excellency's hands forty-eight hours before the closing of the European mails.

“ Hundreds of people, aware that their local rulers, without condescending to wait a moment for the people's opinion on the matter, had unceremoniously appropriated 75,000*l.* of their money, beyond the power of recall, exactly twenty-four hours after the community had become aware of the demand; and, conceiving it of no manner of use to petition the court, united in a memorial to Lord Stanley, which, it is hoped, reached his Excellency time enough to escape the expelling notice, by the last mail.

“ This done, we had a right to expect that ‘ due deliberation,’ and time for ‘ the people's opinion,’ would precede any legislative decision on the Loan and Civil List Bills, returned with merited rebuke by his lordship, for revision. Judge, then, of our utter amazement, when the despatches from Lord Stanley concerning the said bills requiring ‘ due deliberation and the expression of public sentiment,’ which, if not privately committed to the secret conclave, had been kept quiet in the Governor's apartments, were unexpectedly brought for the first time before the legislative body, scarcely forty-eight hours before the mails were to be closed! And, within the proscribed period, the returned bills for the 500,000*l.* loan, and for the prolongation of the Civil List were introduced, read a first, second, and third time, and re-enacted,—all being completed just four hours before the mails were made up!

“ Only bear in mind, first, that the entire community were fully expecting that the Governor would take care that ample opportunity should be given for the expression of public opinion, after he should make public Lord Stanley's despatches on the bills. Secondly, that you must journey seventy miles or more by sea, to reach New Amsterdam, the capital of Berbice county; and still further to the coast of Essequibo county; and that in Georgetown, the place of legislation for the whole province, the inhabitants generally were ignorant of these unexpected proceedings of the legislative hall, the particulars of which could not be learned but through the newspapers, after the mail had left. And, thirdly, that the standing rules of the court had been suspended, in so far as was necessary to complete their designs.

“ And then, gentle reader, can you, by any possibility, be prepared for the provoking coolness of the Attorney-General when in court he said, ‘ May I be permitted to ask, is there any petition from the inhabitants against these bills?’ Government secretary.—‘ There is no petition addressed to this court against these bills.’ Mr. Rose.—‘ Is there any petition to the combined court?’ Government secretary.—‘ None addressed to the combined court.’ The court adjourned.

“ On the following day, while the court was sitting, Mr. Rose inquired, ‘ Has any petition or memorial been sent in, addressed to the combined court, against the 75,000*l.* Bill, or the Loan Bill, or the Bill to renew the Civil List?’ Government secretary.—‘ No.’ Mr. Rose.—‘ Be kind enough to put the question and answer on record. I have a particular reason for asking.’

“ No doubt there was a particular reason, but we hope the whole proceeding is too apparent to succeed in its objects.”

If there was any honesty in the first rebuke administered by Lord Stanley, the repeated offence, and the obstinacy it evinces, will

surely give occasion to a second and a more severe one. His lordship certainly will not allow himself to be insulted, and the whole Government to be set at defiance in such a manner as this. He has found, ere now, that petitions and remonstrances have come in, although carefully excluded from the despatch-bag of the Governor; and we have reason to know that they are of a character well entitled to weigh with considerate and enlightened statesmen. Besides the memorials which have been forwarded by various channels to the Colonial Office, some important resolutions have been come to by the Committee of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, a meeting of which was convened "at the eleventh hour." They are as follows:—

"At a meeting of committee, convened on Tuesday, the 18th instant,
"It was resolved,

"That this committee views, with serious alarm and distrust, the repeated secret and hasty proceedings of the combined court of British Guiana in passing ordinances for immigration purposes, fraught with alarming consequences to the lately emancipated classes of this colony.

"That, from the observations made in the report of the committee of the combined court in reference to the remonstrance of the friends of the labouring classes, who form the bulk of the community, against their hasty and unconstitutional proceedings, which have not even escaped the rebuke of the Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and from the hasty manner in which they have again proceeded in voting away 75,000*l.*, and in the revision of the 500,000*l.* Immigration Loan Bill, and the re-enactment of the Civil List Bill,—this committee conceives that no remonstrance from the oppressed portion of this community would avail with the local legislature, even if there were time allowed them to remonstrate. They can only look to the parent Government, and to their friends in Britain, through whose instrumentality liberty has been granted them, for protection from the severe oppression which these bills, if allowed by her Majesty, would entail on them.

"That the circumstance of his Excellency the Governor having notified that no document for the Honourable the Colonial Secretary will be received by his Excellency for transmission, forty-eight hours previously to the departure of the mail; and the fact of the local legislature having come to decision respecting the bills only four hours before the time for making up the mail, have prevented a memorial being sent, by and on behalf of the labouring classes, through the Governor. This committee, therefore, earnestly requests the Parent Society again to memorialize his lordship the Colonial Secretary on their behalf against these oppressive proceedings.

"That a copy of these resolutions be forthwith forwarded to the Parent Society, and also to the 'Guiana Congregational Record.'

"GEO. M'FARLANE,
Secretary Aux. Anti-Slavery Society."

"Sept. 18*th*, 1844.
It appears, however, that the planters and their clique in British Guiana are desirous, not only of obstructing the transmission to this country of such expressions of public sentiment as may be elicited there, but of preventing the utterance of that sentiment, even through the most ordinary channels. A notice having been issued, convening a public meeting in relation to the obnoxious ordinances at the British School-room, New Amsterdam, Berbice, on the 25th of September, "a white mob, (we quote the words of our correspondent,) consisting of merchants, planters, doctors, magistrates, and officials, is reported to have succeeded in breaking up that meeting, under pretence of being 'taken by surprise.' They would require a month's notice; but at last a fortnight was carried by acclamation, and a committee was appointed to prepare resolutions." The *animus* of this interruption is sufficiently evident in the report of the proceedings furnished by the *Berbice Gazette*. Mr. Nimmo,—a well-known name under the former *regime*—stated that "opposition would be of no avail, as the bills had passed, and were on their way to England;" adding, "It is there the battle must be fought, (cheers,) in the British House of Parliament we must take our stand, (great cheering.)" Mr. King, a magistrate, vented the absurd notion that the meeting was illegal; and the bearing of the whole opposition plainly was, to prevent any expression of public opinion at all. To all this, we trust, the noble Secretary for the Colonies will have his eyes and his ears open. That a very extensive and powerful opposition exists to the oppressive measures on which the planter-clique are bent, must be manifest to him, and we trust he will not be betrayed into a sacrifice of the substantial welfare of the colony for their momentary gratification.

We engage the special attention of our readers to the article on African emigration to the emancipated colonies, inserted in another part of our paper. It will clearly show them how little reliance can be placed on those who administer our colonial affairs. One colonial minister upsets the doctrines and projects of another, and often the same minister is at variance with himself. What matters it that Lord Normanby lays down sound principles for regulating emigration to the colonies, if Lord John Russell reverses them? Lord Normanby says that Africa, as well as India, shall be shut against the planters; Lord John Russell immediately follows him, and says Africa shall be open. Lord Normanby says it is neither just nor wise that the public funds should be appropriated to emigration, but that its expenses should be defrayed by those for whose special benefit it is allowed; Lord John Russell says the public funds may be appropriated to that service. Lord Normanby and Lord John Russell agree, that it is indispensable that one-half of the immigrants who may be imported into the colonies should be women; yet, before Lord John Russell quits the Colonial Office, he leaves that vital point an open question, and differs as much from himself as from his noble colleague and predecessor in office. Lord John Russell, though he will allow the surplus revenue of the colo-

nies to be applied to immigration purposes, demurs to loans; but his successor, Lord Stanley, is not only willing that the surplus shall be so appropriated, but consents that the colonies shall be burthened with enormous debts for the same purpose, for at least a quarter of a century to come. Under Lord Normanby's administration, African emigration was forbidden altogether. Under Lord Stanley's rule, it is intended to be carried on on a grand scale; and, with a view to facilitate the operation, the colonies are to be heavily taxed, all regulations having reference to a due proportion of the sexes are to be rescinded, and the captured Africans placed in such a position as that they must either emigrate, starve, or quit Sierra Leone, and fall into the hands a second time of the merciless slave-dealer.

It is time that this country should know who are the originators of this scheme. They are to be found among the West India merchants, mortgagees, and non-resident proprietors, in this country, and their agents and attorneys in the colonies. The former have the ear of the Government at home; the latter the power of accomplishing their wishes in the colonial legislatures, in which they are the leading men. Governor Light, of Guiana, was not wrong when he stated to Lord John Russell, in 1839, that "the loan," then proposed by the Court of Policy in British Guiana, "would be a job in the hands of a few monied men, who would put at least 30,000*l.* in their pockets, if it were allowed." And yet it is to be allowed by Lord Stanley. Now we venture to predict that, as soon as the mortgagees have given a fictitious value to the estates in which they are interested, they will foreclose their mortgages and throw them into the market for sale; and that the merchants will endeavour to reduce their debts by the same means, or, by freighting their vessels, for the sake of the bounties to be given on emigrants, increase their fortunes out of the resources of the colonies. Who is the great advocate of loans in Guiana? The Hon. Peter Rose, the head of the Colonial bank there. And to whom is the management of the loan to be entrusted in this country? To individuals connected with the same bank, who, out of their immense fortunes, can supply the funds that are wanting. The ultimate and permanent prosperity of the colonies does not enter into their calculations, so much as present gain. And what is true of Guiana will be found equally true of Trinidad and Jamaica. It must not be supposed, however, that all the planters in these colonies are favourable to loans. On the contrary the bulk of them begin to see, that, whilst the Leviathan attorneys and planters will derive the profit (if any) on the importation of labourers, they will have to bear no inconsiderable part of the burden. In British Guiana the Colonial bank party have, without consulting the inhabitants at large on the subject, voted away 75,000*l.* of the public money for the purpose of introducing, between this and March next year, 5,000 Coolies, and enacted a loan ordinance besides for 500,000*l.* Trinidad has also passed an ordinance for raising 200,000*l.* on a loan, and voted away above 35,000*l.* of the Colonial funds for the immediate introduction of 2,500 Coolies. Jamaica is in session for the purpose of raising a sum equal to British Guiana, for the same object, on the recommendation of the Colonial Minister; but doubts are entertained whether the thing will be accomplished, notwithstanding Lord Elgin's late movement to get a house favourable to this and other parts of Lord Stanley's colonial policy. The following extract from the Jamaica *Morning Journal* will show that Coolie emigration is not in such great favour in that colony:—

"It will not be, it has not been, for lack of asking that labour is not cheaper than it is in Jamaica. The fact is, that here, as in every other country, it is the interest of the landholders to procure labour at as cheap a rate as possible, and of the labourers to obtain the highest price that can be had for their services. And no one can find fault reasonably with either for thus acting. Labour, like every other commodity, is worth what it will bring. The landowners have a right to procure it at the cheapest market, and many do so at present. This is the sum and substance of the Government concession, or their scheme of emigration from India. And this brings us back to the other point. Will Coolie labour, with the conditions attached, be cheaper than negro labour in Jamaica? If it will not, then there can be no good in incurring the risks consequent upon the introduction of Coolies into the colony. But we are asked, what are the planters to do—how are they to manage, if, not being able to procure labour at home at a rate they can afford to pay, they are prevented from obtaining it from abroad? We reply they are not prevented from obtaining it from abroad. So far as we can understand this question, it seems that, high as the price of labour is considered to be in the colony, it cannot, in consequence of the cost of bringing the labourers to it and sending them away at the expiration of five years, be procured at a less rate from India; and the conclusion to which all reasonable men are forced is, that it is no use attempting to procure it from thence. But what are the planters to do? This is, without doubt, a most important question, and one which it would appear can only be answered in this way. Limit the quantity of land to be cultivated to the amount of available labour, and endeavour, by the use of machinery and the lower animals, to reduce the demand for manual labour to the lowest possible amount. He is the best manager who, by thus acting, obtains the largest returns from the smallest amount of human labour. It appears, too, that the mode suggested is the only practicable one of reducing the price of labour, and will be found to be the very best description of immigration. Matters have come to that state, that, whether they desire to do so or not, the planters will be forced to substitute cattle and horses, with ploughs, harrows, and such other instruments as may be invented, for men, women, and hoes. The estates which will not permit of this change must be thrown up, and the sooner this is done the better for all parties. * * * * It seems self-evident that, where labour is scarce and dear, the most effectual mode of economizing is to lessen, by every available means, the demand for it.

This can be done in the way we have hinted, and, if the proprietors in England will make up their minds to try the experiment, there will be little heard in future about the cost of labour and the dearness of labour, and less about Coolie immigration."

This we hold to be sound advice.

The following extract from the *St. Lucia Independent* will show that the resident planters are fully alive to the movements of those also in London, who dignify themselves with the appellation of "The West Indian Interest":—

"The Colonial Bank party and their allies, the money brokers in the city, are leaving no stone unturned to induce the Government to guarantee the Immigration Loan, as it is called, with which they are speculating to make a good job. If they succeed, they will, as the first fruits of the measure, place their money advantageously—in the second place they will manage to get the lion's share of the 25*l.* per head, which it is calculated these Coolie labourers are to cost the tax payers in those colonies which are to be *favoured* with being admitted to participate in the right of purchasing their five years of service—and lastly, though evidently not the least important of their gains,—those of these London speculators who are West India merchants, are also holders of West India estates, which they have got possession of by 'selling up' the unfortunate planters whom they have drawn into their meshes, by advances made at a rate of some fifteen to eighteen per cent."

"We are glad, however, to find that the *resident* planters and inhabitants of these Colonies generally are beginning to discover that this *soi-disant* West India interest, embodied in a set of selfish, grasping traders in London, is an interest quite distinct from that of the real West India colonists.

"Jamaica, the colony proposed to be most extensively *favoured* by these Coolie settlers, shows symptoms of declining to deal on the terms offered. The House of Assembly newly elected is not expected to vote the Ways and Means.

"From our extracts from the Demerara papers our readers will see how the question stands there. It is true the Colonial Bank commands the majority of the Court of Policy—their agent one of the Court—and therefore the Legislature have voted away the public monies;—but the seeds of disunion are sown, and it is quite clear when they come to discuss the 'laying on the taxes' on the sugar and coffee, the whole project will fall through.

"Messrs. Cavans and Marryats, who stand, in respect to this colony, precisely in the position we have above described, namely, possessing unprofitable estates which they have taken from their luckless debtors, have put themselves forward to petition Lord Stanley to allow them to tax the inhabitants of St. Lucia to buy Hill Coolies for their sugar estates. When we say these persons have petitioned to be allowed to tax the inhabitants, we state this advisedly; for it is well known here, that, if the question can now be brought before the legislative council, it will come to be decided wholly by persons who are the debtors or dependents of these two houses. We, however, have no fears on the ultimate result. Parliament will not trust the small islands; and Lord Stanley has nullified the absurd project of buying labourers at twenty-five pounds per head, by calling on the planters 'to pay for their own whistle.'

"We have not yet seen what the Trinidadians have done in the matter; but their legislative council is so nearly composed like our own, of agents of banks and London houses, that we expect, as far as the local legislature can act, they will also squander the public money."

A strong feeling of opposition is beginning to manifest itself in British Guiana and Trinidad against votes and loans for immigration purposes. We know that memorials from the former colony are already pouring into the Colonial Office on the subject, and that they will be followed by more. Trinidad, we fear, has not strength enough to make itself heard at home. Nevertheless, we think it should make an effort to throw off the incubus which rests upon it. Our advice is, up and be doing.

THE American papers contain an account of an important legal decision pronounced by Chief Justice Shaw, at Boston, in the case of Robert T. Lucas, to the effect that a slave serving on board a vessel of the United States is entitled to his discharge the moment the vessel passes without the slave-limits of the country. This decision greatly enlarges all previous decisions in similar cases, and may be regarded as limiting the claim of the master strictly to the case of a fugitive. We must reserve the particulars for our next.

THE Record of Monday last contains a letter from Thomas Clarkson "to such professing Christians in the northern states of America as have had no practical concern with slaveholding, and have never sanctioned it by defending it; and to such also as have never visited the southern states." It is highly characteristic and valuable. Its length prevents our insertion of it in the present number; but we shall do our best to find room for it hereafter.

WE insert, for more general information, the new tariff of sugar duties, which came into operation on the 10th instant. In the newspaper controversy which is carried on respecting it, we see that a distinction is taken by a ministerial paper between *slaveholding* countries and *slave-importing* ones; or, between slavery and the slave-trade. We take the opportunity of repeating, that we cannot adopt this distinction. Our efforts always have been, and still must be, directed towards the universal extinction of slavery itself, which is, in truth, the parent of the slave-trade, and which, if it were not so, would still be a crying act of injustice, and an intolerable source of suffering and crime.

We have deprecated from the first the encouragement given by the financial measures of Government to the coffee of Brazil, which we see no reason for distinguishing from the sugar. Our wish is for the discouragement in any form of slave-labour.

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

WE have received a copy of the *Annales de l'Institut d'Afrique*, containing the letter of Marshal Bugeaud, together with some remarks in reply, apparently from the editor of that journal. We place both these documents on record.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF ALGERIA TO M. LE DUC DE MONT-MORENCI, PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

Algiers, Oct. 4.

Monsieur le Duc,—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write, for the purpose of inducing me to abolish in Algeria the sale of men, now that we have subdued the country.

Undoubtedly, it is after the sanguinary contests of the field, after victory—"that should come the serious attention required by afflicted humanity."

I agree with you on this point; the only essential difference I have with you is, as to the fitness of the moment (*l'opportunité*).

Has the moment come for forbidding to the Arabs the trade in negroes? Would such a measure be good policy? Is it true that I would serve the interests of humanity, with respect to the negroes, in preventing that trade in Algeria? These, M. le Duc, are questions that I have fully considered, before and after reading your letter.

On the first point; I do not think that we have ruled the Arabs long enough to be able safely to adopt a measure which would so seriously affect their interests. The administrative system of the Arabs is far, Dieu merci! from resembling that of France; had we modelled it on the latter, we should have a heavy army of functionaries, and consequently a heavy budget, which Africa could not support, and the mother country would not vote. Yet nothing less would suffice than the array of French administration, with its many functionaries, its police, its gendarmes, to give the least hope of making effective the measure which in the name of humanity you ask for.

Do you wish to know the administrative and governmental system of the Arabs? It is this; at the head of affairs is the general officer commanding the province or subdivision, assisted by an officer entrusted with the Arab affairs (charge des affaires Arabes); then comes the Aga, commanding several tribes; then the Kaid, the chief of a tribe; then comes the Sheikh, chief of a part of a tribe. The Aga alone is paid; the Kaid and the Sheikh have no other emolument than a small share of the taxes and fines.

Behold, M. le Duc, the whole Arab government. It has neither gendarmes, police, nor custom-house officers; for I do not consider as belonging to the Arab government the French custom-house officers whom we have upon the coast.

This government, simple, cheap, and purely military, answers entirely our existing wants. By it we raise without difficulty the taxes. We make the roads safe by enforcing the responsibility of the tribes, an institution of the government of the Turks and of Abd-el-Kader which we have maintained. We procure the arrest of criminals; the cavalry of the tribes marches with us when we require it; and we are supplied on our demand, and at the tariff prices (*au prix du tarif*), with beasts of burden to carry provisions for our columns or to our posts.

It would be impossible to require of such a government the vigilant attention which would be necessary to prevent the arrival of negroes by the desert caravans, and their sale in the markets of Algeria; for that would be needful more than the army of greater and lesser functionaries which you have in France. And for such a force where, I ask you, should we get the money? Must we extort it from those subject to French taxation? (*aux contribuables Français?*) You would be cruel to them in your attempt to be humane to the negroes.

You see then, that, on the score of expense alone, the measure is at present impracticable.

But even at great expense would one succeed? Remember, M. le Duc, that in spite of the efforts of two great nations, France and England, the trade in slaves is not much diminished, and is much more cruel. How would you defend against the trade the lines of the desert (250 leagues), of the eastern frontier (about 130 leagues), of the western frontier (about 130 leagues), in all 510 leagues of frontier to be watched to prevent the introduction of negroes. As that is impossible, we must watch the markets of the interior, which, on so large a surface, is not more easy than the other course. And were the markets watched, the negroes would be sold one by one among the tribes. You see that there would be a wilderness of obstacles to the execution of the resolution (*une dédale de difficultés dans l'exécution de l'arrêté*).

Would the measure be politic while our authority is of such recent date, with a people still furious at having been compelled to submit to the yoke? Have we not enough causes of contest without wantonly (*de gaieté de cœur*) giving this? It would be one of the most excitable causes of rebellion; for the Arab especially insists (*tient infiniment*) on having negroes; and if on this account arose a rebellion, as I think infallibly would, who would bear the consequences? Your soldiers, children of France—your treasures. You would make your fellow-citizens pay dearly indeed for your feelings of inopportune humanity.

Look to the southern states of America (United States?) Has it been possible to make them renounce slavery? Has not the central government given way from fear of a rebellion and a separation? And you would forthwith impose on the Arabs the immense hardship of not having negroes to help them in cultivation, and even negresses to marry, for they often marry them. Recollect, M. le Due, that the Koran allows holding slaves, but orders that they be treated like the children of the tent. The Arabs are rarely inattentive to this order. The negro and negress are, in a certain way, of the family; they are treated in every respect as though they were; and there is nothing more unusual than to see an Arab ill-use his slaves. Such a fact is a reply in itself to the question of humanity. I am convinced that it is happier for the Arabs of the Soudan, who from any cause fall into slavery, to be sold to the Arabs of the Tell and of the Little Desert, than to remain in the hands of the enemy who has seized them. I must add, that the Arabs very often give liberty to their slaves. Such is the case after a certain number of years of faithful service, or on the death of the head or any important member of the tent.

You perceive, M. le Duc, that, when one sees things from afar, from one point of view, and under the influence of a feeling in itself very praiseworthy, one is exposed to fall into error as to the opportunity and advantage of applying one's theory to such and such a country.

Let us beware of trying on Algeria experiments of all the theories that are hatched in the brains of every Frenchman (*qui bouillent dans les cerveaux de France*). We might be severely punished for our sentimental levity; the philanthropy we would practise in Algeria might become cruelty to France. Her people and her money would be required to repair the mistakes of her philanthropists. Let us first attend to the interests of our country, and afterwards do all possible for philanthropy.

To relieve as much as I can the fears of your humanity, I will tell you that there are no public markets of slaves at Bona, Oran, or Algiers; all dealings are by single transactions in the interior of the tribes, far from our eyes and our inspection. Besides, the number of slaves brought into Algeria is inconsiderable, as they are not employed in agriculture; they are employed in household and domestic duties, and, notwithstanding their small numbers, to suppress them would be a great subject of discontent with the Arab chiefs. Moreover, the question of compensation would arise here as well as in the case of our colonies; and you well know whether or not *that* is easily settled. Accept, M. le Duc, the assurance of my high consideration.

The Governor General,
Marshal BUGEAUD.

P.S.—I had forgotten one argument.

We wish to open commercial relations with the interior of Africa. Can we do so, by taking from the inhabitants of that distant land a branch of their trade?

ONE WORD TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

MARSHAL.—In the letter which we had the honour to write to you relative to the abolition of the slave-trade, we proposed to ourselves simply to draw your attention to a measure, the adoption of which appeared to us to involve no inconvenience. You have thought proper not to reply directly to this question. You have enlarged it considerably, and have carried it beyond the small circle within which we had circumscribed it, into a larger one, where it is necessary for us to follow you.

You put to us three questions, to which you have had the goodness to give answers in which we cannot concur. We shall reply in order to these three questions, in order to throw upon our opposing sentiments sufficient light for ascertaining on which side reason, truth, and sound policy (which cannot exist without these powerful auxiliaries) are to be found.

Is the moment arrived for interdicting to the Arabs the purchase and sale of negroes?

Undoubtedly. From the moment that civilization has thrown the light of her torch on a barbarous country, it is beyond question that so odious a system ought immediately to disappear. We do not see how this measure can be so gravely injurious to the interests of the Arabs. In order to render this measure effectual, you think it necessary to call to your aid an entire army of functionaries, and, by consequence, an enormous budget, which France could not sustain; and for this purpose you require the intervention of the police, of douaniers and gens d'armes, whom you raise up, in our opinion, without the least necessity. It is not by an exhibition of impossible energies, that we wish to prevent the arrival of negroes by the caravans from the desert, and their sale on the frontiers of Africa. Much rather would we desire that they should enter this region in crowds at every possible point; and we would facilitate their entrance by the proclamation of one single word, the abolition of slavery! This pacific invasion of blacks would revive the interior commerce of Africa, which, under the sway of the Romans, raised many cities to a high degree of splendour. The advance of the arts, and the benefits of European civilization, would go, by these channels, to expand themselves in the very centre of this unhappy continent, to abolish the inhuman traffic in men, and perhaps to effect, in the social condition of a revolution as nations, important as that which was occasioned in Europe by the discovery and civilization of America.

But would not this measure be adverse to the success of a well-considered policy?

If we cast our eyes on two recent facts connected with this great measure, we shall see that England has not been afraid to restore liberty to millions of persons; and that, in circumstances more nearly resembling those of our African colony, the Bey of Tunis has followed this generous example: and it is matter of public notoriety that, far from occasioning the least inconvenience, it has produced the most signal advantages for the countries which have adopted it. The abolition of the slave-trade, wherever it may be effected, can never be contrary to a humane and enlightened policy. Let us give liberty to the negroes, let them have their piece of land and their cottage in freehold possession; let them be raised to an understanding of moral duties; and they will be convinced that their happiness lies in industry and order. They will then take an interest in the welfare of the country, and will love the government which protects them. The abolition of slavery would do no injury, either to the Arabs or to agriculture. It would render the colony more flourishing, and increase trade. It would do no other mischief than preventing some men from fattening on the blood and sweat of their brethren. In a word, the great majority would gain by it, although some individuals might lose the melancholy opportunity of committing with impunity a crime conducive to their interest. Incredible! The governors of Africa are busy about everything—*except the Africans!* Nevertheless, these men, whom, in all the colonies, they covet so eagerly for slaves, on account of the qualities of every kind with which nature has endowed them, ought to be the first auxiliaries of colonization. Does not the history of this unfortunate race teach us that the negroes are cultivators of the soil, faithful and devoted servants, brave soldiers, intrepid sailors, eminent philosophers, and original poets? The abolition of the slave-trade ought to be effected, not merely on the coast, but in the interior of Africa.

We seriously think that this simple statement will be sufficient to lead you, Marshal, in a short time, to an opinion which acquires indisputable

value from the facts on which it rests. It is high time to quit the track of former ages. At the present moment, we firmly believe that the Arabs would have more to gain by a state of perfect equality with respect to the negroes, than the negroes with respect to the Arabs, who are no longer such as raised the noble monuments of Spain, and came to disquiet us on the borders of Provence. Immovable in defence of the eternal principles of justice, we shall not cease to repeat—Every man, whatever be his race, or his colour, has a right to the protection of the laws, and the free disposal of his person and his labour. To hold a man in slavery, to buy him, to sell him, to compel him to labour, these are unquestionable crimes, and crimes worse than robbery. Let slaves be emancipated, wherever one creature of God belongs to another, instead of belonging to the human race and to the law.

Slavery has some sophistical reasoners for defenders: for adversaries, it has all men of true wisdom, of all ages and countries. In a word, we say, with Burke, "To trade, not with the labour of men, but with men themselves, is to devour the root of human industry, instead of eating its fruits."

Literary Notice.

Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Annual Report for 1844, with an Introduction on Slavery and the Slave-trade, and an Appendix containing an account of the death of Placido, the Cuban poet.

WITH so long a title (which, after all, does not tell the whole of the contents), this is a duodecimo tract of only twenty pages. The Introduction, which relates to slavery and the slave-trade, consists of four pages, and presents a well-compacted summary of the subject. Then comes an account of the Annual Meeting of the Society, reprinted from the *Pilot*; after this the Report of the Committee; and, finally, a narrative of the death of Placido, with a metrical version by Mr. Wiffen of the poem which he composed in his last hours. The whole constitutes an excellent anti-slavery tract, and may be widely distributed with advantage.

Colonial Intelligence.

St. LUCIA.—Four young lads, slaves, taking advantage of a *fête* at Fort-Royal, Martinique, in the beginning of the week, embarked in a small canoe of about six feet long, and succeeded in effecting a landing at Soufrière, in this island, on Tuesday last (August 27). They state that they were seen by several of the custom-house boats at Martinique, but, imagining that they were going to the *fête* at Fort-Royal, they allowed them to pass, and thus four more slaves have successfully gained their liberty.—*Independent Press*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The following extracts from our private letters will show the state of feeling existing in this colony in regard to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances. "Fearn, Sept. 23, 1844.—The attempt to force the ordinances upon us in a more aggravated form will be successful, unless every nerve is strained to defeat it. The interests of all classes are involved, and I believe that all will be injured if these oppressive laws are allowed to pass. We have had a meeting on the subject at Fearn. All parties were invited. The planters were informed that they would have full liberty to address the meeting, and to lay before it any statements which they wished. Two of them attended. They declined discussing the most objectionable parts of the bills with us, candidly admitting that we had the better side of the argument. The other points of discussion were fairly debated, and though I had never canvassed the subjects in the hearing of the labourers, they were as ready as the friends who had appeared on their behalf to take part in the controversy, and I certainly think that they had the advantage of their opponents. The meeting agreed to a memorial to Lord Stanley. We did not memorialise our local legislature, because we have no reason to expect that it will do us justice. I grieve to say it—but it is the truth, and must be told." Of a written speech which was brought to this meeting by a planter who had not courage to read it, our correspondent says—"This planter shows very clearly that the distress of the planting body is fairly attributable to their own imprudence; and I will add, that I do not believe that they will ever recover from it until they change their policy. Immigration, even if they had it on their own terms, is not the panacea for the ills of which they complain. The speech concludes with an appeal to ministers to consider the religious advantages held out to immigrants. But, alas! their experience of disappointment in seeking the salvation of the immigrants renders many of them deaf to this appeal. It is the policy of some to keep out, while they profess to admit, faithful ministers. Of the Coolies who visited our shores I do not know that one received any religious benefit. I might say the same of the Portuguese. In only one or two instances have any but state-paid ministers ready access to the Africans. Any one may go to an estate to hold meetings and give instruction; but, if the manager is unfriendly he may go without being able to get the immigrants together, and often on a sugar estate they are kept at work until a late hour of the night. They only come to the West Indies to add European to African vices. One missionary sent among them in their native land would do more for them than all the ministers in Berbice have done in this colony."

"Georgetown, Demerara, Oct. 4, 1844.—Since the date of my last we have endeavoured as far as in our power to frustrate the counsels of those who, by their unrighteous and impolitic measures, would, to serve the selfish purposes of a few, plunge this colony into ruinous debt and difficulty. I trust the efforts of the friends of truth and liberty will not be in vain, and that the serious evils which threaten the inhabitants of this province will be mercifully averted by Him who ruleth in all the earth."

IMMIGRATION OF LABOURERS.—The *Arabian*, immigration bark, arrived yesterday morning, with the large number of 223 immigrants on board, after the long passage of fifty-one days from Sierra Leone.—*Royal Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington to Thomas Clarkson, dated Hartford, Connecticut, Sept. 25th, 1844.—“I fully accord with Mr. Whittier, and confirm his statement ‘that our cause never went on so rapidly.’ As evidence of this, I will specify, First,—That very few fugitive slaves are now taken up in the free States, although they run away in increasing numbers every day. Second,—The churches are becoming deeply ashamed of their conduct, and are beginning to treat coloured ministers and Christians differently. Since my return from England I have preached in ten or twelve pulpits of white ministers, by invitation or exchange, which were not open before to ministers of my colour. They heard how ministers received me in England, and it has affected them. Third,—Abolitionists are very rapidly increasing in political influence. They have completely foiled the slaveholders in their project of annexing Texas. When Congress assembled last fall, the matter was in the hands of the general government, and it was expected on all hands that it would be carried; but, notwithstanding the President strongly recommended it, and had the treaty of annexation all ready, it was defeated, and now it is in the hands of the people. Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for President, is in favour of annexation with the consent of Mexico. Mr. Polk, the Democratic candidate, is in favour of it if a majority of the people of the United States are. So that this question will be decided at the next general election. The abolitionists have no hope of electing Mr. Birney; but they will certainly come near enough to it to affect both of the other parties, and they will without doubt decide the fate of one of them. It is very generally believed that, if the Whigs lose the election, it will be owing to the fact that a large number of votes have been withdrawn from the party by the abolitionists. It is certain that the Whigs lost all popular support in Connecticut last spring by the largeness of the abolition vote. Fourth,—The influence of abolition has also greatly increased in what are called voluntary institutions, colleges, education societies, and missionary boards. Many who used to contribute thousands of dollars to these institutions now withhold their money; and this has produced a widely-extended sensation. The Union Missionary Society, of which I have the high honour to be president, has drawn, within a short time, several thousand dollars from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions on account of its connection with slavery, and our funds are rapidly increasing. In some cases individuals who used to give one, two, and three hundred dollars annually to this Board, now give to our society. Fifth,—My dear coloured brethren are rapidly improving in moral character. Every month I have to attend large conventions, where the objects are to devise ways and means to improve them. On the 5th day of August I attended a Temperance Convention at Catskill, New York state, where 5,000 coloured people met to advance the cause of temperance; on the 4th day of this month, we held a large temperance meeting at Norwich, in this state; and yesterday there was another in Pittsfield, in the state of Massachusetts.”

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, Oct. 11, 1844.—“As the Whig party have taken ground against the Democratic party, among other points, on the Texas question, the doctrines of the Anti-Slavery Society are now pretty fully discussed in the newspapers, and at ‘mass’ meetings, as we call our monster meetings. This will have a good effect. The Liberty party is daily increasing, the accessions being made from both the old political parties. It is very evident that it exerts much influence in the country. If Mr. Polk should be elected President, the whole Whig party will be arrayed against him on the Texas question, as well as on other questions, and part of his own party will not go with him for the extension of slavery. This will, we think, prevent the extension of slavery. But if Mr. Clay should be elected, we fear that his great talents, his love of compromising important questions, and his policy, will induce him to admit Texas in a way seemingly to be with the consent of a majority of the people. We are afraid of him as a Napoleon in intrigue and management. Polk is an honest, straightforward, out and out defender of slavery, anywhere and everywhere; is for the annexation of Texas at all events, and for aquiring the territory of Oregon on the Pacific ocean, whether Great Britain consents or not.”

CUBA.—The circular of Mr. Frederick Scheer, of Havana, for the 10th of October ultimo, states that it is their painful duty to report that the prospects for the next sugar crop were rendered infinitely worse than before, by the late dreadful hurricane which visited that island. Mr. Scheer says it was difficult to form an estimate of the vast amount of property destroyed, or of the probable influence of the calamity on the quantity of sugar next season. The most moderate calculation was that the crop will be deficient at least one-half. The cane that is most forward has suffered most, having been snapped assunder, while the young cane bent before the storm; many of the estates will not grind at all. In Matanzas, a great part of the little stock of sugars remaining had perished, as the water penetrated into the warehouses and even rose several feet. The damage suffered on the south side of the island seems, if possible, to have been still greater than on the north side. When we reflect on the immense loss of property which the planters have experienced, it appears certain that a great many of them will be unable to maintain the cultivation of their estates unless they have a loan from Government. If this cannot be obtained, the future prospects of the island are, they say, very gloomy, as the want of confidence which such a calamity must unavoidably bring will prevent adequate assistance being furnished from other sources. Mr. Scheer states, that they may now expect that planters will retain the remaining stock of this year’s sugars with a firm hand, and that little or no business will be done for some time to come. They will naturally anticipate that the news will occasion a considerable advance of prices in Europe, particularly if the calamity should have extended to other West India islands.—*Morning Chronicle.*

GUADELOUPE.—Private letters received from Guadeloupe assert, that incendiarism has begun to manifest itself, in certain districts. No less than fourteen fires have recently broken out, and the greatest alarm, not to say terror, prevails. Fire is a terrible weapon in the hands

of the oppressed. How wise as humane it would be, to terminate the system of slavery which exists there, before the dreaded evil more widely spreads, bringing desolation and death in its train.

MARTINIQUE.—The *St. Kit's Advertiser* intimates that news had been received in that island that a revolt of the slave population of Martinique was daily expected. That they are in a state of dangerous excitement we can well believe. They have been taught, for several years past that emancipation would be secured to them at no distant day, and yet the period of freedom seems no nearer than when they were first taught to expect it. We learn through the ordinary channels, that two packets of anti-slavery publications, have been detained by the Government of the island. Surely every liberal man in France must feel indignant that light should thus be shut out from the minds of those that require it.

SPAIN.—MADRID, Oct. 30, 1844.—The Cuba slave-trade question has been adverted to (in the Cortes). It is due to the Marquis of Viluma to say here, that he appears to have acted in a straightforward and honourable manner, during his tenure of office, in endeavouring to put down the traffic, and to give effect to the long-neglected treaties between England and Spain on the subject. He stated frankly on this occasion, that he had given our Government strong grounds for expecting that the treaty would be carried into effect, and had addressed the other ministers on the subject, that they might enjoin on all the authorities of Cuba the strict observance of the treaty. He added that, learning that the project of a new penal law had been prepared, he had caused it to be sent to him, and that his opinion was that the Government was authorised to carry it into effect at once in the colonies, since the latter were governed by particular laws. Señor Pacheco said the Government alone could not make laws, and alluded to Lord Aberdeen’s declaration of his having obtained a new penal law from the Spanish Government, which Señor Martínez de la Rosa said was a mistake; that no new penal law had been given, but that particular instructions had been sent to the colonies, while Viluma was minister, and that the Government was aware of the necessity of making a new law, in accordance with the obligations contracted by the treaty, although it would always endeavour to bear in mind what was necessary for the security of those possessions. The matter terminated by Señor Pacheco expressing his satisfaction that no penal law had been given, and repeating, that, whatever might be the opinion of the Marquis of Viluma, a “law” could only be made by the Crown and Parliament together, and he therefore begged it to be particularly written down, that the British minister had committed a mistake.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

Miscellanea.

SUGAR DUTIES.—On the 10th inst. the following duties of Customs on the importation of sugar will come into operation, under the Act of last session (7 and 8 Vic., c. 28):—

	£	s.	d.
Brown, or Muscovado, or clayed sugar, not refined, the cwt.	3	3	0
The growth of any British possession in America, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	4	0
The growth of any British possession within the limits of the East India Company’s charter, into which the importation of foreign sugar is prohibited, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	4	0
The growth of other British possessions within those limits, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	12	0
And on sugar which shall be certified, as hereinafter mentioned, to be the growth of China, Java, or Manilla, or of any other foreign country, the sugar of which her Majesty in Council shall have declared, in manner hereinafter mentioned, to be admissible, as not being the produce of slave labour, and which shall be imported into the United Kingdom, either from the country of its growth or from some British possession, having first been imported into such British possession from the country of its growth, the following duties, namely:—			
Brown, Muscovado, or clayed, the cwt.	1	14	6
Molasses	1	3	9
The produce of and imported from any British possession, the cwt.	0	9	0
Sugar refined, the cwt.	8	8	0
Candy, brown, the cwt.	5	12	0
Candy, white, the cwt.	8	8	0
And so in proportion for any greater or less quantity than one hundred weight, together with an additional duty of five per cent. on such aforesaid rates of duty.			

THE LATE DR. CAREY ON SLAVERY.—Extract of a letter from Dr. Carey, of Serampore, to Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia, dated January 9th, 1801:—“I was much shocked at seeing, in some of the American newspapers, advertisements headed by

‘TO BE SOLD, A NEGRO MAN,’ &c.

I hope no Christian keeps a slave. If this should be the practice (for custom often blinds the eyes even of good men) in the southern parts of the United States, it will not be difficult to answer the inquiry in a certain Association letter you sent me, *why the churches in those parts are in so languishing a state?* But I hope every one who names the name of Christ, departs from the iniquity of holding their fellow-creatures in slavery; and that it is the practice of those only who are enemies to the ways of God.”—*Rippon’s Register*, 1801—1802, pp. 810, 811.

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, November 13, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXX. VOL. V.—No. 24.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

BRITISH GUIANA—STATE OF THE COLONY.

BRITISH Guiana is on fire! A coffee plantation on Canal No. 1, in the neighbourhood of Demerara, having ignited, the fire has extended widely under favour of the dry season, and still further devastation is expected. The flames were raging when the packet left, and no prospect existed of a stop being put to their progress, except the very unlikely one at the moment of a copious rain. The *Royal Gazette* makes no scruple to impute this conflagration to an act of incendiarism on the part of the labourers, in resentment of the conduct of Mr. Falant, a commissary of taxes, in enforcing the provisions of the hawkers' and pedlars' act, and eagerly ascribes this resentment to a letter and an address of the Rev. W. Rattray, an agent of the London Missionary Society. Reckless accusations of this sort are quite in keeping with the character of our contemporary, but the world will not believe them on such testimony alone. We are entitled to ask, what can be proved in this matter? One thing is clear enough; that, while the law (which prohibits a person from selling even a plantain raised in his own garden without an expensive licence) is in itself vexatious enough to kindle resentment anywhere, Mr. Falant's mode of putting it in execution was the most vexatious of all possible ways of effecting so disagreeable a purpose. The people in his district being avowedly ignorant of the law, his first measure was, not to give them information, but to seize their goods! A step perfectly legal, no doubt; but as directly calculated to madden the population, and to set the colony on fire, as if it had been devised for the purpose. We earnestly hope, however, that it may please God, by a copious rain, to extinguish a conflagration so ruinous, in whatever cause it may have originated.

In another sense also British Guiana is on fire. The furious element which is spreading devastation in the county of Demerara is a very fair emblem of the excitement which is agitating the sister county of Berbice, in relation to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances. We stated in our last that a public meeting convened in the British School-room, New Amsterdam, for the consideration of these ordinances, had been disturbed "by a mob of merchants, planters, attorneys, doctors, and government officials," at whose clamorous dictation it was adjourned for a fortnight, and a Committee was appointed to prepare resolutions on the obnoxious ordinances. It seemed good to this Committee to request the sheriff of the county to preside; and he, having asked and obtained the consent of the Governor, consented to do so. Mr. Sheriff Whinfield (for this is his name) forthwith convened, not an adjourned public meeting, nor a public meeting at all, but a *county* meeting, or a meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Berbice; thus giving to the second meeting a technical and restricted character which had not belonged to the first, and preparing the way for a practical restriction which subsequently created great dissatisfaction. In the mean time, it being the pleasure of the Committee, by majority, to adopt resolutions in favour of the obnoxious ordinances, it was agreed that the party opposed to them should have full opportunity of being heard at the county meeting, each side being allowed to put forth its own speakers *ad libitum*. With a view to strengthen their hands for this conflict, the Rev. Messrs. Waddington, Roome, and Davies, upon whom the stress of the business lay, requested the presence and aid of the Rev. J. Ketley and another gentleman, from Demerara; and Mr. Davies being laid aside by fever, the main argument was confided to Mr. Ketley. Then came the meeting, and with it soon the 'tug of war.' Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, with the laudable view, of course, of promoting the harmony of the meeting, thought it good to designate and to denounce certain parties—unnamed, but well understood to be the missionaries who had taken an active part in this business—as having gone about to deceive the people, by representing it as the design of the Government to reduce them again to slavery. This naturally excited much indignation, not only on the part of the falsely charged missionaries themselves, but on the part also of their friends then assembled, and constituting by far the larger portion of the meeting; and it was certainly as gross an indiscretion as the chairman of a public meeting could well have committed. Matters, however, went on. Motion the first was made and seconded; and an amendment to it was about to be proposed by the Rev. Mr. Ketley, when the chairman objected to this "foreign aid," and, without asking the meeting whether they would hear him or not, declared authoritatively, "He shall not speak here." His honour—if that be his title, for we would not wish to lay ourselves open to so grave a charge as that of treating the sheriff of the county of Berbice with contempt—and the planter party chuckled vastly at thus getting rid of a speaker from whom, it seems, both sides expected much; but all the world must see that this betokened any thing rather than a sense of the justice of their cause, or a desire to arrive at the truth. The occasion was really one on which it would

have been peculiarly becoming that technical objections, if they existed, should have been thrown aside, and every person who wished to express his sentiments should have received attention. Prevented from addressing the meeting, Mr. Ketley, of course, retired, but his friends remained dissatisfied; and, conceiving that the stipulated conditions of the day had been broken, one of them (Mr. Waddington) moved that, on this ground, the assembly should be dissolved. Amidst the confusion which now arose, it seemed better to some parties that the non-contents should withdraw, and hold another meeting at Mission chapel; to which place, in agreement with this suggestion, the great majority—one account says nine-tenths, and another nineteen-twentieths—of the persons present adjourned. The *Berbice Gazette* says the chairman and his party *laughed* at this proceeding; but we will venture to say that this laughter was a disguise, and a very thin one, for their profound mortification. There were now two meetings going on—little one, consisting of Mr. Sheriff Whinfield and other notables, to the number of from one to two hundred, passing unanimously the cut and dried resolutions in favour of the obnoxious ordinances; and a large one, led by the missionaries, and numbering nearly two thousand persons of all classes, but principally labourers, (justly called by our correspondent a "monster meeting,") passing with equal unanimity resolutions condemnatory of them. And with the quiet dispersion of these two meetings the present chapter of this eventful history terminates.

We must now glance at the doings of these assemblies respectively. The resolutions proposed by the Committee, and adopted at the meeting of notables, were the following:—

1. That a large immigration of labourers into the free colonies of the West Indies belonging to the British Crown would be conducive to the higher and holier interests of the human race, and is therefore a thing to be desired by every friend of humanity.

2. That the continuance to them for some time of the protection hitherto accorded to the exportable products of the British West India colonies would conduce to the higher and general interests of humanity, and is therefore to be desired and sought by every philanthropist.

3. That an extensive immigration of labourers into the British West Indian colonies, to be effected at the common expense of the respective colonies, would tend to promote the best interests of all classes in said colonies, and is therefore an object to be desired and sought by all constitutional means.

To these was added a fourth, which, besides being too long for insertion, contains nothing to the purpose. Now, on these resolutions it is obvious to remark in how artful and cowardly a manner they shirk the real question. The notorious fact is, that the cry for labour in British Guiana is based on the alleged want of it for the cultivation of the estates, and that this is the sole ground on which it is pleaded for with the Government. On meeting a public assembly of their fellow subjects, however—we beg pardon, a *county* meeting of the inhabitants of Berbice—they do not venture on any such allegation. They begin talking of the "higher and holier interests of the human race;" as though the only reason why they desired the importation of Africans or Indians by hundreds of thousands was their moral and religious benefit. Innocent gentlemen! before you set up this groundless pretext, you should stop till the world has forgotten that the first slave-trade was established under the same disguise. The use of it in your mouths tends irresistibly to produce an impression that you want to establish a second. You have made the welkin ring with affirmations that you cannot get work at reasonable wages, or sufficient work at any wages: why did you not lay the same basis for your demand in the county meeting of Berbice? Obviously, because you dare not. You know that such an allegation would have been indignantly contradicted by the public voice. And now it stands broadly before the world, that, in resolutions prepared by yourselves, and expressly designed to exhibit the grounds which justify your loud demand for immigration, there is no allegation of a want of labour at all! You come as mere petitioners that the peasantry will acquiesce in the introduction of more labourers out of a benevolent regard to their religious improvement! Let the world hear this, and judge. Either you have in this case acted the part of hypocrites, and craftily appealed to the peasantry—to whom, indeed, you pay the highest possible compliment by selecting such a ground of appeal—on a ground which is not the real basis of your claim; or you have appealed to this country and the Government on allegations in which you know there is no truth. On either horn of this dilemma you acquire a distinction little to be envied.

We must pass from other topics provoking remark in these resolutions—such as the artful advocacy of immigration into the British West Indian colonies at large, when it is known that in some of them population is already redundant; and the not less artful statement that immigration will be "for the benefit of all classes," when the notorious design and certain effect of it will be to depress the position of the labourer—in order to introduce to our readers

the resolutions passed by the larger meeting assembled at Mission Chapel. They were as follows:—

1. That the peculiar circumstances of the colony, particularly its acknowledged pecuniary embarrassments—the uncertainty of retaining the protection now given to its exportable produce—the anticipated reduction in the price of labour—the probability that the immigrants will come to our shores with raised expectations of improving their temporal condition, which may be grievously disappointed—the violent prejudices against Europeans and their Christianity, which may thereby be induced—the immoral tendency of the restrictions imposed against a proportionate female immigration—the inadequacy of the means especially considering the difficulties of their language, that can be employed for their moral improvement—and the probability of their return, at the end of five years after their importation—do not warrant the conclusion that the higher and holier interests of the human race will be promoted by their immigration hither; but the contrary.

2. That the prejudicial influence, already strong on the minds of the British people, likely to arise from the injustice and oppressiveness involved in the principles, details, and probable working of the Immigration Loan and Civil List Prolongation Bills, will tend greatly to facilitate the diminution, already begun, of the protection hitherto awarded to exportable products of the British West Indies, if not to effect its entire removal. Any determination, therefore, on the part of the colonists, to persevere in the maintenance of those measures, this meeting deems exceedingly hazardous and impolitic.

These resolutions, as is obvious on the perusal of them, were framed in direct antithesis to those prepared by the Committee; and they contain a large amount of just and unanswerable sentiment. Another resolution was subsequently passed, expressing sympathy for slaves throughout the world, and leading to the formation of an anti-slavery society.

The general result of these exciting proceedings is sufficiently plain and intelligible. The planter party having aimed at passing their pet ordinances surreptitiously, Lord Stanley has required (most justly) that an opportunity should be given for the expression of public sentiment. Measures being in progress for this end, the planters, knowing that public sentiment was against them, made a desperate effort to override it. In this effort they have been signally disappointed. But their interference has produced two good effects. In the first place, it has diffused far more extensively the interest which was already felt on the subject, and brought the peasantry into a state of feeling and attitude of action altogether new in British Guiana, and pregnant with the most beneficial results. And in the next place, it has elicited proofs abundant enough to convince Lord Stanley himself, in the teeth of all that the planters may say to the contrary, that, while a certain and well-known clique is in favour of the ordinances, the population generally is against them. Measures now in progress in Guiana will demonstrate this yet more fully. As for the planters in this instance, they have, in parliamentary phrase, taken nothing by their motion. The *Guiana Times* states this to be the opinion of the leaders of that party in Demerara; while the *Berbice Gazette* coolly says that "the county meeting was little else than a practical absurdity."

There are yet two parties of whom we must take a passing notice, before we dismiss these proceedings. The first of these is Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, of whom we happen to have some personal knowledge, and whom we can pronounce with certainty to have made on this occasion a very characteristic display. The *Congregational Record* affirms that his denunciation of the missionaries in his introductory speech was not only inflammatory, but libellous: and that it was not very fit to be spoken appears from this, that it has not been thought discreet to print it. From the report of the meeting in the *Berbice Gazette*, the greater part (although written and read) has been omitted!—certainly a very contemptuous mode, as we beg to suggest, of treating his Honour the Sheriff of Berbice. The grand display, however, achieved by this small man in office, was reserved for the close of the proceedings, when he delivered himself of the following edifying effusion, which was not written. It was fresh from his heart.

"I say that Mr. Roome treated the President of this meeting with the utmost disrespect, if he can, by a slight movement of the hand, wheel about 700 or 800 people simultaneously, in what he considers a good cause, he can exercise the same power for evil. (Cheers, cries of Yes, yes.) When I endeavoured to address them, the people continued such a clamour that I might as well have spoken to logs of wood; Mr. Roome no sooner lifts his hand, and says, 'Go to Mission Chapel,' than off march his party, (Laughter.) Let him teach them to be respectful. I took the chair by the sanction of his excellency the Governor, at the request of a meeting of which the missionaries also formed a part, (cheers) and on meeting them at our own request, I am treated in a most contemptuous manner. If I learn that these men keep up any ferment among the people it will be my duty to follow them to their chapel and disperse them. (Cheers.) I have been a long time among you, you ought to know me well; it has always been my endeavour to promote the interests of the county over which I preside. (Cheers.) I am not going to change my course, but trust that you will find, I shall always endeavour so to do, and in a better spirit than those four rebellious men this day. (Bravo, bravo!)

If the notables of Berbice had given only three cheers to this oration of Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, we should have promptly added the "one cheer more," to make up the complement of applause so justly due; but since, at least as reported, this was done upon the spot, we do not feel inclined to make his cup run over. His hit at "those four rebellious men" is particularly happy; it being an undoubted act of rebellion, not only to levy war against the Queen, but also to disappear from a meeting mismanaged by the sheriff of a county. We have no doubt, however, that his love of being

respectfully treated will counteract his *penchant* for the somewhat hazardous experiment of dispersing public meetings legally held, for the consideration of matters of public interest and importance.

Our next glance must be bestowed on the missionaries, who have certainly taken the lead on this occasion, and have thus exposed themselves to no little hostility. The organ of the West India party in this country, taking its cue, doubtless, from its correspondents in the colony, and using bitter vituperations which sufficiently show the animus of the writer, has fallen upon this estimable body of men with great force; and it is evident that a strenuous effort is to be made to detach them from the conflict. While we wish them all the prudence—and it is not a little—which their position requires, we frankly express our hope that this effort may not be successful. The agents of the London Missionary Society in Guiana are, in our judgment, only acting over again the noble part taken by Knibb and his companions of the Baptist Missionary Society, in relation to the abolition of slavery. The cases are the same in substance, however different in form. It is now, as then, the rich against the poor—oppression against the rights of industry. The missionaries may still be said to be, with few exceptions, the only friends the peasantry have, and they must not abandon them to planter domination. They will meet for the moment with bitter hostility; but they will be reckoned hereafter among the benefactors of their kind.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION LOAN ORDINANCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. BARON STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—On the 9th of June last the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society ventured to call your lordship's attention to the Immigration Loan Ordinance, and its adjunct, the Civil List Ordinance, then recently passed by the Combined Court of British Guiana, and to point out what they believed to be the injustice the Loan Ordinance would inflict on the labouring population of the colony; and the serious objections they entertained to the project for peopling it with the natives of Africa and Asia.

Both measures, the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, were disallowed by your lordship, on account, as your lordship states in your despatch to his Excellency, Governor Light, of the 31st July last, of their "having been passed with so much haste and precipitation, and so much in violation of the legal and constitutional manner of proceeding, that it was impossible," your lordship adds, "to give effect to them in their present form."

Your lordship, however, in thus rebuking the Legislature of British Guiana, did not object to the principle of the Loan bill, provided its details were regulated according to your lordship's instructions, set forth in the despatch referred to, and that a Civil List Ordinance accompanied it equal in duration to the period, say twenty-five years, that might be required to pay off the principal and interest of the loan required; for your lordship observes—"It would not be right that the loan should be raised without the enactment of the Civil List."

Coupled with this exposition of your lordship's views, was a recommendation to raise 75,000*l.* to defray the expenses attendant on the introduction of 5,000 Coolies from British India, which your lordship proposed should be shipped for the colony between the month of October of this, and March of the coming year; and to make provision for their return to their native country at the expiration of five years' service, which according to your lordship's calculation would require 50,000*l.* more, making in all an expenditure of 125,000*l.* connected with this single operation.

This intimation of your lordship's wishes was enough; the special session of the Combined Court was summoned by Governor Light, and within twenty-four hours of its opening, on the 5th of September last, 75,000*l.* of the public money was voted, without an opportunity having been afforded for the expression of opinion by a single class of the community, and, what is not a little remarkable, at a subsequent stage of the proceedings of the Combined Court, an additional sum of 75,000*l.* was voted, conditionally, provided your lordship would consent that the importation of Coolies should be 10,000 instead of 5,000, between the periods specified above.

If, my lord, there was haste and precipitancy in the legislation of the Combined Court when the Loan and Civil List Ordinances were originally passed, and which drew from your lordship such merited condemnation, there was equal haste in voting away the public money in the manner referred to, and that too without the shadow of an excuse for it, for the mail did not leave the colony for twelve days after the vote had been taken, during which period, brief as it was, the public voice might have been heard on the necessity and expediency of devoting so large a sum of money, with its proportionate increase, for Cooly immigration.

It was fully understood by those who had made an appeal to your lordship from British Guiana, against the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, that your lordship was "always desirous that all parties should have it in their power to make known their opinions upon any legislative measure in contemplation, unless when some peculiar exigency of the public service may interfere to prevent it." Such opportunity was not afforded in relation to the late votes of the public money, though it might have been, and the more so, as these votes referred not to the "public service," but to the private interests of a very small section of the people in that colony.

It might have been supposed that the Combined Court would have been satisfied with having secured the large amount of the

public funds referred to for immigration purposes, or that, at all events, the Immigration Loan and Civil List Bills would not have been re-enacted until the public had been allowed to form and express a deliberate opinion thereon; but such was not the case: about twenty-four hours before the departure of the mail, a Loan bill, embodying, no doubt, your lordship's suggestions, was laid before the Court, and passed through its several stages without debate, and again the public were taken by surprise, and effectually precluded the opportunity of being heard either against the principle or the details of the bill, though it involved questions of the deepest interest, both as it respects the material and moral welfare of all classes in the colony.

It thus appears that besides voting away 75,000*l.* of the colonial taxes for the introduction of 5,000 Coolies, and proposing to double that amount to 150,000*l.* if but 10,000 of that class of labourers be sent to them before the end of March next year; the Legislature of British Guiana have also re-enacted the Half Million Loan Bill, and passed a Civil List Bill, as an accompaniment thereto, for a period of seven years beyond 1847, on the very day, and within four hours of the closing of the mail; thus effectually preventing all opposition to this important series of measures, and burdening the resources of the colony, should they become law, with an immense debt for many years to come. The Committee cannot believe that your lordship, whatever may be your views of the expediency of these measures, will sanction this wholesale appropriation of colonial funds, without giving those who must bear the principal part of the burden they impose in some form or another, ample time for consideration, and, if need be, for remonstrance and protest.

In the event of your lordship recommending the foregoing measures to the sanction of her Majesty, the colony, as your lordship is aware, will have to provide still further sums of money in addition to those already voted, inasmuch as, at the expiration of five years from the period of the introduction of the immigrants, a return passage to India, or elsewhere, will have to be provided for the survivors, or those who do not choose to remain as settlers in the colony, which your lordship reckons as likely to be two-thirds of the whole. Thus the 75,000*l.* voted for immigration swells into 125,000*l.*—and the 500,000*l.* loan into 933,000*l.*, independent of the interest which may accrue thereon, a very large sum, until the whole shall be paid off. Nor is this all; those who die of the number intended to be imported, must be replaced to keep up the strength of the gangs that may be formed on the estates; and at the expiration of every five years from the period of importation, a number equal in amount to those who return home must be introduced, or the cultivation cannot be kept up. Thus, what may be reckoned a permanent charge on the colonial funds, over and above that originally contemplated, will be required for the purpose of supplying the colonies with foreign, and at the same time what may be justly termed, transitory labour. It may be here observed also, that, as it is intended the immigrants shall be free on their arrival in the colony to select their employers and employment, it is not to be supposed that the whole of them, especially after they have had experience of a few months' service and of intercourse with the native labourers, will devote themselves to agricultural pursuits; and of those who do, there can be no doubt, they will displace many of those at present so engaged, who will betake themselves to other occupations, not for the purpose of swelling the exports of the colony, but for mere subsistence. It appears to the Committee a far wiser plan that the planters should call into operation the resources they have at command, and by improved modes of agriculture, the more extensive application of machinery, and the more economical management of their estates, increase their exports than by the introduction of male adult labour at the public expense, the effect of which is to burthen and injure the many for the advantage of the few.

The Committee respectfully call attention to these points because they enter into the question of expense, and because they believe the expectations cherished by the advocates of immigration into the British colonies will be found delusive. The scheme at present proposed will, they are persuaded, be found too costly and cumbrous to be of any real advantage. The Committee can understand the propriety of carrying capital to the labourer and the plantation where they already exist, but they cannot discern the wisdom of carrying the labourer, at an enormous expenditure of capital, from one part of the world to another, as is now proposed by the West Indians. Had the capital which has already been wasted on emigration schemes, and which it is now proposed to expend in the transit of labourers from Africa and Asia to the colonies, been expended in the improvement of estates, and in the punctual payment of the labourers thereon, the want of additional hands would not have been felt, and the cry of general embarrassment would not have been heard.

It is not, however, on this ground, primarily, that the Committee object to the emigration of Africans and Asiatics to the British colonies, but on the higher grounds of humanity and morals. The Committee are convinced that the system about to be adopted for transporting labourers to the West Indies and South America, is not only open to exception as to the principle on which it is based, but will be found seriously objectionable, if not compulsory, in its working. It is a well-known fact, however it may be attempted to be disguised, that few emigrants to the British colonies could be obtained from India, on a fair representation of facts, to leave their native land; the consequence is, that, instead of European agents of character and conscience being employed in collecting them, native brokers are selected, who, with a host of duffadars and crimps, pre-

vail on the simple natives, under statements the most false as to the nature and reward for their work, the sphere of their labour, &c.; to enrol themselves as emigrants, and, too late, usually do they find the delusive nature of the promises made to them. The inhumanity of this course of proceeding is as great as its injustice; and the Committee are persuaded that it is beyond the power of the Government to apply a remedy for its cure which shall not be tantamount to its suppression altogether.

On the immoral tendency of the scheme the Committee have so frequently addressed your lordship that they feel it to be sufficient merely to reiterate their opinion on this point,—an opinion, however, not the result of mere speculation, but painfully confirmed by facts; this Committee would, therefore, respectfully entreat your lordship to suspend the sanction of the Crown to the measures in question until all parties affected by them may be fully heard in relation thereto.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, Oct. 26, 1844.

Colonial Office, 19th Nov., 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of 26th ult. The one transmitting three memorials from inhabitants of British Guiana against the Civil List and Emigration Loan Ordinances lately enacted in that colony, the other making remarks on subjects connected with those Ordinances.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) G. W. HOPE.

J. Scoble, Esq.

SLAVE-TRADE IN NORTH AFRICA.

(From our Correspondent.)

Algiers, 9th November, 1844.

I SEND you a translation of a paragraph from an article published in the *Revue de l'Orient*, at Paris, by M. Subtil, under the title of *Gadames*, a city on the borders of the Great Desert, situate between Tripoli and Tunis, and now garrisoned by Turkish troops from the former country. It is a very important paragraph, as showing the gradual extinction of slavery and the slave-trade in Northern Africa by the combined efforts of Government and your society. It will speak for itself, and will encourage us all to go on in the good work until Africa be delivered from the degradation of slavery. M. Subtil says:—

"The traffic in slaves was formerly one of the most important branches of the commerce of Gadames. This city received a great part of those who were brought by the caravans of Soudan, and kept there as a dépôt of merchandise, which it distributed afterwards upon the different points of the coast of Barbary, but principally Tunis, which itself exported 7,000 or 8,000 per annum for the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople. But this infamous traffic since four years has been destroyed; the period at which the Bey prohibited the public sale of slaves, as well as their importation and exportation. The French occupation has equally shut the slave markets, and there are only now Tripoli and Morocco which receive slaves; but the number is very small, and diminishes every day, for these two countries dare not now export them, and only use them for domestic purposes."

"So Gadames makes no longer the sale of slaves an object of speculation. The inhabitants, with the exception of some pretty negroes, buy very few for themselves; for the number of free negroes is so very considerable that their services are obtained at a cheap rate, making the need of slaves to be less felt every day. This want of a market for slaves has very much reduced their price, and the great caravans of Soudan, which scarcely find any more profit in this traffic, bring not the tenth part of the number which they formerly did."

"But it is a singular fact, and one which makes one think that they do not love their country so much as they have been supposed to do, or perhaps they may be driven from their country by misery and persecution, THE EMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES INCREASES IN PROPORTION AS THE TRAFFIC DIMINISHES. Now one sees arriving, with almost all the great caravans of Soudan, numerous families, entire tribes of free negroes, who abandon the south to come and establish themselves in the north. We have spoken in a former memoir of whole villages being founded in the Cyrene by these emigrants, as also in the provinces of Taverga and the Jereed of Tunis."

"When these emigrants arrive at Gadames, they are uncertain as to the choice of the provinces where they will go and establish themselves. Many follow the caravans as far as Morocco, and we know that they have formed important colonies in that empire. The emperor has favoured, by all the means in his power, the establishment on the territory of this active and labouring population; he has even formed regiments of them, who are considered the most brave, the most faithful and devoted of his troops. * * *

"I have shown the tendency of the negroes to abandon the south for the north, and I believe it would be possible to turn it to the benefit of Algeria. * * * Within twenty years more than thirty villages have been founded, both in the Cyrene and the province of Taverga, by the negroes of Central Africa; and, in spite of the exactions to which they are exposed by the vicious system of the Turkish government, the Pasha of Tripoli has not more submissive and devoted subjects, or any who pay more regularly the impost. A considerable quantity of land has been cleared by them, and the

environs of their villages, which announce *a people active and laborious*, are remarkable for the variety and richness of the cultivation, and for a striking contrast to the localities inhabited by the Arabs. These negroes are generally mild, inoffensive, and hospitable; but, when their persons or their property are attacked, they defend themselves with courage. They have for chiefs white Marabouts (saints), who are sent by the Pasha on their arrival to convert them to Islamism; for these emigrants come principally from Lake Tshad, and are nearly all Pagans, but they easily embrace the religion of the people amongst whom they establish themselves. * * * * "—*Revue de l'Orient*, Oct., 1844.

This paragraph, you perceive, offers many interesting subjects for reflection. Here is the unbiased testimony of a Frenchman to the "active and laborious" character of the negroes of Northern Africa, and those who emigrate from the south to the north. These negroes work, not because they are slaves, and are driven by a hard master, but because they are free and are their own masters. M. Subtil has so much confidence in their character, that he recommends his government to establish free negro villages on the most vulnerable points of the Algerian frontier towards the Desert. And would not this be an excellent means of civilizing Africa by her own afflicted children? Could not the wastes of the northern coast be filled up with these "active and laborious" free negroes? Yes, certainly, if England had to make the experiment. The time, however, will come—it is fast approaching. Africa will at last be free, as she is in the hands of a kind Providence.

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, NOVEMBER 27, 1844.

OUR readers will see by this day's paper, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have presented a memorial to Lord Stanley, as Secretary for the Colonies, on the subject of West Indian immigration. We have to state further, that a memorial taking a more general view of the question of immigration has been presented also to Sir Robert Peel, as head of the Government, and that on Monday last a deputation waited on him at Downing-street, by appointment, in relation to it. The gentlemen composing the deputation were, Messrs. Josiah Forster, George Stacey, Samuel Gurney, Robert Forster, Joseph Cooper, the Rev. J. H. Hinton, and the Secretary. The Premier was accompanied by Lord Stanley. The reception of the deputation was highly courteous, and the conversation lasted above an hour. In the course of it Lord Stanley communicated the gratifying intelligence that the second set of Guiana ordinances had been disallowed, in consequence of the expense of immigration being thrown on the general taxation of the colony. His lordship, it appeared, was resolved that this burden, being intended for the benefit of the producers, should be borne by produce. So far it is well that the scheme of making the peasantry pay for the importation of their rivals is to be frustrated; it follows, however, that the heavy cost of immigration is still to be paid, and by—ourselves. In conclusion, Sir Robert Peel expressed his entire concurrence in one of the leading principles of the Society, that it was by the abolition of slavery alone that we could ever hope for the extinction of the slave-trade.

THE West India mail brings news of considerable importance. The animated proceedings in British Guiana we have noticed elsewhere. In Jamaica the House of Assembly has met, and proceeded, with a very full attendance, to an early consideration of the Coolie question, as proposed by Lord Stanley; and the result is somewhat singular and significant. His Lordship, our readers will recollect, had sent out an offer, that, if the colonies of Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad, would vote adequate and specified sums of money, the Government would forward 5,000 Coolies to each of the former colonies, and half that number to the last. British Guiana has doubled what the noble Secretary asked; but Jamaica—recreant and ungrateful Jamaica—has cut it down to less than half! The vote originally proposed in the House of Assembly was to provide but for 3,000, (unless the whole number of 5,000 were irrevocably on the way) and an amendment was carried reducing the number to 2,000. That this vote must have taken Lord Stanley by surprise, is evident from the fact that the entire number of Coolies has been ordered for Jamaica, and that it has been deemed necessary to send despatches to the Cape of Good Hope, directing the now redundant part of them to Trinidad and British Guiana. That it has taken by surprise the West India body in this country is also clear from several indications, among which not the least decisive is the article in the *Colonial Gazette*, entitled the *Veto of the Jamaica Assembly on Immigration*. If we may ven-

ture to say that this vote has not altogether taken us by surprise, it is in consequence, partly of some private communications which we have had from the colonies, and partly of the tenor of some articles which have appeared in the colonial papers—such, for example, as the extract from the *Jamaica Morning Journal*, inserted in our last number. Our contemporary of the *Colonial Gazette* can find no element into which to resolve the vote which so deeply mortifies him, but missionary influence. We can assure him, however, (and we have for some time been acquainted with the fact,) that there is a large body of the *resident* proprietors and cultivators of estates who do not sympathize in what they regard as the immigration mania, and who anticipate from it an aggravation, rather than a relief, of the present difficulties. From this party it is far more rational to suppose the decision of the Assembly has arisen, and we hope it will tell powerfully on the mind of Lord Stanley. It shows clearly that the call for extended immigration proceeds from a party merely, and not from the body of those who are interested in the cultivation of estates; and it brings into grave question the allegations, however positively made, or however often reiterated, on which the supposed necessity of immigration has been made to rest.

The only other matter of importance in the papers relates to St. Lucia, where a state of disturbance has arisen which we hope will be of short continuance. The management of the population of that island evidently requires much prudence, as well as vigour. We must protest against the endeavours, which we are sorry to see made in some quarters, to implicate especially either the emancipated population or the refugees from Martinique. The affair clearly belongs to the community at large.

FROM the United States we have intelligence that the presidential contest is over, and that Mr. Polk is supposed to be the victor. Upon this subject we shall not pretend to prophesy; but our readers will find the opinion of a valuable American friend, Lewis Tappan, expressed in another column. The nomination of Mr. Frelinghuysen as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency has given occasion to an excellent letter to that gentleman from the Hon. Judge Jay, which, although of great length, we have inserted entire.

Under the head United States, we have inserted a most interesting extract of a letter from the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington to Mr. Sturge. We scarcely need explain to our readers that Mr. Pennington is the gentleman of colour who attended the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in 1843, and spoke with so much effect, both in the Convention, and at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at Exeter Hall. During his stay in England he became well known to an extensive circle of religious friends and everywhere conciliated the highest esteem.

WE had intended to notice the very interesting and important meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in relation to the Free Church of Scotland; but we are reluctantly compelled, by a pressure of circumstances, to postpone this matter till our next. Under the same pressure we must delay for the moment paying our compliments to the League.

UNITED STATES.—JUDGE JAY'S LETTER TO MR. FRELINGHUYSEN.

SIR,—Your present position is no less extraordinary than important. You are a candidate for the second office in the gift of the nation; and due experience reminds us, that if elected, you may be required to fulfil the duties of the first. But it is not the mere circumstances of your nomination, that directs the gaze of the community upon you with such peculiar interest. Other men before you have been nominated for the same office, but they were the leaders of parties, and their movements were easily anticipated. You, Sir, have not been selected from the ordinary mass of politicians. You have been unexpectedly called from the quiet pursuits of literature, the zealous discharge of religious duties, and the exercise of Christian benevolence, and commended to the suffrages of the people, rather as the representative of the Christianity of the nation, than as a political partisan.

The novelty of such a position is equalled only by its responsibility. All are anxiously waiting to see how far a Christian candidate, unsmeared by the world, unscathed by the breath of slander, will, in his pursuit of office, differ from the common herd of political aspirants.

The following letter, copied from the *Louisiana Chronicle*, is now going the round of the newspapers:

"TO JOSEPH G. HALL, ESQ.; OF HERNANDO, MISSISSIPPI.

"New York, June 11th, 1844.

"Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter, and thank you for the friendly interest you have taken in this matter. I cheerfully respond that I am not an Abolitionist, and never have been. I have been an ardent friend of the Colonization Society, and still am. Slavery in the States is a domestic concern that Congress has not the right or power to interfere with in its legislation.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN."

The subject of this letter, the response it contains, the quarter of the country to which it was addressed, all divest it of the character of a private communication; and its publication at the South, together with its commendation by the *slave press*, warrant the belief that it was written for the express purpose for which it is used, as an electioneering document.

If it be an apostolic injunction, that our conversation should be "to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers," surely the

obligation is not suspended, when a Christian in your situation speaks to the nation through the press.

But alas, sir, what tendency is there in this letter to "minister grace" to the readers? It contains not a sentiment that might not have been appropriately uttered by any driver on a Southern plantation, or by any common trafficker in human flesh. A glorious opportunity was afforded you for speaking "a word in season," and for maintaining your Christian profession, by rising above that "fear of man which bringeth a snare," and bearing your testimony against the stupendous wickedness of a system equally at war with the doctrines of your religion, and the prosperity and liberty of your country. But, sir, if your Christian friends have cause to regret the omissions in your letter, still more cause have they to grieve for its contents.

To convince the slaveholding electors that you are not an abolitionist, you acquaint them with both your practice and your creed. You support the Colonization Society, and you believe Congress cannot legislate about slavery in the States.

And is this the Christian frankness and justice that might have been expected from Theodore Frelinghuysen? Is this the knowledge on the subject of abolition that might have been anticipated from a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States?

You support the Colonization Society:—and how, sir, does this prove that you are not an abolitionist? There is not a syllable in its constitution adverse to abolition. Abolitionists have no objection to the colonization of such coloured persons as really and freely desire it; and they have had the happiness of aiding a great number of our coloured countrymen to colonize in Canada; and be assured, sir, they will omit no opportunity of assisting as many more as possible to settle in that free land. It is true we object not to the constitution of the Society of which you are so ardent a friend, but to the practical influence exerted by the Society against abolition. But you and your Northern associates positively deny the existence of any such influence, and hence it does not become you, sir, to tell the slaveholders you are not an abolitionist because you support the Society. The great champion of your Society, Dr. Reese, declares, (Reese's Letters, p. 12,) "That the American Colonization Society either deprecates the emancipation of slaves, or censures all who propose it, is palpably in contravention of multiplied facts." Again he asserts, (p. 41,) "The Society does not merely 'promise' to promote abolition, *but exerts a mighty and successful moral influence in actually abolishing slavery.*" And here I will refer you to the truth, which he who runs may read, that in Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, and even Virginia itself, it is now openly avowed, that colonization doctrines have sealed the death warrant of slavery! Hence the pro-slavery party have declared that "*colonization and emancipation are synonymous terms.*" Now, sir, if your champion speaks the truth, (and his book was given to the public with the high recommendation of various distinguished colonizationists,) was it honest, manly, Christian, to enforce your disclaimer of abolition, by appealing to your support of a Society that "not merely promises to promote abolition, but exerts a mighty and successful moral influence in actually abolishing slavery?"

From your practice, permit me to turn to your creed. The slaveholders are to understand that you are not an abolitionist, because you hold that "Slavery in the States is a domestic concern; that Congress has not the right or power to interfere with in its legislation!" Verily, sir, so far as your creed goes, you are an abolitionist of the straitest sect; even of the Garrison school. Mr. Garrison, speaking of slavery in the States, years ago, uttered the following language in his *Liberator*:—"Abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard the constitutional powers of Congress, as do their traducers; and they know, and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more rightful authority to sit in judgment upon Southern slavery, than it has to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies." But this, you may say, is the language only of an individual. Take then, sir, the declaration of the celebrated Anti-Slavery Convention, which in 1833 organised the American Anti-Slavery Society. "We freely and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery, which is tolerated within its limits. We consider that Congress has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this subject." Certainly, sir, your creed would not have deprived you of the honour of a seat in that glorious Convention.

In 1835, the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society published an address to the public, in which they declared, "We hold that Congress has no more right to abolish slavery in the Southern States, than in the French West India Islands. Of course, we desire no national legislation on the subject." But, perhaps, sir, you may imagine that the Abolitionists have changed their opinions since the date of these extracts, and they no longer hold the same faith with yourself. If so, you will be surprised to learn, that within the last three or four months they have printed, and are now widely circulating a work, entitled, "A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery;" that this work is strongly recommended by the journals devoted to "The Liberty Party;" and that it contains the following passage:—"If the Abolitionists, unmindful of their solemn and repeated disclaimers of all power in the Congress to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the States, should with unexampled perfidy attempt to bring about such legislation—and if Congress, regardless of their oaths, should ever be guilty of the consummate folly and wickedness of passing a law emancipating the slaves held under State authority, the Union would most unquestionably be rent in twain."

And now, sir, I may ask, whether in intimating that the abolitionists held a contrary doctrine, and that you therefore could not be one of them, you have acted with candour, either to them or to the slaveholders?

It is deeply to be regretted that the brevity of your letter precluded a statement of your opinion on some other important constitutional points. The slaveholders would like to know, sir, whether in any, or in what particulars, you differ from the abolitionists in their construction of the Federal Constitution. I am fully persuaded, that on all its constitutional points which the abolitionists have had occasion to discuss and enforce, you fully agree with them. Permit me to enumerate them.

1st. They contend that Congress possesses the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. On the 10th of January, 1838, Mr. Webster, opposing in the Senate a resolution declaring that to abolish slavery in

the District would be a violation of faith; remarked, "I do not know any matter of fact, or any ground of argument, on which this affirmation of plighted faith can stand. I see nothing in the act of cession, and nothing in the constitution, and nothing in the history of this transaction, and nothing in any other transaction, implying any limitation on the authority of Congress." It is not, I trust, presuming too much, that on this point, you concur with Mr. Webster and the abolitionists.

2ndly. We contend that Congress has the power to abolish the internal slave-trade. The electors of Mississippi would doubtless like to know, whether on this point, you are an abolitionist. You are, I presume, too good a Whig, to impugn the authority of Daniel Webster, as interpreter of the constitution. That gentleman thus argued the point in his speech in the Senate, January 1, 1837. "With respect to the power to regulate the transfer of slaves from one State to another, there was no doubt in his mind that Congress also possessed this power. The constitution conferred on Congress the power to regulate trade between the States, and so long as the slaves remained as property, they were the subjects of commerce, and as such, came within the views of the constitution."

3dly. We contend that Congress may and ought to receive petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. I cannot believe, sir, that you would venture to tell your friend Mr. Hall, that in this particular you "are not an Abolitionist." In 1836, Mr. Webster on presenting such petitions said, "he was of opinion that Congress ought to receive those petitions and deliberate upon them."

4thly. Abolitionists have insisted that Congress ought not to admit any new slave State into the Union. If in so doing they have misunderstood the provisions of the Constitution, it is some consolation to them that they have erred in common with the great expounder of the Constitution, Daniel Webster. In 1819, that gentleman at a public meeting in Boston opposed the admission of Missouri into the Union. The following is an extract from the report of his speech. "The Hon. D. Webster concurred with Mr. Blake in his views of the Constitutional question, which he farther illustrated by an historical view of the admission of the several States of the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, and showed incontrovertibly by negative and positive examples, that Congress had this power; and that they were called upon by all the principles of sound policy, humanity and morality, to exert it; and by prohibiting slavery in the new State of Missouri, oppose a barrier to the further progress of slavery, which else (and this was the last time an opportunity would happen to fix its limits) would roll on, desolating a vast expanse of country, to the Pacific ocean."

By this time, sir, I trust you are convinced of the truth of Mr. Garrison's assertion, that "abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard, the constitutional powers of congress as do their traducers."

If then your disclaimer of being an abolitionist, does not rest upon constitutional, it must be founded on moral and religious grounds. It would, sir, be a matter of great interest to the various religious societies with which you are connected, and to the vast multitude of Christian men who have rejoiced in your nomination, to be informed on what principles of ethics, or what precepts of the gospel of Christ, you oppose the abolition of slavery.

It cannot be necessary to prove to you, that American slavery, as by law established, necessarily involves the following consequences, viz.:

1. It debars immortal and accountable beings, charged with no crime, from the pursuit of happiness, and reduces them to articles of merchandise.

2. It dooms their posterity to degradation and bondage.

3. It annihilates the marriage relation, by refusing to acknowledge it, and authorizing the separation of those whom God hath joined, at the irresponsible will of the master.

4. It annihilates the parental relation, by transferring from the parent the authority given by God, to the master, who is authorized to sell both parents and children, like cattle in the market.

5. It annihilates the rights of conscience, by giving to the master entire dominion over the time and conduct of the slave.

These are not consequences flowing from the cruelty of the master, but they are the legitimate and constituent elements of slavery itself, and the institution dies the moment it is deprived of any one of these elements.

Abolitionists maintain that such a system is adverse to the whole spirit and genius of Christianity, and consequently sinful. But what says Mr. Frelinghuysen? Your answer, sir, had it not been for your late letter, might have been satisfactorily inferred from the great principles you have so often announced in your addresses before Bible, Missionary, Tract, Sunday School, and Temperance Societies, and Sabbath Unions. Very recently you enforced the claims of the Missionary Society, by dwelling on "the worth of the soul,"—that endless being "which unless sprinkled with atoning blood and purified by the light of truth, must dwell with the worm that dieth not;" and you exclaimed, "What solemn import, what matchless interest, attaches to the enterprise which seeks to bring salvation near to millions!" You alluded to millions in other lands; but is the enterprise of less solemn import, of less matchless interest, when exerted in behalf of millions of your own countrymen? Are the souls of Hindoos more dear to the Redeemer, and of more worth to their owners, than the souls of American slaves? Abolitionists are labouring to bring these slaves into a state in which their souls may be sprinkled with atoning blood, and purified by the light of truth; and yet, sir, you assure the masters of these slaves, that you are not an abolitionist!

If slavery be a righteous institution, the negative position you assume in relation to it is not that which under existing circumstances a Christian ought to maintain. It is vehemently assailed both in this country, and throughout the civilized world; and yet you come not up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. True it is you disclaim all sympathy with the assailants; but why, sir, do you not aid your Southern friends in defending the patriarchal institution; why slumbers your eloquence in proclaiming the consistency of human bondage with the benevolence of the Deity, the spirit of the gospel, and the virtue and happiness of mankind?

But if slavery insults all the attributes of God, and outrages all the rights of man, how comes it, sir, that while you call upon "patriots and philanthropists, as well as Christians," to aid the Board of Foreign Missions in overturning the ungodly institutions of China and Hindostan, you refuse even to be numbered among those who are endeavouring to destroy an institution in our own land, that equally curses the life that now

is, and that which is to come? Unless the principles of justice and humanity, and the precepts of our religion, are all reversed in their application to men with dark complexions, you stultify yourself every time you open your lips on the platform of a religious society, if you deny the exceeding sinfulness of American slavery.

Does the command, "cease to do evil," allow years, nay, centuries, for its fulfilment? Do you give this latitude to the command in your exhortations before Temperance Societies and Sabbath Unions? If not, and you believe slavery to be sinful, on what principle do you object to its immediate abolition?

I beg you to believe that this letter is in no degree prompted by a desire to defeat your election, and promote that of your democratic opponent. Such a result could afford me no gratification, as an abolitionist, a patriot, or a Christian. The subject of your letter is of infinitely more importance to the welfare of our country and the purity of our religion, than all the petty objects of party contention. You have lent the influence of your name, associated as it is with the religious zeal and benevolence of the nation, to the cause of slavery. You have done great injustice (ignorantly I would hope) to abolitionists, by indirectly representing them as aiming at unconstitutional legislation on the part of Congress. Before long we shall each of us be called to give an account of our stewardship,—an account involving the use we have made of our respective talents, in upholding or resisting that stupendous accumulation of sin and misery, American slavery. In reference to the judgment of Him, before whom all nations are counted less than nothing and vanity, how utterly worthless are all the honours which the breath of popular favour can bestow! There was a time when the advocates of Temperance Societies were subjected to nearly the same obloquy as that which is now the portion of those who in this republic assert the equality of human rights. At that time Thomas S. Grimke, holding much the same position in the religious community at the South, with that now occupied by yourself at the North, was a candidate for the Intendancy of Charleston. Some of its opponents addressed a letter to him inquiring if he was a friend to Temperance Societies. To this interrogatory he replied in the newspapers, "Yes—and I thank God I am." Most fervently do I wish, sir, that a more intimate acquaintance with the subjects of slavery and abolition than you appear to possess at present, together with a serious inquiry into your own responsibilities, may, through the Divine blessing, yet lead you to exclaim, "I am an Abolitionist, and I thank God I am."

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Bedford, 1st Oct. 1844.

WILLIAM JAY.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—In your Reporter, of the 30th ult., there is an error with respect to the heading of two articles taken from the morning papers, on the subject of slavery in the Asiatic possessions of Portugal. The article taken from the *Chronicle* is headed, "From the Correspondent of the *Times*;" and that from the *Times* is headed, "From the Correspondent of the *Chronicle*." The error is not of importance, except to those who must naturally wish to be held responsible only for their own opinions or reports.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

M.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—DOINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—The present mail takes to parties abroad accounts of the opening of our New House of Assembly. The first week of the session was not characterised by anything extraordinary; but the first day's sitting of the present week was remarkable for the large attendance of members, and the period during which the house sat. There were forty-five members present, only one absent from indisposition, and one vacancy (for Metcalfe) not yet filled up. The question which brought members together was the introduction of Hill Coolies into the island, and it occasioned considerable discussion. Opposition was given to the motion that the house should resolve itself into a committee upon the state of the island, upon the Governor's message on this subject, but it being deemed advisable that no time should be lost in informing the Government of the opinion of the house as to the propriety of introducing the proposed number of Coolies, it failed. After a very lengthy discussion, and several motions had been made and lost, the committee came to the following resolution:—

"That in the event of the Colonial Secretary having made arrangements for sending 5,000 Hill Coolies to the island, the house will make provision, by law, to cover the expense of their importation, and of the re-conveyance of such of them as may, after the termination of five years, wish to return to India, in accordance with the terms agreed upon by the Government of England and India; but that in case such arrangements have not been completed, the house deem it expedient that 3,000 only of that number should be imported during the first year."

Upon this resolution being reported to the house, it was moved:—

"That in the present financial state of the island, this house cannot guarantee the repayment of any expenditure for the importation of Hill Coolies beyond the sums voted by law for immigration purposes."

And lost; 18 members voting for it, and 24 against it.

It was then moved—

"That this house will make provision by law to cover the expense of the importation of the 5,000 Coolies, alluded to in the Secretary of State's dispatches, accompanying the Governor's first message of the 17th Oct., and of the re-conveyance of such of them as may, after the termination of five years, desire to return to India."

But on division there appeared only 11 in favour of the proposition, and 31 against it. Upon the resolution reported from the committee being put, it was proposed to reduce the number of Coolies which should be sent out, in the event of the arrangements not having been completed for the larger number, to two thousand, instead of three. The numbers on this division were 21 for and 21 against. The Speaker gave the casting vote, and resolution was amended accordingly. We have said that

the matter created considerable discussion, and the house did not rise until within a few minutes of ten o'clock—the usual hour for adjourning being seven.—*Morning Journal*.

ST. LUCIA.—Long accounts are given in the papers of the disturbed state into which the town and neighbourhood of Castries have fallen under the following circumstances. Louison Chery, a boy, being sentenced to a public whipping of fifteen lashes and a month's imprisonment, an address was got up to the governor to remit the whipping as too great a degradation. The executive persisting, a crowd collected, as if to prevent the infliction; and, the assemblage not being interfered with, some of the roughest spirits began to break into stores, and arm themselves with negro cutlasses, &c. The governor, Colonel Torrens, issued a proclamation to the effect that he would further consider of Chery's case; and he ultimately, ostensibly on a medical certificate, abandoned the flogging. Subsequently a body of men at work on the roads became restive and turbulent; and some parties were found to be spreading a report that the peasantry were to be again reduced to slavery. This mischief the governor endeavoured promptly to meet by an explanatory proclamation; and he offered a reward of 250 dollars for such "information as may lead to the detection and conviction of the wicked persons who have laboured, and are now labouring, to persuade the late enfranchised population that it is intended by the British Government to restore slavery in this island." The disturbance seems to have implicated particularly some more respectable inhabitants of the town, and to have had nothing to do with the enfranchised population.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Extract of a letter dated New Amsterdam, Berbice, Oct. 18, 1844.—"Of the public meeting, the 'monster meeting' here, last week, you will receive an account in the *Congregational Record*. You will see that we have resolved to form ourselves into an Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society. We have raised a terrific storm about our ears. Poor me, especially, living in town, and supposed to be the ringleader of the mischief, is exposed to all the fury of the tempest. I hope you are doing all in your power to arouse the public. I deliberately believe, that if the Coolie Immigration scheme is to go on, it would have been better that the fetters of the slave had never been knocked off, and that the people of England had not paid their twenty millions. I regard the scheme as only another, and a more dangerous incarnation of the demon of slavery. I will tell you one simple fact in reference to immigration, which in itself speaks, at least, one volume. In the midst of their loud and doleful outcry for immigrants, I have often asked the planters why they do not use the plough? And the answer I invariably get is, '*Manual labour is cheaper*.' They also add, that the mortality amongst cattle employed at the plough is very great, &c. Thus, according to their own confession, the work is too hard for horses, mules, or oxen, and therefore human beings must be got to do it! It has been annoying beyond measure to them, to have us expose before the people the nakedness and deformity of their scheme. I sent by last mail a memorial to Lord Stanley, signed by nearly twelve hundred people. We are going to get up a great petition to Parliament, with some thousands of names to it. Our people are suffering dreadful persecution just now, in every available form. Threats and intimidations, exclusive dealing, &c., are used to silence my more respectable and leading people in town. The old spirit of slavery still lives in all its vigour. I am in constant fear of their setting fire to our chapel."

TRINIDAD.—THE OLD LEAVEN.—Extract of a letter, dated Port of Spain, Oct. 12th, 1844.—Some time ago, I had the pleasure of addressing you regarding our anti-slavery meeting, held on the 1st of August in this town. At the same time, I noticed the formation of the "Trinidad Free Labourers' Society," under the guidance of Mr. M'Kay; and I enclosed also a copy of resolutions adopted and printed by the Society. My object in now writing to you is, to put you in possession of events that have occurred in connection with Mr. M'Kay's movements, since my last. Mr. M'Kay, though young in years, is nevertheless a practical planter, and of far more energy of mind than are many of the slovenly race of the old school. His calculations with regard to the *necessary expenses* of sugar cultivation, and the proceeds to be realized by the proprietors when independent of money-lenders, show beyond a doubt, that, at the rate of sugar-prices now, the cultivation of a sugar-estate is no vain speculation, notwithstanding the general outcry of the planters to the contrary. His object in forming the above Society, is to induce the labourers of Trinidad to act on the Demerara plan of purchasing estates of their own, and, by cultivating them on enlightened principles, to prove to the world what free labour could do under proper management. In prosecuting his object, he took occasion to expose the course pursued by the planters towards their labourers, in entering into combination against them for the reduction of wages, and the *falsity* of the reasons assigned by them to the labourers for so doing. "The price of sugar," they said, "was very much reduced in the home market; that sugar did not sell now as formerly;" and a variety of other statements were made by them, to show cause why the labourer should be reduced in his day's hire tuppence sterling, or two bits of our money. This reduction not being universal, as a few of the planters continued to give the usual price, the people could not understand how one planter could afford to pay more than another, if "sugar did not sell," as they were informed. The immigrants who were induced to come here in expectation of permanent high wages complained loudly of this reduction, and I believe, deputations of them waited from time to time on the Governor, to express their disappointment to his Excellency at finding things take such a sudden turn against them. Having confidence in Mr. M'Kay, the people in the quarter of Couva applied to him for information as to the state of the home sugar market, and the correctness of the assertions they had from the planters. He told them that sugar will always be in demand, that the English people cannot get enough of it, and that so far from prices being reduced, they were as high, if not higher, than usual. He told them, that he thought it would be quite time enough for the planters to reduce the wages, when they suffered from low prices themselves; and that, even then, the reduction experienced by the labourers should only be in proportion to the diminution of their own revenue from sugar cultivation.

At first, Mr. M'Kay's plan for communicating generally amongst the labourers of the island such information as he considered they required in order to stir them up to form societies similar to that formed at Couva, was to have his views put in print, and circulated in the several estates and throughout the island. He prepared his matter for the press, and handed it, with *pre-payment*, to the proprietor of the *Trinidad Standard*; but this gentleman, fearing the displeasure of the plantocracy, I presume, refused to put it in type. Mr. M'Kay then resolved to visit in person, the cultivated parts of the island, for the purpose of submitting his plan to the people. At the town of San Fernando he commenced, but was assailed by the planters and their party in the most fearful manner. He put up at the Naparima Hotel, kept by a man of colour named Phillip; but, shortly after his entrance, his opponents assembled in a body, and demanded of the proprietor of the Hotel that he be put out immediately. This demand was nobly refused, on the ground that the house he kept was open to the public who favoured him with their patronage, and that he could not yield to such an unjust and cruel request as the one made. The cry was again raised, "Throw him over the jetty into the Gulf, and break his neck, and let him find his way home how he can." This was accompanied by a threat, that, if Mr. Phillip did not obey their dictum, he should lose their support. He told them, they could act as they pleased, and he would do the same; but, to turn any man out of his house under such circumstances, he would not. When they found they could not browbeat Mr. Phillip into obedience, they fell upon another plan. They bribed a black man into their service. This person presented himself to Mr. Phillip, saying, "The white people wanted to ill-treat this strange gentleman; but, if he would just come out, his colour would defend him, and let them see what they, the black people, could do for him." He was told to go about his business, that the man was as secure as he wished to be. The planters have put their threat into execution. They seem determined to crush poor Phillip. This poor man and his wife are amongst the most industrious, well-behaved, and persevering people we have in this island. Their house used to be the regular resort of the planters. His boats used to wait on our little steamer, and Mr. Phillip was always sure of his share of the passengers to and from San Fernando. The offence of giving accommodation to a traveller who was obnoxious to the planters, was the only one with which he was ever charged by them. He was a man that really took no side, but maintained a quiet and neutral part on all exciting questions. But the first offence is an unpardonable one. His boats go nearly empty to and from the steamer, and his house is almost deserted. His son, whom he has educated in Scotland as an engineer, has just returned to his father from Europe, and he is to have no patronage afforded him, but is to bear the consequences of his father's transgression. Even the reverend Church minister of Savanna Grande, has felt it to be part of his sacred calling to lend his weight in crushing poor Phillip.

In the midst of it all, poor Phillip bears up and declares if Mr. M'Kay should come the same way again he will be happy to receive him, should he favour him with a call. But, to return to Mr. M'Kay. He left San Fernando, for the interior of the island, or rather, the most distant estates; but he was obliged to hire or procure a guard of coloured persons, for his protection. When he got within the geographical boundaries by which the Protestant minister of Savanna Grande is circumscribed in his duties, he soon found that active and zealous parson at his heels, to prevent him, (Mr. M'Kay,) as he said, from imposing upon "his people." Where Mr. M'Kay went, there he went; where he met the people, there was he; and where he rested for the night, there the parson tell called to bivouac, in defence of the planters, though under the pretence of guarding the minds of "his people." At length, Mr. M'Kay relieved him from the necessity of following him further, by taking another direction.

At the head of the river Guanaca (Whanaca,) Mr. M'Kay fell in with some of the labouring people, who were desirous of hearing him. One black man, named Townsend, received him into his house, and afforded him what accommodation he could afford. He had not been long there, however, when a company of managers and overseers, numbering seven, who had been in pursuit of him, came up with him there. They rode up to the door, and in the most gross manner inquired if that fellow, M'Kay, were there? Mr. Townsend replied, that he was. He was requested to tell him to come out, as some gentlemen wished to see him. Mr. M'Kay sent out word, that if any person wanted him, he must walk in. The seven men dismounted, one of them held the horses, and six of them entered the house, and commenced abusing him in the most shameful manner. The language used by them could not appear in print, nor, indeed, could it be repeated, except by parties as vile as themselves. They did their utmost to provoke Mr. M'Kay to fight, but he told them that was not his object in visiting the quarter. They then rushed upon him in the most savage manner, and, as he took refuge in the bed-chamber, tore his shirt almost off his back, and did not leave the house until the owner of it interfered in a determined manner. They said M'Kay was their colour, and they had a right to do with him as they pleased, and urged him to give him up to them; but he said if he did they would murder him; and he then insisted that they should leave his house. Were it not for this man's wife they would have succeeded in getting into the chamber, and the consequences would, I am sure, be awful to relate. When Mr. M'Kay came to leave the place next day, his host gave him his horse to ride, and a lad to accompany him. As they went, two planters followed them on horseback, and begged the lad to fall back, and they "would ride with the gentleman." This the lad understood quite as well as themselves, and therefore he kept close to the hunted party. Mr. M'Kay reached town, and has since left for Barbadoes, to have the history of this infamous affair printed.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—Extract of a letter from James C. Pennington, to Joseph Sturge, dated,—"Hartford, Connecticut, Sept. 4, 1844.—We have had more serious and disgraceful riots at Philadelphia. I was present in that city during the riot which prevailed there in May last. I assure you it was one of the most melancholy scenes I ever witnessed in my life. As I looked through those straight, and once peaceful and cleanly streets, to see

fragments of furniture, china, &c., and men, women, and little children flying for fear of violence to their persons, was painful. On the night I left Philadelphia, at 12 o'clock, for Harrisburg, I rode out of the city in the cars by the light of St. Michael's (Catholic) church, as it was burning to ashes. I heard the bell fall. It is said that George Hackington gave 50 dollars towards the erection of that edifice. One fact came to my knowledge while I was looking on the state of things just described, which I regard as highly creditable to the coloured people, but which I have not mentioned here to avoid exciting jealousy. I will commit it to you as I know it will interest you. It will be remembered that the late riot occurred just about twenty-two months after the coloured people had been moved. In that riot there was a coloured man, Peter Lewis, so obnoxious to the rioters that the police took him to the Mayor's office for safety. As he was being carried along he was so brutally and severely pelted by the Irish with clubs and brickbats that he fell, and was taken up for dead, and as such was actually thrown into one of the cells used as a dead house, where he lay one night. But providentially he recovered. Now in the late riot the condition of the Irish was precisely like that of the coloured people, with this exception, that while they were flying before the 'natives' the coloured did not interfere, but rather rendered them the offices of humanity. One day, as I was looking out from the window of my hotel, I observed on the opposite side of the street a coloured man with a fine horse and wagon, who was in and out the yard every hour or two. Such was the vigorous and industrious cast of his actions and movements that I was led to ask who he was, and what was his business—when mine host said to me, 'That is Peter Lewis, the same man who was beaten and left for dead in the last outbreak against the coloured people; that is his own property where he lives; that horse and wagon is his own. He keeps a stove store; but to-day he is engaged with his wagon in moving the Irish families from Kensington, where they are moved to places of retreat and safety.' This is a fact which I proved to be true. Let it be remembered that Peter Lewis in a similar riot twenty-two months prior was the marked object of Irish vengeance. They first attacked his house, where he was living in peace. Let it also be borne in mind that the coloured people generally were the objects of vengeance. In some cases, when they had made their escape from the Americans, they were pursued by the Irish into the fields and woods for sport. In the late riot the Irish had to hide themselves in stables, and flee to the fields, &c., just as the coloured people had had to do before them. But did the coloured people join the 'natives' against them, cut off their flight, or aggravate them in any way? No, verily!—and proud am I to say it. I do not believe that either party has the least complaint to allege against them. But, dear friend, I cannot conceal from you the fact, that I feel deeply pained for the reputation of Philadelphia, as it will affect that of the Friends. The inquiry is now strongly agitated, (and I cannot help sharing in it), why is it that Philadelphia acts so? Is it the acting out her real character? Who has formed its character? So far as the Friends have formed that character, (and that is to a great extent,) is the mob spirit the legitimate offspring of the principles of Penn, Fox, and Benezet? Or does the secret lie in a criminal deterioration of their principles? The latter is my view of the subject.—About fifteen years ago, when twenty years of age, I made my escape from a slaveholder in one of the Southern States, where I left a father and mother, and eleven brothers and sisters; since that time I have never seen one of their faces. Until a short time since I had never made this known to any one in New York or Connecticut, where I have mostly lived; but lately I deemed it my duty to bring out the truth. Much excitement prevails at present, and I do not know what I may come to. My claimant is living, and has a large family of children. I am liable any moment to be arrested, and shall be for years, if I should live. I may be driven to take shelter in Canada or the West Indies. At the time I was making arrangements to come to England a little incident occurred, which I will relate. I was in the office of the Secretary of State for Connecticut, where the laws of all the slave States are to be found. Looking over some of these laws my eye rested on an act of the State from which I fled, authorizing a slaveholder to bring two aged slaves, with their children, from the adjoining State, on condition that he should pay so much a head into the treasury of the Colonization Society. The name of the slaveholder was given, and the names of the slaves, and in these names I recognized my claimant, and my dear aged father and mother. And this was the first and only intelligence I have had of them since the time I left them—fifteen long years ago! This is the way, dear friend, that things are done in Christian America. This is the way that hundreds of pious parents and children are being severed apart, hopeless of ever being permitted in this life to exchange those parental and filial duties which constitute the sweets of the family relation. What a thought is this for me to dwell upon, that, although I have a father, mother, and brothers and sisters, yet I have no means of knowing when any of these sicken and die. I know not when to record the death of one of them. I may hear of friends in other countries—in your country—I may hear when they die—but of my father and my mother, in my own country, I know not when they die! I feel certain of one thing—I can never again be a slave. And, so long as I am unmolested, I do not feel it right to desert the cause of my slave brethren. My parents are now old, and the chains of slavery must be very galling to them. No one can think it strange that I feel very ardently on the subject of slavery. I have been robbed of my parents, friends, and time. Let me tell any person who has common humanity, that I was held in slavery till I was twenty years of age, and then was compelled to flee, and leave my father, mother, brothers and sisters in bondage—that I have not only had to struggle against common prejudices, but I have had this bosom difficulty to contend with, and he will see at once that the last few years have been to me years of great moment. I conclude by saying, that I do not know what may befall me. I am liable to be seized, legally, in any part in America. If any important change should occur I will endeavour to keep you apprised of it. I have just received a letter from our friend, Thomas Clarkson, which has refreshed me very much.

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan, Esq., to Mr. Scoble, dated New York, November 9, 1844.—I received yours of Oct. 11th, and immediately forwarded to Mr. Torrey the official letter to him. He has received it. A correspondent of the *Boston Chronicle*, who visited Mr. Torrey in prison, writes, "He had just received a letter signed by Thomas Clarkson and John Scoble, on behalf of the British and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that cheered his drooping spirits. It was affecting to see him reading that letter, clad in his night-clothes, with a prisoner's towel tied around his breast, as he stood where the light of an American October sun streamed faintly through his iron grates. O, Slavery! when shall thy tyrant dominion have an end?" Mr. Torrey's attempt to break gaoi is considered a most unfortunate affair. It will prevent his procuring bail. The trial is set down for the February term of the Court. He will be ably defended. The letter for Capt. Walker was sent to Florida, by a legal gentleman who has proceeded thither to defend him in the Courts. The Boston committee advanced 750 dollars, which I handed over to this attorney, who has strong expectations of obtaining Capt. Walker's release or acquittal. Though a southern lawyer, he will argue the unconstitutionality of slavery in a *territory* of the "United States." Walker was also piratically seized on the high seas, and by persons acting without legal authority. The letters for the excellent young men in the Missouri Penitentiary will be forwarded the first opportunity. I doubt not that they, as well as the other men who are suffering for righteousness' sake, will be cheered by that manifestation of sympathy on the part of the venerable Clarkson and the Committee of your Society.

The Presidential contest is over, and it is supposed that James K. Polk, of Tennessee, is elected President of the United States for four years from March 4, 1845. He is 49 years of age, and has been Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Governor of Tennessee. He is a man of fair talents and character. He is, as well as his competitor, Mr. Clay, a slaveholder. The contest has been conducted very acrimoniously. Knowing that the Liberty party was strongly united in Mr. Birney, and fearing that the withdrawal of many Whigs from the support of Mr. Clay would endanger his election, the Whig party bore done very hardly upon Mr. Birney in hopes of ruining his reputation, and inducing the Liberal party men to withhold their votes from him. To this end, letter, purporting to be written by him, with an accompanying affidavit, was published far and near, in which Mr. Birney was made to declare that he was secretly acting for Polk. This nefarious artifice did turn many from Mr. Birney, but his true-hearted friends were inspired with more determination in consequence of this base forgery. The Liberty party vote is greater than ever, and the Whigs impute to this party the defeat of their candidate. The probability is that the Whig party will be broken up, and be merged in a new party called the American Republican party, which has been formed to withstand the influence of foreigners, who are supposed unduly to influence our elections. This party expect to have the naturalization laws amended, so that much longer residence shall be required of foreigners before they are permitted to vote. The time is now five years, and efforts will be made to extend it to twenty-one years.

Mr. Clarkson's letter "To the Christian and well-disposed Citizens of the Northern States of America, has been extensively published in this country. The writings of such man have power, are circulated, and do immense good. There was never more zeal and liberality among the abolitionists of this country than at the present time. A wonderful impulse has been given to the cause within a few months. We look upon the present moment as highly auspicious to a dissemination of anti-slavery principles. We hope and pray that He who ruleth among the nations will give great efficacy to these principles, and great success to our labours.

You will naturally desire to know what effect the election of Mr. Polk will have upon the cause of freedom in this country. He is in favour of the annexation of Texas; many of the most influential men in the Democratic party are so also; and attempts will doubtless be made and persisted in to accomplish this object. But the Senate will be Whig. The new President of Texas is said to be opposed to annexation. Many of the Democratic party in the United States are opposed to it: strong opposition will be made from other quarters. We, therefore, in view of these facts, and of the great fact, **THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH;** feel a calm belief that Texas will not be annexed to this country, that anti-slavery principles will prevail, and that we shall yet be a **FREE** and happy and respected nation.

HAYTI.—Extract of a letter to G. W. Alexander, Esq., dated—"Port Republican, Oct. 22, 1844.—My dear sir,—I have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging your kind letter accompanying the address from the Anti-Slavery Society to the Government and people of Hayti. It cannot for a moment be doubted but that an address so judicious and well timed will have a good influence upon the Haytian Republic. Immediately on receiving them I placed them where I thought they would be most likely to get into the press, and by that means into general circulation. One I sent to each of the two editors in the capital, and also to two of the secretaries of state. From several of the citizens I have received the greatest proof that the address is well received, and highly appreciated. But the best proof I can give you of the manner in which the attentions of the Anti-Slavery Society are received is the copy of a letter from one of the secretaries of state, in acknowledgment of the receipt of the addresses from the Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies, of which I send you a translation.

'Sir,—I have received the two addresses, and the letter with which you honoured me. The Government of the Republic appreciate, as will also the whole nation,—which indeed it ought to do—the generous interest taken by the Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies in our prosperity. The wise counsels which they give in the hope of our peace and tranquillity will, I hope, not be without effect. Present, I beseech you, sir, the warmest thanks of the country to those pious and charitable men who have manifested so marked a solicitude for our welfare.'

(Signed) H. FERY.'

I am greatly in hopes that the address will be translated and printed without any expense to the Society; but, if I should be disappointed in my hope, I will avail myself of the sum spoken of in your last letter, and get the address into full circulation throughout the Republic. This is indeed the time for the friends of Hayti to exert the salutary influence of wise counsels and friendly sympathy with this afflicted nation; the more so as, in the midst of all the strife and unhappiness which has existed, there are so many interesting traits: one—which is not the least—is, that so many prim-

ary schools have lately crept into existence. Our own school in the capital is aided by the present Government by a monthly subscription, and has an encouraging general attendance. With regard to the general prospects of the country, all is calm at present, and I confess I incline to hope for the best. There are but two papers published in the French part of the island, *La Feuille du Commerce*, and *Le Manifeste*; both very liberal both in politics and religion. There are no other periodicals published in the Republic.

SPAIN.—The slave-trade question has been for some time a subject which has led to communications of a serious nature between the British and Spanish governments. Mr. Bulwer has been actively engaged in the endeavour to induce the government here to fulfil its treaties, by carrying into execution the penal law, which it bound itself long since to establish; but hitherto, I fear, without much effect. The Spanish government has, however, given Mr. Bulwer promises that a law shall be introduced on the subject without delay, and if honest, nothing can be easier than to ask for a vote of confidence to carry out such a measure as that required by the treaty of 1835. It remains to be seen whether the government here is disposed to act honestly on this subject or not, and that question must soon be determined, our Government considering it of vital importance to get the matter arranged before our Parliament meets. If what I hear be true, the influence of the French government is used to obstruct and thwart British policy on this question, and the Spanish ministry is strengthened in its temporising and procrastinating policy by the aid of M. Bresson's good offices and counsels. General Narvaez could doubtless throw considerable light on this part of the subject, if he chose to do so.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

DENMARK.—We learn with pleasure that an Anti-Slavery Committee has been formed in the city of Copenhagen. On the 31st of October this body presented to the provincial states a petition, asking for the emancipation of the slaves in the Danish West India colonies at the earliest possible period. The petition was not resisted by the commission (the organ of government.) It was received by the assembly, and referred unanimously to a Committee, which will hereafter make its report.

LITHUANIA.—For some time the peasantry in Lithuania have been much excited against the nobility. They want the abolition of slavery (serfdom.) Letters from Bremen announce that this disaffection had caused in several provinces a serious outbreak.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Miscellanea.

SUSPECTED SLAVER.—Some worthy citizens of the United States have discovered a very pretty quarrel with England. We have only the American version of the tale. The commander of an English war-brig on the Brazilian coast boarded a brig belonging to New Orleans, suspecting it to be a slaver; and as there were some informalities in the British officer's mode of presenting himself, such as his not being in uniform, Mr. Dumas, the master of the American brig, thought it a safe and perhaps a profitable game to resist. His plan seems to have been to manufacture as many separate outrages as possible out of the single opportunity. He blocked up the intruder's way with an American flag in such a manner that the national ensign was "trampled under foot" in the struggle. Kroo sailors accompanied the British officer, and the Yankee makes telling point of this encounter with the "Negroes." He abandoned his vessel, too, which is a very effective stroke. There was one thing, indeed, that he would not give up—his log-book; and as he makes out that the Englishman exhibited a cowardly fear even at the show of determined resistance, one is surprised that the American did not gain every point *ri et armis*. This singular tenacity of the log-book and laxity in holding the ship itself look suspicious. If the vessel had really been engaged as a slaver, and if the owner were likely to make more in the shape of damages than the true value of his brig, this would be the very course that you would suspect the master to take; but in any other case the 'cute Yankee must have behaved foolishly. On the other hand, if there is any degree of truth in his story, it would seem that the British commander suffered himself to be betrayed by the vulgar bullying cant, which the letter itself amply displays, into an indiscreet assertion of unauthenticated power. It is very awkward; and although we have no fear of Mr. Dumas's being able to make good his threat that "England will pay dearly for this," the occurrence, unless the whole tale is a hoax, may cause some trouble. It is one of the many ugly mementos of the absurd and impracticable nature of all our slave-trade-suppression treaties, which do not suppress slave-trade, and do provoke risks of international war.—*Spectator.*

CAPTAIN DENMAN AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—In the Court of Exchequer, on the 20th inst., Sir Thomas Wilde was heard on the part of the Honourable Captain Denman, defendant in an action brought by Buron, a Spanish merchant, whose warehouse, on the coast of Africa, Captain Denman had destroyed, besides liberating a number of slaves, the property of Buron. Sir Thomas Wilde contended, that Captain Denman had acted in accordance with the laws both of Spain and England, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and had merely obeyed instructions for which, not he but his Government was responsible: if wrong had been done, the Government of Spain should claim compensation from that of England. Some laughter was created, by Baron Alderson asking, if it was contended by the plaintiff, that the Amees of Scinde might bring an action against Lord Ellenborough for false imprisonment? Mr. Kelly saw no reason why they should not. Baron Alderson—"Perhaps Sir Charles Napier and Lord Ellenborough might be jointly sued." The Court declared its intention of taking time to consider its judgment.

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, Euston-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, November 27, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXXI. VOL. V.—No. 25.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c., &c., &c.

SIR.—The welfare of the British West India colonies cannot be a matter of indifference to any who were engaged in their emancipation from slavery, and who are anxious that the example set by this country, in securing it, should be followed by all nations holding slaves, throughout the civilized world. None, not directly interested in the colonies, are more disposed, none are more anxious to build up their prosperity, than the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and they are not aware that any public act of theirs, having reference to them, has been inconsistent with this declaration.

But, sir, anxiously desirous as the Committee have been, and still are, to see the emancipated colonies flourish, they could not consent that this should be effected by the abandonment of a single principle of equity or justice—of freedom or humanity. The deliverance of 750,000 human beings from the degradation and sufferings of slavery, cost the British nation too great a struggle, and too large a sacrifice to allow of this. Hence the Anti-Slavery Society have felt it to be their duty to watch the course of colonial legislation—to expose abuses, and denounce acts of oppression when they have occurred—and to lay before her Majesty's Government, and the public at large, such matters as they have deemed of importance to the interests involved, and to the great object they had in view. Among these, no subject has had a larger share of their attention than emigration to the emancipated colonies. They have carefully investigated the grounds on which its alleged necessity has been justified, and patiently weighed the arguments by which it has been attempted to be sustained, and have not been able to discover either the validity of the one, or the soundness of the other; and, viewed in the light of facts and results, they have felt themselves called upon to oppose it by all the means in their power. The Committee, however, would not be misunderstood. They have never opposed emigration to the colonies when it has been perfectly spontaneous on the part of the emigrants, and effected under those guarantees which insured them the free choice of their employments and employers on their arrival. What they have contended against has been the various schemes which have been resorted to, for supplying them with labourers, which, in principle, they believed to be vicious; and, in their consequences, cruel and revolting. Let facts speak. The emigrants at first introduced into Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, were, for the most part, decoyed into them by unprincipled agents, who, by delusive promises and false reports, induced large numbers of English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Portuguese, French, Maltese, and others to emigrate, and the result was, that, what with the labour extracted from them under contracts, the effects of the climate, and disappointment, arising from inadequate wages, insufficient shelter, want of medical care, and general neglect, most of them sank into a premature grave. Nor was this the only class who suffered. The emigrants from the older West India colonies, who were induced to enter into contracts, to labour in British Guiana and Trinidad, became the victims of the same merciless system, and those who survived the period of their indentures, with few exceptions, returned to their homes with the sad tale of the friends they had lost and of the sufferings and privations they had endured. And the same may be said of the Coolies who were imported into Mauritius and British Guiana. These people had been trepanned into contracts for labour of which they knew nothing—kept in confinement until they were shipped on board vessels prepared to receive them—forced under hatches previous to departure to prevent escape—improperly treated during their passage, which frequently led to death from disease or suicide, and on arrival subjected to the hard discipline of the plantations, with the usual results,—a vast mortality on the number imported.

According to official returns it appears that between the 1st August, 1834, and the 15th April, 1843, the number of immigrants introduced into Jamaica was 5,749, exclusive of 1,386 liberated Africans, in all 7,135; into British Guiana, 19,818, exclusive of 1,593 liberated Africans; in all 21,411: and into Trinidad 8,518, exclusive of liberated Africans 829; in all 9,247. These returns cannot, however, be wholly depended upon. The discrepancies between the returns laid before Parliament in 1843 and 1844 are great. The probability is that a much larger number of emigrants have been introduced into these colonies than appears on the face of these documents. It is computed that upwards of 40,000 Indian labourers were introduced into Mauritius between the years 1834 and 1839, when the further export of these people was forbidden; and subsequently to that period, from 1840 to 1842, 1667 Chinese, Malagassays, and natives of the Comoro islands, was imported. Added to these, the imports during the year 1843, according to an official return, amounted to upwards of 35,000, and the importation was then going rapidly on;

so that, it is believed, that since the restriction on the export of Coolies has been taken off, from 40,000 to 50,000 additional labourers have been introduced into that colony. It thus appears that Jamaica has added to her population by emigration 7,135; British Guiana, 21,411; Trinidad, 9,247, and Mauritius, say 86,667, since the year 1834—or nearly 125,000 in all!

The Committee regret that from the very defective nature of the returns laid before Parliament, they are unable to state with any degree of accuracy the mortality which has occurred in connection with the introduction of this vast body of labourers into the emancipated colonies. They are convinced, however, that it has been frightful. As to the Europeans, it is admitted that a large portion died very soon after their arrival in the colonies, so that that species of immigration has been entirely abandoned. And as to the Coolies, a document laid before Parliament in 1840, states, that out of 25,000 who had been introduced into Mauritius, within a period of four years, 7,000 had died; and that the mortality at Port Louis was estimated at from 8 to 9 per cent. per annum. Of the Coolies shipped from Calcutta for British Guiana, 453 in number, 165 died either during the passage thither, or in the colony during the period of their indentures; and of the 236 who returned to India in 1843, after five years' service, 20 per cent. died on their voyage, so that not more than 190 reached their destination alive! The Committee feel this to be a melancholy subject, and conceive that grave responsibility must rest somewhere. In bringing it before you, sir, they would cherish the hope that effectual means will be adopted by the Government for ascertaining as far, and as accurately as possible, the real number of immigrants brought into the British colonies, whether by private individuals, or by means of the colonial funds; the manner in which they were disposed of on arrival, the mortality which has occurred, and what number of the whole thus introduced are now actually engaged in agricultural pursuits.

There is yet another point deserving the searching investigation of Government, viz., the proportion the sexes introduced into the colonies have borne to each other. No official return gives the information required on this important point, but the following facts will give some idea of the extent of the disparity. According to a return made in 1840, out of 19,050 Coolies imported into Mauritius, only 205 were women; and by another return presented this year, out of 30,638 immigrants, only 3,359 were women. In the first case, there was scarcely more than one woman to one hundred men, and in the latter the proportion is about ten women to one hundred men. Of the Coolies introduced into British Guiana, only twelve were women. In whatever point of view the Committee regards this subject, it is full of importance. It affects the moral and social welfare of the immigrants themselves; it deeply affects the interests of the families they leave behind them; and it equally affects the social happiness and moral elevation of the people among whom they are necessarily thrown. The Committee would fain hope that a subject of such vast importance as this may not be overlooked by her Majesty's Government, but that they will feel it to be their duty to interpose their authority to prevent the continuance of so great an evil as that which the disproportion of the sexes presents, and which every Christian philanthropist must deplore.

The Committee need scarcely refer your attention, sir, to the fact that the evils connected with emigration into the British colonies, under contracts for labour, were found to be so great, as to require an order in Council to be issued in 1838, prohibiting all such contracts in future, unless expressly made in them, and under the surveillance of the stipendiary Magistracy; and, in 1839, in consequence of the evils connected with the Coolie trade having grown beyond the power either of regulation or repression, the Government of India enacted a prohibitory law against its continuance, which received the full sanction of the home Government.

It may be said that, fully alive to the enormous abuses which characterised the first schemes of colonial immigration, the present Government have remedied them by causing the enactment of salutary laws, and by issuing a code of instructions calculated to prevent the recurrence of such abuses in future; that now there can be no prison depôts for kidnapped Coolies—no hurrying them on board without due inspection—no putting them under hatches for safe keeping—no shipping them in numbers disproportionate to the space necessary for their accommodation, or the food and water necessary for their sustenance: in short, that they can no longer be brought, under fraudulent contract, to labour for years on scanty wages and meagre fare, and compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour, at the discretion of their masters, or be neglected when sick, and left without the protection of an independent, impartial, and efficient Magistracy. The Committee readily admit that the cure of abuses has been the design of the Government in the regulations which they have promulgated, and it is not impossible that, had they been worked in England, instead of India and the colonies, they would have prevented, at least, the more glaring abuses and

atrocities, of which there has been such just cause for complaint. But such, unhappily, has not been the case: in fact, the Royal Order in Council, of 1838, regulating contracts, has already been infringed upon. It is now understood that Trinidad has passed an Ordinance, legalizing contracts made out of the colonies, for periods not exceeding twelve months, in contemplation of a large influx of immigrants from Africa and Asia; and that it has been allowed by the Government. Such contracts, made by Africans, Chinese, and Coolies, in ignorance of the real scenes of their labour, of the nature and amount of work they will have to perform, and of the relative value of money, must be injurious to them. Moreover, the contracts will be made in the interests of the employers by their agents; and made, too, for the express purpose of reducing the rate of wages now paid to the Creole labourer. It is an admitted fact, that this is the grand object the Planters have in view in securing the active co-operation of the Government in their emigration schemes. Now it is quite clear, that if Trinidad be permitted to introduce labourers under contracts made out of the colony, no valid objection can be raised to Jamaica and British Guiana following the example; and thus the first and best guarantee, that the labourer shall, at all events, be free on his arrival in the British colonies, is null and void.

With respect to the protective regulations, so much insisted on by the Government, the Committee regret to say, that they have been evaded and violated in a multitude of instances. In procuring Indian emigrants, no conscientious or humane European will be employed; that part of the business is, therefore, as formerly, in the hands of native brokers, who send out their duffadars, or erimps, in all directions, and by means of promises never intended to be realized, decoy them into engagements from which they are not released when once placed on board the emigrant vessels, and where, for the first time, in most cases, they learn their true destination, and discover the shameful deceits which have been practised upon them. To prevent escape, they are placed under the strictest watch; but, notwithstanding the vigilance of their keepers, they, not unfrequently, in desperation, throw themselves overboard, in the hope of reaching shore, or of dying, rather than pursue their voyage to distant lands.

As to the families of those who are thus removed, they are usually left in a most deplorable state, without resources, and generally, without the means of procuring them; the consequence of which is extreme poverty and wretchedness, and not unfrequently starvation and death.

On reaching Mauritius, the emigrants are not landed agreeably to the regulations in force, but kept on board until they are drafted off to such estates, or persons, as will take them. No liberty of choice is allowed them, either as it respects employments or employers. The Inspector or Protector of immigrants appears simply in the light of a registrar, who has no duty to perform, but to pass them to the parties selecting them. It may not be known to you, Sir, that in addition to the 7*l.* sterling allowed by the local government of Mauritius, for each Coolie introduced, the planter pays the importer for the liberty of selection, ten dollars per head. To dignify this mode of dealing with the Indian labourers by the name of free immigration, would be absurd. But this is the way in which one part of her Majesty's subjects are permitted to be dealt with by another.

But if it could be made to appear to the Committee, that the emigration laws of the colonies were perfectly unexceptionable, and the regulations intended to control it through its various stages were rigidly enforced, they would still feel bound to object to it as it is now intended to be carried on.

The Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully but decidedly to protest against the introduction of masses of adult labourers into the emancipated colonies, as likely to prove morally injurious to the enfranchised negroes and their families, as well as to the immigrants themselves. In Mauritius, an unbounded licentiousness prevails, frequently manifesting itself in forms the most loathsome, revolting, and unnatural; and the same will undoubtedly be the case in Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, should they be afflicted with the presence of a large influx of idolatrous and sensual Asiatics. Deeply do the Committee regret, that her Majesty's Government should have entertained for an instant the idea of peopling the colonies with adult male labourers, or, what is equivalent to it, allow the repeal of such parts of the immigration laws as were in force in the colonies, which required either that two-thirds, or one-half of the labourers to be introduced should be of the female sex.

The Committee, feeling this to be a point of vital importance, venture to press it upon your most serious attention. They cannot be persuaded, that the real prosperity of the colonies can ever be secured by the moral degradation of the people. But the Committee are persuaded, that economically as well as morally, the introduction of masses of male labourers into the colonies is open to the most serious objections. In addition to the original cost of introduction, the survivors of the immigrants are to be returned to their native homes at the end of five years' service, at the expense of the colonies. Suppose 1,500,000*l.* be expended on the introduction of 100,000 emigrants into Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, it will require 1,000,000*l.* more to restore those who survive the period of service, and desire to return home, to the original ports of shipment. This large sum is independent of the interest accruing thereon, supposing it to be raised by loans. Nor is this all: as the labourers die off, or are restored to their homes, they must be replaced by new importations, if it be intended to keep up

the cultivation, and thus what may be termed a permanent charge on the colonial funds will be perpetuated.

The Committee regret to observe that the expenses connected with this vast scheme of immigration are to be borne, not by the resources of those intended to be benefited thereby, but by funds raised from additional colonial taxation. There is injustice in this. It might surely be sufficient that the colonists, composed mostly of labourers, bore the heavy expenditure of the general and local government, without being made responsible, for an indefinite number of years to come, for the supply of transient labourers to cultivate the estates of non-resident, as well as resident proprietors, or to pay off the debts due to mortgagees and merchants, whose interests are not strictly identified with those of the inhabitants at large.

It is understood that, in addition to the large sums already expended out of the public purse for immigration, Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, are authorized to enact laws for raising loans to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* to be devoted hereafter to the same object. These loans are to be repaid with the interest thereon, out of the public taxes; and with the view of giving greater sanction to this expenditure, and to facilitate operations in the money market, it is said Government will undertake to guarantee the loans raised by obtaining the sanction of the Imperial Legislature thereto. Now, when it is the avowed design of these loans to introduce masses of labourers to compel a reduction in the current rate of wages, already low enough, paid to the native labouring population, and to burden them, at the same time, with additional taxation, the Committee conceive there is inhumanity as well as injustice in the measure, and that it ought not to be sanctioned by the Government. The Committee, therefore, sincerely hope that no such measure will be proposed to Parliament, involving as it does the material and moral interests of the emancipated classes, whose welfare, as well as that of their employers, should be sought in every legislative act.

In the remarks which the Committee have hitherto submitted to you, Sir, they have taken exception principally to the importation into the emancipated colonies, of Asiatics. They feel bound, however, to state that they feel equal repugnance to the introduction of Africans; and they must add, still greater repugnance in view of the regulations proposed. Up to a recent period, the African torn from his native home, by the infamous slave-dealer, found an asylum within the British settlement at Sierra Leone. It is to be an asylum no longer, except, so far as he is concerned, upon impossible conditions. After he has been liberated by a sentence of the Court of Mixed Commission, he is to be turned adrift, homeless and friendless. Clothed he is to be, for public decency would be outraged if he were sent on shore naked, as taken in the slaver. He is not, however, to be allowed food or shelter, the governor having received peremptory orders to withdraw the usual rations and superintendence until the unfortunate being could be properly disposed of. The only alternative left him is starvation or transportation to some one of the West India colonies. How far this is consonant with British humanity, or with free emigration, it is not difficult to decide, but the Committee earnestly hope that it will never be allowed to be carried into effect.

In addition to the large expenditure of the public money which the proposed scheme of immigration will involve—the deep injury it will inflict on the emancipated classes who will have to bear the weight of competition as well as the burden of increased taxation—the wrongs that will be inflicted on the emigrants, and the families they may leave behind them, and the fearful immorality and mortality which will follow in its train, the Committee conceive two consequences of material importance are likely to result from it. The first is—that the planters, instead of depending on their own industry, skill, and enterprise, and originating and carrying into effect improved and economical modes of cultivating their lands, will depend on the constant influx of manual labour, which they are persuaded will be found to deceive their expectations, whilst it retards improvement. Two things the colonies want to insure their prosperity—a resident proprietary, and capital to carry on with vigour the cultivation of their estates. Were there a resident proprietary, capital would be soon found, and the means of economizing labour and increasing its efficiency, would be found with it. It is by this means the pressure resulting from an antecedent vicious and costly system of management may be best remedied, and the difficulties alleged to exist may be most effectually surmounted. The second consequence is—that foreign powers, having slave colonies or territories, will copy the example set them by this country, and under the name of free emigration, carry on an extensive slave-trade. It is a well-known fact, that, with the exception of the United States, every slave-holding power complains of the want of labour. Without the importation of slaves to a very large extent every year, neither Brazil nor the Spanish colonies could keep up their cultivation. It is not to be supposed that either Brazil or Spain would be very scrupulous as to the means by which they might obtain free labourers on the coast of Africa, to become, what in fact they would be in their provinces and dependencies, slave labourers. Already Brazil is turning its attention to this subject, and Spain will follow, if she finds herself impeded in carrying on the direct slave-trade. France has already allowed her colony of Bourbon to introduce a body of labourers from Zanzibar. Report says, they were purchased at about five pounds per head, and that, though nominally free, they are really slaves. The Committee do not positively affirm this to be the case. They would hope that it is not so; but it might be true, and yet admit of no redress on the part of this country. The Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America, and the Danish colonies in the West Indies, are similarly circum-

stanced, with respect to labour, with the French colonies; their agricultural population is gradually, and, in some cases, rapidly diminishing. These have each settlements on the Western coast of Africa, whence they might draw immigrants; and in the course pursued by the British Government, they might have both a precedent and a justification for their doings.

On these grounds, Sir Robert, the Committee respectfully make their appeal to you as the head of her Majesty's Government. They feel that the case is a strong one, and as such they submit it to your consideration. To every scheme of immigration into the emancipated colonies, which is not perfectly voluntary and free from beginning to end, which is not carried on either at the cost of the immigrants themselves or at the charge of those introducing them, and which is not regulated by laws in accordance with the Royal Orders in Council relating to contracts and vagabondage, passed in October, 1838, the Committee feel insuperable objections. Should the scheme referred to be brought before Parliament, they are assured that the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country will sustain them in any measures it may be necessary to take in relation thereto; but they sincerely hope that you, sir, will withhold your sanction from the projected measure, which, however it may for a time enrich the few at the expense of the many, must in the end be disastrous to the interests it is intended to uphold.

Apologising for the length to which these details have been drawn by the Committee, and trusting they will be excused for the earnest manner in which they have addressed you,

I have the honour to be,

Sir Robert,

On behalf of the Committee,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

THOMAS CLARKSON.

27, New Broad-street, Nov. 12, 1844.

MAURITIUS.

The last arrivals from Mauritius are of a very gloomy description. By both the *Watchman* and the *Cernéen* the island is affirmed to be in circumstances of extreme distress, and impending calamity. The monetary difficulties are thus exhibited by the *Cernéen* :—

Any one acquainted with the present state of affairs in the colony is aware of the fact that the payment of certain debts in silver—that of our labourers' wages, for instance—necessitates exorbitant sacrifices to the distressed and honest debtors; every kind of commercial paper is at a discount; bills on England and France at six months' sight are at 9 and 10 per cent. below par; an extremely deplorable state of things which cannot but get worse and worse unless remedied without delay.

A more general description of trouble is thus given by the *Watchman* :—

What strikes us now at Mauritius? A deficit of a million of dollars on last year; and we are engaged to furnish sixty-seven millions of sugar this year, of which we have already received and spent the price, and we shall hardly make forty millions. The epizootie has ravaged and continues to ravage every quarter of the island; and thus we see the capital we possessed disappearing with the herds which formed part of it, and our hopes of the crop on which we had calculated disappointed for want of animals to gather it. But are not they who did not use bullocks for working their crop exempt from this calamity? No, certainly not. Those who use mules must buy some every year, and now, instead of paying from 150 to 200 dollars, they must pay from 300 to 400 dollars each. He is therefore a loser as well as he who used oxen, and all have thus been unfortunate, and all deserve commiseration. We have been very severe on the agents, and perhaps we shall be so again, but we never have been, and never will be, unjust. They are also indebted: they have contracted engagements which they cannot fulfil, and in the critical situation in which we now are, they will also be ruined without great care. From the planters and agents downwards, every branch of industry is in danger, and a catastrophe is preparing which threatens to overwhelm everything in general ruin. And what is the result of it? What is done to avert this calamity? Here is the impatient creditor, who stamps and raves; here the advocate who listens calmly, and already carries his items to account. A property purchased two years ago at a high price is sold for next to nothing. The first creditors are scarcely paid, with the advocate, who never forgets himself. A father of a family who has been all his life honest and industrious is turned out of doors, and the too harsh creditor finds too late that he has been guilty of a crime by which he has gained nothing. These evils exist, and nothing is done to stop them, even when sales under distress warrants occur on every side. What is to be done? We must have great courage to meet a great danger. The agents and planters must unite, and the situation of the country must be freely discussed. Let those cry shame who will, we speak out boldly:—general suspension of payment!!

The public exchequer seems to be as empty as the private purse; since the governor has found it necessary to pass a Minute of Council, declaring that the money appropriated to immigration is all spent, and that the colony must repay the advances which have been made. His Excellency's Minute concerning the immigration tax is couched in the following terms:—

On submitting to the Council Board the registers of immigration, and the returns of the revenue and expenditure to the 30th ult., it is my painful duty to inform you of the almost entire failure of the immigration tax, and to direct your immediate and serious attention to the means of remedying the deficiency, and meeting the expenses that essential and important object may occasion for the future, as well as of replacing the funds which have already been applied to immigration but that were destined to public works urgently required by the colony.

(Signed) W. M. GOMM.

We are far from rejoicing at this state of severe suffering and impending ruin; but we cannot help asking,—is this glorious prosperity which has been so confidently anticipated for Mauritius? What strenuous efforts have been made to effect the transportation to her shores of labourers by tens of thousands! And when the scheme was matured, what loud boastings were heard that where labour went capital would follow, and that Mauritius was saved! Alas! she stood upon a giddy precipice, and quickly has she been hurled into the depths of despair. This is, in our judgment, the natural result of the course which has been followed, and a fit retribution for the frenzy and desperation with which it has been pursued. Will the British colonies in the West Indies have the wisdom to take warning from the fate of Mauritius?

Besides the general ruin, the measure which was to be the salvation of the colony has proved the source of many evils. Look for example at the state of the dépôt for newly arrived immigrants at St. Louis, thus depicted by the *Cernéen* :—

It becomes urgently necessary to take some measures calculated to put an end to the serious disorders which occur at present at the dépôt. Pitched battles are fought to obtain labourers, and such of the latter as have already come to an agreement change their minds in a moment under the influence of the promises or threats of the sirdars. This morning, numerous and very serious blows were exchanged between the new comers and their fellow-countrymen, the agents of the planters, and we should not be surprised to hear that disagreeable consequences had accrued to the latter therefrom. Is this the liberty it was intended to insure to the immigrants? Nothing has less the appearance of free competition than what is now taking place at the dépôt.

Or if we listen to the *Watchman*, he tells a similar tale:—

The scandalous conduct of some planters in disputing for the Indians at the Bagne is not forgotten. What will be said then to what took place on Thursday? Two hundred men were ready to contract engagements. The yard was crowded at an early hour by persons, some followed by sirdars, pledged to engage for them, others carrying bags of bread. Each one strove to coax the Indians to them; they disputed among themselves; all shame was forgotten; and the Indians may be said to have been carried into the protector's office rather than to have walked in. * * *

We are assured, but we do not give it on our own authority, that one of our merchants actually paid a sirdar 200 dollars to procure him a certain number of hands. We are also told that a sirdar on the last arrival, got over the fence at the Bagne during the night, and thus contrived to secure to himself a numerous band: we understand that this fact came to the ears of the protector, who had the individual arrested.

And with all this frantic eagerness and unblushing knavery to obtain hands, the hands they have are not at work. Thus speaks the *Watchman*:—

How great a proportion of the immigrants in this colony, instead of fulfilling the design of their introduction by labouring in the fields, infest town and country, living a life of idleness and plunder? An efficient police force would restore many thousands of hands to field labour, whose passage was paid with no other view than their employment in that branch, by stringent measures not pronounced only but enforced against vagrancy. Who that has an Indian in his service in town, can believe in the want of labourers, when he sees the numerous gossipies which haunt his house from day to day, without occupation or any manifest means of subsistence? This is much more apparent since the expiration of the first year of the new immigrants, and it is this which causes such unlimited demands for hands. * * * Our plantations can never support the thousands of idlers which now live upon their produce, and burden the country with an incubus totally incompatible with a healthy state of things. *Instead of disputing about Indians, let proper measures be proposed for procuring a supply of Africans.*

We have marked in italics the last sentence of the preceding extract, because we think it carries the infatuation of the immigration mania farther than we have ever seen it carried before. Affected but lately with an insatiate craving for Coolies, the Mauritius are already disgusted with them, and cry out for Africans; just as the Coolie experiment there has been deemed by the Government so eminently successful, that 12,500 of them are ordered for the West Indies, because so few Africans can be procured! We should think the sagacity of our Colonial Minister must be somewhat at fault in this business. However, since the indispensable element, money, is wanting, it may be presumed with some confidence that emigration to Mauritius from any quarter is pretty nearly at an end. It is well that such extravagant follies should bring their own curse; and we may hope, perhaps, that the Mauritians will not show themselves less docile than that well-known portion of mankind, who, although they learn by nothing else, do learn by experience.

We cannot dismiss this subject, without extracting from the *Cernéen* an article from the *Friend of India*, exposing the shameful neglect of the Mauritius Government in relation to Coolies returning to India.

A second instance of mortality in a Coolie ship has just been forced on public notice. The ship *Baboo*, which was employed to bring back time-expired Coolies from the Mauritius, lost six men in her way to Madras, and eleven between Madras and Calcutta. She left this port about five months ago with 240 Coolies, which was the full number she was allowed to carry according to the regulations. In her voyage to the Mauritius she lost three, one of whom was a woman who died in child-birth. On her return, she brought 270 adults, besides some children, which was nearly one-third more than she would have been permitted by the rules of this Government to take, and she lost seventeen. In the two instances in which there has been an extraordinary mortality among the Coolies, the vessels have been found to have carried more than the legal complement of Coolie passengers. The inference is inevitable. The Captain states that he had thirty-five days' water on board, at the rate of a gallon a man, but that having been becalmed for ten days, and meeting with the

Nankin, he procured from her a supply of rice and water, which prevented their running short on the voyage. If we have not been misinformed, the commander purchased the water from the Nankin, which few captains would be disposed to do before they had put their crew and passengers on short allowances. The captain appears to have behaved throughout the voyage with great liberality, and the Coolies say they were treated with much humanity by him. No additional supply of medicine was taken on board at Mauritius, though some was purchased at Madras. The same medical gentleman who went down with the vessel, returned in her; but this appears to have been the result of accident.

The conduct of the public authorities at the Isle of France, in reference to the return of Coolies to India, presents a painful contrast to the humane solicitude of the public officers in Calcutta; and if we are to regard the utter indifference which the officers of the island have manifested to the health and comfort of the men they send back, as a sample of the mode in which their general duties are performed, the office of Protector of Emigrants must be a farce, and something worse. After their engagements have expired, and the men are no longer likely to be of any service to the island, all concern for their welfare seems to cease. The public functionaries are utterly careless as to the number of human beings embarked on any vessel, and the owners are at liberty to cram them to a degree which has produced a most fearful mortality. The commander appears to be under no necessity of supplying either medicine or medical attendance. All those regulations which have been humanely established in Calcutta for provisioning the Coolies on the voyage, are totally disregarded, and all that the captain is bound to furnish is a pound and a half of rice daily, two pounds of salt fish a week, some salt and wood, and accommodations for cooking. The salt fish has been found in every instance to aggravate, even if it has not occasioned the diseases to which so many have fallen victims; and the men would be far better without, than with it. The Government of India is utterly powerless in these cases of glaring delinquency. The remedy lies with Lord Stanley and the Colonial Office, and we hope the Anti-Slavery Society will bestir themselves, and bring the matter without delay under his Lordship's notice.

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.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The day of our next publication being Christmas-day, the next number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* will be issued on Tuesday, the 24th, instead of Wednesday, the 25th of December.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 11, 1844.

WE have inserted to-day, in its entire form, the memorial which, as we mentioned in our last, was presented to Sir Robert Peel, by a deputation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on the 25th of November, on immigration into the British colonies. It will exhibit fully to our readers the view taken by the Committee of the general subject, and we commend it to their attentive perusal. It is due both to our readers and to the Government that we should say, that nothing which transpired in the interview with the Premier has had the effect of changing in any particular the sentiments of the Committee as expressed in the memorial. We are ready to hope that the attitude of the Jamaican Assembly, the excitement in British Guiana, and the ruin brought on themselves by the Mauritian planters, may induce the Government to refrain from any further prosecution of the Immigration scheme.

THE League has thought proper to renew its attack on the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in an article of nearly four columns. We have read this effusion attentively, in order to see if it contained any new matter, or anything otherwise requiring notice; but we find only the old matter raised up, with scarcely any variety of form. With the usual courtesy, this "section of the Anti-Slavery Society" are called "ignorant enthusiasts;" with the usual incorrectness, they are represented as upholders of monopoly, and advocates for the armed suppression of the slave-trade; and with the usual flippancy, they are taunted with a departure from the alleged maxim of their early friends, that free labour is cheaper than slave-labour. It cannot be necessary for us to answer these hackneyed common-places of this tedious controversy at any length. Whether the section of the Anti-Slavery Society referred to be ignorant enthusiasts or not, we, of course shall not presume to decide: but all the world knows that they repudiate the use of arms for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that they advocate the introduction into the British market of all foreign produce, excepting only the produce of slave-labour. As to the alleged maxim that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, if it were true (which it is not) in the naked form in which it is presented, it would rather justify than condemn the course which is complained of. Let us try it. Free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, and

will, consequently, if you can get enough of it to supply the demand for produce, drive slave-labour out of the world. Therefore encourage free-labour. Do what you can to augment its quantity, to enlarge the surface to which it shall be applied, and to foster its remunerative action. Such seems to us to be the legitimate inference from the premises, so far as any regard is had to the question of slavery at all. The ultra-free-traders seem to say, on the other hand, Free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, but there is not enough of it to supply the existing demand for produce: therefore let the whole mass of slave-labour loose; thus sacrificing the entire anti-slavery question for the sake of augmenting the quantity of produce—an attitude for which, we confess, we are not prepared, and which, we think, they dare not avow. That competition will, as the League asserts, be beneficial to British sugar culture, we readily admit, and on this ground we rejoice in the opening of the market to foreign sugar free-grown; but we should still be sorry to purchase this benefit at the cost of encouraging slavery and the slave-trade. Our contemporary, however, is mistaken, we think, in stating that, while the British sugar colonies have been going to decay, the foreign sugar colonies have been "highly prosperous." The latter, it is well known, have suffered at least equally with the former, and are very far from being in a state to exemplify the redeeming power of any element in their condition.

THE Free Church of Scotland has already taken ground on the subject of American slavery, in its official organ, the *North British Review*. In an article on the United States in the November number, avowedly written by a person who has visited them, and currently ascribed to the Rev. Dr. Cunningham, one of the recent deputation thither from the Free Church, the question of slavery comes in for a reference. The writer professes—of course, no one at this time of day dare do otherwise—to have "no desire to palliate the evils of slavery, or to encourage the Americans in apathy and indifference to this great sin and mischief;" we are much mistaken, however, if this article have not this tendency and effect. It is, to a marvellous extent, soothing and apologetic. A noble occasion was presented to the writer for augmenting the force of public sentiment already brought to bear on the slave-holders of the Union, and for placing so large and important a body as the Free Church in active co-operation with the friends of human liberty and happiness throughout the world. But this opportunity, we regret to say, has been entirely lost. Instead of a well-sustained and uncompromising protest against "the great sin and mischief" of American slavery, we have—who would have believed it?—an attack upon American abolitionists. Hear the reviewer's words:—"Those who have assumed to themselves, in the United States, the name of Abolitionists, and who, while they have done much good, by exposing the evils of slavery, have also, we fear, done much harm to a good cause by their injudicious and extravagant views and measures, have succeeded to a large extent in propagating in this country the impression, that in America all men are either Abolitionists in their sense, adopting their views and concurring in their measures, or else approvers and defenders of slavery. This representation is unfair and injurious." Of course it is, and the American Abolitionists never made it. What they have said, and all they have said, is, that those who disapprove of slavery and take no active part against it, are practically its strongest supporters. And this is undoubtedly true. But the Abolitionists (in whose assuming a name so accordant with their object we really see nothing so very atrocious,) have, as asserted by this writer, broached injudicious views, and proposed extravagant measures, and have thus done much harm to a good cause. Whether this be the case or not, we venture to affirm that no member of the Free Church delegation is able to assert it. No portion of that delegation came into contact with any parties from whom a just acquaintance with the views and measures of the Abolitionists could be gathered. The great body of the Presbyterians being southern and pro-slavery men, it behoved the delegation, having before their eyes the importance of the pecuniary issue, to eschew the company of the Abolitionists altogether; and they did so accordingly. Under these circumstances, the writer before us can do nothing but repeat the current representations of the slave-holders themselves: and this is exactly what he has done. To accuse the Abolitionists of doing much harm to a good cause by injudicious and extravagant views and measures, is of heathen origin, but has become the established habit of the South, the standing misrepresentation by which the slave-holders endeavour to enfeeble the hands of the Abolitionists, and to alienate those who should be their friends. To propagate this falsehood—for it is strictly such—is to do all that the upholders of slavery can desire, and to turn the rising influence of the Free Church, which might have been so valuable to the cause of human freedom and happiness, into a grievous impediment and hindrance to its progress. It is painful to think that men, but for whose clear heads and noble hearts, but for whose simplicity of principle, energy of action, and constancy in sacrifices, there would have been no abolition cause in America at all, should be thus inconsiderately libelled in a publication representing a body from which the cause of human liberty, in every form, might have expected so important an aid.

If we are dissatisfied with the stand which has been taken on the subject of slavery by the principal organ of the Free Church, we are in some respects still more grieved by the conduct of a man who must always be regarded as one of its chief ornaments. We mean the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, who, according to the *Presbyterian*, Amer-

rican paper, has written the following letter to the Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, South Carolina.

"**MY DEAR SIR**—I do not need to assure you how little I sympathize with those who, because slavery happens to prevail in the Southern States of America, would unchristianize that whole region, and who even carry their extravagance so far as to affirm that, so long as it subsists, no fellowship or interchange of good offices should take place with its churches or its ministers.

"As a friend to the universal virtue and liberty of mankind, I rejoice in the prospect of those days when slavery shall be banished from the face of the earth; but most assuredly the wholesale system of excommunication contended for by some is not the way to hasten forward this blessed consummation.

"Few things would afford me greater satisfaction than to hear of a commencement in your country of that process by which the labour of freemen might be substituted for that of slaves. As I mentioned to you in conversation, I was exceedingly struck, so far back as twenty-five years ago, by a description of such a process in Humboldt's Travels through South America. This was long anterior to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies; and such was the confidence I then felt in its efficacy that I ventured to draw out a sketch of the Spanish plan, which if adopted at the time, might have insured a far safer and even earlier emancipation than took place afterwards. You will find my account of it in the 12th volume of my works, from page 395 and onward. I have not been able to engage in any sort of public business since I had the pleasure of meeting with you, but I observed that in our Assembly's commission of a few weeks back the subject of American slavery was entertained. I do hope that the resolutions which they have adopted will prove satisfactory.

"I feel it a great acquisition that I have made your acquaintance. We owe you much, and I trust the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland will retain a grateful sense of your able and disinterested services. Do believe me, my dear Sir, yours, most respectfully and truly,

"Edinburgh, Sept. 25th, 1844."

"THOS. CHALMERS."

That Dr. Chalmers intended this letter for publication does not appear, nor do we think it probable. On whatever ground it has been made public, however, it is now matter of fair and necessary animadversion. We should have been happy if this eminent divine had felt it his duty to employ his extensive influence on behalf of the American slave, and in aid of the great cause of human freedom. But it appears that we are not to have this gratification. Dr. Chalmers, although, of course, he rejoices (who does not?) "in the prospect of those days when slavery shall be banished from the face of the earth," is not a friend to its immediate abolition. He would like to see the commencement, he says, of a "process by which the labour of free men might be substituted for that of slaves;" nothing more. This, he tells us, was his opinion twenty-five years ago, and he has made no advance since that period. But he does not like what is going on in America, where he thinks that the Abolitionists contend for a "wholesale style of excommunication;" that, "because slavery happens to prevail in the Southern States," they "would unchristianize that whole region;" and that they "even carry their extravagance so far as to affirm that, so long as it exists, no fellowship or interchange of good offices should take place with its churches or its ministers." With respect to gradual or immediate abolition, Dr. Chalmers is quite entitled, of course, to his own opinion; nor do we know that any one can be justly surprised at its being what it is, since he never took any active part in the efforts for the termination of slavery in the British colonies. But we think he should have made himself better acquainted with the facts of the case as relating to American slavery and abolitionists, before he ventured to express his views respecting them in any way likely to bring them before the public. If we did not know that the use of the phrase is an habitual Chalmerism, we should say that his speaking of slavery as *happening* to exist in the United States betrayed a levity altogether unsuited to the subject. Nothing can be more calculated to aid the oblivion of moral distinctions, than to speak of what is undoubtedly both willing and wilful in terms which liken it to a physical effect. A tempest or a plague might "happen to prevail;" but the prevalence of slavery is a widely different matter. This arises from the tenacious resolution of 250,000 holders of slaves, and involves the daily perpetration of innumerable acts of violence, cruelty, and wrong. Dr. Chalmers certainly does not know what American slavery is. And as little does he know the American Abolitionists. Let one of themselves be heard on this matter.

"The Abolitionists of the United States, Dr. Chalmers intimates, would unchristianize the whole South because slavery 'happens' to prevail there. Where did he learn this? Not from any anti-slavery publication or anti-slavery acts. He goes on to assert that we affirm, that, so long as it (slavery) subsists, no fellowship or interchange of good offices should take place with its churches (the Southern region) or its ministers. This also is not founded in fact. We do say that no intercourse should prevail between Northern Christians and slaveholding preachers or laymen that implies approbation of their conduct, or a recognition of their Christian character. But refusing to fellowship a man as a Christian does not necessarily imply that we pronounce that he is not a Christian. Has Dr. Chalmers noticed this distinction? If a professor of religion is guilty of a disgraceful practice, he should not be recognised as a Christian until he has repented, and exhibited the evidences of it. Is it not correct that we should say to a minister of the gospel, or a layman, who holds slaves, who buys and sells his fellow men, we will not recognise you as a Christian while you do thus? If this be contrary to Christian charity, to the gospel of the blessed Saviour, and it can be made so to appear, we shall be glad to be instructed in the matter by expounders of Christianity on your side of the water. But if we are right, let not English or Scotch doctors of divinity assail us, and tell Southern despots that we do not understand the religion of Christ."

The whole sentence is, in a word, characterised by a tone of exaggeration not unnatural to the fervid genius of the writer, but amounting to grave inaccuracy and untruth in relation to those against whom it is directed. It is to us a matter of sincere regret that Dr. Chalmers does not sympathize with the noble-minded men who have led on the cause of Abolition in America, and still sustain it there; but we are more especially sorry that he should have placed himself in opposition to them, and have done what has a tendency to obstruct the success of those powerful appeals to the conscience, under which many slave-holders, and slaveholding ministers, have begun to quail. After all the trouble which has been taken to arouse these slumbering consciences, it is sad to have an opiate administered to them by such a hand. In the tenor of his letter, Dr. Chalmers is certainly not the respondent of any considerable section of the British public, with whom his once oracular standing no longer remains; and we hope, not of any large portion of the Free Church itself. We trust that other men in that communion, and men not less distinguished than Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Chalmers themselves, will shortly speak on this important subject; and that the Free Church will yet be rescued from the dishonour of bolstering up a system of enormous cruelty and wrong, and of prolonging a conflict which cannot be allowed to have any other issue than success. Dr. Willis, of Glasgow, has made an excellent beginning, and we trust other good men and true will follow his example.

HAD not an unusual press of matter prevented us, we should have inserted to-day an extended account of the meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in relation to the proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland. The commission appointed by that body has, it appears, prepared a report on American slavery, dealing with the subject in a manner far from satisfactory, and the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society convened a public meeting in consequence. It appears to have been a most numerous, respectable, and animated meeting; and we have read the proceedings, especially the speeches of Dr. Ritchie and Mr. Wright, with great pleasure. We have inserted the two principal resolutions at length, and will find room hereafter, if we can, for the memorial to Christian ministers.

CONSIDERABLE sensation has been produced, with exultation and perplexity according to the standing of different parties, by the arrival at Liverpool of two small parcels (the first was only eleven barrels) of sugar from Venezuela, a state on the continent of South America in which the remnants of slavery exist. The Custom-house having referred to the Government, and the Government to the law officers of the Crown, their opinion was given that, as the treaty between this country and Venezuela contained what is technically known as the most favoured nation clause, the sugar could not be refused admission at the lower duty. From an order in council which has been subsequently issued, it appears that the government of Venezuela has made application to the British government for the admission of sugar from that country at the reduced duty, by virtue of this clause in the treaty.

OUR files of Mauritius papers have come to hand, and the intelligence they contain is very important. We have dealt with it in a separate article.

WE insert in another column an interesting letter from our correspondent at Algiers, on the reply of Marshal Bugeaud to the *Institut d'Afrique*.

WE have inserted an article of news from Madrid, intimating the probability of a law being passed against the slave-trade, and referring to O'Donnell's proclamation in Cuba about the confiscation of slave-vessels. We notice the article here only to say that we attach not the slightest importance to movements of this sort. Even if such a law can be passed, it cannot be executed. These are mere diplomatic amusements, which will leave the slave-trade just where it is.

THE editor of the *Colonial Gazette* has favoured us with several notices since our last. He is angry with Lord Stanley for having communicated to the Deputation of the Anti-Slavery Committee the Queen's disallowance of the second set of Guiana ordinances; he entirely mistakes the body of West India cultivators whom we indicated as not sympathizing in the immigration mania; and he misrepresents our language in relation to the burning estates of British Guiana. He will have it, by an absolute perversion of our words, that we have "deliberately published a vindication of incendiarism;" in addition to which he gravely accuses us of the still more aggravated crime of blasphemy. We are sure we must have done something very useful to have provoked so much bile. There is one point, however, in which, it seems, we have misrepresented him. We imputed to him—so he thinks—"an effort to detach the missionaries from the conflict" in British Guiana. But he declares he has not adventured on "so hopeless a task." He is only entreating the friends of the London Missionary Society "to withhold their support from that body until it ceases to support them;" but he does not do this "with any view of detaching them from the conflict," not at all. We hope and believe, however, that he will find this quite as hopeless a task as the other.

UNITED STATES—THE LIBERTY PARTY.

THE papers from the United States refer to little else than the presidential election, and the violent party squabbles to which it has given rise. In this election, the Abolitionists, under the name of the Liberty party, have exerted a sensible influence, and have thus come in for a share of that virulent abuse which defeated partizans invariably scatter with a liberal hand. We shall take the opportunity, therefore, of presenting to our readers a slight sketch of the object and present position of this body.

The Liberty party is composed of the great body of the Abolitionists in the United States—men of high principle, of dauntless courage, and ceaseless activity. They have organized themselves into a political body, for the purpose of accomplishing by means of political action the complete overthrow of slavery in their beloved, though guilty country. They are men who love freedom more than party, and hence have resolved to sacrifice their predilections as Democrats or Whigs on the altar of humanity and freedom; conceiving that the first great duty of every American citizen is to make the principles of the Declaration of Independence, of which they so proudly boast, a reality, and to bring the institutions of the entire Union into harmony with the sublime declaration, that, "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It must not, however, be supposed that they are indifferent to moral suasion and religious appeal. Being mostly religious men, and influenced by religious motives, they fail not to impress upon their fellow-citizens, not only the unimaginable wrongs which are inflicted on nearly three millions of their fellow-men by the existence of slavery, but the deep guilt which it entails upon their country in the sight of God. It is the sinfulness of slavery, not less than its repugnance to the free institutions of their country, and the degradation and wretchedness it inflicts on its helpless victims, which nerves them to the mighty conflict in which they are engaged. The Liberty party were a small band when they first commenced their operations, nevertheless, they commenced boldly; they had a great object in view, and they aimed high. Feeble as they were, they announced for President of the United States a man whose name and fame are known on both sides the Atlantic, the Hon. James G. Birney; and for Vice-President, a man deservedly dear and respected by his coadjutors in the Abolition cause, Thomas Earle. At the close of the first year of their organization, they could muster about 7,000 votes. The ability with which they advocated their cause, the singleness of purpose which they manifested in all their public acts, combined with the importance of the movement itself, drew a multitude of Abolitionists who had stood aloof in the first instance, or were apprehensive of the policy of a political organization, to their ranks, and in the second or third year of their existence they had multiplied tenfold—the seven thousand had become seventy thousand, and this year they have cast probably from ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY to ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND free and independent votes for the men whom they have wisely selected to represent them in the highest positions of the Government.

For some time, the great political parties of the United States affected to treat the men engaged in this movement with silent contempt; but now that their numbers, their principles, their unity of action, are discovered, they are allowed to take rank as the Liberty party, and it is easy to see that the balance of power will soon be in their hands. The Whigs, whose champion and candidate is the renowned Henry Clay, of Kentucky, courted them; but they rejected him because he is a great slaveholder, and adds to the detestable crime of holding his fellow-men in bondage the reputation of being a notorious duellist and gambler. The Democrats have been equally solicitous of winning them over to the support of their Candidate James K. Polk, of Tennessee; but they rejected him with equal abhorrence as a slaveholder, and the great advocate for the annexation of Texas to the Union.

In all the Free States, from the borders of the Atlantic to the far west, the Liberty party has its ramifications; its chief seat, however, being at present in Massachusetts. But its operations and its advocates are not confined to the Free States. Already a Liberty party is formed in Western Virginia, and is actively engaged in sending forth able and persuasive appeals to the inhabitants of the Old Dominion, in favour of J. G. Birney for the Presidency. In Kentucky, where the eloquent Cassius M. Clay, nephew of the expectant President, is pouring forth denunciations against slavery, as alike subversive of Christianity and the free institutions of his country, we are assured a Liberty party will be formed, as soon as the heat of the present election has subsided. Quiet, but well-considered steps are now being taken to advance the same cause in Eastern Tennessee; and it is believed in the western part of North Carolina. Missouri will soon be agitated with the same subject. In Delaware an Anti-Slavery Convention has been just held, demanding of the Legislature of that State the abolition of slavery at its next session; and in Maryland, the question of slavery is rapidly approaching a crisis. Nor need we wonder at this. In the slave states, the number of slaveholders does not exceed 250,000, whilst the non-slaveholders are at least 750,000, whose interests are deeply compromised, as working-men and citizens, by the existence of slavery. Such are the position and prospects of the Liberty party. May they advance with accelerated speed in their noble career, and be preserved from false friends within their camp, as well as open foes without!

Since writing the above, we have seen with regret an attack on Mr. Birney and the Liberty party, by a correspondent of the *Patriot*. We cannot better reply to it, perhaps, than by inserting the following extract of a letter addressed by Mr. Scoble to the editor of that journal.

With respect to "the main body of the Abolitionists" themselves, whom your correspondent so unjustly maligns, I may mention the honoured names of Tappan, Leavitt, Weld, Phelps, Goodell, Stanton, Gerrit Smith, Whittier, and Wright, among a host of others, by whose liberal munificence, great abilities, and indomitable courage, the anti-slavery cause has been, and is now, chiefly upheld. To suppose for one instant that these men have proved recreant to the cause for which many of them have periled their lives, and all of them their reputation, though not their character, is impossible, independently of any evidence to the fact. Your correspondent says, that "Birney persuaded his adherents to vote for Polk, because he is so great a booby that he cannot lead his partisans—and to support the annexation of Texas, because the expansion of our internal traffic in slaves will abolish slavery. By which incredible folly," he adds, "the Abolitionists alone, in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, gave more votes for Polk than would have elected patriotism, philanthropy, and piety, to the two first offices of the Union; whereas, by the treachery of Abolitionists in clamouring for the plunder and annexation of Texas, *per fas aut nefas*, they have cursed the world with perjury, Popery, slavery, and irreligion, as the *primum mobile* of our national policy during the next four years." I deny emphatically every word of this audacious lie, and charge upon its author the utterance of disgraceful falsehood. The whole policy of the main body of the Abolitionists during the last three years, has been to organise, upon purely anti-slavery principles, a politico-religious party, whose single object it should be to return to the State Legislatures, to the House of Representatives, and to the Senate, as well as to the Presidential and Gubernatorial chairs of the Union, men of tried anti-slavery principles and high character, irrespective of party predilections or antipathies. Of the Liberty party—for so they are designated—it may be truly said they have sacrificed their political opinions, both as Whigs and Democrats, on the altar of humanity and freedom; and, as ministering priests, they are resolved to remain by that altar, until its fires shall have utterly consumed slavery out of the land.

During the late almost unexampled struggle between the great political parties for ascendancy, they have steadily kept aloof from both; but, as their chief danger lay with the Whigs, they being for the most part attached by conviction and sympathy to that body, they felt it to be their duty to lay bare the hollow pretensions of Henry Clay to the suffrages of liberty-loving, humane, and religious people. There was not much danger that any of their friends, at least in New England, would vote for Polk; it became, therefore, necessary, that they should warn them not to vote for Clay. Is Polk a slaveholder? so is Clay. Is Polk opposed to emancipation? so is Clay, "whether it be immediate, gradual, or remote." Is Polk for the annexation of Texas? so is Clay, whenever it can be done securely. Moreover, Henry Clay is a duellist and gambler, and yet he is the god of your correspondent's idolatry! Against this man, and against Polk too, the Abolitionists set up J. G. Birney, a patriot, a statesman, an Abolitionist, and a Christian; and for him the Liberty party have given their votes.

VENEZUELA—SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

As a good deal of ignorance and misapprehension appears to prevail in relation to slavery and the slave-trade in the republic of Venezuela, the following particulars, drawn from official documents, will probably be acceptable and useful to our readers.

On the 14th August, 1810, the Supreme Junta of Caracas issued a decree prohibiting the slave-trade; and, in confirmation of this decree, an article was inserted in the Federal Constitution of Venezuela, promulgated on the 21st of December, 1811, of which the following is a copy:—"The vile traffic in slaves, prohibited by the decree of the Supreme Junta of Caracas, on the 14th of August, 1810, is hereby solemnly and constitutionally abolished throughout the territory of the Union, it being unlawful in any manner to import slaves of any kind, for the purposes of mercantile speculation."

Upon the union of Venezuela with New Grenada, in 1821, under the name of the Republic of Columbia, a law, bearing date the 19th July of that year, founded upon a recommendation of the Venezuelan Congress, was enacted for the abolition of the slave-trade of Columbia, and for the gradual extinction of slavery throughout the republic.

Upon the separation of Venezuela from Columbia, in 1830, a law was issued under date of the 2nd of October that year, in substitution of the law passed by that republic in 1821.

By the law of 1821, all children born of female slaves in the republic of Columbia subsequently to the 19th July of that year, are FREE. The words of the law are as follows:—"The children of female slaves born subsequent to the 19th July, 1821, are free."

From that time the abolition of slavery seems to have been considered as a fundamental principle of the republic. It should be observed, however, in reference to the children declared free by the law of 1821, that they are required to labour for the owners of their mothers until the age of eighteen, as an indemnification for the expenses of their training and maintenance; but, by the law of 1830, the period of service is extended, in the case of all children born of slave mothers after the 2nd October of that year, until they arrive at the age of twenty-one, when they enter upon the full possession of their rights.

The estimated amount of slaves in Venezuela in 1832 was 46,793, of whom 22,139 were males, and 24,654 females; the free people of all colours, 713,809. According to the census of 1837, the number of slaves was 37,689, composed of 17,502 males, and 20,187 females; the free people of all colours, 838,809. The estimated number of slaves, in 1843, was 28,585, of whom 12,835 were males, and 15,727 females; the free people of all colours, 1,088,809.

From the comparison of these figures, which are given on the authority of the British consul residing at Caracas, for the information of her Ma-

jesty's Government, it results that slavery in Venezuela is rapidly approaching its term. No slave has been born in the republic since the year 1821; and no slaves have been imported from Africa, it is affirmed on high authority, since the year 1810, when Bolivar gave liberty to the numerous slaves on his estates.

By the laws of Venezuela it is provided that the republic shall purchase annually at least twenty of the existing slaves, out of funds created expressly for that purpose; that the slaves shall have the right of self-redemption, at a price fixed by the legal tariff for those of the same age and sex, either out of funds saved by their industry, or by advances made on their behalf by other persons; that, in case of ill-treatment by their masters, they acquire the right of selling themselves, at the legal price, to any willing to purchase them; and that the children born of female slaves may be relieved from all obligation of service to their masters on payment of one-half the price for a slave of the same age and sex, as determined by the Spanish tariff.

In criminal cases the slave is protected by law equally with free-men, and their evidence is taken in all cases in the courts of law, except for or against their masters. They are said to be well fed and treated, to be allowed two suits of coarse clothing annually, and to be allowed Sundays and twelve feast-days in the year to themselves. In reference to work, it is said, that it is performed usually by task, which does not exceed in amount two-thirds of that commonly performed by a free labourer.

By the treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela, signed at Caracas the 15th March, 1839, the republic binds itself to preserve in force the provisions of the law of the 18th of February, 1823, which declares all Venezuelans found trafficking in African slaves guilty of piracy, and punishable with death; and all slaves introduced in violation of the law *ipso facto* free.

It is much to be regretted that Venezuela allows the remnants of the slave-system still to desecrate her otherwise free institutions; and that advantage is taken of the fact to decry the measure of the last session, which was designed to exclude slave-grown sugar from the British markets. How far the small quantity of that article which has recently been introduced from Venezuela into the port of Liverpool can be shown to be slave-grown, it is, perhaps, impossible to say; but, supposing it were slave-grown, which cannot be proved, it should be remembered that the laws of that republic have provided for the extinction of slavery, and that the time cannot be far distant when none but free-men shall be found within its borders.

Note.—Those who may wish to pursue the subject further, will do well to consult the *Slave-trade Papers*, Class D, 1839, p. 39; *Ibidem*, Class D, 1840, p. 36; and *Idem*, Class C, 1843, pp. 302—305.

THE LETTER OF MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

Algiers, 13 November, 1844.

(From our Correspondent.)

The letter of Marshal Bugeaud is very inconsistent with the spirit of the paragraph which I sent you last post, extracted from an article of M. Subtil on the African city of *Gadames*. We must, however, have patience. The Marshal is on the eve of leaving Algiers, and it is probable he will not return. Another governor may take another view of the subject. Nevertheless, we must not let the letter of the Marshal pass, especially as it has excited a great deal of attention in France. The *Algérie*, French paper, seems to rejoice in its production, as it is a sort of defiance of all abolitionists whatsoever, and particularly those of England. The marshal, indeed, has the reputation of being very blunt and very frank. It is, perhaps, better to have to deal with such a person than a polished, cautious, pro-slaverist, it being easier to understand him and grapple with him.

I shall take up the letter *seriatim*. The Marshal, like nearly all anti-abolitionists, begins with giving in his admissions to anti-slavery doctrines. "It is," says the Marshal, "only a question of time and opportunity:—" "Nous ne différons vous et moi que sur l'opportunité du moment." This is something gained. It is better than preaching pro-slavery doctrines. But this covers the demon *policy*—that policy which is the constant plea for the most inhuman acts of which mankind render themselves guilty before a just and incensed Creator.

This policy, as to the present subject, is thus explained by the Governor General of these possessions. "Our rule," says the Marshal, "is not well established. Besides, our system of administration is very different from that of France. It is very simple; we have adopted it from the Turks and Abd el Kader. But this simplicity, which costs us so little, is quite ineffectual for the extinction of the traffic of slavery. If, therefore, we would not sacrifice the interests of France, our country, we must for the present leave the slavery question where it is, and make the best of a bad state of things." This is the argument of the Marshal. It simply means "Charity begins at home." The Marshal cannot be philanthropy at the expense of Frenchmen. We merely reply to this part of the Marshal's letter, that he exaggerates the difficulties of maintaining a cordon on the frontier against the importation of slaves into Algeria. The Marshal's government has established a *line of telegraphs*, and it is vaunted that by this adoption of the telegraphic system in Africa not a single criminal can escape. What a pity it is that this telegraph cannot be worked in one of the noblest works of humanity—the extinction of the detestable traffic in human beings! But so it is: the wickedness of man must have its course; and the Marshal will offer no compensation for the thousand razzias and butcheries of human beings inflicted upon Algeria by the French troops—no, none. An idea suggests itself, how does the Bey of Tunis maintain this cordon? He finds no difficulties; there has been no *emprise* on account of the abolition of slavery amongst the Moors or Arabs of that country.

The Marshal then states that, in spite of all the efforts of two great nations like France and England, the traffic in slaves has increased. This I do not believe; but I add also, that, if there be still a very active traffic carried on in slaves, it is because the great powers of Europe and America have never been sincere and united in their efforts. France, especially, has refused her adhesion to the great powers of Europe for the extinction of slavery. However, it would appear the pro-slavery party are now determined to make use of a circumstance of their own creating for the continuance of slavery for ever. Their reasoning is like the following:—"We won't co-operate for the extinction of the

slave-trade. This will make the slave-trade remain stationary, perhaps increase it. We will then use this circumstance of the stationary state, or increase, of the slave-trade, as an argument why we should abandon all ideas of co-operating for the abolition of slavery." This is the argument of Marshal Bugeaud and all the pro-slavery party. As to the co-operation of the great powers, has not John Quincy Adams, in his solemn manifesto, declared that the *United States* government have lately done all in their power for the maintenance and the continual duration of slavery?

The Marshal, however, pushes his objections further. He thinks that, if France were to liberate the Negroes of Algeria, the Arabs would revolt from the French authority. Happily, we have before us the memorial of another Frenchman, which just comes in time to refute this statement. M. Subtil says, in his memorial on the city of *Gadames*—a city situate on the borders of the desert between Tunis and Tripoli, and under the nominal protection of the Porte—which memorial is published in the "*Revue de l'Orient*" of last month—that the Arabs are growing quite indifferent to the possession of Negro slaves, and that now but few slaves arrive from the interior by the large caravans for the markets of Northern Africa. This is a point-blank counter-statement to what the Marshal says of the infinite desire which the Arabs have for slaves. Now M. Subtil should be the better judge, as he has lived for many years, up to a very recent date, amongst the Arabs.

The Marshal then proceeds to the hackneyed arguments in support of slavery in Northern Africa—that the Koran permits slavery, that the slaves are well treated by the Moors and Arabs, and that they are sometimes liberated. What a farce is all this? The Koran, in the first place, permits slavery, but it always encourages the abolition of slavery as a pious work, and this abolition in every manner and to any extent. Then as to the kind treatment of the slaves by the Arabs (*semi-barbarians*) this is a matter of caprice. The only thing you can say is, the tender mercies of the Arabs and Moors of Northern Africa are more tolerable than the Christian sugar-planters of Cuba, or the cotton-planters of the Southern States of the American Union. Did I not inform you of a negress slave, who was a few months ago tied up by the heels, the head downwards, and beaten by her master until senseless? Marshal Bugeaud, however, pretends that cases of cruelty are never heard of in Algeria! So have always pretended the pro-slaverists. The case of this negress slave at Onan has, however, been reported to the French government at Paris.

The Marshal then contradicts the assertion of the African Institute—that there were markets for slaves at Algiers, Oran, and Bona. I believe the Institute never meant to say that there were. All that the Institute meant was, that there were slaves sold in these three cities of the coast, in which the Marshal admits the sales were conducted, though privately. Now the Marshal's admission is worth something, as many Frenchmen in Algiers, with whom I have conversed on the subject, have had the audacity to deny the existence of these sales, and some have gone so far (ashamed of the thing) as to declare that there were no slaves at all in Algeria.

But the most important part of the Marshal's letter is the *postscript*, which, it appears, though the Marshal talks about forgetfulness, is the soul and essence of the matter. This postscript I give you entire:—"I had forgotten one argument. We desire to open commercial relations with the interior of Africa. This project, is it practicable if we deprive those distant countries of a branch of their commerce?" The Marshal, then, will establish commercial relations with the interior of Africa by the reviving of the slave-trade between the coast and the interior! Can anything be conceived more shocking and diabolical? This is to be the result of French civilization of Africa—the end of all the sacrifices of blood and treasure by France in attempting to colonise this country, and the recompense to the natives for the miseries which they have suffered from French occupation? I am, however, sure that the French people will not consent to this; and the letter of Marshal Bugeaud will be treated as it deserves to be—as a miserable failure to prop up a falling cause. After Subtil has told us such good news of the decline of this traffic, and even predicted its near extinction, it is too bad to be told by a French marshal, let him be ever so celebrated in war or wisdom, that this traffic is not to be allowed to die a miserable death as it deserves, excreted by all humane men of every nation under heaven; but that it is to be revived for the benefit of Marshal Bugeaud's schemes of opening commercial communications with the interior of Africa. Besides, this would be very unjust towards the Bey of Tunis, a friendly and neighbouring power. To obtain his object of abolition his Highness must have made many sacrifices, and it is most unjust that a new power, a European and a Christian power, should occasion this generous and enlightened Mussulman prince any additional sacrifice; and that the French should, by encouraging the traffic in slaves, draw off the caravans of the interior from the markets of Tunis, where they now go, not to sell slaves, but to purchase goods for the commerce of Central Africa. This matter ought to form the basis of a protest from our Government: it is an exceptional case. France ought not to be allowed to retain possession of Algeria, if such possession brings, as its immediate consequence, the increase of the slave-trade in Northern Africa.

Home Intelligence.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society having kept in view the proceedings of the Commission of the Free Church in relation to the American Deputation, and finding reason to be dissatisfied with their decision, convened a public meeting of the Society in the City Hall, on the 18th of November, Councillor Turner in the chair. At this meeting the Committee presented an interim report detailing their proceedings in the case; after which it was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, the Rev. G. S. Ingram, Mr. Henry C. Wright, of the United States, the Rev. Drs. Bates and Willis, and the Rev. G. Jeffrey. We are sorry that we have not room for even an abstract of the speeches, some of which were highly animating and impressive. The resolutions adopted were as follows:—

I. That this Society, from its character and objects, is deeply interested

in whatever may affect the progress of the abolition of slavery in the United States of America; where, although the people of this country possess no direct means of influencing the existing state of society, we yet deem it our solemn and bounden duty to embrace every lawful opportunity that may favourably affect public opinion in behalf of Emancipation.

That, with this view, this Society lately took the liberty of remonstrating, in a friendly manner, with the Free Church of Scotland, as did also the Abolitionists of America, on the impropriety and impolicy of knowingly accepting contributions from acknowledged slaveholders, to promote the extension of the Gospel in Scotland.

That this Society is deeply grieved at the indifference with which this important subject appears to be regarded by the Free Church, and fears that that religious body is not sufficiently impressed with the pernicious effects which will undoubtedly result to the anti-slavery cause, from the mere presumption in the United States, that such a large and influential section of the Christian Church in this country is favourable to slavery, from the fact of their receiving the aforesaid contributions from American slaveholders.

That, while this Society desires to cherish the utmost good feeling towards the Free Church, and has no wish to usurp any control or authority over them or any other Church in this matter; nor ever conceived that that, or any other Christian community could, in any degree, be amenable—as is implied in the Moderator's letter of the 1st October last—to this, or any philanthropic society, any more than Judge O'Neal could be supposed to be, for the cruel and despotic sentence passed upon John L. Brown, which this Society, in common with the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, and other bodies remonstrated against; yet we would remind the Free Church, or any other that may receive and retain similar contributions, that *public opinion* is a bar at which, whether we will or not, they and we will be held amenable in regard to such matters; and that the condition of slavery in America, and its abolition in that country, where nearly three millions of our fellow-men are subjected to its degrading yoke, is a great public question of deep interest to the people of Great Britain and the United States, the progress of which will not be permitted to be marred by any body of Christian professors throwing themselves in the way, through accepting the contributions of slaveholders for the propagation of the Gospel.

This Society, therefore, renews its protest against the reception, by the Free Church of Scotland, or any other Evangelical Church, of the contributions of slaveholders; and earnestly implores the Free Church, in a spirit of candour and faithfulness, to return to the donors their blood-stained offerings.

II. That this Society, having observed with unmixed sorrow the deliverance of the Commission of the Free Church Assembly, in regard to holding fellowship with slaveholding Churches and ministers, would deem it matter of the deepest regret should that deliverance be approved and acted on by the ministers of that Church in general, because of its obvious injury to the great cause of the abolition of slavery in the United States, and, it may be, in other slaveholding countries; inasmuch as from that circumstance, arguments, whether right or wrong, would be advanced in favour of slavery, and pro-slavery or slaveholding ministers coming to this country from America, depending on the countenance of the Free Church ministers, would find their way into their pulpits, if not also into those of other denominations; whereby the monstrous system of American slavery, instead of being branded with universal condemnation, would be made to appear in its best colours, so as to render it, if not unobjectionable, at any rate less offensive to the Christian feelings of the British public.

That, entertaining these views, this Society resolves to memorialise the Free Church, and the ministers and Churches of all the other denominations of Christians, to raise their united voices in remonstrance with the Churches of America on this great question of humanity and religion; to record their solemn disapprobation of holding fellowship with slaveholding Churches or pro-slavery ministers, and to exclude all such from their pulpits.

IN THE PRESBYTERY OF GLASGOW, on the 4th instant, the Rev. Dr. Willis brought forward the subject of religious fellowship with slave-holders; and, after some discussion, the following motion was carried unanimously:—"That this Presbytery do overture the General Assembly to take into serious consideration, the question of ecclesiastical fellowship with those churches in America, which are known, or shall be found to encourage slavery; and that due care be taken to instruct deputations (if any) sent to visit the pro-slavery States to avoid such communication with avowed defenders of these practices as may commit our church to any participation in other men's sins."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—POLICY OF THE WHIGS TOWARDS TEXAS.—At a meeting held subsequently to the election of Mr. Polk, Mr. Webster used the following language:—"In the correspondence with regard to the admission of Texas, that project was advocated mainly in order to support what were called the peculiar institutions of this country. It was almost too much to read the comments of Europe upon this ground of argument. An honest man could hardly listen to the preposition that, when morals, religion, civilization, everything respected, were opposed to the maintenance of slavery, America should come forward and declare it necessary to the support of her institutions. This was a question that could not be permanently decided against us to-day or to-morrow. If we could not avert it now by choice of President or Vice-President, we must do it by choice of members of Congress, and by sending our young, strong, and active men, to oppose the admission of Texas, and the perpetuation of slavery. He should shrink from no service to oppose it wherever and whenever he might."

Poor Torrey—A benevolent gentleman, who did much for Torrey's comfort in gaol, and who saw him only a few days before his unlucky attempt to escape, tells us that in his opinion, Torrey cannot live a fortnight in such weather, confined and ironed in a dungeon, and with such a fever upon him. They are murdering him.—*Boston Chronicle*.

MORE VICTIMS.—A Mr. Fairbank and his wife are in gaol in Kentucky, charged with the crime of aiding their fellow-creatures to obtain liberty.

TEXAS AND THE SLAVE-MARKET.—Messrs. J. H. Bondurant and Co., slave merchants at Mobile, inform those who have men, women, and children for sale, that the slave-market will be depressed until Texas is admitted into the Union, after which event they confidently expect to be able to pay liberal prices for negroes.—*Alt. Jour.*

TEXAS.—The following is an extract of a letter from Galveston, dated Oct. 1, received in the city:—"An invasion is expected. Galveston is entirely without defence; and Texas has not a single vessel that can put to sea against the enemy."

Mr. Ashbel Smith, the Texan *charge d'affaires*, had an interview with the Earl of Aberdeen last week, immediately after which he set out for Galveston.

SPAIN.—"I have reason to believe that the British Minister has received renewed assurances of the intention of the Government to pass a law for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that without much delay. The late proclamation of O'Donnell in Cuba, ordering the confiscation of slaves would seem to show that there is some serious intention of fulfilling the promises lately made to our Government. I am also certain that the energy and decision manifested by Mr. Bulwer on this important subject will produce a good effect."—*Correspondent of the Times*.

PORTUGAL.—A motion was made in the Chamber of Deputies on the 29th inst., by Senhor Gaviao, for copies of all instructions given to the Governors of Angola and Mozambique, and the commanders of vessels on these stations. The *Revolução*, in reference to this subject, says, that documentary evidence has been furnished to its editor from Angola, showing that certain authorities of that province were engaged in the slave-trade with entire impunity, but that the naval officers commanding on that station had resisted all efforts to corrupt them, though great exertions had been made for that purpose; and from a recent motion of the Viscount de Sa, calling for a Government inquiry into the conduct of the governors of these African possessions, it was evident that grave suspicions of connivance were entertained."—*Correspondent of Morning Chronicle*.

PRUSSIA.—COLONIZATION.—Berlin, Nov. 25th.—To the four or five places of colonization hitherto proposed, (Texas, the Mississippi, St. Thomas, Brazil, and the Mosquito shore,) another is now added, situate on the west coast of Africa, which causes much attention, because the great Elector of Brandenburg had acquired possession of a spot on that coast. This is Cape Mount, half way between Sierra Leone and the North American negro colony, Liberia, bounded to the south and east by Little Cape Mount, and to the north-west by the river Sugari. This spot was formerly ceded, on the 23rd of February, 1841, to the present proprietors, George Clavering Redman and Theodore Canot, under the protection and assistance of the British naval force, in order to abolish the slave-trade by means of a lawful commerce. The owners have already erected dwelling-houses and other buildings, and built two ships. Mr. Redman is now in Berlin, and is endeavouring to gain friends for the establishment of a colony. He particularly invites attention to the ample revenue derivable from the rich soil, and from commerce; and likewise to the gold mines, which might be worked to advantage, no mining operations ever having been carried on in that country.—*Hamburg paper*.

Miscellanea.

SLAVE-TRADE.—Official advices from Loanda announce that, on the 27th of August last, a launch from the naval station there seized three boats, on the beach to the south of Corimba, laden with slaving provisions; and, on the 8th of September, another cruising launch, after a short engagement with the men belonging to a Brazilian slaver, the brig *Jupiter*, seized six boats, three of them with slaves on board, to the number of ninety-three. About six times that number of slaves were carried off into the woods; but the attempt to ship them was frustrated, and the barracoons on shore were destroyed.—*Times*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

	Donations. £ s. d.	Subs. £ s. d.
Leominster—Newman, George	—	2 0 0
Pritchard, John	—	2 0 0
Southall, E. P.	—	2 0 0
Southall, Samuel.....	—	2 0 0
Clifton—Guillebaud, Rev. P.	5 0 0	1 1 0
Derby—Evans, William, M.P.	100 0 0	
Liverpool—Cropper, John	25 0 0	
Cropper, Edward.....	25 0 0	
Norwich—Birkbeck, Henry	20 0 0	
Borough—Sterry, T.	—	0 10 0
Amwell—Squire, J. H.	—	1 0 0
Worcester—Brewin, Edward	—	1 0 0
Camborne—Budge, John	—	2 2 0
Uxbridge—Illi, Samuel	10 0 0	
Tottenham—Forster, Josiah	—	3 3 0
London—Moxhay, Edward	5 5 0	
Barclay, J. G.	—	1 1 0
Truro—Tweedy, William	1 0 0	

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REID, 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, December 11, 1844.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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

CXXXII. VOL. V.—No. 26.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25TH, 1844.

[PRICE 4d.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN THE DUTCH COLONY OF SURINAM.

It is in no unfriendly spirit that we have resolved to address you on the position which you occupy as slave-holders in Surinam, and the duty which we believe to be incumbent upon you in relation thereto.

In your collective capacity, you hold a large body of your fellow-men, natives of Africa or their descendants, in slavery. You regard them as property; and, as masters and owners, exercise over them an unlimited control. Your will is their law, and the power of enforcing that will is in your own hands. You can coerce labour, and inflict punishment at pleasure. Resistance on their parts, in whatever form it may be manifested, is treated as a crime, the penalty of which is, in all cases, torture, and not unfrequently death. You thus deprive human beings, created like yourselves, in the image of God, of their *personality*. They are no longer men, but *things*. You deprive them of the rights of humanity by refusing them the solace of those relations which constitute the basis and the blessedness of the social state. By law, the husband, so called, may be torn from his wife, the children from their parents, as caprice or interest may seem to require. You despoil them of the rights of labour by denying them the liberty of choice in the selection of their work, by withholding from them the just reward of their toil, and by exacting from them a service, always reluctantly given, under the stimulus of the whip.

This is no exaggerated picture of your claims as slave-holders, nor of their degradation as slaves. But, we ask, is the relation you sustain towards your slaves an innocent one?

Look at its origin in the slave-trade! Had it never existed, slavery would never have been introduced into Surinam. Now that detestable traffic has been pronounced to be criminal by the whole of civilized Europe and America, and is both proscribed and punishable by the laws of the Netherlands as well as those of your native land. By the laws of Great Britain, to which you are still amenable, the slave-trade is declared to be felony and piracy; and until within the last few years, adjudged, by the united voice of the Legislature, to be worthy of death; and, even now, under the mitigated penal code of our common country, involves the penalty of transportation for life. If, then, to enslave men, for the purpose of making them articles of traffic, be criminal, to buy them, for the purpose of continuing them in a state of slavery, cannot be less criminal; and, we would add, to hold them in slavery, either to gratify the lust of gain, or the love of power, is not less wicked. However you may have become possessed of slaves, whether by purchase or bequest, or otherwise, you are not less guilty in holding them as slaves, than were they who originally stole them or their progenitors, or obtained them by other unlawful means: and we would add, in one sense, even more guilty; for you claim their offspring, from the very womb, as your property, and perpetuate the original offence, as far as you can, from generation to generation. We hold that no lapse of time can render right, that which was originally and fundamentally wrong; and that no human laws can justify or render innocent an act which in itself is a manifest violation of the common rights of our humanity. Slavery, however modified or sanctioned, is a crime before God which ought to be immediately abandoned.

Under the Jewish system, not only were men-stealers declared worthy of death, but the purchasers and holders of stolen men were subjected to the same penalty: "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death," Exod. xxi. 16. And under the Christian dispensation, men-stealers are classed with the most atrocious offenders: "The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless, * * * * * for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, * * * * * for men-stealers," 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. Now modern slavery, that which you now uphold, had its origin in this enormous crime, which is thus denounced by the solemn judgment of God, as well as by the common consent of men.

The golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them," is universally binding upon men, because it involves in it the principles of humanity, equity, and justice. We ask you, then, to place yourselves in the position of your slaves, and to inquire, "Is it righteous to deprive you of your liberty, to despoil you of your manhood, and to perpetuate in your innocent offspring the wrongs that have been inflicted on yourselves? Is it equitable to rob you of the fruit of your toil, and to use you for ends into which your interests do not enter, and of which they do not and cannot form a part? Is it humane to coerce labour and enforce obedience by instruments of torture?" We will not offend you, by doubting your answer to these questions: Then, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets."

We have not dwelt on the incidents of slavery as it exists in

Surinam at the present time, because we have been more anxious to fix your attention on the evil itself than upon its adjuncts. It is right, however, that they should be glanced at. We observe, then, that it is a system eminently destructive of human life. The slaves in that colony are rapidly decreasing from excessive toil, privations, and punishments. It is computed that the number of deaths surpasses the number of births at the rate of from three to five per cent. annually. This is a fearful fact, which should make every man tremble who is directly or remotely connected with it. To support a system which destroys human life at so great a rate, is to be guilty of homicide on a large scale, of the terrible future consequences of which we need scarcely remind you. Secondly, it is a system which necessarily involves a great amount of cruelty. You cannot cultivate your estates without having recourse to punishments always severe, and sometimes horrible and atrocious. What is the ordinary mode of coercion? The whip, applied indiscriminately to the bare persons, both of male and female slaves, in which every manly instinct is outraged and every womanly sensibility is treated with brutal contempt. And should your unfortunate slaves, in a moment of irritation or suffering, resist or flee, a body of your own class will sit in judgment on them, and sentence them to be publicly whipped; and by a refinement of cruelty, known only in slave countries, add to their torments by the position in which they are placed to receive the infliction. Stripped naked, both men and women, their wrists and ankles fastened together by cords, and a stick passed between the angles formed by their elbows and knees to prevent their moving, they are thrown on the ground, and there lacerated until the full number of stripes ordered have been well laid on, and their bodies have been excoriated by the application of the whip. And this torture, it is pleaded, is necessary to intimidate and keep your wretched slaves in order. We speak not of the addition of heavy chains and collars in common use to prevent escape from the plantations; of the dungeons in which slaves are incarcerated for various offences; or of the hunting parties which are sometimes formed to recover runaways, and of the murders which not unfrequently occur in the search after them. We speak, however, from a knowledge of facts when we assert the brutal cruelty of the system. You who reside in the colony can corroborate what we have said, and you who reside out of the colony should know it, that your sensibilities may be quickened, and your consciences aroused. Thirdly, it is a system grossly immoral in all its tendencies. It brutalizes the slave, as well as those who administer it. Is the marriage tie respected? Alas, no! every estate is a scene of pollution, the grossness of which would be incredible were it not abundantly attested. The poor slaves have no connubial rights,—they can have none. It is a mockery to call their unions by the sacred name of marriage. For the most part their connexions are promiscuous, and in this respect, in too many cases, the example is set them by those who are, or who represent, their masters. We will not lift the veil further; but we pronounce the whole commerce between master and slave to be in the highest degree immoral and revolting.

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.

How fearful then the responsibility connected with the maintenance of this guilty system! Many of you, no doubt, bear a fair reputation amongst men—many of you endeavour to reconcile your treatment of your slaves with your better feelings—many of you, especially non-resident proprietors, would shrink from the application of the whip by your own hands; and probably, to ease your consciences, send out instructions to your attorney and agents to be humane. But we tell you that they cannot be humane, and return you an income such as you may require at their hands. Without the whip, slavery would be everywhere unprofitable—it could not be sustained; we therefore appeal to you, we implore you, to use the influence and power which you possess to abolish the hateful system at once and for ever. We beseech you to remember that you are Englishmen, and that the laws of your native land utterly condemn every species of slave-holding; and that it forbids you, though residing in a foreign country, under heavy penalties, to

add to your slaves by purchase, or by any other illicit means. It would be a grateful spectacle were you to come forward spontaneously and give liberty to your slaves. Your duty to God and to man requires this at your hands: we would therefore entreat you to vindicate the rights of humanity and the laws of God, by doing this great act of justice. Whatever it might cost you in the way of self-sacrifice, would be amply compensated by the satisfaction it would bring to your own hearts. But would it be a sacrifice to emancipate your slaves? Look at your present position: your slaves are rapidly wasting away—your means are as rapidly decaying—your engagements are heavy—emancipation may save you if you set wisely, promptly, and zealously about it. Good men will cheer you in the work—your own consciences will prompt and approve the effort—and we may hope that the Divine blessing will follow the deed.

Hitherto we have addressed you in your collective capacity, we would now, in conclusion, urge this great duty upon you individually. Are there none amongst you willing to take the lead in this good work? You have illustrious examples in the United States and other countries, of men who have nobly acquitted themselves in this respect, and who have never regretted the act. We urgently request you to give practical effect to our appeal by emancipating, without delay, your numerous slaves; and to aid us in our earnest endeavours to promote the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON,
President.

27, New Broad-street, London,
December 16, 1841.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HELD IN SLAVERY—CUBA. (From the Parliamentary Papers.)

MR. CRAWFORD TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

"Havana, February 19, 1843.

"*My Lord,—I beg leave to inclose herewith copy of a letter which I addressed to the Captain-General on the 11th ultimo, and his Excellency's reply of the 21st, relative to Daniel Kelsall, a free negro, one of a great number more who were many years ago deported from the Bahamas, and retained in slavery upon this island. Since his Excellency's communication, I have not heard further from him upon the subject of Kelsall, but I am induced to think that very great caution will be observed as to his case, it being precisely similar to those who were illegally taken from the Bahamas about the same time, and who, with their progeny, amount to SEVERAL THOUSANDS, toiling in slavery as they have been so long and so many years.*

"I venture to suggest to your Lordship that the vastness of this question and the interest which it involves, as well as the opposition and difficulties which will ever be opposed to claims for the liberation of such unfortunates as this Kelsall, and the rest in parallel circumstances, renders it impossible to deal with it here; and therefore your Lordship will consider of the necessity or expediency of so momentous a matter being made the subject of special negotiation with the mother country, and positive orders being sent here to carry the arrangement which may be come to, into immediate effect. I am thoroughly impressed with the conviction that here we can effect nothing, however just our pretensions, because where the liberation from slavery of so many labourers is involved, the whole power and influence, and I may add, the wealth of the proprietors of the island generally, will be employed to sway the authorities, and of these I very much doubt that even the best disposed would venture to decide for liberty, unless supported by the opinion of the Supreme Government of Spain, favourable to just pretensions and proofs, such as can be adduced, and are in a great state of forwardness at the Bahamas.

"I have good authority for saying that there are many estates in this island where the English language alone is spoken amongst the slaves, thus clearly showing their origin; and I have no doubt that if made subject of negotiation, every one of those unfortunates would be rescued from bondage, wherein they are now illegally suffering.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"Jos. T. CRAWFORD."

"Havana, June 5, 1843.

"*My Lord,—Not having received any farther communication from his Excellency the Captain-General, relative to Daniel Kelsall, since the 21st of January last, to which I adverted in my despatch of the 19th of February, addressed to your Lordship, I wrote again to General Valdes on the 23rd ultimo, reminding him of that poor man's case; and I have now the honour of acquainting your Lordship, that his Excellency has again directed the Governor of Santiago de Cuba to expedite the proceedings which he was ordered to institute so many months ago.*

"The great delay which has taken place goes to strengthen the opinion expressed to your Lordship, upon which I ventured the suggestion contained in my despatch of the 19th February of this year, as regards the whole of the negroes who were brought into this island from the Bahamas, a matter of vast and urgent importance, which, I fear, the authorities of this island will not venture to dispose of without the most positive instructions from the Supreme Government of her Catholic Majesty.

NEW "Under this impression, Daniel Kelsall being one of the unfortunates brought from our islands, I am apprehensive that much more delay will take place, even if means are not devised to defeat our efforts to obtain his freedom and restoration to the Bahamas.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"Jos. T. CRAWFORD."

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. CRAWFORD.

"Foreign Office, July 25, 1843.

"Sir,—I herewith transmit to you a copy of a letter, and of its enclosures, received at this department from the Colonial Office, on the subject of negroes said to have been illegally removed about twenty years ago from the British island of Exuma, near Barbadoes, into Cuba, where they are now supposed to be held in slavery.

"I have to desire that you will make inquiry into the truth of the statement contained in the accompanying papers, and that you will report to me the result thereof, for the information of her Majesty's Government.

"I am, &c.

(Signed)

"ABERDEEN."

[Enclosure.]

MR. STEPHEN TO VISCOUNT CANNING.

"Downing-street, July 14, 1843.

"*My Lord,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you, for the consideration of the Earl of Aberdeen, the accompanying copy of a despatch from Sir Francis Cockburn, with its enclosures, relative to the abduction from Exuma into Cuba, of twelve slaves by a Mr. Gathorne.*

"This transaction appears, from the annexed depositions, to have occurred about twenty years ago; and having reference to the opinion of the Queen's Advocate-General inclosed in Mr. Fox Strangway's letter to this department of the 7th September, 1838, Lord Stanley apprehends that her Majesty's Government is not entitled to demand the unconditional restitution of these negroes by the Spanish Government. I am, however, to request that you will move the Earl of Aberdeen to cause inquiries to be made into the subject, with a view to the restoration to freedom, if practicable, of such of the said slaves, or their descendants, as may still be found in Cuba.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "JAMES STEPHEN."

[First Sub-Enclosure.]

SIR F. COCKBURN TO LORD STANLEY.

"Government House, Barbadoes, June 6, 1843.

"*My Lord,—Lieutenant-Governor Nesbit having received a communication from Mr. Turnbull, in which it was stated that there were grounds for believing that a Mr. Gathorne had some years ago wilfully and wrongfully conveyed a number of his slaves away from Exuma, an island of this colony, and landed them in Cuba, Mr. Nesbit lost no time in directing Mr. Cartwright, a stipendiary magistrate, to make every possible inquiry on the subject, and to forward the result without delay.*

"By the accompanying document, No. 1, received a few days ago from Mr. Cartwright, it appears the suspicions of Mr. Turnbull were but too well founded. By document No. 2, your Lordship will perceive that I have had communication with the Attorney-General of the colony on the subject of Mr. Gathorne's criminal conduct. Whether he is still alive, I have not as yet been able to ascertain; but under any circumstances, it would seem, from the Attorney-General's opinion, the only certain means of furnishing and doing away, as far as is now possible, with the effect of his improper conduct, would be by obtaining, through the Spanish Government, an authority for the restoration of such of the said slaves or their descendants as may still be found in Cuba. I shall avail myself of the first opportunity of sending a copy of this letter and its enclosures from the Attorney-General, for the information of Mr. Crawford, her Majesty's Consul at the Havana, that he may either act thereon at once, or obtain such further information as may facilitate his so doing when further instructed by her Majesty's Government.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "FRAN. COCKBURN."

The Lord Stanley,

&c. &c.

"P.S. No time should be lost in endeavouring to obtain all further information, and more particularly from the men-drivers Minns and Towerhill Darville, mentioned by Mr. Cartwright as residing at Long Island, and present when the abduction of the slaves was perpetrated.

(Signed)

"F. C."

[Second Sub-Enclosure.]

MR. CARTWRIGHT TO MR. NESBIT.

"Exuma, May 2, 1843.

"Sir,—In answer to your request, that I should obtain information relative to the abduction of twelve slaves from this island by Mr. William Gathorne, I beg leave to state that—

"I found out, as directed, a man named Pollidore, living at the west end of the island, who declares that he did not know Mr. Gathorne's people, having lived in another part of the island, and says that a man named Pollidore, who formerly was a slave of Mr. Gathorne's, died at the west end some time in December last, which I find is correct, and presumed this must have been the individual pointed out by Mr. Turnbull, and whose death occurred before I received your communication on this subject, which I only got in the beginning of this year, on my way from this district, by which it was out of my power to procure information before.

"I have since, by making active inquiries, found out a man named Adam Curtis, whose statement bearing on this point, and given in a very intelligent manner, I beg leave to subjoin, as well as the statement of one John Barr, who is also acquainted with the affair, having had a relation carried off with them who is mentioned by Adam Curtis, and, with the child, will make up the number twelve, reported by Mr. Turnbull. Should any further information

on this subject be required, it will be more fully obtained from Driver Minns, alluded to, or Towerhill Darville, now of Long Island, who was in the vessel.

"I have, &c.
(Signed) "HENRY E. CARTWRIGHT.
"Stipendiary Justice."

[Third Sub-Enclosure.]

Declarations of Adam Curtis and John Barr.

"Personally appeared before me, H. E. Cartwright, a Stipendiary Justice of the Peace, this 2nd May, 1843, Adam Curtis, who being duly sworn, maketh the following statement relative to the abduction of slaves from Barratana Exuma by Mr. Gathorne, viz.—

"That at the time of Mr. Gathorne's taking away his slaves, he (deponent) was serving in the capacity of a domestic to Mr. Curtis, of Stocken Island, Exuma, but was at Pudding Point Cut, Barratana, on board a small vessel belonging to his master on the evening when Mr. Gathorne took off his slaves; that he recollects and could identify the following individuals, whom he frequently saw at Barratana.

Murphy.	Neptune.
Hatty (his wife).	Mary (2nd).
Juke.	Polly.
May.	Fanny.
July.	Moses.

All of whom were shipped by Mr. Gathorne on board the schooner *Chosen Favourite*, in which they left Exuma, but cannot recollect any other persons who assisted in the abduction, except Mr. Gathorne and his son, William Gathorne.

his
(Signed) "ADAM CURTIS.
Mark.

"Personally appeared before me, E. H. Cartwright, a Stipendiary Justice of the Peace, this 3rd day of May, 1843, John Barr, who being duly sworn, stateth as follows, relative to the abduction of Mr. Gathorne's slaves, viz.—

"That, about twenty years ago, he happened to be at Barratana, on his way from Nassau to Townhead Exuma, where he saw Mr. Gathorne's vessel, the *Chosen Favourite*, being prepared for a voyage to take away his slaves. The only free person he knows implicated in this abduction was Driver Minns, the pilot, now resident in Nassau; that he could not positively swear to the identity of the negroes, with the exception of his relative Nanny and child, Murphy Stout, and two female children, whose names he forgets.

his
(Signed) "JOHN BARR.
Mark.

"The preceding statements of John Barr and Adam Curtis were made before me by them voluntarily, on the respective dates mentioned. The same being, as far as I am able to judge, fully understood by them.

(Signed) "HENRY E. CARTWRIGHT,
"Stipendiary Justice."

[Fourth Sub-Enclosure.]

"June 5, 1843.

"Memorandum on Mr. Stipendiary Justice Cartwright's letter and enclosure of 2nd May, 1843, relative to an alleged abduction of slaves from the island of Exuma, by a certain William Gathorne.

"The Act of Parliament, 5 Geo. IV., cap. 113, which came into operation on the 1st January, 1825, and which declared the dealing in slaves on the high seas to be piracy, repealed all former Acts relating to the slave-trade, except in so far as they may have been acted upon prior to that date. To authorise, therefore, criminal proceedings to be now instituted against any of the parties implicated in the case in question, it must be clearly shown that the abduction took place after the 1st January, 1825; and as the informations submitted to me are not precise as to dates, it does not appear to me that criminal proceedings can now be maintained. This circumstance will not, however, I think, interfere with the just claim of the persons so abducted to their freedom. For even if they were removed prior to the 1st January, 1825, yet they must have been removed in contravention of the then existing law, 46 Geo. III., cap. 52, under which such removal worked a forfeiture to the Crown; and as the effect of all such forfeitures was freedom to the slaves forfeited, it appears to me that the moment the parties at Exuma were embarked for the purpose of such illegal removal, the forfeiture was complete, and their right to freedom instantly vested, and cannot be barred by any subsequent repeal of the then existing law.

(Signed) "G. C. ANDERSON,
"Attorney-General."

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. CRAWFORD.

"Foreign Office, August 28, 1843.

"SIR,—I referred to her Majesty's Advocate-General Mr. Turnbull's despatch of the 16th June, 1841, and your despatch of the 1st of August of last year's series, together with other communications received at this department from the Colonial Office, on the subject of a number of negroes, natives of the Bahamas, said to have been illegally removed many years ago from those islands, and to be now held in slavery in Cuba. I referred also to that officer a despatch addressed by Mr. Turnbull to Lord Stanley on the 22nd December, 1842, enclosing a mass of depositions and evidence collected by that gentleman at the Bahamas and in Cuba respecting the negroes in question.

"I have now to state to you, for your information and guidance,

that her Majesty's Government would not be entitled to claim as free subjects the negroes said to have been imported twenty years ago into the island of Cuba from the Bahamas, even if identified. The fact of their having been taken away from the Bahamas before the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, would be an effectual bar to a claim of this kind.

"Nor, indeed, would her Majesty's Government have a right to claim such persons on paying compensation to their present owners, unless with the consent of such owners; for at the time of the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act they had quitted the Bahamas, and were within a Spanish colony, to which the law of England does not extend.

"Lastly, I have to acquaint you that the Queen's Advocate has reported that having perused the voluminous evidence collected by Mr. Turnbull at the Bahamas and in Cuba, he has not been able, out of all the numerous cases which Mr. Turnbull inquired into, to discover a single well-authenticated instance of a negro having been imported into Cuba from the Bahamas since the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act.

"I am, &c.
(Signed) "ABERDEEN."

AN APPEAL ON THE INIQUITY OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE: ISSUED BY THE YEARLY MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, HELD IN LONDON, 1844.

THE sins of slavery and of the slave-trade have long and very seriously claimed the attention of the members of our religious society. So far back as the year 1761, this meeting condemned the unchristian traffic in negroes, and enjoined that all who persevered in a conduct so reproachful to Christianity, should be pleaded with, and if they did not desist from it, no longer be considered as members of the society.

From that period to the present, a testimony has been uniformly borne against these abominations, and we have repeatedly felt it to be a duty publicly to set forth the unrighteousness of such practices: and also, from one time to another, to petition our legislature on behalf of those who are so cruelly treated under this system of oppression and wickedness.

Our hearts are afresh affected with sorrow in contemplating the extent to which slavery still exists; and we feel it to be once more our religious duty to plead the cause of these suffering victims of avarice and cruelty, and to advocate the principles of righteousness, mercy, and truth.

Slavery is a grievous sin against God, who is the Almighty Ruler of the universe. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." In his infinite love and goodness, He has mercifully designed that the whole family of man should, without distinction, enjoy both liberty and happiness. But the human race are not only brethren of one family by creation; they are all the objects of that redemption which comes through the Lord Jesus Christ: He tasted death for every man. The light of the Spirit of God shineth upon the hearts of all: "Jesus Christ enlighteneth every man who cometh into the world." The religion which He taught enjoins us to love all men, and to do good to all. His commandment is, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

With the full and free enjoyment of these great inalienable blessings of the gospel, by his brethren of the African race, the slave-holder dares to interfere. He buys and sells his fellow-men, as he does the beasts that perish. He takes possession of their offspring and presumptuously calls them his property, thus preventing the exercise of those parental duties which God in his providence has appointed. The slave-holder exacts the unrequited labour of the slave according to his own caprice or pleasure, cruelly subjecting him to the torture of the whip. Holding and treating man as chattels, he so assumes the control of his will, his understanding, and his other faculties, that he interferes with the free performance of the worship of his Creator, and debars him from the full enjoyment of the gospel of life and salvation. Man, without distinction of clime or colour, is placed on the earth as a moral, responsible being: but the slave-holder deprives the slave of the means of fulfilling the duties which devolve upon him in this character. Man is endowed with talents which he is to employ and improve for the good of his race, and the glory of the gracious Giver; but the slave-holder prevents the cultivation and the use of these talents; and thus frustrates the purposes of Him who bestows them.

Other gross infractions of the Divine law are the consequences of this unrighteousness. The conjugal, parental, and filial affections are cruelly lacerated, and utterly disregarded. The tortures and indignities to which the slave is subjected, depress and debase his mind. But such treatment does not deprive him of the conviction that he possesses the faculties of a rational being: hence a most humiliating sense of his degraded condition is often painfully felt. He sees those who are around him in the full enjoyment of their personal liberty; and his native love of freedom, his conviction that this is also his just and natural right, render his situation intolerable.

This system, by which "great numbers of mankind, free by nature, are subjected to inextricable bondage, hath often been observed," to use the language of this meeting in the year 1758, "to fill their possessors with haughtiness, tyranny, luxury, and barbarity, corrupting the minds and debasing the morals of their children, to the unspeakable prejudice of religion and virtue, and

the exclusion of that Holy Spirit of universal love, meekness, and charity, which is the unchangeable nature and the glory of true Christianity." These evil consequences of slavery, which are thus forcibly set forth by a former generation, are equally descriptive of its effects at the present day; and such we believe will ever be the fruits of this complicated sin.

But a multiplied and an indescribable amount of cruelty and wickedness is perpetrated to uphold and to continue the crime of slavery. To its existence all the horrors of the slave-trade may be traced, which is carried on by the continual practice of falsehood, deceit, and cunning; and which gives rise to and fosters plunder, barbarity, and murder, and the exercise of all the wicked passions of the evil heart of man. The ravages and the wars which have been going on for centuries, for the purpose of procuring slaves; and the consequent death of millions of human beings, are all to be attributed to the upholding of slavery. The heart-rending sufferings on the voyages from the shores of Africa to the countries where slavery prevails, have been often vividly depicted, though these descriptions are far below the reality; and these miseries still continue, the certain effects of such wickedness. May the Lord Almighty, in his infinite power and love, be pleased to hasten the day when they shall cease to exist.

In contemplating these wide-spread calamities, we rejoice with gratitude to the Author of every good, to be able to say that, with very little exception, slavery is abolished by law throughout the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. Other European nations, however, possess colonies in which this crime has long existed. It is estimated that there are about three hundred and fifty thousand slaves in the colonies of France and Holland and Denmark. We observe, with sincere satisfaction, that the subject of slavery is claiming the increased attention, both of the governments and the people of those countries. Spain still holds hundreds of thousands of Africans in cruel unmitigated bondage in her colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, and carries on a dreadful slave-trade to the African shores, to supply the places of thousands who annually die under the cruelties of slavery. It is estimated that in the extensive and fertile empire of Brazil, where the slave-trade still rages to a fearful extent, there are upwards of two millions of slaves.

In the United States of North America, within the limits of the federal government, which professes to be founded on the principles of equality, liberty, and justice, more than two millions and half of slaves are held as property by their fellow-men. In addition to this, an extensive slave-trade is carried on from one part of the Union to the other. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children, sometimes in families, at others by the forced and cruel separation of the tenderest ties of nature, are annually sold as articles of merchandise and sent from the Old States, where they are reared for sale in large numbers, and where the soil has been exhausted by slave labour, to the more newly-settled States in the south-west; there to continue subjected to the wretchedness and the miseries of slavery. What an outrage to all law, moral and divine!

The same system extensively prevails in many of the States on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and in Egypt, with the inseparable appendages of cruelty and tyranny. But what can those who call themselves Christians say to Mahometans, when they have not cleared themselves of the sin? If, on the other hand, they had wholly delivered themselves from this evil, what could they not say, and that with powerful effect, to those States, and to other parts of the world where man is held in degrading bondage by his fellow-man?

This review comprehends a very brief notice of the sufferings of six millions of our brethren, exclusive of the countless thousands who annually die, either at the period of their capture, on their way to the coast, on their passage across the Atlantic, or on their arrival at the destined port. And let it be ever remembered that these miseries are inflicted upon men who are the innocent victims of such injustice.

So long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable ground to expect but that the slave-trade will in one form or another also continue to exist. Armed vessels, to which we as a religious body can give no countenance whatever, have for thirty years been fitted out at an enormous expenditure of money, and the loss of the lives of multitudes thus employed. But the slave-trader pursues his course to as great an extent as when these measures were first attempted, and that in defiance of the efforts of governments, and in utter disregard of humanity and justice.

We therefore feel ourselves engaged, in the love of Christ our Saviour, to call upon all men everywhere, and especially upon those who profess to believe in Him, to do what is in their power, in the spirit of the gospel, to promote the utter and immediate extinction of slavery; to consider what it is their duty to do, as in the Divine sight, to set the oppressed free, and to avail themselves of every suitable opportunity to plead their cause with those in authority. The iniquity of this practice has of later years been much more clearly and fully exposed; and in proportion to the light bestowed on the extent and the enormity of any sin will be our guilt, if we neglect to make use of this light.

We respectfully appeal to the rulers, and to all in authority, in those nations which sanction slavery; and we entreat them to use the influence entrusted to them by effecting the speedy adoption of those measures which would completely accomplish the object in view. We would remind the rulers of the responsibilities attached to them by the high stations which they hold in society. As they dare to do right, it will be much easier to accomplish the work than

they may at present think. In this labour of love, of justice, and of mercy, they may ask for the blessing of God upon their efforts, and humbly trust that He will not withhold it.

We further entreat the intelligent and the humane everywhere; all, indeed, who love their fellow-men, to apply themselves to a patient, full, and impartial examination of the real character and extent of slavery,—to give themselves up to feeling and to pity for the unhappy and innocent sufferers under this system of iniquity.

We earnestly beseech those to whom such an appeal more immediately applies, not to be influenced by prejudice against any of their fellow-men on account of the colour of their skin. All the unrighteous distinction, which is the result of this prejudice, tends to alienate that feeling of brotherhood which ought to prevail throughout the whole family of man. In those countries where it is cherished, it forms one of the greatest barriers to the abolition of slavery and the removal of its injurious consequences. And we believe it to be contrary to the will of God, to deprive any one, on account of a difference of colour from ourselves, of the entire and free enjoyment of all the civil and social rights and privileges of man.

All men may exercise an influence for good, if they act uprightly. We therefore invite our brethren, in our own country and elsewhere, to take a part in diffusing just and correct views of slavery and the slave-trade, and of the dreadful evils inseparable from them: they may thus essentially serve the cause of the suffering and the oppressed. It is as the community at large in any country are brought to act from conviction upon the eternal principles of righteousness, that the governments of such countries are strengthened to enact and to carry out wise legislative measures for the removal of national sins and the increase of the true happiness of man.

We fervently desire that every one who labours in this cause of justice and mercy may be concerned and strengthened to act in the spirit of love, with a sound mind, in Christian firmness, in the fear of God, and in humble, continual dependence on his blessing.

Our hearts turn with pity and with sorrow to the slave-holders. Such are too generally and too mournfully the demoralizing effects of slavery and the slave-trade on those who are involved in this system of unrighteousness, that their consciences become seared and their hearts hardened by a continual familiarity with the circumstances by which they are surrounded. But we remember that the slave-holders also are our brethren. In some instances they may have been introduced into their present situation by circumstances over which they had no control; in others the mind may be more enlightened than it once was, to see the sin of slavery; and then great must be the bitterness of their souls, when their consciences accuse them of living in continual violation of the law of God. If these pages should fall into the hands of a slave-holder, we earnestly entreat him, in the love of the gospel, to be willing that his eyes should be fully opened to see, and his heart to understand, his real position. May the Lord be pleased, by the light of his Holy Spirit, to show him the true character of slavery and the slave-trade, to bring home to his feelings and to his judgment the extent to which he is thus individually involved in these iniquities, and to give him strength utterly to clear himself from them.

May the Father of mercies, in his boundless love and power, direct and bless every effort made to put an end to this iniquity. And may the day be hastened, when violence and oppression shall no more be heard within the borders of Africa,—when slavery shall wholly disappear from the face of the earth.

Signed, in and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, held in London, by adjournments, from the 22nd of the 5th month, to the 31st of the same inclusive, 1844,
by GEORGE STACEY,
Clerk to the Meeting this Year.

THE REV. DR. CHALMERS.

MESSRS. CRUICKSHANK AND DUNLOP, THE SECRETARIES TO THE EDINBURGH EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, HAVE FORWARDED TO THE EDITOR OF THE *WITNESS* THE CORRESPONDENCE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND DR. CHALMERS, IN RELATION TO HIS LETTER TO DR. SMYTH, OF CHARLESTON, INSERTED IN OUR LAST. IT IS AS FOLLOWS:—

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARIES OF THE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY TO THE REV. DR. CHALMERS.

9, Lauriston-lane, 4th Dec., 1844.

REVEREND SIR.—AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE EDINBURGH EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, HELD TO-DAY, THERE WAS LAID BEFORE THE COMMITTEE A PRINTED LETTER, PURPORTING TO BE A COPY OF ONE ADDRESSED BY YOU TO THE REV. DR. THOMAS SMYTH, OF CHARLESTON. THE COMMITTEE ARE INFORMED THAT THIS LETTER IS RECEIVING A MOST EXTENSIVE CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT WILL FIND ITS WAY INTO THE NEWSPAPERS OF THIS COUNTRY. THE COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, DO NOT FEEL THEMSELVES WARRANTED IN ASSUMING, WITHOUT FURTHER INFORMATION, THAT THE LETTER IS AUTHENTIC; AND IT WILL AFFORD THEM MUCH SATISFACTION TO HAVE AUTHORITY FROM YOU FOR MAKING KNOWN THAT SUCH IS NOT THE CASE, AND THUS COUNTERACTING IN SOME MEASURE THE PREJUDICIAL EFFECT ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE, WHICH THEY CONSIDER THE CIRCULATION OF SUCH A LETTER IS CALCULATED TO PRODUCE.

BY DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE, WE THEREFORE ENCLOSE A COPY, AND RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT, AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE, YOU WILL INFORM US WHETHER THE LETTER, AS THIS GIVEN, HAS EMANATED FROM YOU.

WE ARE, REVEREND SIR, WITH GREAT RESPECT,
YOURS VERY SINCERELY,
(SIGNED) ED. CRUICKSHANK,

JOHN DUNLOP,

SECS.
REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., &c., &c.

The Rev. Dr. Chalmers to Mr. Cruickshank.

Morningside, Dec. 5th, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I cannot at present lay my hands on the copy which I retained of my letter to Dr. Smyth; but I believe that the copy which you have transmitted to me is correct in every particular.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,
Edward Cruickshank, Esq. THOMAS CHALMERS.

Mr. Cruickshank to Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

9, Lauriston-lane, 7th Dec., 1844.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—It was late yesterday afternoon when I received your note respecting the letter of 25th September, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Smyth of Charleston; and I have to thank you for replying so promptly to the inquiry as to its genuineness.

I now beg to enclose some extracts from a communication received by an influential abolitionist in England, from the well-known Lewis Tappan, of New York, dated the 15th ult., and which has been referred to the Committee of the Emancipation Society here.

The writer's comments on your letter, although bearing only the authority of an individual, exhibit, I am persuaded, on the whole, a fair representation of the view which is taken of the subject by the Anti-slavery party generally in the United States, and correctly express the extent of their fears as to the unfavourable influence likely to be exerted, on the American mind especially, by such a letter.

Great importance unquestionably attaches at the present moment to any public manifestation of opinion on the part either of the Free Church of Scotland collectively, or of any of its more eminent members, respecting any matter which may involve the sacred interests of civil and religious liberty, and perhaps above all, slavery, which so signally involves both. Before your letter, therefore, to Dr. Smyth, with the relative extracts from Mr. Tappan's, be published here, as I have reason to believe it shortly will, whether at the instance of our Emancipation Committee or not, I cannot but feel very desirous that you should have the opportunity of making such explanations or additional remarks as you may think, under these circumstances, desirable, for preventing any misunderstanding of your meaning in the letter, or of your view of that momentous question at issue in the growing conflict between American Christianity and American slavery.

I need hardly add that your wishes as to the publishing of any communication with which you may favour me, shall be carefully attended to.

I am tempted, before concluding, to refer to the hope you express that the resolutions of the Commission of the Free Church may "prove satisfactory"—satisfactory, that is, as I understand it, to Dr. Smyth and his slaveholding brethren in the Southern States. May I take the liberty of reminding you that, if satisfactory to them, those resolutions must be far indeed from satisfactory to the best friends of the slave. What was expected from the Free Church was at least a faithful remonstrance with her sister churches of America, on the sin of slave-holding, an earnest reproof of guilty conduct,—not a partial and palliating deliverance intended merely to satisfy.

I am, Rev. and dear Sir, yours very respectfully,
(Signed) ED. CRUICKSHANK.

Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

Mr. Dunlop to Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

Randolph Cliff, Dec. 9, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I enclose two publications connected with American slavery ("American Slavery as it is," and "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery") which have been put into my hands with the view of being transmitted to you; and I trust their perusal may be necessary in inducing you to review the opinions which you have expressed in respect to the momentous question to which they refer.

I remain, sincerely yours,
J. DUNLOP.

Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

Rev. Dr. Chalmers to Mr. Dunlop.

Morningside, Dec. 12, 1844.

My Dear Sir,—I beg to thank you for your publications, of which I propose to make a study as soon as I am disengaged from the load of my present engagements. But I should like you to be aware that the engrossing duties of a winter class will scarcely admit of a full and satisfactory attention to other than professional subjects during the continuance of the session.

Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,
THOMAS CHALMERS.

J. Dunlop, Esq., 7, Randolph Cliff.

[The day after the last communication was received, the Secretaries waited on Dr. Chalmers. They were very courteously received; and the Doctor, although repeating his inability to pursue the subject at present, in consequence of his present engagements, strongly and earnestly declared his anti-slavery feelings, and expressed his intention of fully considering the matter before the next meeting of Assembly. E. C.
J. D.]

THE FREE CHURCH.—SENTIMENTS OF THE MODERATOR, THE REV. HENRY GREY.

(To the Editor of the *Witness.*)

SIR,—I feel that, having been called officially to convey the sentiments of others on an important subject, I may be liable to some misapprehension, as to what are my own. It may have been right for our brethren passing over to America, and carrying no particular instructions whither they were to go, or how they were to proceed, in reference to slavery, to open their mission with friendly overtures, preparing the way for Christian expostulation with professing Christians on a subject on which we find so many there implicated in gross practical error. It may have been well for us to put our-

selves in such a position as may give weight and influence to our arguments, in determining the well-disposed, and strengthening the good purposes of the wavering. It may be well also, that we should have acknowledged the force of their temptations, and the difficulties that their circumstances threw in the way of their doing right, in respect of the great moral duty in question. But in regard to the matter itself, there is no room for doubt or hesitation, as to the part we are to take, or the side to which we necessarily belong. No plausible presentation of their case as slave-holders—no flattering consideration of ours, as Free-Churchmen, can bring us a hair's breadth nearer to each other. We must necessarily condemn their position, and must proffer them the help of our strong conviction and urgent representation of what religion demands in their situation. We find the higher and purer class of professors among themselves, the body of undoubtedly Christian people (chiefly found, in the Northern States, that have thrown off slavery,) engaged in a struggle against this crying enormity—feeling their country dishonoured, and its Christianity debased by its existence among them. They are bearing obloquy and scorn in the righteous cause, and have the bitter array of worldly selfishness banded against them. Is it for us, if we have not stood, or cannot keep altogether aloof, to join the powerful against the weak—to strengthen the hands of the oppressor in crushing the afflicted? Is our cause of the kind that should seek its support among the most disreputable and reprovable classes of the Christian community.

We are not to ask, in our time and state of society, what kind of thing slavery is. What was it that banished it in former times from every country worthy to be called Christian throughout Christendom? What renders it so odious within our own shores, that no one touching them is suffered any longer to bear its name? We are not so far behind in our Christianity as to need to learn over again the anti-slavery lesson taught by Pope Gregory's missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, and renewed by them again when rude Danish invaders had inundated them with a brutish and barbarous population. In what country of the world, in its western or its eastern churches, has slavery withheld the humanizing, purifying influence of Christianity? The very babes of the dark ages, while they were unsophisticated by our modern spirit of keen mercantile cupidity, could have been our teachers in this matter. This revival of a sin of pagan times can find no defence or apology from the gospel; and it is strange that any, sprung from a Christian ancestry, through so many centuries and generations, should think of apostolic times as affording the best sanction for the most unchristian of practices. It is as if a traveller should, in some distant land, light on a community of professing Christians, who held polygamy among the higher classes, and infanticide among the poor, in the list of their legal institutions, and who, on being questioned, as to the Christian character of these usages, should justify themselves on the plea that they did not find these things decidedly spoken against in the New Testament.

If Christian missionaries may be called to grieve over such practices, as not yet entirely extirpated from a land that has only recently received the gospel, as in the heathen cities where Paul first preached, what should be said of them if found revived in a highly civilized society, where Christianity had been enjoyed in a pure and enlightened form for a course of ages? But are these customs more abhorrent to the genius of our holy religion than man-stealing, or than buying and selling men as merchandise for gain? Or are the consequences incident to such a state of things more corrupting and abominable than invariably attend an extensive and uncontrolled slavery?

I will not speak of the enormous insolence of the American slave code in many of the States, as coming from men who would admit the authority of the commands, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and, "Do to others as thou wouldest they should do to thee," or of the flagrant profaneness and profligacy common where the system is in full operation; but of the simple fact, that three millions of people are kept in forcible bondage, under a proportionably small community of masters, whose business in life is to exact their labour, and to turn them, and all they can extort from them, into property for themselves. Truly we may well say, "Their gold is cumbered; the rust of it shall eat like fire; the cry of the kept-back hire of those that have reaped their fields hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

I do not find much force as an argument in the retort, that they were not without our concurrence and example in this sin, and that we ourselves have but recently wiped off the reproach it has fastened upon us. For why, being partners with us in sin, have they not been sharers also in our instruction and in our repentance? From the time that the enormities of our slave-trade and slavery-administration became flagrant, no sin in which we were involved as a nation lay with such grievous weight on our national conscience as this,—nothing in which we could feel ourselves to be parties through our Legislature, cut so deeply into the feelings, or so pungently exercised the mind of the Christian community. There was long a strongly convinced and earnestly protesting minority against the crime in our own land; which, if it does not clear away our sin as a country, at least exonerates those who struggled against it, and held out the light of truth to all who were willing to follow it. Why did our American friends not learn from this page of the example that was set before them? They did not love the institution simply because it was English; on the contrary, if they had not learned to love it for its own sake, that would have been a prevailing argument for rejecting it.

For those who, like myself, have lived through so large a portion of our home conflict on this question,—who have felt and laboured, desponded and revived,—and finally, through God's mercy in answer to many prayers, have eventually triumphed,—nothing could be more abhorrent to our feelings than to lose the things we have wrought, and go back in any form to the sin and error we have forsaken. I have, in my humble sphere, done what my small measure of influence and ability enabled me to do in this cause, for the last forty years. I have signed every petition to Parliament, in the negro's cause, and engaged as many as I could influence from the pulpit, and in all other ways, to do the same. I have seen some of the wealthy and worldly among my hearers withdraw from my ministry, in some cases with violent disgust and indignation, because of the unpalatable truths set before them. For several years before our own emancipation, I, with my family, abstained from the purchase and domestic use of colonial sugar, on account of the guilty mode of its production. I cannot, in my case, now be supposed to slight or desert the principles on which, upon strong conviction and deep sense of obligation, I have heretofore acted.

Having anxious inquiries addressed to me by the friends of our Church's cause in England, as well as from old anti-slavery associates there and nearer home, I am anxious to give them this assurance, through your paper, of my unchanging adherence to my settled and long-avowed principles; in which I trust I shall not be found to stand apart in any important degree from the great body of my brethren of the Free Protestant Church. If we made a stand for our own Christian liberties and privileges, are we not engaged to be also friends of the Christian and civil liberties and privileges of the rest of mankind?

I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,
HENRY GREY.

24, Warriston Crescent, 17th Dec., 1844.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 25, 1844.

By a copy of the *Witness*, which has been forwarded to us, we find that public attention in the north is already awakened to the position assumed by Dr. Chalmers, in his letter to Dr. Smyth, of Charleston. It appears from a correspondence inserted in that paper, and copied from it into our own, that the Secretaries of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society (Messrs. Dunlop and Cruickshank) have applied to the Doctor, to know whether the letter was genuine, and that he has acknowledged it. It appears, also, that these gentlemen have furnished him with some works on American slavery, and that he has promised to study the subject so soon as the pressure of his winter engagements will permit—at all events, before the next meeting of the Free Church General Assembly. We observe these prompt movements of the Edinburgh Society with great pleasure, and we are not at all dissatisfied with the attitude taken by Dr. Chalmers. His language implies an acknowledgment that the question raised is one on which he has not thoroughly reflected, and that his mind is open to the influence of further consideration. We cannot entertain a doubt of the issue to which such consideration will lead him.

We cannot speak in terms equally satisfactory of the course pursued by the *Witness* itself on this interesting and important occasion. With quite as much reason, we suspect, as Dr. Chalmers, to confess an inadequate knowledge of the subject, the editor of this journal does not imitate the discretion of that eminent divine in taking time for consideration. He rushes at once into the battle, and volunteers a lengthened and elaborate opinion, as though he would occupy at once the fastnesses of the public mind, and close up, before the discussion can begin, all avenues to a conclusion different from his own. As an editor of a public journal, this writer might well have waited till some other parties had stated their sentiments, rather than have so soon (like him in the proverb) shot his own bolt. His temper, we regret to say, is scarcely better than his discretion. He not merely taunts the abolitionists of America with "bad metaphysics," but stigmatizes them as "injudicious men," whose "violence and absurdity" make them "do immensely more mischief than good;" and who, "by their extremeness," "set a fool's cap on a good cause." Expressions like these are very far from congruous with the spirit of grave discussion, and are adapted to win little confidence for those who employ them. Least of all can they be palliated in a writer who knows so very little of a subject on which he has, with such unnecessary haste, written so long an article. He sets out with one of the grossest pieces of ignorance of which the editor of a public journal could well be deemed capable. He thinks the question of religious communion with slaveholders is in this country entirely new, imported from "the transatlantic abolitionists in the course of the last half-year," and, consequently, "curious for its novelty." He evidently does not know that, with the Society of Friends, this has been a public and practical rule for many years. He is equally unacquainted with the fact that in the great Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, the subject was expressly brought forward, and resolutions, after full discussion, adopted upon it. One of these resolutions was in the following terms:—

"That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit

of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade."

The entire series of resolutions was extensively circulated among ecclesiastical authorities, including certainly those of the church of Scotland, as the Free Church would also have been included, had it been then in existence. For many months afterwards the subject engaged the attention of many religious bodies in Great Britain, whose proceedings were from time to time published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and always in harmony with the resolution above recited. After all this it is somewhat too bad to find a public journalist stigmatizing the question as "curious from its novelty." If the editor of the *Witness* does not possess a more competent knowledge of matters of public notoriety, he should write more cautiously, and ask advice of persons better informed than himself.

As might be expected from such an introduction, the staple of the article is altogether inconclusive and unsatisfactory. The writer begins by identifying the punishment of transportation with slavery, in order to show that some kinds of slavery may be just. But the annexation of the term slavery to a state which, although it is one of coercion and the partial forfeiture of social rights, is nevertheless broadly distinct from it, can answer no purpose but to mystify a subject otherwise sufficiently plain. Penal coercion and forfeiture of rights is not slavery, and no inference can be drawn from one to the other. The writer expatiates most freely, however, in references to holy writ, and says much about the express sanction of slavery contained in the Old Testament, and the absence of all prohibition of it in the New, as well as that mere entity of the imagination, the "close and affectionate fellowship which Paul held with slaveholders." The American slaveholders will cordially thank the *Witness* for such a representation. But let us reply to all that the writer says upon this subject, by presenting to him and to the public the following extract from the celebrated speech of the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson (whose meritorious services in the cause of abolition he so well remembers), delivered at the meeting of the Edinburgh Society for the abolition of slavery in the year 1830.

And here, sir, I must be permitted to say a little on the argument for slavery drawn from the Holy Scriptures. Our opponents say, first, that slavery was permitted in the Old Testament; and, secondly, that it is not forbidden in the New.

Now, sir, I shall not stop to point out the difference that subsists between slavery in our colonies and slavery among the ancient Jews. I will grant that slavery was permitted under the Old Testament dispensation. But what then? The permission was given by Him who is the great proprietor of all, to answer his own especial purposes in the management of that peculiar people, among whom the practice was allowed to prevail. He might do the same thing just now, if it seemed good in his sight. But has He done so? Can the slave-holders produce any warrant for making property of their black brethren, and reducing them to the condition of slaves? If they have any warrant, let them show it, and we will bow submissively to the will of Heaven. Show me a case where a man, under the Jewish theocracy, stole his neighbour and kept him as his property, without the sanction of the Almighty, and yet was approved of in this by the Almighty, and so far as this part of the argument goes, I contend no more. On any such case, however, I defy the most learned of our antagonists to descend. And if slavery obtained in consequence of a divine appointment, or a divine permission, we can no more justify our maintaining slavery, when we can plead no such appointment and no such permission, than we could justify ourselves for sending forth an army to destroy the inhabitants of any country on the continent, who had not made war against us, merely because the Israelites, under the authority of God, went forth to slay and to exterminate the Canaanites. This appears to me quite sufficient to set aside the argument deduced from the Old Testament. When our opponents have recourse to the existence of slavery among the Jews, they must allow us to have recourse, also, to the reasons for it that are assigned in the divine record, which they so triumphantly refer to.

As to the New Testament, I here concede, not that slavery is not forbidden—but that it is not forbidden expressly, or *totidem verbis*. Still this is nothing to the purpose. It is just in conformity to the wise and prudent mode which the first teachers of our religion followed, under divine direction, in preaching the gospel. They did not denounce every iniquitous practice that prevailed in their day, and rebuke those who were addicted to it. They did not intermeddle with existing institutions by name, point out their errors, command them to be abolished, and prescribe what should be substituted in their place. They were divinely taught to avoid this, which would have stirred up immediate opposition to Christianity, and given its enemies a handle for representing it as hostile to the obligations of civil life and political government. Their general plan was to proclaim such doctrines, and to inculcate such precepts as, when believed and obeyed, would bring every species of injustice and wickedness to a speedy termination. Of this I can produce many examples. Did the apostle Paul attack Nero, the great oppressor and man-slayer of his day? No; but he taught a religion which exposed Nero's tyranny to merited abhorrence, and which, if Nero had embraced it, would have put an end to his crimes. Did Paul tell husbands that they should not keep their wives as slaves, which these really were? No; but he gave them such lessons as plainly condemned that tyranny, and instructed them to treat their wives as companions, with tenderness and love. Did he take notice of and prohibit the horrible custom, at once legal and prevalent, of parents putting to death their sickly and deformed children; of their scourging, and even killing their offspring at their pleasure, and without there being any appeal against their barbarity; of their selling their sons, which they were empowered to do three times, whereas they could only sell a slave once? No; but he laid such injunctions on parents as distinctly and forcibly demonstrated those things to be contrary to the will of Heaven, and enforced a conduct towards their children with which all such

treatment was at irreconcilable variance. This was the way in which the appointed promulgators of the gospel proscribed and interdicted those practices I have adverted to; and in the same way it proscribes and interdicts slavery. Its preachers did not say to slaveholders or to legislators, "You must immediately set all slaves at liberty!" But they said what was tantamount to this, and what could not but be received as communication from the great Ruler of the world, without producing that effect. It is said in the New Testament, as it had been said in the Old, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;"—every man being there affirmed to be our neighbour; and if we love our neighbours as ourselves, can we keep them as slaves? It is said, "Do unto others as you would that others should do to you;" and do we follow this golden rule, or do we not despise it, when we make others slaves? It is said over and over again, that all men are our brethren; and is it a token of brotherly affection—is it not a contempt of the very phrase, when we retain any one who is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh in the condition of a slave; and to quote no more, look at the injunction which the apostle Paul lays upon those who were in possession of slaves, and upon all who stand in the relation of masters. "Masters," says he, "give unto your servants that which is just and equal;"—"forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there any respect of persons in him." And if masters give that which is just and equal to their servants, will they not first of all give them their freedom? especially when an appeal is made in the way of motive, to Him who is the sovereign Lord of both, and who has no respect of persons. And then, sir, what are the doctrines of Christianity? The first and fundamental doctrine is, that we are all on a level in the sight of God, whether we are black or white in the complexion, whether we are masters or slaves—all on a level in our sinfulness and liability to perdition—all on a level in our absolute need of the grace which is revealed in the gospel—all on a level as to the interpretation of Jesus Christ, who died upon the cross, that he might be for salvation to the ends of the earth—all on a level as to the faith we must cherish, and the hopes we may entertain, and the character we are to cultivate, with a view to heaven—all on a level as to the whole of that dispensation of mercy which has been established by the Redeemer, in whom, we are expressly told, there is "neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." And can we ever dream of the lawfulness or the sinlessness of making that man our slave, or of retaining him in slavery, buying and selling and treating him as a beast of burden—for whose soul, ay, and body too—both are redeemed by the gospel—Christ shed his infinitely precious blood, and who is entitled to look forward with ourselves, privileged as we are, to the blessedness of an eternal world? Does not the whole spirit and genius of Christianity—do not all its truths and precepts and prospects frown upon slavery as a system of rebellion against God, and as one of those very fabrics of evil, which it was intended to overthrow? I might easily have enlarged on this view. But I flatter myself I have said enough to show that those who take shelter under Christianity, as if that afforded any countenance to the slave system, are either ignorant or regardless of that revelation of divine mercy—that when they appeal to the Scriptures, as sanctioning what they are so unwilling to renounce, they do nothing less than put a blasphemous commentary on the contents of that sacred volume. And it is worth mentioning, that the subject was practically viewed in that light by many eminent persons in the earlier ages of the church. For instance, Constantine exercised his authority in facilitating the manumission of slaves, allowing the ceremony to be performed on the Lord's day, because he considered it a religious or Christian act. Gregory the Great emancipated his own slaves, and encouraged others to do the same, on the principle that our Redeemer took upon him our flesh, in order to deliver us from the bondage of sin; and that, therefore, we should give back freedom to those whom the law of nations had deprived of it. Many bishops did the same thing, on the same or on similar grounds. They did this, not under the gradual influence of the gospel, but from the knowledge and conviction that it is directly hostile to slavery, and that its true and enlightened votaries cannot consistently hold human beings in bondage.

To this extract we may add a few words taken from the Appendix to a sermon preached by the same distinguished divine two years before, in which he lays down the then novel principle of immediate abolition in the following terms:—

I address myself to those who profess to be Christians, and to take their maxims and rules of conduct from the Bible, and I ask them whether they believe that slavery implies *sin* on the part of those who impose it on their fellow-creatures? If they answer in the negative, I say again, that with such I am not at present expostulating or reasoning. But if they answer in the affirmative, and allow that moral guilt attaches to the system of slavery, then I would have them to explain the grounds on which they would justify perseverance in that system, or defend themselves for giving it their countenance and support. Were we consulting about the propriety of terminating any commercial or political arrangement, there might be doubts entertained as to the thing itself being accomplished at all, or as to the best period for accomplishing it; fact might be set against fact, and argument against argument: and such calculations might be employed on either side as had no reference to the Bible or the Decalogue, and the whole matter might be settled the one way or the other without sacrificing a single precept of the Divine law. The moment, however, that a transgression of the Divine law, or, in one word, *sin*, is confessed to characterise any action, whether it be the action of individuals or of nations, that moment all worldly or secular reasoning is precluded; no question of pecuniary loss or gain is admissible; a slow or reluctant abandonment of what God forbids is nothing better than continued rebellion against him: and the only course for a good and pious mind to pursue is an instant, and total, and uncompromising renunciation of the practice or the deed, with whatever inconveniences and with whatever losses the renunciation may be attended.

How the utterer of these eloquent words would have acted in the present case, can scarcely be matter of question. Religious communion with slaveholders is not practically the question now that it was fourteen years ago. Within this period much light has been thrown upon the subject of slavery, and many appeals have been

made to the consciences of slaveholding professors. It is not so much the mere fact of slaveholding that is now to be reprehended, as a tenacious persisting in it, notwithstanding evangelical appeal and remonstrance; and these being resisted, what further means has a brother professor of testifying against the crime, than to withhold such intercourse as might recognise the Christian standing of those whom he feels it his duty to rebuke? To do otherwise with his light, would be to make himself partaker of other men's sins. With the slaveholding professors of the United States all means of persuasion have been tried, and have been laughed to scorn; and it is time they should be made to understand that, in such a course, the tokens of brotherly recognition must be withheld.

We cannot conclude our notice of this subject without expressing our sincere gratification at the letter of the Rev. Henry Grey, which, also from the columns of the *Witness*, we have inserted in another place. Mr. Grey has, in past years, been a warm friend to the cause of abolition, and we trust the expression of his opinion now will have great weight with his brethren.

THE West India mail has brought us the *finale*, as we may hope, for the present, of the unquiet proceedings in British Guiana. After a great deal of bluster, and a most terrific air of hostility towards the Missionaries, these estimable men have nothing established against them, and may be said to be acquitted by their very adversaries. The sheriff of Berbice, who libelled them at the county meeting, has thought proper to make no response to the public call which was made for the evidence by which his allegations could be sustained. The morning after the county meeting a trusty police messenger was despatched from estate to estate, to see if the people were not unsettled from labour; and in every instance he brought back the reply, "Gone to work." The day following a Berbice newspaper published a tale of riot as instigated by the Rev. J. Roome, at Ithaca; but this rumour is followed by no sheriff's inquiry, and is contradicted after twelve days by the Rev. A. Riach, the champion of the planter party. A few days more, and a fire breaks out in Demerara, which is recklessly imputed on the instant to the hand of an incendiary, and the influence of the Rev. C. Rattray. In this case a sheriff's inquiry was instituted, and it issued in an official declaration that the cause of the fire was purely accidental, adding to this that the conduct of the peasantry on its occurrence was most praiseworthy, and that the most active man in endeavouring to put a stop to the flames was one of Mr. Rattray's principal teachers. The *Guiana Royal Gazette*, which gave currency to the groundless charge, fully acknowledges its mistake, and professes a pleasure in doing so the sincerity of which we do not call in question; but we must be allowed to remind the editor of that journal that the good name of his neighbours should be handled with a little more care, and the information of his correspondents received with a little more caution. The informant, it appears, was a Mr. Visser, one of the proprietors of a neighbouring estate, to whose statement before the sheriff that he told the editor of the *Gazette* no more than that he suspected incendiarism, that gentleman replies by a flat contradiction. Leaving these parties to settle this quarrel between themselves, we hope they will both of them in future be more cautious, and not again diffuse over the whole world a charge of incendiarism against respectable men, at the very best several weeks before any contradiction of it can appear, and in many places which no contradiction of it will ever reach. The Missionaries, thus acquitted, even by their adversaries, of all cause of blame, have pursued their course of opposition to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances, by the publication of an address to the proprietors, attorneys, and managers of estates in the county of Berbice, justly stated by the *Congregational Record* to be "moderate, explicit, firm, and respectful." We have given it entire (omitting, at least, only some quotations from Adam Smith) in another column.

By the Trinidad papers we find that Lord Stanley has declined to recommend her Majesty to sanction the Immigration Loan ordinance, "until he shall have been put in possession of certain specific information on the subject of the increased taxation that may be consequent on the passing" of it. His lordship also recommends a further attempt to obtain immigrants from Africa, thinking, no doubt, that his late measures at Sierra Leone may have the effect of coercing some poor creatures into the emigrant ships, but also extending the power of the emigration agent to the Gambia.

The papers from Jamaica reveal to us a little secret concerning the eager haste of Lord Stanley in ordering 5,000 Coolies to that island. It seems that some large proprietors and mortgagees in London offered to the Colonial Secretary their guarantee for the 75,000*l.* unprovided for, assuming the consent of the Jamaica Legislature to the bargain! We agree with the *Falmouth Post* in thinking that these forward gentlemen have been properly treated.

In Saint Lucia, we are sorry to say, things are not quiet. While proceedings are in course of adoption against some of the instigators of the late riot in Castries, and two persons (mulattoes), named Purcell and Jojotte, are charged with attempting to excite the peasantry by stating that the Government intended to reduce them again to slavery, further resistance to the law has been manifested by some men employed in repairing the roads. Summonses refused, policemen resisted, soldiers called in aid, prisoners rescued, and an unhappy man shot, are the substance of the story. We trust it will be given to those in authority to conduct affairs of this sort with true wisdom. In such a state of the population we cannot but think it of great importance that the governor of the respective islands should be at their posts, and that the actual government should not be left,

as in their absence it is, to the president of the council—almost always a planter, and thus necessarily disqualified for conducting affairs in tranquillity. There is reason to fear that much mischief has already sprung from the rule of planter-presidents; and we are very sorry to learn from our correspondent at St. Christopher's that the evil is increasing. It appears that both Mr. Drummond Hay, of Tortola, and Major Graham, of Nevis, have obtained leave of absence; and our correspondent states that every one of the Leeward Islands, excepting Antigua, the residence of the Governor-in-chief, is now in the unquiet and dangerous predicament we have indicated above.

It is now some time since we published, from the Parliamentary papers, an account of the condition and treatment of the slaves in the colony of Surinam, at which, we are sure, the heart of every humane person must have sickened. A grievous aggravation of the state of things there arises out of the fact, that, although the colony is Dutch, a large part of the proprietors of estates are English. In the Surinam Almanack there is annually given a list of the estates under cultivation, with the names of proprietors and other particulars. In casting our eye over this document for the present year, we are met by the following names—O'Ferrall, Young, Leach, Cockrell, Lyon, Frazer, Conolly, Balfour, Tyndall, Christie, Beasley, Ferris, Parry, Hamilton, White, Hayward, Herbert, Cameron, Bent, Austin, Wentworth, M'Leod, Caddell, Case, Cook, Macdonald, Smith, Campbell, Mackintosh, Taylor, M'Bean, Harrie, Wilson, Robertson, Gray, Carstairs, Cruickshank, Nicholson, Cruden, Gordon, &c. In the hands of proprietors of clearly British names we find no less than seventy-one estates out of nine hundred and twenty-one, producing cotton, sugar, and coffee, and cultivated by about 7,000 slaves. Some portions of the colony appear to be almost entirely British property. It is clear, therefore, that in the acts of injustice and cruelty daily perpetrated in Surinam our countrymen have a large share, that they are to a considerable extent responsible for the perpetuation of the system of slavery, of which injustice and cruelty are inseparable elements, and that they possess an influence which might be most beneficially directed to its extinction. Upon a full consideration of the case, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have adopted an address to British proprietors of estates in Surinam, which appears in our columns to-day, and to which it may be hoped serious attention will be given by the parties concerned. From the high character and station of many of them—some of them are even connected with the Government—we cannot believe, until evidence which we shall deeply regret to receive shall be afforded, that anything more can be necessary than respectfully to submit the facts of the case to their consideration.

In continuation of our extracts from the Parliamentary papers, we present to-day some important correspondence respecting British subjects held in slavery in the island of Cuba. It is already known to our readers that the number of such persons is very large (amounting, it is believed, to several thousands,) that the individuals are easily identified, and that vigorous efforts were made by our late consul at Havana, Mr. Turnbull, to bring their condition to the notice of the British Government. The same course has been pursued by his successor, Mr. Crawford, and the despatches which we now insert redound highly to his credit. We wish we could say they had met with the success which in our judgment they deserve. Our heart sinks within us, however, when we turn to the despatch of Lord Aberdeen, which terminates the correspondence. On the authority of the Queen's Advocate, he lays down the principle, that the fact of a slave's having been taken away from a British colony before the abolition of slavery is an effectual bar to his being claimed as a free British subject; and he seems to think that this settles the question. It appears to us, however, merely to evade it. The question, in our judgement is, not whether a slave in Cuba can be claimed as a free British subject, but whether he can be claimed as a British subject at all: we are quite willing that he should take his chance of freedom when he touches British soil. Now the removal of a slave from a British to a foreign colony was made unlawful by statute in 1810; and it has always appeared to us that, as British subjects unlawfully removed, their unqualified restoration can be claimed. We deeply regret to find that the Earl of Aberdeen has come, for the present, to a different conclusion; but the matter cannot be lost sight of. The country will not permit to be thus quenched in despair the hopes which were beginning to arise in the hearts of not a few children of oppression and sorrow.

We have given a few extracts from our American papers and correspondence. In the latter, a fear is expressed that the annexation of Texas may be effected during the winter by a *coup de main*. Some comments have been made on the letter of a Texan, containing observations founded on the assumption that the new president of Texas, Anson Jones, is hostile to the project; we see, however, that in the *Liberator* this is declared to be "all a mistake." President Jones is, according to that paper, favourable to annexation.

It appears that the new victims in the South are not Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks, but the Rev. Calvin Fairbanks and Miss Webster; the latter being a respectable young lady of Massachusetts, engaged as teacher in a boarding school, and reported to be a niece of the Hon. Daniel Webster. We have given the details of this cruel outrage in another column.

We lay before our readers with much pleasure the following letter, announcing the gratifying manner in which the address to the Haytian people by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been received by the Government of Hayti.

CHARLES ANTOINE PRESTON TO MR. JOHN SCOBLE, SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Port Republican, Nov. 7, 1844.

SIR.—I have received the letter which you addressed to me under date of the 17th of Aug. last, together with the copies of the very philanthropic paper which the Society of which you are Secretary has addressed to the Haytian people. This address, in which we have recognised the noble interest which the English nation takes in the prosperity of our country, has been received among us with sincere gratification. We have had it translated into our language, and printed in the *Feuille du Commerce* of the 3rd of this month. I send you a copy of this paper. The Government, to which I have forwarded the address, will promptly circulate it in all the departments of the Republic as a small *brochure*, in order that the Haytian people may know to what an extent the English nation interests itself in the regeneration of the Queen of the Antilles. I have the honour of saluting you, sir, with the highest respect.

(Signed) PRESTON.

The *Manifeste*, Haytian paper, notices the article in the *National* which ascribed the address to the Haytian people of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to mercantile objects. The reply concludes thus:—

"Instead of troubling yourselves with exhortations to the philanthropists of the United Kingdom, strive, gentlemen, for the immediate and entire emancipation of the human beings whom you hold in debasement. In that case, assure yourselves that you will receive from the Haytians nothing but proofs of good will. Yet further imitate England. Do not meddle in our internal disputes. This is the only way 'to live on terms of intimacy' with us."

In October last the attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was directed to the state of those devoted friends of human freedom in the United States, who are suffering on the charge of aiding the escape of slaves, namely, the three young men, Work, Burr, and Thompson, sentenced to twelve years confinement in a penitentiary, the Rev. C. Torrey, and Captain Jonathan Walker, under arrest. A resolution expressive of the sympathy of the Committee was addressed to each, and forwarded through private channels with a letter from the Secretary. As these resolutions have now appeared in the American papers, we give below one of them, with the letter which accompanied it, as a sample of the whole:—

27, New Broad-street, London, Oct. 10th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I have great pleasure in transmitting to you herewith a copy of a resolution, passed unanimously at a general meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, holden at its offices on the 4th instant. It will show you, not only that British abolitionists warmly sympathise with you in your present circumstances, but that, so far from regarding the act for which you are now imprisoned as a crime, they consider it worthy of being followed by every Christian philanthropist, and the laws, under which you have been condemned, as meriting the indignant reprobation of all good men.

You, my dear sir, and your companions in affliction, will remember who hath said, "If, when ye do well and suffer, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God;" and again, "But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye." This is your position. You have done well in seeking to deliver your oppressed brethren from the horrors of slavery; you are suffering for righteousness' sake as a consequence of that act. I doubt not that you bear with Christian patience the punishment that has been inflicted upon you; and that the privilege of being truly happy is yours, notwithstanding the seclusion, restraint, and privations of your prison-house.

I cannot but doubt, that, in reference to yourselves, some wise purpose will be answered by your imprisonment, and that it will materially tend to hasten the downfall of that atrocious system of slavery under which nearly three millions of human beings groan, and from which they sigh to be delivered.

Trusting that you may be enabled to bear this trial of your faith and patience with Christian magnanimity, and that it may please Divine Providence, in a way honourable to yourselves and to the great cause for which you suffer, speedily to deliver you,

I am, dear Sir, with great respect and esteem,
Yours very truly,
JOHN SCOBLE.

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 principles, 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, Messrs. Work, Burr, and Thompson, who are now suffering a lengthened imprisonment among felons, in one of the gaols of the State of Missouri, for having 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 are now incarcerated as honourable to them as men and as Christians; and the laws under which they have been condemned as utterly disgraceful to a civilized community, and in the highest degree repugnant to the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

Correspondence.

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

St. Christopher's, 30th Oct., 1844.

SIR,—You will see how correct were my views, when, in my letter to you of the 30th of July, published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, I stated that the island of St. Lucia was in a feverish state. A disturbance has already broken out there, which had to be put down by the military, with the expense of one life lost, and several wounded. Whilst it lasted, however, the populace broke open houses and stores in search of arms, and it seems not a little surprising, considering the spirit displayed, that it was so easily overcome in the present instance. The great apprehension entertained, is, that it is only the precursor of more fearful outbreaks. Every island in this government, with the exception of Antigua, the residence of the Governor-in-chief, is now under the government of planter-presidents; Mr. Drummond Hay, of Tortola, and Major Graham, of Nevis, the Home-appointed Governors, having since left for England. There is a report on foot, that Sir Charles is about to proceed on a visit—whether of pleasure or of service I cannot tell—to Jamaica, in which case, with a planter Governor-in-chief, we shall be in a pretty way. Not that Sir Charles is the *beau ideal* of governors. His obstinate defence of Mr. Laidlaw, and his continuance of that gentleman in office, speak trumpet-tongued as to that. It would be as well if Lord Stanley would inquire into the long list of charges against Mr. Laidlaw, sent in by Mr. Chief Justice Glanville, so as to ascertain the cause of their suppression. It is well known in Dominica, that, had they been forwarded to the Colonial office, as they ought, Mr. Laidlaw would have been removed by Lord Stanley, and the dreadful scenes that have taken place have never occurred: as it is, the wild spirit of disorder, as long as Government thus strangely tolerates Mr. Laidlaw's continuance in his post, will rest unquelled. Perhaps the people of St. Lucia would have remained quiet, had not so contagious an example been afforded them. I can assure you, sir, these islands will soon cease to be secure places of residence, if Government does not speedily bestir itself, and that to some purpose. In this Government, under the auspices of Sir Charles Fitzroy, liberal sentiments are at a discount, and planterism and favouritism overwhelming and triumphant.

Yours, Mr. Editor,

N.

(From the *Congregational Record*.)

ADDRESS OF THE BERBICE MISSIONARIES

TO THE PROPRIETORS, ATTORNEYS, AND MANAGERS OF ESTATES IN THE COUNTY OF BERBICE.

GENTLEMEN,—Between your views and ours, on the subject of immigration, there exists an unhappy difference. To that difference reference was made, in our absence, at the first meeting of your Agricultural Society, when the Berbice Missionaries were reproached as not daring to state their views "in the face of the intelligence of the community." The *Berbice Gazette* repeated the taunt, attributing to us the most unworthy motives. Not disposed to newspaper wrangling, yet fully persuaded that the adoption of our views would tend to the real and permanent welfare of the colony, we sought an interview with several of your leading men. Our object, in that conference, would have been to reason with you—to consider your arguments in favour of the measure of the immigration you seek—and to state with candour the grounds on which we conclude the measure will end in your own disappointment and ruin. Against the scheme we should have felt it our duty to remonstrate; but it was also our intention to point out to you other sources of amelioration less hazardous, less expensive, and more efficient. Nor did we suppose that such a course, on our part, would have been presumptuous. Without arrogating to ourselves anything like infallibility, we are persuaded that we occupy the most favourable position to form a correct view of the subject. We are an independent class of men. From the turmoil of business, and the seclusive influence of the civil list, unwisely made dependent on the immigration loan, we are alike free.

The conference, however, failed, owing to the absence, on the day appointed, of one of the most influential of your number. Immediately after this failure we learned that our local legislature had, with astounding haste, passed all the enactments relating to the scheme in question; that in doing so, it was supported by your own financial representative; and backed by a numerously-signed petition from yourselves. Private conference could now be of no avail. The deed was done. Remonstrances must at once be sent to the home Government. In preparing such remonstrances, we wished to give you a fair opportunity to defend the measures to which you were committed. We called a public meeting. To that public meeting you came, and confessed, "in the face of the intelligence of the community," that, though you had petitioned for those enactments, you were not prepared to defend them. Having no arguments of your own, you resolved to have none of ours. The meeting was put down by clamour.

We entered into negotiations with you for another meeting. Certain resolutions, calculated to secure a fair discussion, were agreed to. On the day of meeting, however, it was found that those resolutions were laid aside at your pleasure; and the chairman, even in his opening speech, forgetting the decorum and impartiality expected in his position, offered to us, as a body, gross, palpable, and gratuitous insult before the whole assembly. Here, again, was an end put to fair discussion. From this third attempt to make our views known to you, we were thus compelled to retire in disgust.

We now make a fourth: preliminary to which, we re-assert, as we wish it may be distinctly and clearly understood, that we oppose not immigration *per se*. To the introduction of captured Africans we can have no objection. With immigration, carried on at the expense of the parties to be directly benefited by their labour, provided none of the principles of justice and humanity are violated, we can have no right to interfere. Any tribe of men, spontaneously and at their own cost, migrating to our shores, we should feel bound to welcome, as a part of our common brotherhood.

Our objections lie against immigration at the public expense; and especially against Asiatic immigration, so conducted.

I. We deem it *unjust*. If there were no other reasons against it, that alone would be sufficient. Of injustice more palpable and gross we cannot conceive. The fact is broad and undeniable, that the food and clothing of the present labourers are taxed in order to bring in rival labourers! To say that the tax thus paid by a labouring man is a mere fraction, compared with what some of you pay, is to say nothing to the purpose. If it were only a thousandth part of a cent, the principle would be the same—justice would be violated. Were all the glowing pictures of prosperity which your fancy has painted, or your party has promulgated, as certain to result from your scheme, to be realized, (against which, however, stand all probability, all experience, and fact,) it could not be defended on the principles of justice. You might, with equal justice, claim to be allowed, at the public expense, horses, or mules, or oxen, or ploughs, or steam-engines, or anything else that you might regard as a desideratum, for the well-working of your estates. A measure founded on injustice cannot prosper.

II. We regard it as *impolitic*. It sets at defiance all the established maxims of political economy. However desirable to a young and limited community may be an increase of its population, it cannot afford to secure that increase by the expenditure of its scanty resources. The wise policy of such a community would be so to arrange its internal affairs as to make it the interest of others, from preference and choice, to cast in their lot with them. Such has been the policy of the United States of America. They have been built up by spontaneous immigration, to their present greatness. But would they ever, at any period of their history, have thought of taxing their food and clothing, and of incurring an immense national debt, in order to pay the passage of the thousands of Europe across the Atlantic? Never!

You adopt the reverse of this wise policy. Whilst, as you say, on the brink of general bankruptcy—on the verge of ruin—destitute of that amount of capital which is calculated to draw out all the available labour around you, you propose to pay seventy-two dollars, or the price of 216 guilder tasks of work, for the temporary residence among you, for five years, of one Coolie; and at the end of that period, you pledge yourselves to pay the price of 216 daily tasks more, to convey him back to India! Each Coolie, therefore, besides the care of him on his first arrival, and during his seasoning, is to cost you, however drunken, however idle, however vagrant he may be, 432 guilders! Nay, in order to secure the temporary residence of 20,000 such, you are willing to incur a national debt of half a million sterling! Nay, further, for the privilege of getting under this tremendous burden, you are willing to bind around your necks, for years to come, the heaviest civil list that was ever imposed on so small a community!

Gentlemen, we lament this infatuation. We beseech you to pause and consider it. We firmly believe it will hasten on and complete the ruin you dread. In order to compete in the British market, there ought to be a reduction, and not an augmentation of your burdens. At the end of five years, when these immigrants shall have returned, what will be your position? You will have alienated and driven away most of your present labourers, and how are the blanks occasioned by the return of your eastern labourers to be filled up? Will you incur another half-a-million loan? But the first will not have been paid off, and your protection will be gone. Will you go on, then, contracting debt until the resources of the community are entirely exhausted? But we firmly believe that after the first influx of Asiatic labourers return home, such will be their report of the sicknessness of the climate, of the smallness of wages, and of the expensiveness of living, that you will get no more to come, if you had the means to bring them. We, therefore, regard your policy as suicidal; and cannot help observing the force of the adage with which your organ was pleased recently to favour us, as directly applicable to yourselves, *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.

III. We believe it cannot fail of being *productive of incalculable evils*. Among these evils we may mention—

First—*Great mortality*. Look at what has taken place already. How great the mortality during the earlier part of the residence of the late Coolies in British Guiana, and how great the mortality on the return passage home. You say that the mortality which took place at first was not owing to the climate, but to neglect; which neglect will be guarded against in future. We believe it was owing to both. If there was neglect in the first instance, when their introduction was an anxious experiment, and when they were indentured to particular estates, how much more will there be when the importation of thousands is sanctioned by Government, and they are left to wander as "strangers in a strange land?" Their seasoning they are sure to have; and many of you know how depressing, and heart-sinking, and fatal is the effect of that seasoning on those who are separated by thousands of miles from the tender care of a mother, a sister, a wife, or a daughter. That a large proportion of the Asiatics will thus sink and die, is a conclusion to which all our experience and observation inevitably leads us.

Second—*Great animosity*. It cannot possibly be otherwise. The Coolies are a people of other language, other habits, and other religion than our native population. The two races entertain towards each other a strong antipathy. They will never amalgamate. In addition to this, our own people are well aware that the Asiatics are brought in partly at their expense, and for the professed and threatened purpose of reducing their wages. Is it in human nature, under such circumstances, to be free from animosity? We know the strength of national prejudice and antipathies, irritated by such an outrage on all that is fair and just. We deprecate the display of these feelings, whenever they may appear; but an alarming responsibility rests on those who wantonly provoke them. Our negro population must indeed be worthy the comparison with which they were honoured by the chairman of the late meeting in Hackman's Logie, the chief magistrate of Berbice, when he insultingly compared them to logs of wood, if they can be insensible to such invidious distinction, already but too fashionably made, between themselves and the Asiatics. The sheriff's example, in this respect, cannot be too deeply lamented, nor too carefully avoided: the one he designates as "labourers," the other he blandly styles, "My friends, the Coolies."

Third—*Great immorality*. That the Coolies soon become excessively

fond of new rum, to which they have in this country such a ready access will not, we presume, be denied; for what class of men were so often seen in a state of filthy intoxication on the road side as they?

Their coming without wives, too, will be a fruitful source of immorality, at which we shudder.

This combination of evils, under excitement and disappointment, may lead to a train of calamitous consequences which imagination herself may fail to picture.

For these reasons, we feel it our duty to denounce that scheme which you regard as the panacea for all your woes and wants. We believe it will disappoint your expectations, and involve you in inextricable difficulty.

But, gentlemen, while conscientious duty impels us thus freely to remonstrate against your ill-advised schemes, we are by no means indifferent to the distressing embarrassments of which you complain, or under which you labour. On the contrary, we sympathise with you; under the full persuasion that whatever is injurious to your interests, cannot be beneficial to the interests of the labouring population. You allow that we care for their interests—accept our earnest remonstrance as an evidence that we are not indifferent to yours; and this the more, as we stand also prepared to point out to you some sources of amelioration far more economical and effective than the crude and costly scheme of which you are enamoured. Amongst these sources of amelioration may be mentioned—

I. Retrenchment. In the management of your estates, in the civil department of the public expense, and, above all, in the ecclesiastical grants and stipends, there is ample room for retrenchment. Be less lavish in the country's resources. Let us hear no more of such reckless waste as your "Venezuela," your "Victoria," your "Indian Village." Without any reduction whatever in the stipends of our civil officers, and consequently without the least danger to the dignity and efficiency of our local government, a saving of at least 200,000 dollars a year might easily be effected. By this means you would be enabled to remove all import tax on the necessities of life.

Under the head of retrenchment, we may repeat the inquiry, we have frequently put to individuals amongst you—Why, amidst all your complaints about the scarcity and the expensiveness of labour, do you not use that admirable machine, the plough? To this question we have invariably received, in reply, Manual labour is cheaper. This confession speaks at least one volume against your scheme. Horse immigration, we apprehend, would be more suitable to such a state of things than Coolie immigration. Machinery, too, would be preferable to the expensiveness of crime.

II. Marriage. Honour this institution more by your own example. This will have a beneficial influence upon the mass; and we need not remind you of the well-known fact, that population increases or diminishes just in proportion as this institution is honoured or neglected. On this subject the remarks of Dr. Adam Smith are worthy the attention of the political economist, who prefers the prosperity of the community to avaricious selfishness or vicious propensities. He asserts that—

"The liberal reward of labour, by enabling them (parents) to provide better for their children, and consequently to bring up a greater number, naturally tends to widen and extend those limits (the limits of population). It deserves to be remarked, too, that it necessarily does this as nearly as possible in the proportion which the demand for labour requires," &c.—(See vol. i. p. 121.)

III. Temperance. Here, too, we recommend example. Cease to discourage, as you too often do, the adoption of total-abstinence principles amongst the people. If your labourers are scarce, why weaken their energies, reduce their number, and destroy their souls and bodies, too, with gratuities of new rum?

IV. The Renting or Metairie System. By the fair adoption of some such system as this, you would give the labourer a direct interest in the exportable produce of the colony. The metairie system, though not, perhaps, the most perfect in the world, is nevertheless admirably adapted to succeed a state of slavery. It did succeed such a state on the continent of Europe, and by it, fifty years ago, five-sixths of the whole kingdom of France was cultivated.

The principal reason, we presume, why this and other measures, better adapted for a state of freedom, have not been adopted, is found in the following secret, laid open by this same master-mind. He attributes it to the "Pride of man which makes him love to domineer, and which nothing mortifies so much as to be obliged to descend to persuade his inferiors!"

As the friends and well-wishers of the whole community, we have ventured, gentlemen, thus candidly to state our views on the great question at issue. If we have spoken plainly and strongly, we design it not offensively. Our objects may be mistaken, our motives judged, our words misconstrued, our acts misrepresented; but we have counted the cost. And, unawed by frowns, unallured by smiles, uninimidated by threats, and unmoved by rancorous opposition, we have, and trust we shall have, the happy consciousness of having been faithful in the discharge of our duty as before God, and in the sight of all men. And in this consciousness we subscribe ourselves,

Gentlemen, Yours faithfully,
 SAMUEL HAYWOOD,
 DANIEL KENYON,
 EBENEZER DAVIES,
 JAMES ROOME,
 JOSEPH WADDINGTON,

Berbice, Oct. 25th, 1844.

THE REV. C. T. TORREY.

MY JUSTIFICATION OF MY ATTEMPT TO BREAK JAIL.

I HAVE commonly acted on the maxim of the late venerable Dr. Emmons, viz., to do what I thought right, and leave to others the business of justifying me or not, as they pleased. But in this case, when I attempted to do what, in ordinary cases, is a violation of just law, I feel bound to depart from my usual course, and ask a hearing.

First, as to the facts, I obtained from friends, in another city, some saws and chisels, with which to escape from prison. No prisoner but my-

self knew where they were obtained, when they came, or who brought them. The persons who brought them to me, in the jail, did not know what they brought. To them I never spoke or wrote on the subject. I had most of the tools many weeks, and all of them for a considerable time, before any prisoner knew it. I never asked any prisoner to unite with me in the effort to escape. Neither the "vigilance of that faithful officer, Mr. John Hoey," nor the treachery of Dryer, nor anything else but my sickness, and such a degree of physical debility as to hinder me from doing my part of the labour and watching, prevented the entire success of my plan of escape. Sick, myself; betrayed by the counterfeiter, Dryer, (who lived on the food I gave him out of pity, and then basely betrayed me,) my attempt was defeated. I made all the arrangements for the effort before I had been a week in prison. The first arrangements being defective, I made better ones at a later period.

Secondly, Why make such an attempt at all? How does it consist with your duty to submit as a Christian to undeserved evils, for Christ's sake? Can you justify yourself to Him, as well as to society? My answer shall be frank and simple. One of my motives I cannot wholly approve, on strict Christian principles. In all other respects, I think I have a right to the sympathy and countenance of all honourable and good men, in this matter.

1. When I was committed to jail, every single item of the evidence imploring me, in the Heckrotte case, was false and perjured; yet, so carefully planned, as to make it well-nigh impossible to prove it by second testimony. Each witness was very careful to have met me alone! One man, however, swore to having seen me "at my mother's house in Harford county, Md., in 1831 or 1832." My Massachusetts readers will laugh at so gross a perjury. But the knave was very anxious to identify me! In the Winchester (Va.) case, where there is not a particle of true evidence against me, a false witness had been prepared to give direct testimony against me there. Not doubting, from the known character, threats, and pay of my prosecutors, that such evidence, to any needed extent, would be brought forward, I regarded the hope of escaping it as vain; at least, while I remained shut up in prison. 2. From the time of my arrest, the whole clique of slave-traders, slave-catching policemen, low slaveholders, and their abettors, including one or two of the prison officers, have made it their business to abuse and slander me and my friends, with the general object of preventing the existence, or at least the expression of any personal or Christian sympathy for me. I have had "too many friends" for their purposes, as they often complained. I found threats, persuasions, and falsehoods freely resorted to, to hinder respectable citizens of Baltimore from visiting me; and with success. My kind landlady, and the young ladies of her family, almost daily called on me, to give me a chance to breathe the fresh air, by walking a few moments in the prison yard. They are poor; they are not anti-slavery people; but they have human hearts, and are Virginians. They were very kind to one almost a stranger. This was enough for malice to work upon.

Suddenly, the young ladies were excluded, with rude insults, from the jail yard. The reason assigned was, such gross lewdness, in the sight of half a score of persons, constantly passing, as would imply in me and the lady, a degree of shameless degradation that not even rashness and drunkenness would excuse in common street-walkers! Such a point is not to be argued. Those who deem me capable of such vice, are very welcome to maintain their opinions till the judgment-day! This shameless tale was trumpeted about the city. Of course, I was the last person to hear of it. It did me much injury in many worthy minds. But ~~such~~ no person who circulated it, seemed to be sufficiently respectable to justify a direct contradiction or action for slander. It was deemed sufficient, therefore, to connect a general demand for investigation as to my character and standing, with some other matters, in an article in the *Baltimore Sun*. This, for the time, perfectly silenced the band of miscreants. But they had gone too far to retreat. At this time, Mr. Deane Walker, formerly a merchant in this city, but now a respectable citizen of Medway, where my family now are, came to Baltimore on business of his own. Hearing the flying and lying reports of these persons, without saying a word to me, he appears to have made some inquiries of them, as so what they alleged against me.

Forthwith they spread the story through the city, as far as they could, that "Mr. Torrey had long been separated from his wife: and she had sent on Mr. D. Walker to obtain evidence to get a divorce from him." So one of them impudently told me. Mr. Walker had brought me a kind letter from my wife, and I know her incapable of hypocrisy. One of them met one of my counsel in the street, and told his story in triumph. When the frequency of my correspondence with Mrs. Torrey was suggested, as inconsistent with his tale, the wretched dared assail her good name. "She can't be his true wife," said the creature. How could I, a prisoner, in the hands of such beings, tell how far their malice had reached? Might they not have poisoned even the confidence of my wife and her friends? The very thought was maddening—I confess that my feelings, in this matter, were not very Christian. They were too much like indignant nature to be very Christ-like. It was not till after my attempt to escape, that I received from Mrs. Torrey a letter contradicting the whole of their atrocious falsehoods, so far as they had connected her and her friends with their tales. In this connection it should be said, that these persons have spared no falsehood to destroy the good name of the family in which I boarded. The busiest of these agents of shame are a noted slave-trader, and two policemen. Persons, like these, who hunt and sell poor coloured people, may be expected to vilify poor white persons, when they have an end to secure.

The time is not yet come for a full exposure of the motives of these wretches; but it is not far off. These slanders determined me to escape if I could.

Thirdly, Surrounded by low defamers, met by perjury in the lower courts, I deemed my only chance of justice to be in an appeal to the United States Courts. This was delayed, first, by the refusal of the Maryland judge to take bail, pending the Virginia requisition; and, secondly, by the refusal of the United States judges to grant a hearing in the Virginia case, till the former was disposed of, by bail or otherwise! I endeavoured to procure bail. Here, too, my vigilant enemies interposed, by persuasions and threats to prevent my obtaining bail. Several responsible men agreed to become my security, and, in succession, were

driven from it by the agency of a certain lawyer, with whom justice has a long score to settle yet.

Thus deprived of my only hope of a fair trial, my health already broken down, and my brain feavered by protracted and close imprisonment; deeming all the charges made against me criminal in those who made them, I deemed an escape from Baltimore jail justifiable, on the same principles on which the escape of Paul was justified, when he was let down from the wall in a basket. Let those who judge otherwise, give their reasons. I will try to give them due weight. But so long as I see slavery to be a Heaven-daring crime, and all laws that maintain it, and all persons who enforce them, to be obnoxious to the Divine displeasure, I am afraid I shall not be convinced of my sin.

Fourthly, "But the other prisoners: have you no scruples as to the escape of men guilty of what you and all men justly deem crimes?" I have. 1. The case of Dryer, the counterfeiter, troubled my conscience not a little: not the less so, because he was an old slave-trader. Perhaps that is the reason why the press of Baltimore has treated him with so much tenderness. 2. There was a boy named Davis, charged with stealing a rein worth twenty-five or thirty-seven cents, not guilty, as I believe, though not a good boy by any means. 3. A man, named Murphy, who, contrary to law, had already been confined twenty-four days on suspicion only! since discharged. 4. An Irishman, charged with a petty theft, committed while so drunk as not to know what he was about. The poor man, chained himself, has since that time waited on me in my severe illness, with the patience and kindness of a brother, without fee or reward. 5. A man charged with aiding in cutting down a Whig pole, while drunk; not a very heinous sin, when sober, though a deed of folly. 6. A man called Southmade, charged with stealing a horse and sleigh, charged falsely; a merchant and shipowner in New York, a native of Falmouth, Massachusetts, a man of unblemished character, and of large property. Such were my room-mates. Casuists may settle for themselves how much guilt I ought to feel for risking the escape of these persons. So far as myself was concerned, I believe it would please God if I could escape with no injury to others, just as certainly as I believe his frowns rest on all who keep me in prison, on such pleas as those alleged against me, viz., mercy and compassion to the poor of the land.

Fifthly, "But those bullets, that powder, and that torn letter about 'pistols,' and what not—how do you account for that?" I have to say, I am not ashamed of the contents of that letter. I have offered Mr. Pinkney, the deputy attorney, and also the board of visitors, exact copies for publication, (names only omitted,) or for any other use they please to make of them. The "powder and balls" were sent to me by mistake. We had no weapons to use them; and did not intend to have any in or near the prison. Some of the company insisted on being armed after we left the prison. I commend them to all who believe in the right of self-defence. I do not.

THE RESULT.—Betrayed—all the parties save Dryer and the Whig pole-man, were heavily ironed, and placed in damp, low arched cells, and treated worse than if we had been murderers. Two of the three murderers now in this jail have never been ironed; the third for a few hours only. The first twenty-four hours I was loaded with irons, weighing, I judge, twenty-five pounds, so twisted that I could neither stand up, lie down, or sleep. We had the dirty, damp floor, and one backless chair to sit or sleep on. Lighter irons were then placed on me, and kept on twelve days; during all of which, aside from the effects of the irons, I was unable to sit up, and most of the time, to get up without help. It would have touched any heart, not wholly dead to human feeling, to see poor John Stewart holding up his irons with one hand, and with the other raising up the chained and emaciated sick man, and tenderly ministering to his wants and his weakness. If I live, and have the means, Leslie shall perpetuate it. Instead of reproaches, John constantly cheered me; but for him, I should not have lived to tell it. May God bless him! During these twelve days, my bed lay on the hard, damp floor. My linen became loathsome from filth. The air of the cell was constantly like a confined privy vault. [They were cleansing a large vault that for twelve years had been undisturbed.] The air is less impure now. Seven of these twelve nights I slept none, from pain, and the utter prostration of the nervous system. The remaining nights, save one, I slept from one to four hours. I am still nearly deprived of sleep, and am unable to sit up. With pain I stagger across the floor of the cell, when obliged to go, yet I am much better.

On Monday, the eleventh of these days of horror, Mr. Pinkney, the acting district attorney, learning my situation from my physician, came to see me, and ordered the removal of the irons, and the restoration of the comforts and decencies of life, such as my condition required. The humane warden, Mr. Steener, assented; but his subordinates refused to obey. However, I got my bedstead that day, and the next he was able to enforce obedience, and the irons were removed from all. The circulation gradually returned to my sleepy, half-paralyzed limbs; and I am now so much better as to indicate that six month's careful nursing might restore my health as it was last June. I am very weak, much emaciated, and my nervous system in the same state in which it was in 1835, when I was compelled to leave Andover Seminary, and devote nearly a year to the sole business of regaining health.

Do I complain? God forbid, "Shall I receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall I not receive evil?" Whatever I may deserve at the hands of my fellow-men, (and I think it is not chains and a prison,) I desire humbly to confess my sins in his sight. Let him do with me as it seems good in his sight. I am in the power of the wicked, but their triumph is short. My God, even the living God, is my trust in prison, my hope in sickness, and my strength in the day of weakness. I deemed it due to him, to my family, to myself, to try to escape from my foes. Having failed, I shall submit cheerfully to his will, and strive to overcome evil by suffering, which is the next duty. Such is my justification, written on my bed, with a feeble hand and aching brain. I believe it will command itself to my friends. If not, to that, also, God will help me to submit cheerfully. "He is my strength and my shield."

CHARLES T. TORREY.

Baltimore Jail, Cell No. 3, Sept. 28, 1844.

—Cincinnati Herald.

THE NEW VICTIMS AT THE SOUTH.

(From the *Liberator*.)

IMPRISONMENT OF REV. MR. FAIRBANKS AND MISS WEBSTER. A fair daughter of the Green Mountain State is in prison! Where? In the chivalrous state of Kentucky, city of Lexington, almost in sight of the shades of Ashland. For what? On the charge of stealing slaves; and two similar charges and indictments have been found, and held to bail in the moderate sum of five thousand dollars—and for the want of which, is now incarcerated in a loathsome prison, to await her trial next March. The following is a statement of the facts, and can be relied on, as coming from good authority.

Miss Delia A. Webster, who has been arrested, and is now confined in goal, at Lexington, Kentucky, charged with breaking the slave-laws of that state, is a daughter of Mr. Benajah Webster, of Ferrisburgh, Vermont. She was engaged as a teacher in a seminary. The Rev. Calvin Fairbanks, who is now in prison, and in irons, in the same goal with Miss W., and upon the same charges, is a Methodist minister, who, while visiting Lexington, boarded in the same house with her. Mr. F. preached once in the Congregational church, in Lexington, while there, to the acceptance of his audience; and soon after three slaves were missing. A reward was offered, and every effort made to find them, without success; and upon this failure, suspicion rested upon Mr. F., who was followed into an adjoining county, arrested, brought back, and imprisoned. Shortly after, Miss Webster was waited upon by the authorities at one o'clock at night, and the inspection of her trunk demanded, which she acceded to without objection; and on the following day, (the 27th Sept.,) she was arrested and imprisoned, and has since had three indictments found against her, has been held to bail in the sum of 5,000 dollars, and now awaits her trial, which takes place in March.

We understand the main cause of suspicion against her, consists of a letter, alleged to have been found among her papers, speaking of her acquaintance with Mr. Fairbanks, while boarding at the same house with her, and of general remarks about slavery; and last, though perhaps not least, that she happens to be a northern lady.

Miss Webster is a respectable young lady, of a worthy family, well educated, and of fair talents, and denies ever having uttered an abolition sentiment in Kentucky, except one time, when impertinently being questioned on that subject, she said she wished the slaves were all back in Africa, and she would be willing to spend her days in teaching them, for they had souls. Her father is well known by the citizens of Vergennes and Ferrisburgh, to have been always hostile to abolition in any form; indeed, has been noted for his ultra opinions on this subject.

Miss Webster was poor, dependant wholly on her own exertions for support. Should she be found innocent, as we doubt not she will be upon trial, she is wholly ruined in her circumstances by the heavy expense which her defence will entail upon her, as we understand the attorney's fees of her lawyers amount to between seven hundred and a thousand dollars! Surely this is southern chivalry, with a vengeance.

The charge of "negro stealing," as it is termed by the Kentucky jailor, amounts to nothing more than a supposition of being an abolitionist. A young lady, poor, and teaching a seminary for a living, could have no money to spare, to buy negroes or to hire others to steal; and as she had never left her employment before her arrest, she could not, of course, have been personally concerned in enticing or helping away slaves.

G. D. JEWETT.

Vergennes, Nov. 4, 1844.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—IMMIGRATION.—The sentiment of the community in general is quite unfavourable to further outlay from the public treasury for immigration purposes: that sentiment is founded on long experience, dearly paid, for and is fully participated in by ourselves, in common with the expressed views of most of the members of the honourable House, so far as we could gather their opinions from their election speeches. We trust, therefore, that the Assembly will not, in these times of distress, vote any more money for this doubtful speculation; and that if they do suffer themselves to be induced to accept of the exceedingly problematical boon, in the shape of the grant spoken of a little while ago, they will apply the cash to improvements likely to yield a certain return of permanent and extensive benefit to the colony.—*Falmouth Post*.

THE VETO.—In a late number, our readers were informed that, when the subject of Hill Coolie immigration to the West Indies, for the approaching season, was in contemplation by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, some gentlemen in London, possessing large property in Jamaica, and others equally interested as mortgagees, stepped forward and offered, if the Government would direct that, instead of 2,000, (the expense for bringing which was provided for by the grant of 30,000*l.* during the last Assembly,) the number brought should be 5,000, they would guarantee the payment of the additional 75,000*l.*, relying on the assent of our colonial legislature at its meeting, to free them from the responsibility in which they thus involved themselves. The honourable House has not, however, thought proper to meet this offer with that "liberality" which was expected; but has determined to take 2,000 only, the number for which the grant of last session was made. With reference to the proposed guarantee, we think our representatives have done well to dispense with that offer. The gentlemen who made it have, no doubt, as much interest in the colony as any of the resident proprietors of the island; but if the Legislature had pledged itself to this step, on the part of the London proprietors, it would have set a very dangerous precedent. Hereafter, the West India body in England might have taken upon themselves to volunteer the guarantee for a larger amount under a similar expectation, but on a subject in which the Assembly could not concur with them. In such a case, the refusal to recognize the act as conferring any obligation on the colony, would lead the parties in the mother-country to say—"We did so before, and you relieved us of our responsibility in the matter; of course, we concluded that you would accept of the same kindness in this case." Thus the prerogative of the colonial Legislature might be frittered down to a mere nonentity, and the management of the island funds be transferred to an external control.—*Ibid.*

ST. LUCIA.—Commenting on the late vote of the Jamaica House of Assembly, the *Independent Press* says:—"To us it is particularly gratifying to see the opinions we have all along entertained and expressed, are making their way amongst the most ultra advocates of immigration at the expense of the public, and it now seems to be admitted by our contemporaries in Jamaica, who were most violent in their attacks upon us for giving publicity to such opinions, they have now discovered that after having expended 128,271L. 16s. 5d. sterling, the advantage is still problematical. For the sake of our fellow-colonists, the resident planters in Demerara and Trinidad, the failure of this iniquitous scheme in the leading colony of Jamaica, we trust, will induce Lord Stanley to withhold his sanction to it, as far as it will affect our sister Crown colonies."

ANTIGUA.—LABOUR AND PRODUCE.—We believe that it may be asserted with truth that not more than one-third of those who, during slavery, were employed in the field-labour of estates, are now continuously occupied in that work; or it may be more correct to say, that not more than one-third of the amount of the manual labour which was formerly dedicated to the growth and manufacture of our staples, is so engaged now. We have been told so by persons competent to judge, and from our own observations we are convinced of it. A great many have withdrawn from sugar cultivation altogether; the boys and girls who used to form the weeding and grass gangs of an estate are no longer there; many work only occasionally as jobbers, when their own independent settlements do not require their presence; others confine their labour to three or four days in the week, and very few give six days. Notwithstanding, however, this enormous limitation in the amount of labour actually applied, notwithstanding the idleness, and thieving propensities, charged against the peasantry, the first ten years of freedom, with one-third the number of labourers, have given at least as large, and I believe, larger average crops than the last ten years of slavery, with three times the hands. How is this fact explained, and how does it comport with the heavy and abounding complaints which we constantly hear? and how does it affect, or bear upon the future prospects of the island? We should like to see the subject handled by some intelligent practical man, for really it suggests matter for consideration of vast importance, and well deserving of mature and dispassionate consideration. It would also be satisfactory, and probably useful, to see correct comparative statements of the expenses of an estate during slavery and freedom: for instance, what were the expenses of an estate that made 100 hogsheads during slavery, and what are the expenses of the same now, making the same quantity of sugar? Such and similar inquiries would enlighten, and lead to far different results, than the mischief and ill-feeling which is created by the dogmatism and gratuitous railing which we so frequently hear in conversations and discussions relating to the state of the island. It is certainly consolatory to reflect, that, whatever may have been the fate of some other islands, the average crop of Antigua has not diminished since emancipation, although she has had to strive against the disastrous effects of an unprecedented physical evil, which the others in a great measure escaped. The prospect, at present, for next year is exceedingly favourable, and with a continuance of seasonable weather, and the blessing of God upon our agricultural exertions, the ensuing crop is likely to be as large as the present.—*Observer.*

ST. VINCENT.—The Election law, passed in this island, has been disallowed by her Majesty's Government. The reason assigned is, that "it increased the qualification of voters."—*Morning Chronicle.*

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—ELECTION OF MR. POLK.—Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Philadelphia, 11th mo., 18th, 1844:—"I have delayed replying to thy letter thus long, in order that I might be able to give thee a little definite information as to the progress of liberty in this land. No doubt the electors understood to be in favour of electing James K. Polk have succeeded: the Whigs say, it was because the Liberty Party voted for James G. Birney! They are very angry at us 'for defeating Henry Clay.' True—had our votes and influence been cast in favour of the Whig candidate, he would probably have been elected; but it appears to me to have been caused by his and their truckling to the South. They have served the devil upon trust, and been cheated out of their pay at last—just what they might have expected. Pretending to be 'the most favourable party,' they nevertheless bowed down before 'the dark spirit of slavery.' We therefore could place no confidence in them, and determined thenceforth to vote for such, and such only, as we knew to be unchangeably in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery. If it has defeated 'the most favourable party,' it is no concern of ours. The effect will, in all probability, be, that henceforth we shall never see two slaveholders set up at the same time as candidates for the Presidency. It is very doubtful whether either party will venture to set up a slaveholder. Hitherto Northern men, and even many Abolitionists, were not true to their principles, whenever the hour of trial came. Such men as David Lee Child, Daniel L. Miller, jun., Cassius M. Clay, and others, advocated voting for a slaveholder 'this once'; and so long as Abolitionists could be made to yield 'for this once,' the slaveholders and their Northern coadjutors did not care a fig for us or our principles.

"At our Governor's election in this city and county, we had 112 votes; at the Presidential election, we had increased 227, and would have had many more, had it not been for the nomination of James G. Birney by the Democrats of his neighbourhood, as a representative in the Legislature of Michigan, and the numerous falsehoods—forged certificates of oaths of respectable men, who never said a word of the kind. We, who knew James G. Birney, boldly denied these charges, letters, oaths, certificates—and pronounced them to be forgeries and falsehoods, as in fact they were; but others seemed glad of an excuse for omitting to vote 'this once.' We had 2,875 Liberty votes in Pennsylvania for Governor. I have not yet heard how many we have had for President in this State;

reports vary from 3,000 to 5,000; probably it is a little below 4,000; neither have we heard what was our vote in New York; report says, from 15,000 to 20,000. This is not as large as we had reason to expect some time ago; but such various circumstances were brought to operate on our vote, that it is wonderful our New York friends were able to hold their own without any increase: nevertheless, upon the whole, there can not be a doubt but that the Liberty Party has not only held its own, but has considerably increased our vote; and I now look forward to the day when we shall be able to drive the Whigs and Democrats, Mobocrats, Slaveocrats, and all other Crats, to amalgamate into our party, in order to try and defeat the Liberty Party. So soon as we can accomplish this, then you may know that our success is certain. Slavery cannot last five years after the abolition of slavery is made the dividing line between the two great parties of this nation. The struggle will be great—die it must—but it will die hard, as is common with monsters."

SLAVERY AS IT IS.—We have rarely met with a more revolting instance of inhumanity and hypocrisy, than the one recently related at a public meeting at Cincinnati, by the Rev. Mr. Boucher, a Methodist minister, who formerly resided at the South. While he was on the Alabama circuit, he spent a sabbath with an old circuit preacher, who was also a doctor, living near the Horse Shoe, celebrated as General Jackson's battle-ground. Early Monday morning he was reading Pope's Messiah to Mr. Boucher, when his wife called him out. Mr. Boucher glanced his eye out of the window, and saw a slave man standing by, and the husband and wife consulting over him. Presently the Doctor took a raw hide from under his coat, and began to cut the half-naked back of the slave. Several inches of the skin turned up perfectly white at every stroke, until the whole back was red with gore. At first the lacerated man cried out in his agony; at which the Doctor and divine cried out at every stroke, "Won't ye hush? Won't ye hush?" till finally the slave stood still, and bore his tortures with only a groan. As soon as he had completed his task, the Doctor came in, panting, and almost out of breath, and, addressing Mr. Boucher, said, "Won't ye go to prayer with us, sir?" The amazed circuit rider fell upon his knees and prayed, uttering he hardly knew what. When he left the house, the poor creature of a slave had crept up and knelt at the door during prayer, with his body gory with blood down to his very heels.—*Congregational Journal.*

EMANCIPATION IN VIRGINIA.—The noble examples set by Cassius M. Clay, Dr. Brisbane, and others, in the way of emancipation, with not only leave to remain in this country, but provision for a fair start, are likely to be followed by not a few benevolent Southerners. A worthy and intelligent correspondent, who resides in Orange county, Virginia, writes us under date of Oct. the 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 Visiter.*

HORRIBLE.—The following narrative was related to a friend during a recent visit to Orange County, in Illinois:—"Some time since, a stranger came into that county, so white that he was not suspected of having any African blood in his veins. After residing there some time, he married a white woman, went to housekeeping, and was quietly enjoying the comforts of domestic life, sustaining the character of an honest and upright man, when an old acquaintance of his visited the neighbourhood, and recognized him as the slave of a Kentuckian. He gave the information to some of the neighbours of the white fugitive, two of whom, (one formerly a member of the Society of Friends,) waylaid the poor man, caught him, conveyed him to his former master, and continued there until the object of their cupidity was sold, that they might obtain a part of the price as the reward of their diabolical act."—*Free Labour Advocate.*

Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. Leavitt to Mr. Soul, dated Boston, Nov. 29, 1844:—"We are momentarily expecting the result of poor Torrey's trial. His wife and her father, and a brother of his own mother, are in attendance with him. We have but the slightest hope that he will escape the penitentiary. We shall not abandon him in his prison, and hope you will not. We do not yet hear from Walker, but have made the best provisions in our power for his defence." "We have no small fears that the annexation of Texas will be carried by a *coup de main* this winter."

CHURCH ACTION.—Extract of a letter from H. H. Kellogg, President of Knox College, Galesbury, Illinois, dated November 3rd, 1844:—"The synod of Piona is composed of four Presbyteries, and embraces all the Presbyterian ministers and churches in northern Illinois—some sixty to eighty ministers and churches. I think I once mentioned to you that, of all these ministers and churches, I had no fear of unsoundness on the question of slavery, except in *one case*; but I am happy to say they have proved true. A lady lately moved from Baltimore to Chicago, who was a slaveholder in Maryland. She was a member of one of the Presbyterian churches in Baltimore, and brought a letter to unite with the second church in Chicago. The session of the church refused her application. To the first church she made no application—as the session of that church had recently excommunicated a member for slaveholding—he having had a slave bequeathed to him, and having hired him out in a slaveholding state, and received the avails of his labour. In our village and the vicinity, the vote stood—for Polk, 17; for Clay, 41; for Birney, 88. You will see we are Birney's friends."

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, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the city of London. Published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of St. Martin-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 18, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Wednesday, December 23, 1844.

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

SEP 2

APR 17 2006

ED

ED

Form L

H 851. A62

5



3 1158 00898 5409



THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
0 000 451 610 D



Digitized by Google

Univers
South
Libr