

THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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No. IV.

- ART. I.—1. *Mr. H. Everett's Report on Indian Affairs. Presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 20th of May, 1834.*
2. *Report from the Office of Indian Affairs. December 1, 1837.*

THE present condition and future destiny of the Indian tribes, who reside within the limits, or on the borders of the United States, must be interesting to every philanthropist, patriot, and Christian. If these aboriginal nations of America should continue to waste away, as they have done since the country was occupied by Europeans, in a few generations to come, they will scarcely be found, except in the pages of history, and in the traditions and monuments which they may leave behind. The causes of this rapid decrease are not difficult to be explored; but it does not comport with our plan, to enter at present into a discussion of the subject. The treatment which these tribes have received from the whites, and from the governments of the United States, and the particular states, would furnish a fruitful subject for declamation; but neither is it our purpose to enter into this perplexed, and painful discussion. What is past cannot be undone, nor effectually remedied. What we have in view is to present to our readers some account of the present condi-

eyes had suffered increase of pain from the tears shed during mental struggles. His sympathy for the feelings of others often led him to undue labours at public meetings. 'To give pain,' said he, 'to a man who lives quietly, and whose spirits are not naturally high, is a very different thing from inflicting the same stroke on any one circumstanced in all respects as I am, when it is only like a shove received in a crowd: you forget it in a moment as it is succeeded by another.'

We must desist with abruptness from our pleasant work; and we do so with the sincere desire that the excellent and amiable authors of this biography may find encouragement to issue many improved editions. Much of the incoherent and unsatisfactory diaries might be left out; and to render what may remain intelligible, some morsels of contemporary history might be added. A judicious abridgment of the book would promise permanent usefulness in our own country.

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- ART. V.—1. *An account of the present state of the Island of Puerto Rico.*—By Colonel Flintor, Knight Commander of the Royal order of Isabel the Catholic, &c. London. 1834. pp. 392.
2. *Emancipation in the West Indies. A six months tour in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica, in the year 1837.* By Jas. A. Thome, and J. Horace Kimball, New-York. 1838. pp. 489.
3. *Letters from the West Indies relating especially to the Danish Island of St. Croix and to the British Islands Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica.* By Sylvester Hovey, late Prof. of Mat. and Nat. Phil. Amherst College. New-York. 1838. pp. 210.

THE great event of the present century is the emancipation of the slaves in the British Colonies. It is one of those social revolutions which, at distant intervals, form distinct eras in the history of our race. The transition of 800,000 human beings from slavery to freedom must necessarily be attended with consequences so important, that no friend of his species can contemplate it with indifference. In the present case, however, it is not so much the effects of this change on the immediate subjects of it, as its influence on other countries and on the state of the world, which gives it its peculiar

importance. From our vicinity to the theatre of this experiment, and from the character of our southern population we are of all nations the most deeply interested in the result. All authentic information, therefore, relating to this subject must be received with avidity in every part of the country, and by all classes of people. It is a matter about which we are all concerned, as men and as Americans. It is to be deeply lamented that the state of the public mind is not favourable to a calm and serious contemplation of this subject. It is so agitated by the measures pursued by the abolitionists, that nothing connected with slavery is viewed in its true light or in its proper proportions. Every thing is distorted by fanaticism on the one hand, or by prejudice or passion on the other. Still it is the duty and the interest of all to look at the facts as they really are, and to endeavour to derive from them due instruction. There is little probability that this will be done by either of the extreme parties which now exist. We believe, however, that these extremes constitute but a small part of the whole community. The mass of the pious and thinking people in this country are neither abolitionists nor the advocates of slavery. They stand where they ever have stood on the broad scriptural foundation; maintaining the obligation of all men in their several places and relations, to act on the law of love, and to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of others by every means in their power. They stand aloof from the abolitionists for various reasons. In the first place, they disapprove of their principles. The leading characteristic doctrine of this sect is that slave-holding is in all cases a sin, and should therefore, under all circumstances, be immediately abandoned. As nothing can be plainer than that slaveholders were admitted to the Christian church by the inspired apostles; the advocates of this doctrine are brought into direct collision with the scriptures. This leads to one of the most dangerous evils connected with the whole system, viz. a disregard of the authority of the word of God, a setting up a different and higher standard of truth and duty, and a proud and confident wresting of scripture to suit their own purposes. The history of interpretation furnishes no examples of more wilful and violent perversions of the sacred text than are to be found in the writings of the abolitionists. They seem to consider themselves above the scriptures, and when they put themselves above the law of God, it is not wonderful that they should disregard the laws of men. Significant manifestations of the result of this

disposition to consider their own light a surer guide than the word of God, are visible in the anarchical opinions about human governments, civil and ecclesiastical, and on the rights of women, which have found appropriate advocates in the abolition publications. Let these principles be carried out, and there is an end to all social subordination, to all security for life or property, to all guarantee for public or domestic virtue. If our women are to be emancipated from subjection to the law which God has imposed upon them, if they are to quit the retirement of domestic life, where they preside in stillness over the character and destiny of society; if they are to come forth in the liberty of men, to be our agents, our public lecturers, our committeemen, our rulers; if, in studied insult to the authority of God, we are to renounce, in the marriage contract, all claim to obedience, we shall soon have a country over which the genius of Mary Wolstoncraft would delight to preside, but from which all order and all virtue would speedily be banished. There is no form of human excellence before which we bow with profounder deference than that which appears in a delicate woman adorned with the inward graces, and devoted to the peculiar duties of her sex; and there is no deformity of human character from which we turn with deeper loathing than from a woman forgetful of her nature, and clamorous for the vocations and rights of men. It would not be fair to object to the abolitionists the disgusting and disorganizing opinions of even some of their leading advocates and publications, did they not continue to patronize these publications and were not these opinions the legitimate consequences of their own principles. Their women do but apply their own method of dealing with scripture to another case. This no inconsiderable portion of the party have candour enough to acknowledge; and are therefore prepared to abide the result.

In the second place, the majority of good men object to the spirit of the abolitionists. General remarks admit of only a general application. It is not intended to deny that many men of a truly Christian temper are to be found enrolled on the lists of the modern anti-slavery societies. This admission is consistent with the truth of the charge of an unchristian spirit as characteristic of the society and of its publications. It is a spirit of exaggeration, misrepresentation, and of calumny. We hardly know how to account for the fact that men and women, in other respects correct and amiable, should be transformed into violent and reckless detractors when the subject

of slavery has engrossed their feelings. Yet there is abundant evidence that such is the fact in a multitude of cases. Had this cause fallen into the hands of men in whose judgment and spirit the Christian community had confidence, it would have had far greater success and been far less dangerous. As it is, every man of correct feeling turns with disgust from the vulgar tirades of the *Liberator*, or the cool, sardonic jeers of the *Emancipator*, with the conviction that nothing holy can be promoted by such instrumentality.

In the third place, the measures of this society are open to serious objections. These measures have for their object to force the southern states to emancipate their slaves, not by arguments designed to convince them that it is wise or right thus to do, but by creating such an agitation in the country that they must do it, no matter what they think. What other possible object can there be in the formation of affiliated societies at the north for the abolition of slavery at the south? What tendency has the sending itinerant lecturers against slavery through the non slave-holding states, to convince the slave-holding states of their interest and duty? It would be preposterous to pretend that the design of either of the great means of operation adopted by the abolitionists is to convince the judgments of southern men. Their only design is to influence their conduct by the judgment and feelings of others, in despite of their own. We object to these measures because we conceive that the north is not responsible for the existence of slavery at the south, and consequently has no right to interfere, in this manner, to affect its abolition. Southern men may think that the establishment of large manufacturing institutions, such as are springing up in various portions of the northern states, are great evils; that they degrade a large portion of the inhabitants, corrupt their morals, and endanger the peace of society. They might appeal to the present state of the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, in support of these opinions. They might further state, that this was a subject in which they are interested; inasmuch as the character and action of the general government depend upon the nature of the population of the several states. No one would object to any measures adopted by the advocates of these views, in a proper spirit, to give them currency, and to convince the north of the propriety of acting upon them. But every northern man would resent it as an unjustifiable interference if the south should endeavour to force us to give up our manufactories; if instead of being satisfied with argu-

ing the case, they should proceed to produce such an agitation in the country that the north would be obliged, in opposition to their own views of their interest and duty, to conform, for the sake of peace and safety, to the opinions of others. We at the north have no more right to interfere with the free and voluntary action of the southern states on the subject of slavery, than we have to force the suppression of the catholic religion in Canada, or of the established church in England. We may think them great evils, but they are evils which are out of our control and for which we are not responsible. We may publish what we please to convince those concerned that popery is a degrading superstition, or that an established religion is an encroachment on the liberty of conscience, but we have no more right to force them to adopt our views by agitation than by the bayonet. So long therefore as this subject is placed by the laws of the land beyond our control, we are restricted by every principle of duty to confine our opposition to it, to argument and persuasion. It is singular to observe the simplicity with which this objection is answered by the abolitionists. They assert their right of free discussion of every subject, they insist on the liberty of the press and of speech. Very good; who denies their right? The objection is not against their discussing the question of slavery. This they have as good a right to do as to discuss the form of government in Russia. Does this prove that they have a right to pursue the discussion in such a manner, or to adopt such measures as shall either produce an insurrection in Russia, or force the inhabitants against their own wishes to change their form of government? We do not object to any discussion of slavery conducted in a Christian temper, but we object to all efforts to rouse such a state of feeling in the country as shall force those, whom we have no right to force, to act according to our opinions, instead of their own. It is doing evil that good may come.

This mode of operation is not only wrong in principle, but disastrous in its results. It exasperates the south under a sense of injury; it indisposes them to consideration of the subject; it awakens apprehensions which prevents all discussion where it is most needed, and which leads to the more rigorous treatment of the slaves. We have no doubt that the cause of freedom at the south has been retarded by the conduct of the abolitionists at the north more than by any other cause. It is for these and similar reasons that the mass of the intelligence and piety of the country has arrayed itself against the abolition society.

As might have been anticipated, one extreme has produced another. The fanatical denunciation of slave-holding, as at all times and under all circumstances a most heinous sin, has led to the assertion that it is in itself a good and desirable institution and ought to be perpetuated. This is a novel opinion. We do not mean that it never has been maintained before. But it is certainly a novelty that it should find any considerable number of advocates in this country. The south has hitherto been quite as open and decided as the north in considering slavery a great social and political evil, rendered necessary as they supposed, for the time being, by their peculiar circumstances. It was defended as an existing institution on the ground of the unfitness of the slaves for the exercise of freedom; on the impossibility of two such distinct races as the African and European living together on terms of social equality; on the difficulty of procuring free labour in warm countries; on the immense pecuniary loss which it was apprehended would attend any plan of emancipation. It was on these, and such like grounds, that the continuance of slavery was formerly advocated, not as a good, but as an evil which, under existing circumstances, could not be removed without producing more harm than benefit. If we understand the modern doctrine, it is, that it is best for human virtue and happiness that the labouring portion of society should be a distinct caste and be held in slavery; that this caste should be continued by hereditary descent so that no member of it should be allowed to rise above his original condition; and finally that in order to the security of society these slaves should be kept in poverty and ignorance. It is very obvious that such opinions could never have originated elsewhere than among slave-owners. An institution which gives them the sweets of arbitrary power, the luxury of ease, and the monopoly of wealth, it is but too natural they should regard with a favourable eye. The feudal nobility of France, or Germany, no doubt regarded the former condition of their respective countries, when a small class engrossed all the wealth and power, and the rest of the inhabitants were slaves, as the best state of society imaginable. But who thinks so now? Who imagines that the resources or power of any state in which the strict feudal system had been maintained could be adequately developed? Would it be desirable to exchange the condition of England for that of Russia, or that of New York for that of Poland? It is so extreme an opinion that human happiness and virtue are best promoted when

the mass of the population are slaves, that ignorance and degradation are conducive to excellence, that it is impossible its disinterested advocates ever should be numerous. That arbitrary power in the hands of sinful men is an evil, though at times necessary; that liberty is in itself a good, though at times unattainable, we had considered political and moral axioms. That the moral and intellectual improvement of the mass of society promotes the good of the whole; that this improvement is incompatible with the long continuance of slavery, and that slavery is inimical to this improvement, are propositions which may be sustained by the clearest of all proofs both from the constitution of human nature, and from the history of the world. It is not however our object to enter upon any discussion on this subject. We wish merely to refer to the existing state of public opinion in this country in relation to slavery. That those who advocate the extreme views just stated, are comparatively few, may be inferred from the fact that it is only within a few years that any one has openly avowed them. As far as we know the general sentiment at the south is now, what it was before, and what has been so frequently and boldly stated by southern men from the time of Washington and Jefferson to the present day. We consider this new doctrine to be one of the unfortunate results of the fanaticism of the modern abolitionists, and that it will pass away with the cause which gave it birth.

We believe that the great body of pious and intelligent people in this country hold now, and always have held, 1. That slavery, having been permitted under the Old Testament dispensation, and slave-owners having been received to the Christian church by the inspired apostles, slave-holding cannot be condemned as in all cases sinful. 2. Consequently, that immediate emancipation is not always a duty, but is obligatory or not according to circumstances. 3. That Christianity enjoins the just remuneration and kind treatment of all classes of labourers; that it requires that all proper efforts should be made for the moral and intellectual improvement of men, and that the marriage and parental relations should be held sacred among the bond as well as the free. 4. The gospel therefore condemns not only the conduct of unjust and cruel masters, but all unjust and cruel laws; laws which forbid the moral and intellectual culture of any class of men, with the design of keeping them in bondage. When slaves are in the condition of ferocious savages, the laws enacted for

their government must necessarily be severe. When they have passed into the state of mild and submissive labourers, this severity should be abated; and when they have become intelligent and industrious, capable of taking care of themselves, still another set of laws would be necessary. Thus one restriction on freedom after another would be removed, until all had disappeared. This is what Christianity enjoins, and what it has already effected in almost all parts of the world.*

In the application of these principles, we hold, that those having authority in the matter must be left to themselves. That we have no right to interfere in any way in which it would not be proper for us to interfere for the abolition of popery in Mexico, or monarchy in Canada. They alone have the right to modify their slave laws, or to abolish slavery entirely. They have the means of judging of the condition of their slaves, and of deciding what relaxation of their bonds would be for the advantage of all concerned. It is their business, and not ours. On them rests the responsibility and not upon us. We may lament that they do not see this subject in the same light that we do. We may earnestly desire for the sake of human happiness and virtue that they would take immediate and effectual measures to secure freedom to the slaves, and we may endeavour to convince them, that, under existing circumstances, this would be the best possible course for them to pursue. But we have no more right to force them to adopt this course than we have to force the Pacha of Egypt to relax his iron grasp on the vitals of his unhappy subjects. And as to the question of duty and right, it makes no difference as to the kind of force we may choose to adopt. Whether it by open war, or by instigating rebellion, or by the modern system of agitation, it is, as to the principle involved, all one. We are attempting to control those whom we have no right to control.

The only legitimate modes of influence which we can exercise are argument and persuasion. The two great abiding principles of human action are interest and conscience. It must be confessed that the former, in the present state of hu-

* We have on a former occasion, see *Biblical Repertory*, April 1836, stated and defended these principles more at length. The fact that the paper referred to was reprinted by southern men, and extensively circulated by their instrumentality, sufficiently proves that the south is as far from being unanimous in the opinion that slavery is itself a good, and should be perpetuated, as the north is from sympathizing with the modern abolitionists.

man nature, is by far the more uniform and general in its operation. There are few things in the history of the world which make a more melancholy impression on the mind, than the slow and distant steps by which the cause of justice and human happiness has advanced. We know not where to look for an example of a privileged class voluntarily relinquishing their superiority over their fellow men. Every step in the progress of the middle classes in Europe was made by force, not by concession. Privileges were granted only when they could no longer be withheld. The nobility and clergy, alas! held on to the last to their immunities, throwing all burdens on those below them, and engrossing as far as possible all power and property in their own hands. The state of villeinage was not entirely abolished in France before the revolution; and it exists in its very worst forms in some parts even of Germany, to the present day. The progress of society has not been uniform. The Germans were originally free. It was by successive changes that the common people were reduced to a state of slavery. And in some districts, it was not before the sixteenth century that the nobles were able to deprive the labouring population of all their rights. During two hundred years scarcely a single step was taken to improve the condition of the West India slaves. From generation to generation they continued in the same degraded state without the prospect or hope of change. The mother country was ignorant or indifferent, and the colonies thought their interest required the continuance of the old system without alteration. When the abolition of the slave-trade was first proposed, though now pronounced by the most enlightened nations a felony deserving death, it was opposed by all ranks and classes of those who thought their interests involved in its continuance. And the opposition from this quarter never abated. The measure was carried at last in despite of the resistance of what was called the West India interest. Hindostan would probably have continued closed to the present day against all missionary efforts, had the matter rested with the East India company. They resisted as long as they could, but were at last forced to yield or forfeit the renewal of their charter. It is surely unnecessary however to adduce illustration of the controlling force of self-interest on the great mass of mankind. It is as steady, as uniform, and as powerful as the attraction of gravitation. Examples in individuals of obedience to the dictates of justice or humanity in opposition to those of inter-

est are of every day occurrence. But such examples in the conduct of states and of large classes of men, are extremely rare. The abolition of slavery in the northern states was no sacrifice of interest to principle. The emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies was not carried by slave-owners. It was attended by no sensible self-denial on the part of those who insisted upon the act. The motives which led to it were no doubt humane and honourable; but it was after all cheap humanity. Where is the example of a community of slave-owners, from motives of justice, and in opposition to their supposed interests, emancipating their slaves? It is not we fear to be found in the records of the past. Perhaps it is to be furnished by the southern states of our own Union. We are told that "the generous south" will emancipate their slaves as soon as it will be for the advantage of the slaves themselves.* If so, the act will stand out prominent and alone in the history of the world. It will abide like the ever-during pyramids, attracting the admiration of all coming ages, when the ordinary operations of benevolence shall be regarded as the ruins of forgotten cities around their base.

The human mind is a strange anomaly. We are not to suppose that men in general deliberately sacrifice their conscience to their mercenary interests. The moral feelings in man are far too powerful to admit of this. It is by influencing the judgment that the selfish principle succeeds, so generally, in controlling our conduct. The advocates of the slave-trade, no doubt, were persuaded that it was best that it should be continued; and the East India company, we presume, firmly believed that more harm than good would result from allowing the teachers of Christianity to have access either to the Europeans or natives in Hindostan. We are not to suppose that the West India planters secretly coincided in opinion with the advocates of emancipation, and resisted the measure merely because they thought their interests at stake. It was far otherwise. The great body of them were fully convinced that to set the slaves free would be the ruin of the blacks as well as of the whites. They looked forward to the event with the most serious apprehensions. Some of them left the islands; others sacrificed their property, and others took refuge as the day approached on board the shipping. This accounts for the exasperation they manifested at what they considered the folly and wickedness of the abolitionists. This

* See the *Southern Literary Messenger* August 1838.

also is the cause of the bitter feeling which pervades the south in relation to the anti-slavery movements of the north, in our own country. The recollection of this difference in judgment ought to make us moderate and charitable. The modern abolitionists, however, speak of the southern slave-owners precisely as though the latter were fully convinced that slaveholding was the greatest of all sins, and yet deliberately continued the practice for the sake of gain. This is far from being the fact. The advantage of slavery to themselves doubtless biasses their judgments, and leads them to form opinions on the subject very different from those which disinterested persons entertain. But they are not to be regarded as men who sin against the clear convictions of their own conscience. We are far from supposing that a man's thinking a thing to be right makes it right. Paul and other persecutors who thought they were doing God service, were not therefore guiltless; though they certainly were less guilty than they would have been had they known they were persecuting the truth. No man can regard John Newton, when the master of a slave-ship, with the feelings with which a slave-trader is justly regarded at the present day. While this real difference of opinion should make the opposers of slavery more moderate in their censures of slave-owners; the fact that their own interests are so much involved in the subject, should make the latter sensible that they are not impartial judges in relation to it. They should suspect themselves to be wrong, if they find that all, whose interests are not at stake, differ from them.

It is a consolation to know that although improvements have at first been strenuously resisted, yet after their establishment, few of their original opposers would be willing to undo them. No English nobleman would now wish his thriving and wealthy tenants transformed into degraded serfs. The Liverpool and Bristol merchants would not now vote for the re-establishment of the slave-trade. And even at this early date, few of the planters, in the better portion of the West India islands, would be willing to have slavery restored among them. As ameliorations in the condition of our fellow men are resisted in general by those only who think they would be losers by their introduction, it is of great importance to show that all such ameliorations are for the general good: that all classes are benefited when the condition of any one class is improved. It is time that the opinion should be renounced, that the interests of one portion of society can

be permanently advanced by the depression of another. The English landlord has reaped a corresponding benefit from every improvement in the condition of the cultivators of the soil. He is a far richer and more influential man than the Polish nobleman whose more extensive possessions are tilled by ignorant bondmen. It would therefore be a great point gained, if it could be made to appear incontestably that the interests of the slave-owner are promoted by every improvement in the condition of the slave, and even by his full emancipation. The greatest of all obstacles would then be removed from the path of freedom. What then have, as far as yet developed, been the results of the great experiment in the West India islands? It would be very unreasonable to expect that these results should be immediately and obviously beneficial in all cases and in all respects. All great social changes are in themselves evils. And even when the change is from a worse to a better condition, the inconvenience is often immediate, while the improvement, though greatly preponderating, is remote. We presume no one questions that the emancipation of South America from the yoke of Spain, and the introduction of free institutions, will be for the ultimate benefit of that country. Though the immediate result has been such protracted anarchy. The change there was too sudden and too great, but no friend of liberty has his faith shaken by this result, or is moved by the taunting reference to the fact, in which the advocates of despotism in Europe so constantly indulge.

In order to ascertain the real state of the West India islands since the passage of the emancipation bill, the Anti-Slavery Society commissioned Messrs. Thome and Kimball to make a personal examination. These gentlemen spent about six months in prosecuting their inquiries, and have published the result in the work which bears their names, at the head of this article. Mr. Kimball appears to have been an amiable and excellent man. He was during the period of his visit suffering under a pulmonary complaint of which he has since died. The greater portion of the labour both in collecting information and in preparing it for the press thus devolved on Mr. Thome. The work before us may be regarded as substantially his, and the assiduity and talent which it exhibits are much to his credit. Impartiality could hardly be expected from one who had already distinguished himself for that peculiar kind of zeal which characterizes abolitionists, and who had so strong an interest in making out a statement

favourable to his own views. All expressions of his own opinion, all general and sweeping assertions, we pass over as of little value. It is only the facts authenticated by competent witnesses which he adduces which are of much importance. And happily much the larger portion of the work is taken up in giving us the testimony of residents in the islands. The unfavourable account which he gives of Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica, which is contradicted by the public acts of that officer, and by the confidence which the blacks have openly manifested towards him, shows how liable he was to be prejudiced by *ex parte* statements. The same remark may be made in reference to his severe strictures upon the special magistrates in Jamaica. His denunciations of the apprentice system, though sustained by the popular feeling to a considerable extent in England, are met by the counter testimony of most official persons whose business it was to be acquainted with the subject, and of Prof. Hovey, who presents the matter in a very different light. Mr. Thome tells us also that he and his companion attended a missionary meeting in Antigua, at which they, (we presume *he*) made a speech, in which it is said that "slavery made more than two millions of heathen in our own country; and that so long as the cries of these heathen at home entered the ears of our young men and women, they could not, dare not, go abroad. . . . They felt that their obligations were at home, and they resolved that if they could not, by reason of legal prohibitions, and slave-holding menaces, carry the gospel forthwith to the slaves, they would labour for the overthrow of that unrighteous system which made it a crime punishable with death to preach salvation to the poor." p. 84. The plain import of this statement is that the two millions of slaves in this country are heathen, that preaching the gospel to them is a crime punishable with death. Yet every one knows that the slaves attend church freely with their masters; that every pastor at the south may preach to them as much as he pleases; that there are many thousands of them regular members of the Christian congregations,* that the great body of them in the southern atlantic states, at least, regard themselves as Methodists, Baptists, or Presbyterians, and that some excellent men devote themselves almost exclusively to their religious instruction. That this department of Christian labour

* There are upwards of 4300 blacks in communion with the several churches of Charleston, S. C. alone. See Christian Almanac.

has been much neglected, as well as every other, when we think of what ought to have been done, is very true. But we verily believe that as large a portion of the blacks at the south hear the gospel, as of the inhabitants of the city of New York. However that may be, the assertions of Mr. Thome are so obviously untrue, as to shake our confidence in his assertions. If he speaks thus of his own country, where he has lived all his life, who will rely upon what he says of places where he was a mere sojourner? We repeat, therefore, that we dismiss as undeserving of notice any general assertions which he makes about the West India Islands. His book is interesting and valuable, because he has had the good sense to bring forward a great number of witnesses, whose testimony may be relied upon.

Prof. Hovey's book is written in a much better spirit. He is cautious and temperate. There are fewer details and less prolixity of statement; but the information is better digested and his views more comprehensive. The freedom of this work from all offensive and unjust reflexions, and its calm benevolent spirit, render it singularly fitted to produce a favourable impression on the minds of even his slave-holding readers. Col. Flinter, the author of the first work at the head of this article, went to the West Indies as an officer in the British army, but subsequently entered the service of the Queen of Spain. During a residence of twenty-one years in the several islands, he made it his special object to collect information on the condition of the coloured and slave population, which he has published with the general view of showing the value of the Spanish colonies, the superiority of the Spanish slave-laws to those of other countries, and especially the greater economy and efficiency of free labour compared to that of slaves. His opportunities for observation, his diligence in collection of facts, and his accuracy in presenting them, have rendered his book, we believe, a standard on these subjects.

In order properly to understand the nature and prospects of the great experiment now making in the British Islands, it is necessary that we should know something of their condition before the passage of the act of emancipation. On this, and on every other part of this subject, our limits require us to be very brief. It is a remarkable fact, out of keeping with the general character of the two countries, that the slave-laws of England have been much more severe than those of Spain. The former had indeed undergone successive ameliorations

before 1834, but the latter have been comparatively mild from the beginning. Great facilities have always been allowed the Spanish slaves in the acquisition of property. Being considered as minors, they are incapable of legal title to their possessions; but custom has acquired the force of law. It is not uncommon for them to possess slaves, houses and land. A slave may receive donations, which if taken by the master, the amount will be deducted from the slave's price, should he wish to purchase his freedom. Though custom had sanctioned the acquisition of property by slaves, in the English colonies, it was to a much less extent. Again, much greater facilities have always been afforded the Spanish slaves for the acquisition of freedom. If the slave wishes it, the master is obliged to sell him at a price regulated by law, which cannot exceed 300 dollars. He may thus not only change masters, but may purchase his own liberty, or that of his wife or children, at a fair valuation. It often happens that such purchase is gradually effected. After the price of a slave is determined, as soon as he obtains one sixth of the amount, he may buy Monday free; when he gets another sixth he buys Tuesday free, and so on to the end of the week. We know of no other slave-holding country in which masters are thus obliged to part with their slaves. Besides, after thirty-five years service the slave works one-third less than the other slaves; after forty-five years one-half less, and after fifty years he is free and his master is bound to support him. The consequence of these laws is manifest. "There are more free people of colour," says Col. Flinter, "in Porto Rico alone, than in the whole of the French and English Islands put together; although in the latter, there are more than twenty times the number of slaves contained in the former island."* There is the same superiority of the Spanish colonies over those of other countries as to the moral and religious instruction of the slaves. This remark applies particularly to the earlier periods of the history of the British islands. Every planter in the Spanish islands, according to Flinter, is obliged to give

* The British West Indies containing a population of 760,000 souls, have 80,121 free people of colour. The three French islands, with a population above 200,000, have less than 20,000 free coloured people. While Porto Rico in 1830 had 127,287, and Cuba, in 1827, 106,494, making in these two Spanish islands 233,781 free coloured persons. Trinidad having been under Spanish laws before it fell into the hands of the English, has a greater number of free blacks than any other British colony. It has 16,000 free coloured people, out of a population of 64,000 (44,000 ?), while Jamaica has but 35,000 out of a population of 402,000. See Flinter, p. 225.

his slaves such religious instruction as shall prepare them for baptism within one year after their importation, and to send them to church on Sundays and festivals. No law analogous to this has existed in the protestant colonies. Marriage also is promoted by allowing the slaves of one owner to intermarry with those of another; the owner of the male slave being obliged to purchase the female slave, at a price fixed by arbiters; or should he not wish to purchase, he is compelled to sell his slave to the owner of the female on the same condition. The marriage relation is sanctioned and enjoined by law. In the Island of Cuba there were, during the year 1827, among free people of colour, 385 marriages; among the slaves 1381, together 1766; among the whites 1868; the white population being 311,051, and the coloured 393,436.* Thus it appears that there were almost as many marriages among the blacks as among the whites, in proportion to their numbers. This single fact speaks volumes. Until within a few years, "the marriage rite was altogether unknown in the British colonies, and among the free negroes and mulattoes it was of very rare occurrence indeed." As to the general treatment of the slaves, in regulating the amount of labour to be exacted from them, in prescribing the degree of punishment to which they might be subjected, and in specifying the allowance of their food and clothing, the Spanish laws were also distinguished for their mildness and benevolence. The consequence has been the general prosperity of the Spanish islands; their security from servile insurrections, and the general attachment of the slaves to their masters.† It is obvious that slavery must long since have ceased to exist in these islands, where so much facility for the acquisition of property and for obtaining their freedom was afforded the slaves, had it not been for the continuance of the slave-trade.

The British islands, in which the experiment of complete emancipation is now in progress, may be said in general to have been in a less favourable state, than those in which the milder Spanish laws had been long in force. A very great change for the better however had, for a number of years, been going forward in these islands, preparing the way for

* Flinter, p. 220.

† Col. Flinter states that there never has occurred a case of insurrection among the slaves in any Spanish colony subject to the crown of Spain.

the general manumission of the slaves. And it will be seen that the experiment is most successful in those islands, where these ameliorations had been most cordially adopted. Antigua contains a population of 37,000, of which about 30,000 were slaves in 1834, 4500 free people of colour, and 2500 are whites. For the religious instruction of this population, there are twenty-six ordained ministers, and eighteen regular places of worship. The island is divided into six parishes, in each of which the Episcopalians have a church and a rector. These rectors, together with the archdeacon and three other ministers, make ten clergymen belonging to the established church. According to an estimate of the archdeacon furnished to Mr. Thome, the number of blacks attending the established church is four thousand six hundred and thirty-six. The Moravians commenced their labours in this island in 1756, and have now five establishments, and twenty-two missionaries, of whom eleven are ordained ministers. About fifteen thousand blacks belong to this denomination, of whom upwards of five thousand are communicants. The Methodists commenced their mission in Antigua more than forty years ago, and have now five ministers, several local preachers, and seven places of worship. More than eight thousand people are under their charge. Thus it appears that Antigua is as well supplied with the means of religious instruction as any part of our own country. As these means have been, for the most part at least, in operation before the act of emancipation, they contributed greatly to the favourable issue of that measure. The same remark applies to the attention which had been paid to education. The schools under the superintendance of the clergy of the established church contained in 1833 about two thousand scholars; those under the Methodist, about the same number; and those under the Moravians between four and five hundred, besides those attached to the infant and adult schools under their care on the different estates. In addition to the means of moral and religious culture which had been long enjoyed in this island, there were other circumstances favourable to the success of immediate emancipation. There were more resident proprietors on this island than on many of the others; the planters had already modified their views of slavery and become more lenient in their treatment of their slaves. A gentleman assured Prof. Hovey that on the estate where he resides, and which has two hundred and seventy-four negroes, no driver

had been allowed to carry a whip for fifteen years, and that such was the general practice on the island.*

Barbadoes contains a population of upwards of 100,000, of whom in 1834, 82,807 were slaves, the whites about fifteen thousand, and the free people of colour between four and five thousand. As the island does not embrace more than 166 square miles, it must be under complete cultivation in order to sustain such a dense population. Slavery is said to have been here remarkably well managed, and reduced to a complete system. In this respect it had the advantage of many of the other islands, though much behind Antigua as to the means of moral and religious improvement. In 1834 there were twenty-one churches and chapels, and twenty-nine clergymen belonging to the established church. The chapel on the Codrington estate was the only one appropriated exclusively to the blacks, though the others are all open to them, when disposed to attend worship. The Methodists have seven chapels and three ordained ministers. The number (of communicants?) belonging to the several societies is 1,920, of whom 1,370 were formerly slaves. The Moravians have three establishments, and about 5,200 people under their care. The number of apprentices who receive instruction in connexion with the Episcopal church, Prof. Hovey estimates at about 6,000, and the whole number under the care of the three denominations at about 12,000, leaving 70,000 without the means of religious knowledge. This may be near the truth, though it allows only one thousand to the Methodists who have seven chapels. In 1825, there was but one public school on the island for the instruction of slaves, and that was on the Codrington estate. In 1834 there were connected with the established church 155 schools designed for the poor, including the apprentices, and embracing 7,447 scholars. The Wesleyans have one day school and six Sabbath schools with 1,188 scholars. The Moravians have three schools in which about 700 children are taught. In innumrating the means of improvement in Barbadoes, mention should be made of the Codrington estates, which comprise about eight hundred acres, and had upon them, previous to emancipation, three hundred and thirty slaves. They were left in 1710 by Gen. Codrington to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. A college has been erected on these

* See the account of Antigua given by Prof. Hovey, and also that given by Messrs. Thome and Kimball for the facts stated in this paragraph.

estates to educate young men as preachers and school masters. There is also a chapel designed for the exclusive accommodation of the slaves, and a chaplain appointed for their instruction. A school was also established on each estate for children. A little before emancipation, a plan was adopted of assigning a cottage and two acres of good land to the more deserving slaves, who were required to work four days in the week on the estate by way of rent. This plan succeeded so well that many of the proprietors were led to adopt it. The chaplain states in his report that within three years, commencing with July 1833, he had baptised 776 infants and adults, and married 135 couples. There are now upon the estate about seventy married couples: in 1822 there was but one.* It is obvious from the preceding statement, which is drawn principally from Prof. Hovey, that this island was by no means in such a favourable state for emancipation as Antigua. Mr. Thome indeed tells us that the governor, archdeacon and other residents, expressed the opinion that the slaves there were quite as well prepared for freedom as in the last mentioned island. It might have been safe, and even expedient to grant them immediate emancipation, but to say they were as well prepared for it, as the slaves on the sister island, is to say that religious instruction is of no value. In Antigua almost all the negroes were under pastoral supervision, whereas in Barbadoes not much more than 12,000 out of 82,000 enjoyed this advantage.

The experiment of emancipation has found its severest trial in Jamaica. The disadvantages with which it has there to contend are numerous and serious. Some of these relate to the slaves, and some to the masters. The population of Jamaica is about 400,000, of whom about 312,000 were slaves, 40,000 free people of colour, and the remainder whites. Sir Lionel Smith in his address to the House of Assembly in 1836, after stating that no man had enjoyed so extended an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the condition of the negro population in the West India islands, adds that he is sorry to proclaim that they are in Jamaica "in a more deplorably backward state than in any other." The principal causes of this fact are the following. The first is the mountainous character of the country. The estates are thus in many instances very difficult of access. The slaves upon them are thus cut

* This fact is assuredly very disgraceful to the society, considering that they had been in possession of the estate more than a century.

off, in a great measure, from all intercourse with civilized life, and remain in their original barbarism. Very frequently the only whites upon an estate with several hundred negroes, are the overseer, two book-keepers, and a carpenter, and these, as may be supposed, not always of a very edifying character. In the second place, there are fewer resident proprietors than in any other island. This is a circumstance of great importance. The owners of slaves are in the vast majority of instances far more solicitous for their welfare, more kind and considerate, than the miserable hirelings who, in their absence, have the immediate control of the negroes. In the third place, no adequate provision was ever made for the education or religious instruction of the slaves. It is true that the missionary force on this island, was absolutely greater than on any other, but by no means proportionate to the extent of the field. We have not the means of ascertaining, with any degree of accuracy, how far religious instruction was extended to the blacks. According to Prof. Hovey, in 1836, the Church Missionary Society had six missionaries; the London Society seven; Wesleyan, twenty-nine; the Baptist, sixteen; the Moravian, nineteen; that is, one missionary to about fifty thousand of the coloured population. The Moravians commenced their operations about 1754; the Wesleyans about 1794; the Independents since 1834. What is the number of clergy attached to the established church, we have not been able to ascertain. The Baptists are said to be the most numerous body of Christians; their chapels numbering thirty-one, and their members 32,960. The Wesleyans, in 1834, had 12,835 members, and 1005 Sunday scholars; at the beginning of 1837, 19,715 members, and 2,765 scholars. There are schools in connection with the different missions, and also with the established church. The former, Prof. Hovey says, he was told were crowded, but that the latter were languishing. This difference he ascribes to the fact that the Episcopal clergymen have not secured the confidence of the apprentices. There are twelve Mico* charity schools now in operation with 4,581 pupils. In the Wolmer free school, in Kingston, there are 502 scholars, of whom 72 are white, 430 coloured, 50 of whom were in 1837 the children of apprentices. The efforts for diffusing education have greatly increased since emancipation, but it is evident that the mass of the negroes on this island, were, pre-

* So called from the name of their founder.

vious to that event, in knowledge, as in other respects, much behind their brethren in some of the other islands.

The difficulties in way of emancipation in Jamaica, however, have arisen quite as much from the feelings of the masters, as from the want of preparation on the part of the slaves. As already stated, a very large proportion of the former were not proprietors, and hence the relation between them and the slaves was of a very unfriendly character. Another circumstance of still greater importance was the hostility of the planters to the proposals of the mother country for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. This had been strenuous and long continued. When in consequence of Mr. Canning's resolutions of 1823, a bill was introduced into the House of Assembly in Jamaica, "to enable slaves to give evidence in certain cases of crime committed against slaves, &c." though very far short of what the British government had recommended, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-four to one. In 1826 the House passed a new consolidated slave law, which, though rejected by the home government, was re-enacted session after session until 1831, when, the objectionable clauses being suppressed, it was allowed to pass into a law. During all this time the greatest excitement prevailed, and the strongest denunciations were freely uttered against the conduct of the English ministry and parliament. In consequence of this excitement, and especially of the knowledge on the part of the slaves that the planters were resisting measures designed for their benefit, a rebellion broke out in 1832; during which two hundred negroes were killed in the field, and five hundred were subsequently executed by order of a court martial. It may be easily imagined what exasperation of feeling this must have occasioned between the planters and slaves. In addition to this, it must be remembered that the planters, having long manifested great repugnance to the labour of the missionaries, on the breaking out of the rebellion, immediately charged them with having instigated it. This charge, as one of the magistrates who was present at the trial, and who was by no means partial to the missionaries, assured Prof. Hovey, was destitute of foundation, yet it led to a violent persecution. They were imprisoned, maltreated, and insulted, and their chapels were demolished; the Baptists lost six in this manner, and the Methodists four. The loss of the former was estimated at \$70,000. These events produced a great impression on the British parliament and nation, and further widened the breach between

the planters and slaves, in whose behalf the missionaries were suffering.

When the planters found that the English government was determined on the abolition of slavery, they were greatly exasperated, but finding the result inevitable, the assembly passed a resolution declaring that, on condition of receiving a just compensation for their loss of property, they were willing to pass a bill for complete emancipation. They were the first also to accede to the conditions on which the grant of £20,000,000 was made; but when they found how that sum was to be distributed, their dissatisfaction became as violent as ever. Two months before the emancipation act was to go into operation, they addressed a memorial to the king and council, in which they say, "Had we anticipated that the miserable reward of our submission would be, in chief part, withheld from us, to enrich the foreign settlements conquered from the enemy, we would have rejected with indignation the unworthy compromise, and incurred all the evils which the authority and anger of the mother country might have inflicted, protesting against her tyranny before the world, and reserving our rights to be vindicated and resumed at some happier moment."* When it is considered that the success of the great experiment of emancipation depended as much upon the hearty co-operation of the planters, as upon the disposition of the slaves, it is really a wonder that it did not, in this island, fail entirely. The difficulties which it has encountered have arisen mainly out of the strong conviction on the part of the planters that it would fail, and on their decided hostility to the whole scheme. The parent government could pass only a general law, which required in the several colonies possessing legislative assemblies, supplementary laws to carry it into effect. These laws in Jamaica were very deficient, and have given rise to a great deal of difficulty.†

Having said thus much on the state of these several islands previous to the decisive action of the British parliament in 1833, we must next give a very brief account of the process by which the slaves were emancipated. The act of emancipation provided first that slavery should cease from the first of August, 1834; that all children under six years of age

* See Prof. Hovey, *Let. X.*, from whom the above details are principally borrowed.

† The evidence of the correctness of these remarks may be seen at length in an article on the *Apprentice system* in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXXXIV.

should be absolutely free, and be supported by their parents; secondly, that all slaves engaged in agriculture should be absolutely free on the first of August, 1840; and all others on the first of August, 1838. Thirdly, that in the mean time, the slaves engaged in agriculture should work for their former masters forty-five hours a week, in return for which they were to be allowed the same support and privileges which they had enjoyed during slavery. Fourthly, these apprentices, as they were now called, could not be removed from the estates to which they were attached, without the consent of a special justice, and they were at liberty to purchase their entire freedom at a price fixed by public appraisers. Fifthly, the masters were deprived of all power to punish their apprentices. Sixthly, a set of special justices, were appointed by the authority of the mother country, to whom all complaints of masters against apprentices, or of apprentices against masters, were to be referred. The negroes were thus emancipated from the control of arbitrary power, and placed under the control of law. Such were the more important provisions of the act as it passed the British parliament. In order to carry it into operation, auxiliary laws were necessary in those colonies having legislative assemblies, which laws were more satisfactory and effective in some islands than in others. It was also at the option of such colonies to adopt the apprentice system, or to grant immediate and complete emancipation. The latter course was adopted in Antigua and Bermudas; in the other colonies the apprentice system was carried into effect. The English government granted £20,000,000 to the proprietors, as a compensation for any loss, which they might sustain from the discontinuance of slavery. This sum was apportioned by commissioners between the different colonies, and afforded in Antigua about £14 for each slave; in Jamaica about £20; and in Barbadoes about £25.

The wisdom of this form of gradual emancipation has been keenly disputed. On the one hand, it has been contended that the apprentice system was a mere mockery of the hopes of the slave, leaving him in a condition little, if at all better than that of absolute slavery; and that so far from being a preparation for freedom it was an actual disqualification. On the other hand, it was maintained that it was absolutely necessary in order to effect the transition from slavery to freedom in a salutary manner, and that it has answered all reasonable expectations. Though this is a subject of great practical

importance, our limits forbid our entering upon the discussion. It seems very plain, that the degree of freedom which could be advantageously granted to the slaves, must depend mainly upon their state of improvement, and consequently that the apprentice system might be a wise measure in some colonies, and unwise in others. That this system is not a great improvement on that of slavery, is an assertion too extravagant for refutation. And it is scarcely less extravagant to say that it is not adapted to operate as a preparation for entire freedom. It taught the slave to look to the law for direction and protection; to rely upon his own exertions, to a certain extent, for the support of himself and children; it made him a hired labourer for a considerable portion of his time, and thus habituated him to the use and care of money. Where the system was cordially adopted, it worked well; and where it was reluctantly submitted to, and unkindly or unjustly executed, it has, as might be expected, very imperfectly effected the design of its authors. This however is no reproach to them. The law was wise in itself; the evils resulted in a great measure from its execution. Accordingly, Mr. Buxton reported in 1836, after a protracted examination at the head of a committee of the House of Commons, that even in Jamaica, the system was "working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from slavery to freedom." Where the slaves are prepared for immediate emancipation, it would be wise to grant it, as the result has shown; but where they are less improved, some such intermediate state as that provided by the apprentice system, would be highly salutary, if adopted with the cordial approbation of those by whom it was to be carried into effect.

It may be considered premature to speak positively of the results of emancipation in the West India islands, as the experiment of entire freedom in most of the colonies has but just commenced. There are some authenticated facts, however, which are worthy of careful consideration. In the first place, the transition from slavery to entire freedom in Antigua and Bermudas, and from slavery to the apprentice system in the other islands, was made without bloodshed, violence, or confusion. The history of the world scarcely affords an example of so great a revolution so silently effected. This fact is now notorious. The 1st of August 1834, was almost universally spent in religious exercises; the churches were all crowded; thanksgiving to God for the great boon of freedom ascended from thousands of joyful hearts, and with

exceptions too few and too transient to deserve notice, the memorable day passed without disturbance, and the negroes returned without reluctance to their accustomed labours. It is not wonderful that a very different result was by many confidently expected. It is difficult, after the event, to place ourselves in the position of those who were looking forward to the uncertain issue. No one could tell whether gratitude for the present, and joy in the prospect of future good, would prevail in the minds of the liberated slaves, over the passions excited by the recollections of the past. It was impossible to predict what would be the effect of removing the wonted motive of fear from so many thousand unenlightened minds, and substituting in its place, those of hope and interest, which operate but feebly in the absence of knowledge. The very advocates of the measure now admit that as to the *immediate* issue, they had some strange misgivings; that they found it almost impossible to hope that the transition from an unnatural to a natural state would be itself natural and easy, and society restored without passing through some painful discipline.* The apprehensions of those most deeply interested in the result, were naturally more excited. Many of the planters were convinced that certain destruction would be the consequence of emancipation. Mr. Thome tells us, though rather sneeringly, that some families in Antigua did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July. The solicitor general stated that there were many fears in Barbadoes for the results of the first day of abolition; and one of the special magistrates remarked that he could hardly believe his own eyes and ears, when he found there was no disturbance or excitement. In reference to Jamaica, Lord Sligo, in his despatch, dated the 21st of June 1835, says, "The first prophecy was blood and destruction on the first of August; in this they were wrong. The second, that this scene would take place at Christmas, as it had not taken place in August; in this they were wrong." In short, the result was awaited with indifference by none but the fanatical or obdurate, or, as Mr. Thome would express it, by those who looked at the issue "through philosophical principles." Whether these apprehensions were rational or not, the event has happily disappointed them; and if nothing else is certain, it is clear that abolition was accomplished without disturbance or disorder.

* Edinburgh Review, No. 134.

Secondly, emancipation has not lessened the amount of productive labour in these islands. This may be stated as the general result. In some cases the amount has declined; in others it has increased; and in others it has remained stationary. With regard to Jamaica, the facts are very different as it relates to different estates; which seems to prove that where the result has been unfavourable, it is to be attributed to some fault in the management, rather than to the system. Such was the prevalence of the impression that the system would not work well, that the requisite efforts were not made to secure its success. Of thirty-two persons examined by a committee of the Jamaica Assembly, in Nov. 1834, twenty-eight predicted a ruinous deficiency of produce; and the committee assert in their report the absolute certainty that their canes must rot on the ground, from the impossibility of procuring the requisite labour to manufacture them into sugar. Yet when the time came, no difficulty was experienced. Under the influence of these desponding views, some planters abandoned a portion of their estates; a Mr. Jones, for example, gave up the cultivation of one-third of those under his care, and he accordingly made only two hundred, instead of three hundred hogsheads of sugar. Others neglected to hire the extra time of their apprentices. Up to November 1835, there were as many as 237 estates, on which wages had not even been offered. On many of those on which they had been offered and accepted, it was only during crop. No one could expect that as much work would be done by the apprentices in forty-five hours a week, as was done by the slaves working ten hours a day.* But where any thing like the amount of the interest of the sum which the planter received from the compensation fund, was paid out in wages, there was no difficulty in procuring labour, and no decrease in the produce of the estates. Thus a Mr. Oldham received as interest on his portion of the compensation fund over £10,000 currency, and expended £8000 currency in wages, and made rather more from his estate than he did during slavery, though he hired only during about five months. Mr. Shirley succeeded still better by making a contract with his apprentices for the whole year, they agreeing to work as usual ten hours a day for four days in the week, and he pay-

* "Before the 1st of Aug. 1834 the great body of the slaves in Jamaica were required, during seven months of the year, to work sixty hours weekly; during the remaining five, upwards of seventy." *Edinburgh Review.*

ing wages for the fifth day. A still more striking example of the effect of good management, is mentioned by one of the special magistrates. "An estate in my district," he says, "was rented at the commencement of the apprentice system by Mr. Walcott of this parish, from Mr. Lyons of London, on the following terms:—Forty hogsheads to be given yearly, and every thing replaced at the end of the apprenticeship that may be deficient. I am given to understand that, for many years past, this estate has not paid one fraction to the proprietor, and that Mr. Walcott has, notwithstanding, been so fortunate as to clear £1200 on the last crop, and will probably do so (if not even better) to the end of the time." The Edinburgh Reviewers, from whom most of the above facts are borrowed, after a strict examination of the parliamentary papers relating to this subject, arrive at the conclusion, "that if any planter be a loser under the new system, it is only because he has not used his capital judiciously." There are other causes besides the mere want of judgment in the use of capital, which ought to be taken into view in estimating the result of the new system on the pecuniary interests of the planters. The most important has been alluded to, the want of confidence in the system on the part of the planters, which led not only to neglect, but to harsh and irritating measures towards the apprentices. The planters had a right to forty-five hours work a week, which might be distributed as they thought best. The plan of making the apprentices work about eight hours a day for six days, was extensively adopted; thus leaving the negroes mere fragments of time at their own disposal. This excited the greatest dissatisfaction, and yet it was persisted in, until it had produced a great deal of evil. There are also in Jamaica many estates nearly exhausted, and which, under any system, would produce less and less every year; and others which could only be cultivated by working the slaves beyond their strength. Notwithstanding all these and other causes of decline, the produce of Jamaica for the first year under the apprenticeship fell short only about 8.3 per cent. The second year was one of the most unfavourable seasons which had occurred for forty years, and therefore affords no fair criterion; still the average produce of 1835 and 1836 fell below the average from 1829 to 1834 by only 19.3 per cent. This result was far more favourable than the gloomy apprehensions of the planters allowed them to anticipate. They confidently predicted that the cultivation of their estates could not be carried on under the new system;

and memorialized the home government that the only way to save them from absolute ruin was the transmission, at the expense of the mother country, of large bodies of white labourers. When experience had corrected these apprehensions, and the planters became more reconciled to the new state of things, a great improvement took place, and the planters found they could do very well, at least until the expiration of the apprenticeship.* Among the many facts which prove that this feeling prevailed, it may be mentioned, that the time of an apprentice having three years to serve, was often sold for the price of a good slave before emancipation. Real estate had greatly advanced in value. Several estates had, when Prof. Hovey was on the island, recently been sold at an advance of more than forty per cent. on their value ten years ago; and this, he was informed, was no uncommon occurrence. Real estate was in great demand, and the rent of houses in Kingston had considerably risen. The institution of banks, the construction of railroads, and the introduction of steam navigation, are further indications of the increasing prosperity of the island. It is at least certain that even in Jamaica, where it has encountered the greatest difficulties, emancipation has not been attended by the disastrous results which the planters anticipated. On the contrary their condition is more prosperous than it was before. They have, by the compensation which they have received, been relieved from a great amount of debt; property and produce have risen in value, and estates, which formerly yielded little or nothing, now afford profitable returns.† The

* It is difficult to estimate the effect of emancipation on the wealth of the island, from the official returns of the exports. The amount exported in different years, varied very much before the introduction of the new system. Thus from 1821 to 1826 both inclusive, the exports of sugar were in round numbers, 111; 88; 94; 99; 73; 99, thousand hhds; and of coffee in 1821, 16 millions; in 1824, 27 millions of pounds. It is said too that formerly the hogshead contained on an average eighteen hundred weight, whereas they now vary from twenty to twenty two hundred. See appendix to Mr. Thome's book. The price also has greatly risen; so that according to the Edinburgh Review the value of a year's produce since abolition, notwithstanding the diminution in the amount, was £230,000 more than it was before that event.

† West India property was greatly depreciated long before abolition was thought of. In 1792 Bryan Edwards speaks of the great mass of the planters as "men of oppressed fortunes." In 1807 the Assembly state, in a communication made to the House of Commons, that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one fourth of the whole number in the colony." In 1812 they say, "Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident." Again, in

apprentice system therefore has not ruined the island. What will be the result of complete emancipation, it is of course too early to say. There will probably be a good deal of difficulty until the rate of wages can be adjusted, and both parties get accustomed to the change. But the experience of other islands; the testimony of Lord Sligo and others as to the willingness of the negroes to work for reasonable wages, apart from all general considerations, give abundant ground for the most pleasing anticipations.

With regard to Barbadoes the result of emancipation, as to the point now under consideration, has been much more favourable. Here the negroes were more improved than in Jamaica; there was a far greater proportion of resident planters upon the island, and though they resisted the abolition act so long as to endanger their share of the compensation fund, when the act was passed, they entered more cordially into efforts to render it successful. According to the table given in the *Edinburgh Review*, the average sugar crop in the two years after emancipation exceeded by 4.5 per cent the average of the six preceding years. And this result was secured without any lavish expenditure; for Prof. Hovey states that it was estimated that not more than \$12,000 were expended the preceding year for extra work. He says, it was generally admitted by the planters that the apprentices did as much work now in 45 hours, as they did formerly during the whole week. The testimony is abundant and almost uniform, that cultivation was never better conducted or more productive than since the introduction of the new system. Mr. Hinkston, a planter of thirty-six years standing, stated, that the planters were getting on much better under the new system than under the old; that it was admitted that the island was never under better cultivation, and that the crops for the year 1836 and 1837 would exceed the average by several thousand hogsheads.* Major Colthurst, in a written reply to certain queries, says, "When the planters themselves admit that general cultivation was never in a better state, and the plantations extremely clean, it is more than presumptive proof that agriculture generally is in a most prosperous condition." And again, "The whole body of respectable planters are fully satisfied with the apprentice-

1832, they call upon parliament to adopt prompt measures "to preserve them from inevitable ruin." Matters are surely not so bad now. See Prof. Hovey, p. 41.

* Thome and Kimball p. 239.

ship, and would not go back to the old system on any account whatever.”* Capt. Hamilton of the navy, another special magistrate, in answer to the same queries, says, “The state of agriculture is very flourishing. Experienced planters acknowledge that it is generally far superior to what it was during slavery.” “The most prejudiced planters would not return to the old system if they possibly could. They admit that they get more work from the labourers now than they formerly did, and they are relieved from a great responsibility.”† This is a specimen of the testimony on this subject; and we recollect nothing of an opposite character. The increase in the value of property is a further proof of the prosperity of the island under the new system. Prof. Hovey states the increase at from 20 to 25 per cent; Capt. Hamilton as at least one-third; Mr. Jones, a native of Barbadoes and superintendent of the rural police, at nearly fifty per cent. The testimony is uniform as to the advance, though it varies so much as to the degree. In Barbadoes, therefore, emancipation has not effected injuriously the interests of planters.

The prosperity of British Guiana is still more striking; “which, under the threefold advantage of an exhaustless soil, a most intelligent and energetic governor, and *no* independent legislature, has been, from the very beginning, making uninterrupted advances in every direction.”‡ The productions of this colony have increased 18 per cent. since emancipation.

In Antigua the Assembly rejected the apprentice system and granted the slaves their freedom at once. The principal reasons for adopting this course, were the desire to have the affair immediately settled; dislike of the system of stipendiary magistrates, and of the distinction made between the *praedial* and non *praedial* slaves; and the peculiar preparation of the slaves for immediate emancipation. In granting them their freedom the Assembly enacted, that the slaves should remain one year in the places which they then occupied; that the use of their houses and patches of ground should be continued to them; that they should work for their masters for wages; that they should be free from all coercion except that of law; that, if after the first year they wished to go into other service, they must give one month’s notice, &c. The result, as to the interests of the planters, seems to have

* Thome and Kimball, p. 279. † *Ibid.* p. 284. ‡ Edinburgh Review.

exceeded their expectations; which is the more remarkable as Antigua has suffered much from natural causes since emancipation. In 1835 there was one of the severest hurricanes which had occurred for many years; cultivation was arrested by a drought, and the yellow fever prevailed with great severity. The next year the drought returned with increased severity.* We can hardly reconcile with these statements the fact that the average crop for two years after emancipation was only 9.6 per cent. less than the average for the six preceding years. It at least proves that this small decline cannot fairly be ascribed to emancipation. The testimony in favour of the increasing prosperity of the island, is as uniform as in the case of Barbadoes. Prof. Hovey states that, "Some said, that the estates alone are worth as much now, as both the estates and slaves were ten years ago. This is true, if we estimate their value by their returns, and the annual expense of cultivation; and this may eventually be the price which they will command; but at present they are not sold for so much. Before emancipation, it was almost impossible to sell real estate at any rate; but it is now easily disposed of at an advanced price of fifteen or twenty per cent. Some poor estates, which had been abandoned under the old system because the incomes did not meet the expenses, have been again brought into cultivation under the new." p. 75. This latter circumstance is conclusive proof that the new system is more economical than the old. This fact is confirmed by the testimony of many competent witnesses. Dr. Nugent, long the speaker of the Assembly, says, "The expenses of cultivating sugar estates have in no instance, I believe, been found greater than before. As far as my experience goes, they are certainly less, particularly as it regards those properties which were overhanded before, when proprietors were compelled to support more dependents than they required. In some cases the present cost is less by one-third." Mr. Hatley, manager of Fay's estate, said his "expenses during the last year of slavery were £1371, 2s. 4½d.; the expenses for 1835 were £821, 16s. 7½d." Ano-

* The Rev. Mr. Gilbert of the English church, and a proprietor, said, "that for thirty years the island has not experienced such a drought." Thome, p. 17. Mr. Farley, said he "had been thirty-five years in the island, yet never knew so long a season of dry weather," p. 51. Dr. Nugent said "that the crop on his estate had almost totally failed, on account of the drought; being reduced from one hundred and fifty hogsheads, the average crop, to fifteen. . . . And that the cattle were dying for want of water and grass. He had himself lost five oxen within the past week," p. 52.

ther gentleman stated that his average weekly expenses during slavery were £45; the present average does not exceed £20.* It is very natural that this should be the result. Wages are low in Antigua, about 11 cents a day. The negroes support themselves at a cheaper rate than their masters could do it; fewer hands accomplish a greater amount of work; and lastly the master is now burdened with the support of only the working hands; the young, the old, the sick, the supernumeraries are now dependent upon their friends.

The testimony is equally strong as to the readiness of blacks to labour, and the general prosperity of the island. The governor stated that "it was universally admitted that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island." Dr. Daniell, a member of Council, said, "I do not know of more than one or two planters, who do not consider emancipation as a decided advantage to all parties." p. 158. Dr. Ferguson, of St. Johns, stated that, "Emancipation is working most admirably, especially for the planters. The credit of the island has decidedly improved. The internal improvement of the island is advancing in an increased ratio. More buildings have been erected since emancipation, than for twenty years before. Stores and shops have multiplied astonishingly; I can safely say that their number has more than quintupled since the abolition of slavery." James Scotland, Sen. Esq., of St. Johns, stated that "Emancipation had very greatly increased the value of, and consequently the demand for, real estate. That which three years ago was a drug, altogether unsaleable by a private bargain, has now many inquirers after it, and ready purchasers at good prices. The importation of British manufactured goods has been considerably augmented, probably one-fourth. The credit of the planters, who have been chiefly affected by the change, has been much improved. And the great reduction of expense in managing the estates, has made them men of more real wealth, and consequently raised their credit both with the English merchants and our own." p. 194. It may therefore be stated, as a general result, that as it regards wealth, the planters of the West India Islands have not been losers by the abolition of slavery. If such be now the case, it is evident that the prospect for the future is very encouraging, when the plough shall take the place of the hoe, the cart of the basket, and when labour-saving machinery and animal

* Thome and Kimball, p. 160.

power shall supercede the necessity for such a multitude of human labourers.

A third result of emancipation, beneficial to the planter, is a great increase of security for life and property. Dr. Madden enumerates no less than twenty-two open rebellions, six conspiracies to assassinate the white inhabitants detected on the eve of execution, and one mutiny which took place in Jamaica alone since the introduction of slavery. The last rebellion occurred in 1832, and is said to have cost the island \$4,000,000. In Barbadoes the last extended insurrection was in 1816, which resulted in the death of above five hundred slaves, and the destruction of a vast amount of property. Since emancipation, all fear of insurrections has disappeared. There cannot be a clearer proof of this fact than the decrease of the military establishment which has taken place since that event. "Many of the troops in the colonies," says Prof. Hovey, "are already disbanded, and it is supposed that a small force, composed of negroes, to man the garrisons, will eventually be sufficient for their defence." p. 174. In Antigua, within five months after emancipation, the Christmas guards, which had been regularly and uninterruptedly kept for nearly one hundred years, were dispensed with. The governor issued his proclamation stating that in consequence of the abolition of slavery such precaution was unnecessary. Such facts are more convincing than any testimony of the planters, though that is abundant and unanimous. Dr. Nugent says, "Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded, not even by those planters who were most cruel in the time of slavery." And again, "There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity—quite the contrary. Property is more secure, for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever." The proprietor of Edgecome estate in Barbadoes, a native of the island and member of the council, said, "He thought there was no such thing in the island as a sense of insecurity, either as it respects persons or property." Major Colthurst and Capt. Hamilton, the magistrates already quoted, give the same testimony, as does also Mr. Anderson, the Solicitor General, in relation to Jamaica. It is unnecessary to multiply such testimony; as it is all on one side, and as the rise in the value of property, the improvement of credit, the increase of public improvements, prove conclusively the general sense of security.

Having said so much in reference to the results of emancipation as it regards the master, we must briefly notice its

more prominent effects as it regards the slaves; first as to their physical, and secondly as to their social and moral condition. The benefits to the slave, under the first head, are almost too obvious to need enumeration. He has been freed from the burden of oppressive labour. Instead of working sixty or seventy hours weekly without any other remuneration than a support, he is required to labour only forty-five. All beyond this is voluntary and compensated labour. Secondly, he is freed from all the evils of arbitrary power. Before emancipation the lowest class of white men were, in most instances, his immediate masters, who were clothed with the power of punishment almost at discretion. Now he cannot be punished, except after trial and by sentence of a magistrate, who cannot order more than twenty lashes for refusing or neglecting work, nor for any offence more than fifty. No female apprentice can be punished by flogging at all. No one can tell what relief from suffering these regulations have occasioned. That this relief is great may safely be inferred from the nature of the case; from the uniform testimony of all concerned as to the frequency and severity of all kinds of punishments during slavery; and from the prevalence and strength of the opinion that the whip was absolutely necessary to make the negro work and to keep him in subjection.* Within ten months, ending May 1836, punishments of all kinds had, even in Jamaica, been reduced by about one-fourth: corporal punishments by not less than two-thirds. In British Guiana the change is still more striking. In 1831 the average monthly floggings, from July to Dec., were 1039; in 1834-5, from August to August 181; in August 1835, 81; in December 21. What an amazing reduction; from upward of a thousand to twenty-one! Since May 1836, say the Edinburgh Reviewers, from whom the above details are borrowed, "we believe that flogging has been almost entirely

* As one proof of the severity of West India slavery reference may be made to the falling off in the number of slaves. In eleven years, from 1817 to 1828, the decrease was 52,887; and this decrease was greatest where the price of slaves and the profits of sugar cultivation were highest; in Demarara it was one-sixth, in Trinidad one-fourth of the slave population. Mr. Buxton, in a speech in parliament, said, on the authority of Lord Stanley, that, "In the year 1829, the recorded number of separate punishments in Demarara, when the prae-dial slave population amounted to 60,500 was 17,359. In 1830, the number of slaves had decreased to 59,547 while the production of sugar had increased, and the number of punishments had also increased to 18,324. The number of lashes inflicted in that year, being no less than 194,744. In 1831, the prae-dial population had still further decreased to 58,404; but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes to 199,507."

discontinued in this well governed colony. In the Bahamas, it has been for some time abolished by law, owing to the excellent exertions of Sir William Colebroke." Such is the relief afforded even by the apprentice system; of course since it has ceased, the blacks are subject to no other punishments than such as can be inflicted on freemen. There is also great improvement in their dwellings, dress, and mode of living.*

Secondly, emancipation has rendered the negro a more industrious and effective labourer. It was a common apprehension that, from constitutional indolence, the blacks would refuse to work, when they were not driven to it by fear of punishment. There is, no doubt, ground for this apprehension in regard to all labourers in a low state of civilization. Labour is painful, and will be avoided unless the motives to exertion are sufficiently strong to overcome the natural repugnance to it. The higher motives have little influence on those who have few wants beyond the mere cravings of nature; no self-respect, and no ambition to improve their condition. Savages, therefore, rarely labour more than is necessary to support life. It appears, however that the slaves in all the West India islands, were sufficiently improved to feel the force of the motives which address themselves to the desire to elevate the condition of themselves and families. Where this is the case, it needs no argument to prove that men will labour more effectively, when they labour for themselves and their children, than when working for others. The testimony in proof of the willingness of the blacks to work for wages, and of the greater efficiency of their labour, is uniform and abundant. Lord Sligo, in one of his early reports in reference to Jamaica, says, "I know of no instance where the usual wages were offered, and where they were refused." The governor of Antigua stated, "He was assured by planters in every part of the island, that the negroes were very industriously disposed." "My people," says Mr. Watkins, of Donoran, "have become much more industrious since they were emancipated. I have been induced to extend the sugar cultivation over a number of acres more than had ever been cultivated before." Dr. Daniell said, "I have frequently adopted the job system for short periods;

* "The houses are to be larger than those at present in use, they are to be built of stone instead of mud and sticks." Thome, p. 27. "The negroes pay a great deal more attention to their personal appearance, than they were accustomed to do while slaves. The women especially have improved astonishingly in their dress and manners." Dr. Daniell, *Ibid.* 193.

the results have always been gratifying—the negroes accomplish twice as much as when they worked for daily wages, because they make more money.” The general apprehension prior to emancipation,” says Dr. Nugent, “was that the negroes would not work after they were made free. . . . Time, however, has proved that there was no foundation for this apprehension. The estates were never in better order than they are at present. . . . If we have no rain the crops must inevitably fail. But we can always depend upon the labourers.—When slaves, the negroes were glad to find an excuse for deserting their labour, and they were incessantly feigning sickness. The sick house was thronged with real, and pretended invalids. After 1834 it was wholly deserted. The negroes would not go near it; and in truth, I have lately used it for a stable.” Mr. Howell stated, that “Though the labourers on both the estates under my management, have been considerably reduced since freedom, yet the grounds have never been in a finer state of cultivation than they are at present. When my work is backward, I give it out in jobs, and it is always done in half the usual time.”* Such testimonies might be indefinitely multiplied, but it is certainly unnecessary. The single fact, that in Antigua, where complete emancipation was granted, cultivation was as well and as easily conducted as ever; that in Barbadoes and Guiana, where the duration of compulsory labour was reduced one-fourth, the sugar crop was increased, in the former from 343,513 to 359,058 *cwts.*, and in the latter, from 874,347 to 1,032,342 *cwts.*, is a sufficient proof of the readiness of the blacks to work for a reasonable compensation. This fact however does not stand alone. Admiral Fleming, who spent a great portion of his life in the West India islands, in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, said, “All the free people are in very good condition in the island of Cuba. . . . I never heard any complaints of their want of industry. . . . I am of opinion that the West Indies could be cultivated by free labour; and I ground my opinion on what I have seen in Hayti, and in the Carraccas, particularly where all are free, and in the islands of Trinidad and Cuba, and upon the industry of the free negroes in the islands of the Bahamas. . . . I never saw a beggar in Hayti. . . . The most happy, the richest, the best fed, and most comfortable negroes that I saw in the West Indies, were in Hayti,

* Thome and Kimball, p. 161, *et seq.*

even better than in the Carraccas.”* The decrease of the growth of sugar in Hayti, he attributed mainly to the destruction of the works and want of capital to re-establish them. According to Col. Flinter three fourths of the produce of Porto Rico are cultivated by free labour. The island has in round numbers about 400,000 inhabitants, of whom about 45,000 are slaves, about 127,000 free people of colour, and the residue whites. Of the slaves, not more than 30,000 men, women and children are engaged in agriculture, which gives an average of not more than 27 to each estate. The slaves however are principally upon the sugar estates, as he assigns to free labour only 80,000 quintals of sugar out 414,663, the produce of the island in 1832; whereas, of 250,000 quintals of coffee the crop of the same year, he estimates 205,000 to be the product of free labour. To the same source he assigns all the tobacco, 34,902 quintals; all the cotton, 9,627 quintals; all the cattle exported, amounting in value to 220,000 dollars. He further states that in the productive year 1823, Jamaica, with nearly nine times as many slaves, produced only three and a half times more sugar than Porto Rico; and the whole British West Indies, with fifteen and a half times as many slaves, produced only seven and a half times more sugar; showing how largely free labour in Porto Rico contributes to the production even of sugar. This island has increased wonderfully in agricultural prosperity, since the distribution of the crown lands to occupants who would agree to cultivate them. In 1810 the value of produce exported amounted only to 65,672 dollars; and in 1832 it exceeded three millions of dollars.†

* Prof. Hovey, p. 176.

† Flinter's account of Puerto Rico, ch. 9. We must refer to the work itself for further details. The author goes into a long calculation as to the expense of conducting a sugar plantation capable of raising 200 hogsheads of sugar by slave labour. He makes the profits about 3 1-2 per cent. Even this was probably much above the actual returns in the British islands; for with all their advantages from soil and climate, and from the discriminating duties in their favour in the mother country, the planters, as stated above, were oppressed with debt, and their property almost unsaleable. This result can only be attributed to the expensiveness of slave labour; which is liable, in a merely economical point of view, to the great objections of requiring a large investment of capital, and a costly array of managers, while it is necessarily less efficient and more wasteful than the labour of free men. We have already, under a previous head, adverted to this subject; and would refer to the numerous details given by Col. Flinter in proof that the productions of the West Indies can be more economically produced under the new system than under the old. If the experiment succeeds even partially during the first few years, there is every prospect of ultimate prosperity.

It may be well to conclude what we have to say on this head with the following extract, furnished by Prof. Hovey, from a work by Archdeacon Eliot, of Barbadoes. "The free blacks have, by their superior industry, driven the lower order of whites from almost every trade requiring skill and continued exertion. I believe not one in twenty of the working shoemakers in Barbadoes is a white man. The working carpenters, masons, tailors, smiths, &c., are for the most part men of colour; and this at a time when a large white population are in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness. In the application for casual charity the number of white persons soliciting relief is far greater than that of the free coloured. The free black and coloured inhabitants have always contributed, in their full proportion, to the parochial taxes, for the support of the poor whites; while their own poor receive no parochial relief, but are supported by private contributions among the more wealthy of their own class." This is just what might have been expected. In some parts of our country, the most degraded class of the population is the free blacks; in the West Indies it is the poor whites. The fact that the one or the other thrives, depends, therefore, far more upon their circumstances, than upon any peculiarity of natural disposition. Place the coloured man in a favourable situation, and he becomes industrious and prosperous; place the white man in disadvantageous circumstances, particularly in the midst of a labouring black population, and he sinks in the scale of civilization.

Thirdly, the chief advantage to the blacks of emancipation is, that it has greatly promoted their moral and intellectual improvement. This is not only in itself the greatest of all benefits, but it secures the attainment of all others. We can conceive of emancipation, under certain circumstances, having a contrary effect. Where the slaves are in a very low state of civilization, or where they are removed from external influences suited to elevate and improve them, the removal of the restraints of bondage might cause their relapse into barbarism. But where they have already attained some knowledge of the wants and manners of civilized life, and especially where they have access to the example and teaching of their superiors in knowledge and refinement, there is no ground to apprehend such a result. In point of fact, the opposite effect has been conspicuously the result in the West India islands, as far as can yet be ascertained. There has been an increase of the means of improvement, an increase

of disposition, on the part of the blacks, to avail themselves of these means, and a consequent increase in knowledge and morality. Formerly "the slave codes in all the colonies were exceedingly severe, not to say barbarous. In regard to the education of slaves, they were particularly pointed. They prohibited their marriage, and instruction of every kind, as well in religion as the rudiments of education."* These laws had been greatly softened down, and religious instruction was, in all the islands, to a greater or less extent, afforded to the slaves. Still the opposition on the part of the planters to such instruction was very great, especially of the less respectable portion of them, the attorneys, and overseers. This opposition was strongest in Jamaica; it was less in Barbadoes, and still less in Antigua. Emancipation has removed all these barriers, and thrown open this wide field to the benevolence and enterprise of British Christians. In all the islands of which we have any knowledge, the number of ministers, churches and schools is rapidly increasing. The Independents commenced their mission in Jamaica since emancipation, and have now seven missionaries. The Baptists added to their number of members, in the year 1836, three thousand three hundred and forty-four. Other denominations have increased, but not in the same proportion. In the several schools in Kingston the number of scholars in 1831 was 4088, in 1837, 8753.† We have given above all the information we could collect as to the present means of religious instruction, and of education enjoyed in the several islands, without being able to ascertain the precise amount of the increase since 1834; beyond such general statements as that "Since that event, additional churches and chapels have been built, at the expense and under the direction of the colonial governments: and the number of missionaries of different denominations has been greatly increased." The testimony is almost uniform as to the readiness of the negroes to avail themselves of all the means of improvement

* Prof. Hovey, p. 192. Col. Flinter says, "It is a very rare occurrence that free people of colour marry in the French colonies, and the slaves were not permitted to marry under any circumstances." p. 224. "In the Dutch colonies, the curate who should officiate at the marriage of a slave, would be fined 500 dollars, and be deprived of his curacy." p. 235.

† This increase of attention to the religious instruction has been going on for many years. According to a table furnished to Prof. Hovey by the Bishop of Barbadoes, there were in 1812 in his diocese (including seventeen islands) 37 ministers and 2 schools connected with the established church; in 1834, 81 ministers and 405 schools.

afforded them.* Under these circumstances, as might be expected, they are already advancing in intelligence and morals. The governor of Antigua stated, that "He had been well acquainted with the country districts of England, and had also travelled extensively in Europe, yet he had never found such a peaceable, orderly, and law-abiding people as those of Antigua." Thome, p. 37. The Rev. Mr. Jones, the rector of St. Phillips, said, "There had been a manifest improvement in the manners and morals of the children, since education had become general among them. With regard to marriage there had been a complete revolution in the habits of the people." p. 57. In the report for 1836 of the Antigua Branch of the Society for Promoting the Christian Faith in the West Indies, it is stated that "Regular marriages having become quite common among the labouring classes in Antigua, it is no longer necessary to notice their numerical increase as an indication of moral improvement, any farther than to state that their number has been considerably increased since the emancipation, and that now all marriages are solemnized according to law. The number of marriages in the six parishes of the island, in the year 1835, the first entire year of freedom, was 476; all of which, excepting about fifty, were between persons formerly slaves. The total number of marriages between slaves solemnized in the church during the nine years ending Dec. 31, 1833, was 157; in 1833, the last entire year of slavery, it was 61." p. 98. And this was in Antigua, the best instructed and most improved of all the British islands. What then must have been the state of things in Jamaica! This discountenancing of marriage among the slaves is the most indelible blot on the character

* All parties are becoming more alive to the importance of this subject. The British Government have promised to contribute towards defraying the increased expenses of education and religious instruction. For education they have already made several grants; that for 1835 was £20,000. Dr. Nugent, of Antigua, when asked whether any evils had resulted from giving religions instruction, answered, "None at all; but on the contrary the greatest possible benefits. It has been the great instrument of preparing the slaves for freedom." Sir Lionel Smith, in his address to the Jamaica Assembly, said, "Gentlemen, we have hardly four years more to watch over the experiment of apprenticeship—give every facility you can to the missionaries' labours. Banish from your mind the idea that they are your enemies. I will answer with my head for their loyalty and fidelity. Encourage their peaceable settlement among your people—let every four or five estates combine for the erection of chapel schools; and knowing, as you well do, the attachment of the negro to the place of his birth, and the burial place of his parents, you may, as I sincerely believe, by these means, finally locate on your estates a contented peasantry."

of the West India planters. It was the shortest and surest way of debasing the labouring population. Without marriage, there can be no family ties, no home, no purity of morals, no motives to improvement. There is, therefore, no one fact half so significant of the elevation of the blacks as the rapid increase of marriages among them. On this subject the testimony is abundant. Mr. Jones, the superintendent of police in Barbadoes, said, "That marriages had greatly increased since abolition. . . There had, he believed, been more marriages within the last three years among the negro population, than have occurred before since the settlement of the island." p. 278. Mr. Harris stated in reference to the same island, "Marriage is rapidly spreading among the apprentices, and the general morals of the community, high and low, white, coloured, and black, were rapidly improving." p. 296. Mr. Anderson, Solicitor General for Jamaica, said in reference to the negroes, "Formerly marriage was unknown among them; they were in fact only regarded by their masters, and I fear by themselves too, as so many brutes for labour, and for increase. Now they seek the benefits of the social institution of marriage and its train of hallowed relationships." p. 468. As a necessary consequence of this change, "the family relations are becoming more sacred; the state of concubinage is considered disreputable; mothers are more fond of their children; and it is believed, that the number of births is greater, and the number of deaths among children considerably less, than it was during slavery."*

The number of societies among the people in Antigua for religious and benevolent purposes, shows a high degree of improvement, and their increased prosperity since emancipation proves the beneficial influence of that event. There are, for example, nearly fifty branch associations among the negroes connected with the Bible Society; there are missionary associations, temperance societies, friendly societies, dis-

* Prof. Hovey, p. 108. With regard to concubinage, the uniform testimony is, that it is greatly on the decline. The governor of Antigua said, "The great crime of this island, as indeed of all the West India colonies, has been licentiousness, but we are certainly fast improving in this particular." An aged Christian stated to Mr. Thome, that he thought "there was not one-third as much concubinage as formerly. This he said was owing mainly to the greater frequency of marriage, &c." A planter long in the island said, "now mothers hold their daughters up for marriage" instead of encouraging their forming temporary connections with white men. A public man remarked that the next generation of coloured people would be fit associates for the whites "because they would be chiefly born in wedlock." Thome and Kimball, p. 99, 101.

tressed female societies. Some of these have been formed, and all have extended their operations since emancipation.

Contrary to all expectation the commission of crimes has not increased since emancipation, but on the contrary, declined. The number of offences appearing on the police reports has indeed in some instances increased, but this is satisfactorily accounted for, by the consideration that a multitude of misdemeanors formerly punished on the spot by the master, are now brought under notice of the magistrate. "The greater part of the offences committed by the apprentices are of a trivial character, such as petty thefts, indolence, tardiness at work, carelessness and insolent language to their employers." In the House of Correction for the parish of Kingston, containing about 30,000 souls, there were, May 10, 1834, seventy-three apprentices in confinement, and May 10, 1837, fifty; at least eleven-twelfths of whom were committed for such offences as those just specified.* The superintendent of police in Antigua said, "To judge of the past and present state of society throughout the island, I presume that the lives and properties of all classes are as secure in this, as in any other portion of his majesty's dominions."† Mr. H. a planter of thirty six years standing in Barbadoes, said "He was confident that there was less crime in the island. He was ready to say both as a planter and a magistrate, that vice and crime generally had decreased, and were still on the decrease. The principal offences are petty thefts. He has not had occasion to send a single apprentice to the court of sessions for the last six months." p. 240. The Solicitor General said, "It was his opinion, that there were fewer petty offences, such as thefts, larcenies, &c. than during slavery. As for serious crime, it was hardly known in the island." p. 263. Major Colthurst stated that, "what is usually denominated crime in the old countries, is by no means frequent among the blacks and coloured persons. It is amazing how few material breaches of the law occur in so extraordinary a community." Capt. Hamilton, another magistrate, says the same thing. Mr. Lyon, a special justice in Jamaica, said, "In no community in the word is crime less prevalent. At the quarter sessions, in January last, for the precinct of St. Thomas in the East, and St. David, which contains an apprentice population of about thirty thousand there was only one apprentice tried." p. 466. Such testimonies might be multiplied; but it is not necessary.

* Prof. Hovey, p. 100, 145.

† Thome and Kimball, p. 181.

We have thus attempted to gather from the works before us, and from other sources, a brief, but comprehensive view of the results of the great experiment of West India emancipation. We think the review must fill every reader with astonishment, and swell every bosom with gratitude. The result has disappointed both advocates and opposers of the measure. The former looked forward to the trial with anxiety; the latter with the full persuasion of ruin.* This ruin has not come. The change was effected without disorder. The prosperity of the islands has not been seriously diminished, even for the present; while the future opens before them with every thing to inspire confidence. That in some cases there will be a period of depression is to be expected; but the ultimate results can hardly be other than benign. Those beautiful islands now raise their verdant plains and lofty mountains, covered with a free population in the infancy of civilization and of Christian knowledge. They are not to be left to themselves; they possess the models of refinement, and the teachers of religion, to stimulate and guide their efforts; and we look forward with cheerful confidence to their yearly progress in intelligence, prosperity, and virtue.

* "We know," said the West India proprietors, "and we are ready to prove what we assert in the face of our country, our well grounded conviction, that the speedy annihilation of slavery would be attended with the devastation of the West India colonies, with loss of life and property to the white inhabitants, with inevitable distress and misery to the black population; and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of this empire." Prof. Hovey, p. 169.