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Adams. Letter. 1843

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4. Sanborn, F. B. Emancipation in the West Indies, etc. Concord, Mass. 1862.



1845, Aug. 8.

Gift of
Josiah Quincy, LL.D.
Pres. of Harv. Univ.
(No. 26. 1790.)

LETTER

FROM

HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

READ AT THE RECENT CELEBRATION OF

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION

IN

BANGOR, (ME.)

ASA WALKER, C. A. STACKPOLE, and F. M. SABINE, Esqrs.—
Committee of Correspondence of a meeting of the citizens of
Bangor and its vicinity, holden on the 27th of May, 1843.

Quincy, 4th July, 1843.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

I have received your letter of the 9th ult., and perhaps, in answering it, my safest and most prudent course would be to express my regret, that the precarious state of my health, and particularly of my voice, would not warrant me in undertaking an engagement to deliver a public address upon any subject whatever, on the first day of next August. This answer I have been most reluctantly constrained to give to several other kind invitations to address the people on various subjects, in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn. But the occasion of which you propose to celebrate the anniversary, is viewed in lights so entirely different and opposite to each other that it cannot be denied to have assumed both a religious and a political aspect, and this must be my apology, while returning my thanks for your friendly invitation, for frankly unfolding to you other reasons which would have dictated to me the same conclusion, even if the state of my health admitted of my compliance with it.

The extinction of SLAVERY from the face of the earth, is a problem, moral, political, religious, which at this moment rocks the foundations of human society throughout the regions of civilized man. It is, indeed, nothing more nor less than the consummation of the Christian religion. It is only as *immor-*

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not beings that all mankind can in any sense be said to be born equal—and when the Declaration of Independence affirms as a self-evident truth, that all *men* are born equal, it is precisely the same as if the affirmation had been that all men are born with immortal souls. For take away from man his soul, the immortal spirit that is within him, and he would be a mere tameable beast of the field, and like others of his kind, would become the property of his tamer. Hence it is, too, that by the law of nature and of God, man can never be made the property of man. And herein consists the fallacy with which the holders of slaves often delude themselves, by assuming that the test of property is human law. The soul of one man cannot by human law be made the property of another. The owner of a slave is the owner of a living corpse; but he is not the owner of a man.

The natural equality of mankind, affirmed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be *held by them* as self-evident truth, was not so held by their enemies. It was not so held by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. They held the reverse. They held that sovereign power was unlimitable. That the tie of allegiance bound the subject to implicit obedience, and, therefore, that the natural equality of mankind was a fable. This was THE question of the American Revolutionary War. In the progress of that war, France, Spain, the United Netherlands became involved in it. The Governments of France and Spain, absolute monarchies, had no sympathies with the American cause—the rights of human nature. Vergennes had plotted with Gustavus of Sweden, the revolution in Sweden, from liberty to despotism. Turgot, very shortly before the surrender of Burgoyne, but after our Declaration of Independence, had formally advised Louis the Sixteenth, that it was for the *interest* of France and Spain that the insurrection in the Anglo-American colonies should be *suppressed*. France and Spain had been *warned* of the remote consequences to them *as owners of colonies*, of the success of the Anglo-Americans. But neither Turgot nor Vergennes, nor any one European or American statesman of that age, foresaw or imagined what would be the consequence, by no means remote, upon their own Governments at home, of the dismemberment of the British Empire, and the triumphant establishment, by a seven years' war on the continent of North America, of an Anglo-Saxon confederate nation, on the foundation of the natural equality of mankind, and the inalienable rights of man.

After Louis the Sixteenth lost his crown, he remembered, and bitterly repented the part he had taken on the side of the natural equality of mankind, and the rights of human nature in the American revolutionary war. For the revolution in France, by which he lost his throne and his life, was another fruit of the same self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, and have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap-

piness, *without infringing* upon the same right of all other men.

Until the day of the Declaration of Independence, the condition of slavery was recognized as lawful in *all* the English colonies. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, established three years after the Declaration of Independence, adopted its self-evident truths, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, under that Constitution, judicially decided that slavery within the Commonwealth was thereby *ipso facto* abolished. Since that day, there has not been a slave within the State.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a slaveholder. His self-evident truths taught him that slave-holding was an outrage upon the natural rights of mankind, at least as great as Parliamentary taxation without representation. He held that opinion to his dying day. He introduced it into his draught of the Declaration of Independence itself, imputing the existence of slavery in Virginia, to George the Third, as one of the crimes which proved him to be a tyrant unfit to rule over a free people.

Among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, there were at least twenty slave-holders—or probably, thirty. They could not stomach the application of the self-evident truths to themselves, and they lopped it off as an unsightly excrescence upon the tree of Liberty. But his grandson and executor has carefully preserved it in the double form of print and fac simile, in the edition which he has published of his writings, and there it stands, an unanswerable testimonial to posterity. that in the roll of American Abolitionists, first and foremost after the name of George Washington, is that of *Thomas Jefferson*.

The result of the North American Revolutionary War had prepared the minds of the people of the British Islands, to contemplate with calm composure the new principle engrafted upon the association of the civilized race of man, the self-evident truth, the natural equality of mankind, and the rights of man. They had waged against it a cruel and disastrous war of seven years. Hundreds of thousands of valiant Britons had fallen victims, hundreds of millions of British treasure had been squandered to sustain the principle of illimitable sovereignty against the principle of illimitable human rights. The prize of the conflict was the liberty and the immortal soul of man. The contest was over between Britain and her children. The Lord of Hosts had decided the wager of battle. Human liberty was triumphant, and a new confederation entered upon the field of human affairs, with the Urim and Thummim of the Law from Sinai, "Light and Right," inscribed upon her bosom, and upon the diadem around her brow, "Holiness to the Lord."

But while this contest had been in progress, both of intellectual conflict and of mortal combat, the same question of hu-

man right against lawless power had been started in the land of both the combatants parties to this controversy. The question of the American Revolution had been of political government in the relations of sovereign and subject. Anthony Benezet, a native of France, settled in Pennsylvania, a member of the Society of Friends, and Granville Sharp, an English philanthropist, at London, were at the same time blowing the bugle horn of human liberty and the natural equality of mankind, against the institution of slavery practiced from time immemorial by all nations, ancient and modern. There were two modes of slavery which had crept in upon the relations of mankind to one another, first as the results of war, by the right of conquest, and secondly, by the voluntary servitude of the feudal system. They had both become odious by the silent progress of Christianity. The practice of enslaving enemies taken in war had already ceased between Christian nations. The traffic in slaves had been denounced by the popular writers both of France and England—by Locke, Addison, and Sterne, as well as by Raynal, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. It was every where odious, but every where practiced, till just after the close of the American Revolutionary War arose the cry for the abolition of the African slave trade. The first assault of the Reformers was upon the trade which was prosecuted with such atrocious cruelty that the mere narrative of its ordinary details excited disgust and horror.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity" saith Shakspeare, and "in the day of adversity consider," saith yet higher authority. In the summer of 1783, when the results of the Revolutionary War presented themselves to the people of the British Islands, in the darkest form of adversity, they had, and they improved the opportunity, of considering the principle for which, and the principle against which they had so obstinately and fiercely contended. Their warfare had been against the self-evident truth of human rights. Thomas Clarkson, with two or three other Englishmen, associated themselves together with the purpose of arraying the power of the British Empire, for the total abolition of slavery throughout the earth; and the commission with which they went forth to regenerate the race of man, by leading captivity captive, was the same identical, self-evident truth against which Britain had just closed her relentless war, in humiliation and defeat. She was now to make the identical principle the inscription upon her banners—to war against *slavery* for the natural rights of mankind, and to proclaim the jubilee shout of *liberty* throughout the land—throughout the globe.

Of that undertaking, Clarkson himself has written the history. He has shown in what small beginnings it commenced, by what slow and almost imperceptible progress it advanced—by what interests, prejudices and passions, it was perpetually obstructed. How many years it was before it could obtain ad-

mission to the hall of legislation in the British House of Commons. How, in the meantime, it had been silently making its way to the hearts of the British people. How many struggles of argument and of eloquence it had to encounter, before it could lay prostrate all opposition at its feet—and how this emanation of the Christian faith, after waiting eighteen hundred years for its development, came down at last like a mighty flood, and is even now under the red cross of St. George, overflowing from the white cliffs of Albion, and sweeping the slave trade and slavery from the face of the terraqueous globe.

People of that renowned Island! children of the land of our forefathers, proceed, proceed in this glorious career, till the whole earth shall be redeemed from the greatest curse that ever has afflicted the human race—proceed, until millions upon millions of your brethren of the human race restored to the rights with which they were endowed by your and their Creator, but of which they have been robbed by ruffians of their own race, shall send their choral shouts of redemption to the skies in blessings upon your names. Oh! with what pungent mortification and shame must I confess, that in the transcendent glories of that day, our names will not be associated with yours! May Heaven, in mercy grant that we may be spared the deeper damnation of seeing our names recorded, not among the liberators, but with the oppressors of mankind.

Fellow citizens! the first impulse of the regeneration of human liberty came from us—the Fourth of July is our anniversary day. Then was the principle proclaimed to the world as that which was to be the vital spark of our existence as a community among the nations of the earth. This is the brightness of our glory, and of this we cannot be bereaved. But how can we presume to share in the festivities and unite in songs of triumph of the first of August? Have we emancipated our slaves? Have we mulcted ourselves in a hundred millions of dollars, to persuade and prevail upon the man-stealer to relinquish his grasp upon his prey? Have we encompassed sea and land, and sounded the clarion of freedom to the four ends of Heaven, to break the chain of slavery in the four quarters of the earth? Has the unction of our eloquence moved the bowels of compassion of the holy pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, to give his commands to his Christian flock against slavery and the slave trade? Have we softened the heart of the fiery Mussulman of Tunis, the follower of the war-denouncing prophet of Mecca, to proclaim liberty throughout his land? Are we carrying into Hindostan the inexpressible blessings of emancipation? Are we bursting open the everlasting gates, and overleaping the walls of China, to introduce into that benighted empire in one concentrated sunbeam, the light of civil and of Christian liberty? Oh no, my countrymen! No! nothing of all this! Instead of all this, are we

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not suffering our own hands to be manacled, and our own feet to be fettered with the chains of slavery? Is it not enough to be told that by a fraudulent perversion of language in the Constitution of the United States, we have falsified the Constitution itself, by admitting into both the Legislative and Executive departments of the Government, an overwhelming representation of one species of *property*, to the exclusion of all others, and that the odious property in slaves?

Is it not enough, that by this exclusive privilege of property representation confined to one section of the country, an irresistible ascendancy in the action of the General Government has been secured, not indeed to that section, but to an oligarchy of slave-holders in that section—to the cruel oppression of the poor in that same section itself? Is it not enough that by the operation of this radical iniquity in the organization of the Government, an immense disproportion of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, civil, military, naval, Executive and judicial, are held by slave-holders? Have we not seen the sacred right of petition totally suppressed for the people of the free States during a succession of years, and is it not yet inexorably suppressed? Have we not seen for the last twenty years, the Constitution and solemn treaties with foreign nations, trampled on by cruel oppression and lawless imprisonment of colored mariners in the Southern States? In cold-blooded defiance of a solemn adjudication by a Southern judge in the Circuit Court of the Union? And is this not enough? Have not the people of the free States been required to renounce for their citizens the right of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and to coerce that base surrender of the only practical security to all personal rights, have not the slave-breeders, by State legislation, subjected to fine and imprisonment, the colored citizens of the free States, for merely coming within their jurisdiction? Have we not tamely submitted, for years, to the daily violation of the freedom of the post office and of the press, by a committee of seal-breakers: and have we not seen a sworn Post-Master General, formally avow, that though he could not license this cut-purse protection of the peculiar institutions, the perpetrators of this highway robbery must justify themselves by the plea of necessity? And has the pillory or the penitentiary been the reward of that Post-Master General? Have we not seen printing presses destroyed—balls erected for the promotion of human freedom levelled with the dust, and consumed by fire, and wanton, unprovoked murder perpetrated with impunity, by slave-mongers? Have we not seen human beings, made in the likeness of God, and endowed with immortal souls, burnt at the stake, not for their offences but for their color? Are not the journals of our Senate disgraced by resolutions calling for *war*, to indemnify the slave-pirates of the Enterprise and the Creole, for the self-emancipation of their slaves, and to inflict vengeance, by a death of tor-

ture, upon the heroic self-deliverance of Madison Washington? Have we not been fifteen years plotting rebellion against our neighbor Republic of Mexico, for abolishing slavery throughout all her provinces? Have we not aided and abetted one of her provinces in insurrection against her for that cause? And have we not invaded openly, and sword in hand, another of her provinces, and all to effect her dismemberment and to add ten more slave States to our confederacy? Has the cry of war for the conquest of Mexico, for the expansion of re-instituted slavery, for the robbery of priests, and the plunder of religious establishments, yet subsided? Have the pettifogging, hair-splitting, nonsensical, and yet inflammatory bickerings about the right of search, pandering to the thirst for revenge in France, panting for war, to prostrate the disputed title of her king, has the sound of this war-trumpet yet faded away upon our ears? Has the supreme and unparalleled absurdity of stipulating by treaty to keep a squadron of eighty guns for five years, without intermission, upon the coast of Africa, to suppress the African slave trade, and at the same time denying at the point of the bayonet, the right of that squadron to board or examine any slaver all but sinking under a cargo of victims, if she but hoist a foreign flag—has this diplomatic bone been yet picked clean? Or is our *indirect* participation in the African slave trade to be protected at whatever expense of blood and treasure? Is the Supreme Executive Chief of this Commonwealth yet to speak not for himself, but for her whole people, and pledge *them* to shoulder their muskets, and to endorse their knapsacks against the fanatical, non-resistant abolitionists, whenever the overseers may please to raise the bloody flag, with the swindling watchword of the UNION? Oh! my friends! I have not the heart to join in the festivity on the first of August, the British anniversary of disenthralled humanity, while all this, and infinitely more than I could tell—but that I would spare the blushes of my country—weigh down my spirits, with the uncertainty, sinking into my grave as I am, whether she is doomed to be numbered among the first liberators or the last oppressors of the race of immortal man.

Let the frodden-down African, restored by the cheering voice and Christian hand of Britain, to his primitive right and condition of manhood, clap his hands and shout for joy on the anniversary of the first of August. Let the lordly Briton strip off much of his pride on other days of the year, and reserve it all for the pride of conscious beneficence on that day. What lover of classical learning can read the account in Livy or in Plutarch, of the restoration to freedom of the Grecian cities by the Roman Consul Flaminius, without feeling his bosom heave and his blood flow cheerily in his veins? The heart leaps with sympathy when we read, that on the first proclamation by the herald, the immense assembled multitude in the tumult

of astonishment and joy, could scarcely believe their own ears—that they called back the herald and made him repeat the proclamation, and then—“*Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantum cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse.*” Then rang the welkin with long and redoubled shouts of exultation, clearly proving that of all the enjoyments accessible to the hearts of men, nothing is so delightful to them as Liberty.” Upwards of two thousand years have revolved since that day, and the first of August is to the Briton of this age, what the day of the proclamation of Flaminius was to the ancient Roman. Yes—let them celebrate the first of August as the day to them of deliverance and of glory—and leave to us the pleasant employment of commenting upon their motives, of devising means to shelter the African slaver from their search, and of squandering millions to support on a pestilential coast a squadron of the stripes and stars, with instructions sooner to scuttle their ships than to molest the pirate slaver who shall make his flag-staff the herald of a lie.

Apologising to you, gentlemen, for the length of this letter, I will close it with an ejaculation to Heaven, that *you* may live to substitute for the first of August, the day when *slavery* shall be proclaimed a word without a meaning in all the languages of the earth, and when the power of emancipation shall be extinguished in Universal Freedom. To share in the jubilant chorus of that day, if my voice could burst from the cements of the tomb, it should be to shout Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! let the earth rejoice and be glad!

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

IN JAMAICA,

AND

COMPARATIVE TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

READ BEFORE THE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OCTOBER, 1854.

By Moses Sheppard

Written by Moses Sheppard of Baltimore in his eightieth year. He was the founder of the Sheppard Boy's Home, and died in 1857.

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AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

IN JAMAICA,

AND

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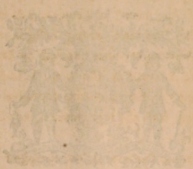
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OCTOBER, 1854.

PRINTED FOR THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
BY JOHN D. TOY.

1765, Nov. 30.
Gift of
Mrs. Martha C. Tyson,
of Baltimore.



AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE
IN JAMAICA,
AND
COMPARATIVE TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

THE cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Aborigines of the Island of Jamaica, has ever been the theme of just and strong indignation by Historians:—but the cruelties inflicted by British subjects upon the Africans in the same Island, as will be evidenced by the statistics hereafter shown, have never met with the reprehension they deserve.

It is true, Parliament has abolished Slavery, but how much of this measure was due to humanity, and how much to policy, is uncertain. The fact, that England for one hundred and seventy-nine years, tolerated the Slave trade, a system so cruel, and so destructive to the lives of its unfortunate victims, should forever silence all reproach on the part of British subjects against the United States, so far as Slavery in connection with the treatment of those held in bondage is concerned.

In the march of humanity, different motives may combine to impel the mass forward:—sympathy and policy may unite to effect a common object; policy in the government, philanthropy in the people.

Formerly, English manufactures, to an immense amount, were introduced into the Spanish possessions in America, through Jamaica. The dismemberment of these possessions from Spain, opened the ports of Spanish America to the direct trade of England; and Jamaica ceased to be profitable to her; hence the reduction in the differential duties; and what were those duties but a premium on slave labor?—

Before the emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica, many of the owners of the Estates were deeply involved in debt, notwithstanding the premium in the form of protection; and emancipation only hastened their ruin.

England, therefore did not abolish Slavery in the West Indies, until it had become *unprofitable*.

The Slavery in disguise now being introduced into the Island of Jamaica, called Apprenticeship, will be more profitable:—nearly the whole amount of capital heretofore employed in the purchase of slaves, will be saved. It is obviously more economical than the former system, and may enable the planters to retrieve their circumstances.

English writers tell us with exultation, that the British drum and fife may be heard successively, until the music goes round the world ;—but they omit to tell us, that the groans of oppressed humanity, the cries of infant innocence, and the shrieks of virgin purity, mingle with the sounds that herald the dominion of the British Isles.

There is another aspect of the subject, which it would be well for the Parliament of “Exeter Hall” to consider, whenever American Slavery becomes a matter for anathema. *Slavery in this country had its origin in the commercial policy of England.* Under the fostering protection of the British Government, the trade in African slaves which supplied all her Colonies, America included, was begun and continued ;—and continued too, in many instances, against the earnest and repeated remonstrances of the Colonists.

Here is the origin of American Slavery ;—and it exhibits an effrontery unparalleled, for England, with all her severities in the East Indies ; with the toleration of Slavery in Jamaica, for one hundred and seventy-nine years ; and the enormous sacrifice of life it entailed upon its miserable victims, and with the continuance of the Slave Trade, with all its

horrors, for so many years, forcing its evils upon unwilling Colonies, to be uttering reproaches against the citizens of the United States, for the existence of a system fastened upon them, by her own arbitrary acts.

That Slavery here, is not what English Abolitionists profess to believe, nor what in reality it has been in their own Colonies, is clearly proved by the following statistics, collected from their own writers.

The number of slaves in the United States,

In 1850, was	3,204,089
In 1790,	697,897

Increase in sixty years, 2,506,192
 (Two millions five hundred six thousand one hundred and ninety-two;—)

The number of free colored people

In 1850, was	428,661
In 1790,	59,466

Increase in sixty years, 369,195
 (Three hundred and sixty-nine thousand one hundred and ninety-five.)

It is estimated that one-half of this increase of the free colored population was from emancipation of slaves:—and of course so far, it lessened the increase of the latter, and added to the increase of the former.

The number of slaves brought into Jamaica by the Spaniards during their possession of the Island, from 1509 to 1655, say in one hundred and forty-six years, was 40,000, (forty thousand.)

Of these, there were found by Penn and Venables, at the time of their conquest of the Island in 1655, only 1,500, (fifteen hundred.)

Now if 697,897 persons in sixty years amount to 3,204,089,—1,500 persons, in one hundred and seventy-nine years, by the same ratio, would amount to, 20,544

Add the number imported into Jamaica in one hundred and seventy-nine years, say from 1655 to 1834, (eight hundred and fifty thousand,) 850,000

And the amount will be, 870,544

The number of slaves found on the Island, at the time of the Emancipation in

Amount brought over, . . .	870,544
1834, was (three hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred and twenty-one,) . . .	322,421

Showing a waste of human life under British rule, as contrasted with the ratio of increase in the United States, of . . . 548,123

(Five hundred forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-three,) exclusive of any estimated increase upon the eight hundred and fifty thousand (850,000) who were imported, that would have accrued under a humane system of treatment.

In submitting these comparative results of British Colonial slavery, with slavery in the United States, it must not be supposed that the compiler of this Exhibit is an advocate or friend of slavery. He is not. The question we are considering, is not slavery, but the comparative treatment of slaves.

His object is to show, that the odium of its introduction here, and the evils that it has inflicted or may inflict upon the United States, are chargeable to England:—and that the iniquity of the institution may be aggravated or lessened, according to the manner in which the slaves are treated.

Under their treatment in the United States, upon an original stock of 697,897, (six hundred ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven,) they have increased to 3,204,089, (three millions two hundred and four thousand and eighty-nine,) while by their treatment in Jamaica, they were reduced in one hundred and seventy-nine years, upon a stock of 851,500, (eight hundred fifty-one thousand five hundred) to 322,421, (three hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred and twenty-one.)

This statement needs no comment. It exhibits Slavery in the British Colony of Jamaica, tolerated by the Parliament of Great Britain for one hundred and seventy-nine years sufficiently revolting, without dramatic skill to render the picture still more repulsive.

Again; we may assume, that allowing the 850,000 (eight hundred and fifty thousand) imported, and the 1,500 (fifteen hundred) Spanish slaves, making 851,500; forty-five years of the one hundred and seventy-nine, of equal productiveness with the American slaves, would give an increase of 2,931,450, (two millions nine hundred thirty-one thousand four hundred and fifty.)

Here we have a loss of 2,931,450 lives destroyed in embryo, infancy, and maturity, in the time intervening between the capture of the Island by Admiral Penn and General Venables, in 1655, and the period of Emancipation in 1834;—a number nearly equaling the population of the United States, at the period of its dismemberment from the British Empire.

Further;—in the capture of the slaves, the march of the Koffle to the coast, and on the middle passage, the smallest estimate is ten per cent. loss, until the slaves are landed in the West Indies. We must therefore add 85,000 (eighty-five thousand) to the 850,000, (eight hundred and fifty thousand,) making 935,000, (nine hundred and thirty-five thousand,) requisite, during the whole period of slave importations, to land 850,000 in Jamaica.

This gives a grand total of 3,016,450 (three millions and sixteen thousand four hundred and fifty) that perished in one hundred and seventy-nine years; or in round numbers, 17,000 (seventeen thousand) annually.

It results from these facts and deductions, that the evils and fatal effects of Slavery, consist as much in

the *manner* in which the slaves are treated, as in the *fact* of their being held in servitude.

The importation of slaves into the United States was not prohibited until the year 1808:—but very few were introduced; there were no sugar lands in the country; cotton was unknown as an article of commerce, and slaves were not wanted. The low estimate of ten per cent. loss on the importation of them into Jamaica, and the assumption that they were productive but forty-five years of the one hundred and seventy-nine, will more than balance the small number that were brought into the country.

A very important question presents itself here:—what is to be the future situation of the black man?—

The colored race have possessed a luxuriant soil, and balmy climate for unknown ages:—to these are added, now, the offer of civilization and its attainments, which they have never acquired. The capacity of the race for progress, will now be determined. The African family will decide for itself its position in the great family of mankind:—I say, decide for itself:—for it is not the acknowledgment

of the independence of Liberia, by one nation, or another nation, or by *all* nations, that will elevate the people of that Republic to the desired point;—*that* must be achieved by intellect and labor.

The division of the human race, called Caucasian, or Anglo-Saxon, and its numerous subdivisions, will not dispense with the luxury of Tropical productions;—they cannot produce them—therefore, if the black man will not furnish them voluntarily, it is to be feared, compulsory means will be adopted to compel him.

It is then apparent, that the black can render the white race tributary to them—this is *now* to be decided, and *forever*, in Liberia. Colonization in Africa, therefore, is an experiment far more important than the mere question of manumission.

It is an auxiliary in the elevation of the colored race, by transferring to them the knowledge possessed by a race that has preceded them in the march of civilization and its concomitant arts and sciences. If the colored race adopt them, and join in their onward progress, they will then be placed on an equality. Emancipation alone will not effect it; it is but a minor object, the gift of others; and can only have conferred upon its beneficiaries, the opportunity

of their ascending to equality. The colored man in his own domicil, and by his own energies must ascend to it. The facility is presented him, of emerging from the long and dark night of time in which he has been enveloped.

I have said, the crime of slavery consists as much in the manner, as the fact:—it is equally true of manumission. The merit of conferring it, and its value, depend upon the previous preparation for it. This is abundantly proved in the Island of Jamaica. It would be absurd, to suppose a person capable of understanding Algebra, who was ignorant of Arithmetic.

The Colonization Society, is in fact, an auxiliary to the elevation of the colored man. If it succeeds, it will guarantee the freedom of the colored race in North and South America, by deciding the long mooted question of the cheapness of free compared with slave labor; and thus rendering slaves valueless.

The psychological question that presents itself here, belongs to another department:—I will therefore, only add a sentence.

The native Africans have a plurality of local Gods; powerful, and as malignant as they are pow-

erful. What then must be their sensations, when a knowledge of the true God is unfolded to their minds?—when they are made acquainted with a Deity, not confined to lakes or chained to rocks; and are taught that he is the friend of all?

The doctrine of equal civil and religious liberty after its rise, spread rapidly through wider regions than the “Roman Eagle overshadowed.” It could not be arrested by fleets or armies, for it pervaded *them*; it was not stopped by seas or mountains, it passed over *them*. Like the magnetic influence, it spread from meridian to meridian; and like that subtle fluid, it promises to wrap the globe from pole to pole. But the zones of the earth give character to their inhabitants; and in the highest point of attainment to which the human family may progress, there will doubtless be a difference in the destiny of nations.

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ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. No. 6.

1860, Sept. 18. Gift of
Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.
Prof. in Harv. Univ. (H. U. 1826)

THE "RUIN" OF JAMAICA.

Richard
BY R. HILDRETH.

CHAPTER I. — *Historical Introduction.*

PERHAPS there is not a single delusion more systematically and more perseveringly practised upon the good people of the United States, and of Great Britain too, than the comparison so perpetually brought to their notice of the alleged present economical ruin of the Island of Jamaica, as contrasted with its alleged former prosperity, and with the present prosperity of the neighboring Island of Cuba. And what gives the greater effect to this delusion is, that the instruments for spreading it are frequently men of honest intentions, and, on the generality of subjects, very well informed, but whose total ignorance of the history of Jamaica makes them easy dupes, and who, indeed, are very often blindly led into the ditch by guides in the form of respectable residents of the island, hardly less ignorant than themselves; for it is not among the residents of Jamaica that any thing beyond very superficial ideas of the history of the island is generally to be found.

As the bearing of this matter on grave domestic questions gives to it a high degree of interest, we propose to explain the true state of facts with respect to Jamaica, past as well as present, in order to put our readers in the position to draw legitimate conclusions, and to avoid being deluded by falsehoods, which, though reported by almost every mail from the West Indies, whatever currency and general acceptance they may gain by that repetition, are not rendered thereby any the less groundless and delusive.

The Island of Jamaica has an extent of a little less than six thousand square miles. It is thus about the size of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island together. Like all the West India Islands, it consists of a central group of mountains, with fertile plains, of no great width, extending from their foot to the coast. Being placed directly south of the east end of Cuba, and thus cut off from the northern breezes, which reach it much in the state of a sponge already once squeezed, it suffers much more from drought than either Cuba, Hayti, or Porto Rico; many of its fertile plains, too distant from the mountains, and unfreshed by summer showers, are, from that cause, rendered worthless; while the rugged character of much of the interior, with the climate and difficulties of transportation,

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wholly unfit for the production of sugar and coffee. In natural fertility of soil, it is, or rather was, — for of virgin soil fit for cultivation none is left, — decidedly inferior to the other three islands, and more exposed, also, to storms and hurricanes, by which, occasionally, it suffers very severely.

Columbus discovered Jamaica on his second voyage, in May, 1494. In his fourth voyage, in 1503, he ran his leaky vessel on shore on the coast of the island, and remained there for fifteen months. In 1507, Don Diego, Columbus's viceroy, sent a colony to occupy it. The natives, as in the case of all the West India Islands settled by the Spaniards, were speedily worn out by unaccustomed labor. Negroes were introduced to supply their places; but the demand for colonial produce was then very slight; and when Jamaica surrendered to Admiral Penn (the father of our William Penn) in 1655, with whom was our Winslow, one of the founders of Plymouth colony, and who, being then in England as agent for Massachusetts, was sent out in the fleet by Cromwell, as one of the commissioners for superintending such conquests as might be made, it contained only a thousand or two of Spanish creoles, and a less number of negroes. The Spaniards submitted to the invaders; most of the negroes fled to the interior mountains, where they became the progenitors of the maroons, recruited from time to time by additional runaways, from whose depredations Jamaica afterwards suffered so much, and of whom she finally got rid, so late as 1796, only by the disgraceful breach of a capitulation into which they had been induced to enter. These maroons, transported by that breach of faith to Nova Scotia, became, along with some of the refugee slaves from Virginia and Maryland, whom the British at the close of the revolutionary war had refused to give up, the first settlers of the colony of Sierra Leone, and some of their descendants are at this day thriving merchants, and among the leading inhabitants of that Anglo-African settlement.

Cromwell, who had expected to get St. Domingo, from which his fleet was repulsed, was anxious to make all he could out of Jamaica. He tried to persuade the settlers at New Haven, who had not prospered altogether according to their expectations, to remove thither in a body, and in a sermonizing letter endeavored to convince them that they had a call from God to that work. They declined this pressing invitation; but among the adventurers who did go to Jamaica was Samuel Vassall, who had been one of the first settlers of Massachusetts, but whom the intolerant spirit prevailing there had induced to leave, and whose large landed estates acquired in Jamaica passed finally, together with his name, into the family of the Foxes, the head of which now bears the aristocratic title of Lord Holland.

Winslow, who died shortly after landing, was succeeded by Sedgwick, another New England man, who had served in the parliamentary army, and whose posterity are very honorably distinguished among us. But this new

commissioner, on arriving in Jamaica, did not find things in a very promising condition. The soldiers left there had been principally drawn from the Island of Barbadoes, which had then a much larger white population than at present — being, in fact, at that time (just two hundred years ago) the most populous and wealthy of the English colonies in America. But these troops by no means came up to the standard of our good Puritan, parliamentary soldier, who was afterwards major general of Massachusetts; and in his official letters he described them very much as our letter writers of to-day describe the Jamaica negroes, "so lazy and idle as it cannot enter into the heart of any Englishman that such blood should run in the veins of any born in England." To recruit this rather unpromising population, Cromwell ordered a thousand girls and young men to be enlisted in Ireland, and he directed the administrators of the Scottish government to apprehend all "known idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds" for transportation thither. A certain number of prisoners of war were also disposed of in the same manner.

The best thing that offered to these first English settlers in Jamaica was privateering against the Spaniards; and even after the establishment of amicable relations between Spain and England, they still kept it up. So far did Sir Thomas Modyford, who was governor in 1668, carry his notions of colonial rights, — a man after the heart of our nullifiers, whom he anticipated by almost two centuries, — that he declared war on behalf of the island against Spain, merely for the sake of being able to give commissions to the cruisers; for it is to be observed that the buccaneers of those times, like the kidnappers of ours, always preferred, when it was possible, to act under a commission. The prosperity of Jamaica, like that of the neighboring colony of French St. Domingo, (the present empire of Hayti,) thus took its start from buccaneering. Such was the source of the wealth, luxury, and profligacy, no doubt exaggerated by tradition, of Port Royal, now become an English town. But Sir Thomas Modyford was not, by any means, a man of one idea. Besides granting commissions to the buccaneers, it was he too who introduced the cultivation of sugar; and when buccaneering began to grow less profitable, and more dangerous, — though till the last moment Port Royal afforded them a market for their prizes and entertainment for their money, — the richer and more stable-minded of the old buccaneers began to import and buy negroes, and to turn their attention to sugar planting — the introduction into Europe of the use of tea and coffee having opened an enlarged market, and created a new demand for that article. From buccaneering to sugar planting — such was the second step in the career of population and prosperity alike in Jamaica and in French St. Domingo.

Jamaica, however, still retained its interest in navigation; and from

fighting and plundering the Spaniards began now to trade with them. This trade, in fact, had in it something of the excitement, the risks, and the profits, too, of buccaneering; for the Spanish colonial system allowed no commerce with strangers, and the traffic actually carried on had either to be forced, in spite of the Spanish *guarda costas*, or insinuated by vessels that anchored off the coast under pretence of leaks, injury by storms, or lack of supplies, the eyes of the Spanish officers being closed with gold; or else worked through under cover of the *asiento* treaty, by which Spain had ceded first to France, and afterwards to England, the privilege of introducing, annually, a certain number of negro slaves into her colonies, with whom the vessels admitted for that purpose contrived also to smuggle in a great many other kinds of goods.

Port Royal was ruined by an earthquake in 1722, but Kingston succeeded it, and grew to be the largest town in the West Indies — not at all as a mere port for shipping sugar and landing plantation supplies, but as the entrepot of the entire British trade with Spanish America. And this entrepot it remained till the revolt of the Spanish colonies, first against the Bonaparte family and afterwards against the restored Bourbons, by opening the Spanish American ports to legitimate commerce, made any such smuggling entrepot unnecessary. Kingston, also, while the slave trade lasted, was the grand British entrepot for that traffic; and Bryan Edwards calculates that, besides the import for domestic supply, Kingston had, during the eighteenth century, the profits on half a million of negroes furnished to other colonies, foreign and British.

The city of Kingston was thus built up by smuggling and slave trading. Both these occupations are now gone, and no other has yet been created to supply their places. This simple statement of historical facts will serve to explain the decay, dilapidation, and houses to let, observed by correspondents at Kingston, the general stopping-place of travellers, and the source whence come so many Jeremiads about ruin, decay, and insolent free negroes that won't work. The very same result from similar causes might have been seen twenty years ago in many dilapidated New England seaport towns, such as Newport, Salem, and Newburyport, into which manufacturing industry has again introduced bustle and prosperity. Jamaica, however, so far from having any protective policy to aid her in contending against the revolutions of commerce, after having been for years the spoilt child of Protection, having been as a slave colony always sustained by the close monopoly (in common with the other British sugar islands) of the British sugar market, and by occasional large parliamentary grants of money direct, has been exposed as a free colony, with its lands exhausted, its credit greatly diminished, and its supply of labor curtailed, to a thorough-going free-trade competition, not only with the virgin soil, resident proprie-

tors, and large slave importations of Cuba, but with British capital and skill also newly employed to aid in bringing these advantages into most effectual play.

CHAPTER II.—*Sugar growing in Jamaica.*

THE original sugar planters of Jamaica—and the same was the case in all the other British islands in the West Indies—were residents in the colony, who settled there with the intention to live and to die there, and whose operations were principally carried on by means of their own capital. Such still continues to be the state of things in the Spanish islands, and, to a certain extent, also, in the French islands; but in all the English islands, in the course of the eighteenth century, a very different system was introduced. The sugars, after they were made, had to be sent to London or Bristol for sale; and the merchant employed to sell them was also employed to buy and send out the plantation supplies. Sometimes a drought, or hurricane, a negro revolt, or a maroon inroad, prevented any crop, or destroyed it. But the supplies must still be had. They were furnished on credit. A debt was contracted, which, frequently growing larger and larger, was finally secured by mortgage, with the condition to ship all the sugars in the merchant's vessels, and consigned to his house. The debt growing larger and larger, finally the mortgage was foreclosed; and thus in many cases formally, in almost all the rest substantially, sooner or later most of the old estates passed into the hands of the few great English mercantile houses, known as the West India interest. The same process, precisely, was rapidly going on with our Virginia tobacco planters till the revolution put a stop to British credits; leaving unpaid, however, that great mass of British debts of which the Virginians struggled so hard to escape the payment; which had so injurious an influence on our domestic policy, having nearly plunged us into a premature new war with England, and the payment of which the Federal Government was finally obliged to assume.

Towards the middle of the last century, the market for sugars rapidly increasing, and coffee also having been introduced into the West Indies as a new staple, a great many new plantations were established by means of funds mainly advanced by these same West India houses, and, of course, secured by mortgage. But although the establishment of new plantations thus went on in Jamaica, as long as there was any new land fit for the purpose, we are not to suppose, with so many of our Jamaica letter writers, that a slave sugar plantation was a high road to opulence perfectly certain and sure. Bryan Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, himself an experienced planter, who had seen the elephant, informs us that while thirty thousand pounds sterling was the very smallest sum that would suf-

fice to establish a paying plantation, the profits to be expected on this outlay — assuming a fair product and average prices — would not exceed seven per cent.; and this without charging a shilling for making good the decrease of the negroes, — a very heavy item, — or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, or for the tax of six per cent. of the gross value levied on the crops of absentees. “With these and other drawbacks, to say nothing of the devastations, which are sometimes occasioned by fires and hurricanes, destroying in a few hours the labor of years, it is not wonderful,” he adds, “that the profits should sometimes dwindle to nothing, or, rather, that a sugar estate, with all its boasted advantages, should sometimes prove a millstone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to destruction!” True Jamaica rhetoric that! A Jeremiad, too, uttered before emancipation was even so much as thought of; and yet, who wouldn’t suppose that it was copied word for word from some letter from some travelling correspondent come to hand by the very last mail from Kingston?

Anticipating that this plain and disenchanting statement might somewhat surprise some of the verdant, Edwards proceeds, on behalf of the said verdant, to put to himself this question: “Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and considering, withal, that the returns are in general but small, and at best uncertain, how has it happened that the sugar islands have been rapidly settled, and many a great estate purchased in the mother country from the profits which have accrued from their cultivation?”

“It were to be wished,” he says in reply, “that those who make such inquiries would inquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy persons have been totally and irretrievably ruined by adventuring in the cultivation of those islands without possessing any adequate means to support them in such great undertakings. On the failure of some of these unfortunate men, vast estates have indeed been raised by persons who have had money at command. Money is advanced and encouragement given to a certain point, but a skilful practitioner well-knows where to stop; he is aware what very large sums must be expended before any return can be made. One third of the money thus expended he has, perhaps, furnished; but the time soon comes when a further advance is requisite. Now, then, is the moment for oppression. If the lands promise great returns, the sagacious creditor, instead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the best of his way by his own exertions, pleads a sudden and unexpected emergency, and insists on immediate payment of the sum already lent. The law, on this occasion, is far from being chargeable with delay, and avarice is inexorable. A sale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himself. Ready money is required in payment, and every one sees that a further sum will be wanting to make the estate productive. Few, therefore, have the means who have even the wish efficaciously to assist the devoted victim. Thus the creditor gets the estate at his own price, commonly for his first advance, and the miserable debtor has reason to thank his stars, if, consoling himself with only the loss of his own original capital, and his labor for a series of years, he escapes a prison for life.

“At the same time it cannot justly be denied that there are creditors who, having advanced their money to resident planters, not in the view of deriving

undue advantages, but solely on the fair and honorable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much against their inclination, to become planters themselves — being obliged to receive *unprofitable* West India estates in payment, or lose their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner *which are a burden instead of a benefit*, and which are kept up solely in the hope that favorable crops and an advance in prices may, some time or other, invite purchasers.

"Thus oppression in one class of creditors, and gross injustice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country where, if the risks and losses are great, the gains are sometimes commensurate; for sugar estates there are, undoubtedly, from which, instead of the returns that I have estimated, double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true that such instances are extremely rare; but, perhaps, to that very circumstance — which to a philosopher, speculating in his closet, would seem sufficient to deter a wise man from adventuring in this line of cultivation — it is chiefly owing that so much money has been expended in it. I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of sugar varies occasionally so much as to create a difference in its value of ten shillings the hundred, which, for the superior quality, is pure gain. Much, undoubtedly, depends on skill in the manufacture; and, the process being apparently simple, the beholder feels almost an irresistible propensity to engage in it. Though, perhaps, not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every sanguine adventurer takes it for granted that he shall be that one. *Thus his system of life becomes a course of experiments, and if ruin should be the consequence of his rashness, he imputes his misfortunes to any cause rather than to his own want, and capacity, and foresight.*"

These extracts from Edwards afford an insight into the rationale of slave cultivation according to the system which ultimately prevailed throughout the British West Indies, and to a very considerable extent also in the French and Dutch colonies. The motive power of the system, the real owners not only of the plantations and of the slaves, but of the nominal proprietors also, were a few great mercantile houses in Europe, with whom it was a leading object to secure the transportation of the sugars and of the plantation supplies in their vessels, with the commissions on their sale and purchase. It was these profits, and these alone, that sufficed to cover the numerous risks of sugar planting, and to justify the large advances which the business required.

Though often compelled to carry on the estates in their own names and at their own sole risk, these European merchants greatly preferred to stand in the relation of mortgagees — thus leaving all the risks to be borne, so long as they could stand under them, by nominal proprietors. These nominal proprietors were chiefly drawn from the mercantile class, or from the class of overseers, doctors, lawyers, master mechanics, and others, who, going out to the colonies to seek their fortunes, had gradually, as *attachés* to the plantations, accumulated a few thousand pounds — often, it was said, in the case of the overseers, by cheating their absent employers. Whatever resident in the colonies, by whatever means, succeeded in getting together a considerable sum of money, was drawn on, by a fascination like that of the gaming table, to invest it in a sugar plantation, which remained mortgaged for the balance to the European consignees of the produce. The certain

ruin that in nineteen cases out of twenty attended this procedure was proverbial in the West Indies; yet few indeed who had the means, had the strength of mind to resist the temptation to become (nominal) proprietors — that being the height of West Indian glory and dignity; while a few fortunes acquired here and there by extraordinary crops or series of crops, or by a sudden rise in the sugar market, occasioned by war or other accident, served still to bait the trap.

It was thus that the European sugar houses absorbed every thing — not only the labor of the black slaves, but all the earnings and savings of their white employes also — drawn at last into a plantation investment — the nominal proprietors being scarcely less bond slaves than the very negroes themselves. To these few houses, and to these alone, was sugar planting, under the slave system, a profitable venture. To every body else employed in it, black or white, it was incessant, exhausting, and unrequited toil, except that the black people had a very scanty and insufficient supply of food and clothing, — the latter generally a rag about their loins, — and the white people a pretty good supply of these, with plenty of wine, brandy, ale, rum, and black mistresses, horses to ride, and negroes to domister over. And this, under the most prosperous times of the slave system, constituted the entire sum and substance of Jamaica prosperity! But even this kind of prosperity, such as it was, carried with it the seeds of its own decay. Two things were absolutely essential to its continuance — an unlimited supply of new land, and an unlimited supply of new slaves to take the places of those annually used up on the plantations.

The era of the highest planter prosperity of Jamaica corresponds exactly with the era of the highest planter prosperity of Virginia — that is to say, the twenty years preceding the breaking out of our revolutionary war. During this period the market for colonial produce enlarged steadily. Jamaica and Virginia, from the establishments already made in them, had the decided advantage over newer and yet infant settlements. There was still a sufficiency of virgin land; slaves were imported in greater numbers than ever before, and the establishment of new plantations went on in an accelerated ratio. But soon the same inevitable drawback laid its claw upon both Jamaica and Virginia. The lands in both, suitable for plantations, began to be exhausted, and settlers and speculators began to seek out fresh lands elsewhere. The first great rival of Jamaica in this respect (what Cuba is to her now) was French St. Domingo. The cultivation of that colony in the latter half of the last century advanced with very rapid strides, and her exports from the period of the American war — from which Jamaica suffered greatly, in the starvation of her slaves and the loss of her accustomed supplies of lumber — began to rival and presently to exceed those of the English colony. The French revolution and its result, the self-

emancipation of the slaves of St. Domingo, delivered Jamaica from that powerful and hated rival. But about the same time with this deliverance, a change was made in the policy of Spain respecting Porto Rico and Cuba, and these islands, hitherto without traffic, and with a very limited population, presented themselves as new competitors in the business of sugar growing. Presently, too, by the abolition of the slave trade, Jamaica lost her annual supply of laborers, who thenceforward, down even to the present moment, have annually diminished. For though the total population of Jamaica has increased since emancipation, that increase consists of children not yet of an age for labor; while not only has the adult able-bodied population gone on still diminishing year by year, but the women, formerly employed equally with the men in the field and the sugar mill, from the necessity of taking care of their infant children and overseeing, not slave huts, but free households, have necessarily been withdrawn from plantation labor.

With her lands year after year more and more exhausted, her supply of labor diminishing, the protective sugar duties repealed, old and worn-out Jamaica is exposed to competition with new and fertile Cuba. Compare Virginia and Missouri, and their present rate of growth, and understand, O ye travellers and letter writers! why it is that the sugar growing interest declines in Jamaica and flourishes in Cuba; why it is that, in this particular line of sugar growing, the old emancipated colonies cannot compete with the new slave ones.

CHAPTER III. — *The "Ruin" of Jamaica an old Story.*

In reference to the alleged former prosperity and pretended present "ruin" of Jamaica, we have seen in what that prosperity consisted; and that, by the operation of causes entirely independent of the nature of the labor employed, that prosperity, such as it was, had already reached its period, and had commenced a gradual decline years before the abolition of slavery, or even of the slave trade.

That prosperity, to restate the matter in a few words, consisted in the diligent and laborious cultivation of a certain number of sugar and coffee plantations, by upward of three hundred thousand negroes, in the lowest state of degradation, misery, ignorance, and barbarism, uneducated, religiously or otherwise, naked, or nearly so, supported on a scanty allowance of the coarsest food, (and a large part of that imported,) forced to labor some sixteen hours a day, and annually diminishing at the rate of nearly three per cent. — the number being kept good only by fresh importations from Africa, — while all the profits of this forced and cruel toil went into the coffers of a few great British commercial houses, except what stuck by the way, and

was employed in the maintenance of about twenty-five thousand white residents of the island, who alone were taken into account when the people and the prosperity of Jamaica were spoken of.

These white persons had a political representation in the colonial legislature, and except as to matters of trade, with which alone the home government interfered, they were lords and masters of the island, (always saving the supreme authority of the non-resident proprietors and mortgagees, who controlled at pleasure the legislation of the Assembly.) These white residents consisted in, perhaps, about equal numbers of creoles, or persons born on the island, and of accessions from abroad. Of these creoles the larger part were the descendants of the early British settlers, once numerous, but gradually wasting away, without slaves, poor and lazy, but to whom manual agricultural labor would have been a disgrace; living, as they could, by odd jobs, and occupying a position somewhat like that of the poorest and meanest white population in our southern towns and villages. The rest of the creoles were the children of more recent settlers, of whom a certain proportion had been sent "home" — that is, to Great Britain — for education, but who were no more able than the other class of creoles, already described, to perpetuate their race; and who, in the competition of business, were entirely outdone by the immigrant class, in whom, conjointly with the sugar houses at home, resided the motive power that kept the system in operation. The most successful of this immigrant class were generally Scotchmen, — hard, sharp, driving, and close-fisted, — who got what they could, and saved what they got; and who found it not difficult to conquer in Jamaica all the little "prejudices" and scruples which they had brought with them from Scotland.

A few of these whites found employment as lawyers and physicians; for the island was very unhealthy for white people living as the whites of Jamaica did, and the white inhabitants were very litigious, to say nothing of numerous debts to be collected. Here and there a jolly parson might be met with; for Jamaica had a few old livings. A somewhat larger number came out as clerks in mercantile establishments, and as millwrights, carpenters, masons, or smiths — employments of which they soon learned to shift all the manual labor upon negro slaves trained up to the business. But the chief occupation was the management and superintendence of the plantations, each of which had a chief overseer, with several inferior overseers, or bookkeepers, as they were called, and, in the case of absentee proprietors, an attorney to represent the proprietor.

The family circle was quite a rarity in slaveholding Jamaica. Marriage was the exception, not the rule. The male white population far exceeded the females in number, of whom, however, the greater portion was left to wither in single blessedness. Of the immigrant population very few were

women; and such wives as were occasionally brought out from Great Britain pretty generally soon wished themselves at home again. The white men supplied themselves with mistresses and housekeepers, either from among the slaves or the free people of color, who formed, during the so-much-regretted era of Jamaica prosperity, a third and equally distinct class of the population. These free people of color, with whom were reckoned also a few manumitted negroes, amounted to about ten thousand in number, being the offspring of the connections above mentioned. In a few rare cases these colored children were educated and provided for in a fatherly manner. If the mother were a slave, it was considered in Jamaica — our democratic slaveholders think differently — only an act of common decency to secure the freedom of the child; but here, in general, the care of the father stopped. With few exceptions, the males, unprovided with any means of gaining for themselves a creditable livelihood, keenly sensitive to the honor on the one side of their white parentage, and to the disgrace of their African blood on the other, were left speedily to terminate, or miserably to protract, a wretched existence as they might. They were subjected to much the same legal disabilities and indignities as are the colored people of our Southern States, not being allowed to testify against a white man, to vote, or to hold any office; and the legislature of Jamaica had also provided — a thing not yet found necessary in any of our Southern States — that no testamentary devise from a white person to a negro or mulatto should be valid if it exceeded the amount of seven thousand dollars. The females had, as their only resource, the concubinage above described — a degraded position, in which, however, they often fulfilled, with the utmost scrupulousness and self-devotion, all the duties, without enjoying one of the rights, of a wife, and which, as it secured to them and their colored relations a white champion and protector, was regarded as the greatest piece of good fortune, and the most respectable position to which they could possibly attain.

Such was the prosperity over the decay of which so many regrets are uttered — the enjoyments, if they are to be called such, secured by it to the limited white population, and to them only, being of the grossest character. From living constantly among negroes, mostly imported from Africa, over whom they exercised despotic authority, the white immigrants, the greater part of them not over refined to begin with, degenerated into gross barbarians. Their only relaxations were drunken frolics, naked negro girls being employed to wait at table; while it was an ordinary piece of Jamaica hospitality to furnish, not only a bed to the guest, but a woman to share it. Such were the pleasures of the whites of Jamaica. Their business consisted in watching and driving up the negroes, and in gradually accumulating the means to flit for a moment as nominal proprietor of a plantation, which proprietorship, in nineteen cases out of twenty, speedily transferred these hard-earned gains into the coffers of some London sugar house.

Nor was even this wretched system sustained, except by a strict monopoly of the British sugar market, secured to the British West India planters — a monopoly which, in the latter quarter of the last century, was so severely felt by the British consumers, considering the prices at which they might have purchased the rival sugars of French St. Domingo, as to raise a great clamor in England against the whole system of West India cultivation as a ruinous and losing concern, accompanied by a scheme for drawing the supply of sugar from the East Indies — a scheme which only received its quietus when the revolt of the slaves in French St. Domingo had freed the British colonies from that invidious contrast. On the other hand, the legislature of Jamaica complained with no less emphasis of the wretched condition to which the island was reduced. They stated, in a formal report, that, in consequence of the interruption of their usual supplies, resulting from the quarrel between Great Britain and her northern continental colonies, (now the United States,) fifteen thousand negroes had perished, between the end of 1780 and the beginning of 1787, “of famine, or of diseases contracted by scanty and unwholesome diet.” Another report, dated November 22, 1792, represents that, in the course of twenty years preceding, one hundred and seventy-seven estates were sold for the payment of debts, fifty-five were *thrown up*, — so long ago had that *abandonment* of estates commenced, of which we nowadays hear so much, as though it were a new thing growing out of emancipation, — and ninety-two were then in the hands of creditors, while, during the same period, eighty thousand and twenty-one executions, amounting to above twenty-two million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, had been lodged in the provost marshal’s office.

Such was the prosperity of Jamaica in 1792; and accounts still more lamentable are given in another report of November 23, 1804, and in reports of the British House of Commons, of July 24, 1807, of April 13, 1808 — report No. 279, 1812, and No. 381, 1832; from all which it appears that Jamaica ruin is an ancient and chronic complaint — as painful, no doubt, but apparently not much more dangerous than the gout, which, as the patient has survived it for seventy years or more, is not likely, perhaps, to result in immediate dissolution; especially as the inhabitants of the island, in spite of this protracted and reiterated ruin of the sugar planters, are vastly better off in every respect — socially, politically, intellectually, religiously, physically, and morally — than at any former period.

Published for gratuitous distribution, at the Office of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, No. 138 Nassau Street, New York. Also to be had at the Anti-Slavery Offices, No. 21 Cornhill, Boston, and No. 31 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

(4)

EMANCIPATION

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

BY

Franklin Benjamin

F. B. SANBORN.

CONCORD, MASS.

MARCH, 1862.

EMANCIPATION
1862, Apr. 4TH.

Gift of
Franklin B. Sanborn.
WEST INDIES
of Concord.

(H. C. 1855.)

F. B. SANBORN.

CONCORD, MASS.

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EMANCIPATION

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WEST INDIES.

THE substance of the following Essay was given in the form of a Lecture at Concord, and afterwards in Boston, where it was printed in *The Pine and Palm*. The writer has likewise furnished eight articles for the *Springfield Republican*, embodying the same views, but presented in a different form. He wishes, in this way, to contribute to the public information concerning a matter unhappily but little understood even in New England. Doubtless there are errors in these pages, but they are not those of intention.

Concord, March 27th, 1862.

Sidney Smith mentions a critic who would never read a book till after he had reviewed it; "because," he said, "reading is apt to bias the mind." King James I. used to wonder that his judges could decide any case after they had heard both sides; "for if I hear but the one party," said he, "my judgment is clear; but when they have both told their story, by my saul! I canna tell what to say." Something like the wisdom of these two sages seems to have taken possession of the American mind on the question of Emancipation. There are people enough to advance the theory; there are more than enough to denounce it, and cry out on its dangers and horrors; but few of either party have taken the trouble to inform themselves of the facts. For the abolition of Slavery is not a mere theory, like the hypothesis of an open sea at the North Pole, which they say Lieut. Maury believed in, because he heard there were whales in Baffin's Bay, with their noses pointing to the north,—no, it is a great historical fact, and we are to judge of it as we do of other facts, less by the arguments advanced in its favor than by the results which have attended it. Let us consider, then, this most important topic—Emancipation as a Fact, not as a Theory,—confining the inquiry to Negro Emancipation in the West Indies.

What should we think of a man who

should today gravely raise the question whether the Atlantic can be crossed by steamships,—whether a Sharpe's rifle is better than a crossbow, or a power press than a monk's inkhorn and sheepskin? Should we not imagine he had strayed away from Kentucky or the office of the Boston Courier? Yet the facts which prove the safety and profit of Emancipation are less recent than the success of ocean steamships, against which Lardner prophesied in vain; nay, they are older than the bold contrivances of Fulton, which, within half a century, have revolutionized commerce and maritime warfare. They lie at our very door; we have only to look at them to be convinced.

Yet, so inveterate are the prejudices which our unfortunate political and commercial sins have brought upon us, that not one person in a hundred, it is safe to say, is acquainted with the truth of the West Indian experiment of freedom. In the British, French, and Danish West Indies, and in Hayti, together with the South African colonies of Bourbon, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, about 1600 000 slaves of the African race, have been set free since 1792, or within seventy years. Of these, half a million were liberated in Hayti, in 1793; 100 000 more in the same island a few years later; 770 000 by England, in 1834-5; and about 260 000 by

France, Denmark, and Sweden, in 1848. It is, then, 14 years since the last act of liberation, 28 since the most important one, and 69 since the first. There still remain in Slavery, about 6750 000 Africans on the continent and islands of America; that is to say, nearly 4000 000 in the United States, nearly 2000 000 in Brazil, 750 000 in Cuba, and Porto Rico, and 50 000 in the Dutch possessions.

The slaves of St. Domingo were set free under martial law, amid the disorders of the first French Revolution; those of Great Britain were led into liberty in time of profound peace, by carefully prepared statutes; those of France and Denmark during the Revolutionary year of 1848, but without the interposition of martial law. We have here, then, all the possible conditions of a community,—peace, war, and that intermediate state which we call Revolution. If the experiment had failed in any of these cases, we might think it owing to peculiar circumstances; if it had failed in all we might think the policy a mistaken one, at least, so far as these Islands are concerned; if it has succeeded in all, shall we not say it will also succeed every where? Let it be noticed that the number of slaves set free is about two-fifths of those in this country; or, to be more exact, as many as are now in the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida. But while the 1 600-000 freedmen occupied an area of less than 300 000 square miles, these ten States have an area of 600 000 square miles,—a circumstance very favorable to Emancipation; while the climate of none of them is such as to exclude the white man from active labors, as in the West Indies.

At the period of emancipation, St. Domingo presented a condition of things somewhat like our own at this moment, but much more like what ours may be a year hence if we do not avail ourselves of the teachings of experience. For three years the colony had been torn by civil wars between the whites and mulattoes, in which the negroes had taken little part. The Spaniards, in alliance with the revolted slaves of 1791, and in the interest of the exiled Bourbons, had invaded the country, and occupied several important places. The English, then as now eager to destroy a commercial rival, were in treaty with the planters to invade the island also. The French Republic, represented in St. Do-

mingo by two commissioners, Sonthonax and Polverel, was on the point of losing the rich colony. The commissioners had but a thousand French soldiers, a few hundred mulattoes, and the fragment of loyal slaveholders, to oppose so many enemies. At this crisis, by a bold act of justice, the very thought of which they had repelled four months before, they brought to the French cause the powerful aid of 500 000 negroes. On the 29th of August, 1793, they declared all the slaves free. Just three weeks after, the English troops landed, but it was too late. On the 4th of February, 1794, the National Convention confirmed the proclamation of the Commissioners, and abolished slavery in the other colonies. In June of the same year, Toussaint L'Ouverture, with 5000 men, who till then had fought under the Spanish flag, forced himself into the chief city, released the French General, and put himself and his negro soldiers at the orders of the Republic. From that hour the fortune of the war was changed. The English were driven out, (1798) the Spanish retired, and early in 1801, Toussaint proclaimed the French Republic in the Spanish portion of the Island, already ceded to France by the treaty of 1795, thus confirming the liberation of 100 000 more slaves who had been owned by the Spaniards.

In the meantime, war alone had not occupied the great genius of this negro warrior and statesman. Having become virtually Governor of the colony, in 1796 he had set himself to the task of organizing free labor,—a work begun by the French Commissioners in 1794. Sonthonax, returning from an absence in France, in 1796, was astonished at the prosperity which he saw. After the expulsion of the English, in 1798, Toussaint recalled the fugitive planters, gave them their former slaves for hired laborers, and opened the ports to free trade. To direct and enforce his regulations, he put the whole Island under military government, and supported his system of labor, when resisted, by the bayonet. The fruits of this sagacious policy were instantly visible. Commerce returned to the unfortunate Island; labor flourished; the planters grew rich; the condition of the laborers was wonderfully improved; the Government was wonderfully respected, and every thing promised well for the future.

Suddenly, all this prosperity was again destroyed—not by the negroes, who had created it—but by the stupendous folly of Na-

poison. Yielding to the urgency of the emigrant planters, and of Josephine, herself a creole of Martinique, in 1802 Napoleon sent an immense army to St. Domingo, treacherously seized Toussaint, and imprisoned him in France, where he soon died of neglect. At the same time, he reestablished Slavery and the Slave Trade in all the French colonies except St. Domingo, proposing to do so there when he should have conquered it. But his vast armies were destroyed by war and disease, and in 1804 the French were finally driven from the Island.

Since then, the fortunes of Hayti have been various, but, on the whole, creditable to her people; especially when we remember that when she gained her independence, nearly half her people were slaves, who had been imported from Africa, and that nine-tenths of them had only the vicious training of slavery to fit them to be citizens. They have increased in population and in wealth, in spite of the exactions of France and Spain, and our own most illiberal treatment of them. Their Government has been more stable than that of Mexico, or the South American Republics; their institutions show an honest effort for liberty, under the restraints of law; their literature, though scanty, will endure a comparison with that of Cuba or of Canada.

But whatever have been the misfortunes of Hayti, Emancipation was not their cause. They began three years before the slaves were freed; they ceased when the negro Toussaint acquired power; they began again when Napoleon, in 1802 reestablished the old curse of slavery.

"The evil that men do lives after them."

It was Slavery, not Freedom, that ruined the fair hopes of St. Domingo; it will be Freedom, not Slavery, that will restore her to her ancient and over-estimated splendor. She may yet be our most faithful ally, our best friend, and, to the delight of Milk street and Wall street, our unlimited customer.* Both justice and policy require us to recognize her independence, and to offer her our alliance and protection. It is now a question whether she shall belong to us, or to Spain, from whose encroaching hand we have more to fear, than even from the insolence and avarice of England. Spain is no longer a feeble State; with Mexico, Cuba, and Hayti in her possession, she would be-

come a commercial power of the first rank; shall we allow it?

Such was the first great experiment of negro Emancipation; now for the second.

In the very midst of the "Horrors of St. Domingo" the English Abolitionists were waging their war against the slave trade. On the 5th of May, 1778, Mr. Pitt brought forward in Parliament his motion against it; a year later, Wilberforce made his first speech against it, supported by Pitt, Fox, and Burke. Clarkson and the Quakers had moved still earlier; and Zachary Macaulay, father of the brilliant historian, joined with them. In 1807 their efforts abolished the infamous traffic, a year before it was ended here by act of Congress. Christian VII. of Denmark had still earlier, in 1792, forbidden his subjects to take part in it. In 1823 Mr. Canning's resolutions, looking to the final abolition of slavery itself, passed the House of Commons, supported there, and in the nation at large, by Wilberforce, Buxton, the two Macaulays, Lord Brougham, and many other illustrious men.

In 1833, by act of Parliament, after long discussion, slavery was declared forever abolished in all the British colonies. This law went into effect, on the 1st of August 1834, in all the colonies save Mauritius, where it took effect February 1st, 1835. It provided, for an intermediate state between slavery and entire freedom, a system of apprenticeship, which was to continue for six years. In effect it continued but four years, being found to work badly, like all measures of gradual Emancipation; and all the negroes became unconditionally free on the 1st of August, 1838, in the West Indies, and on the first of March, 1839, in Mauritius. The small island of Antigua, however, had at first chosen immediate freedom, rejecting the supposed advantages of apprenticeship, which system, it should be said, the English Abolitionists had not favored. It was a concession to the slaveholders, and like all such concessions had only bad results.

The number of slaves thus set free, was 770 390; they were scattered through nineteen colonies, controlled by a strong central government; the measures for their liberation had been preparing for ten years, and were carried out by humane and resolute governors, in a time of universal peace. These circumstances show the strongest contrast in almost every particular, to the events of

*"The customer is the immediate jewel of our soul."—Emerson.

1793, in St. Domingo; naturally, we should expect a greater success than there; what have the results been? Ask this question of the first man you meet, and ten to one his answer will be, "Emancipation in the British Colonies is a failure." Ask him how he knows this, and he will tell you "he has heard so,—everybody say so." Ask him to give you figures and facts for it, and he is silent. He has not, and the American people generally, have not taken the trouble to spend an hour in the examination of a matter far more important to us, than it has ever been to England. But without authority, without investigation, in the very face and eyes of notorious facts, he continues to repeat what is at once a mistake and a slander. And why? Because in this, as in so many other points, public opinion has been under the control of those in-olent planters and their commercial allies at the North, from whose tyranny we are now, thank God! fast freeing ourselves. "It is opinion, not truth," said Sir Walter Raleigh, "that travelleth the world without passport." Forgetting the prejudices which we have learned from slavery, let us take the testimony,—not of planters and slave-drivers; not of vulgar politicians, aiming at the White House, nor of those profound sages, the traders in cotton and sugar,—no, but of figures,—those impartial reporters, who can neither vote nor hold office, nor buy and sell in any market, but whose silent statement the slaveholder dreads and hates more than all arguments.

Let it be said, first, that emancipation was feared and denounced by most of the white colonists, whose fears were shared to some extent by the British government. No Kentucky Congressman, or New York secessionist can exceed in terrors or threats the "West India Body of Merchants and Planters" resident in England, during the year 1833. These noblemen and gentlemen, interested in the sugar trade, predicted as a consequence of any measure of emancipation, "a commercial crisis unparalleled in the history of the empire;" "an extreme danger to the lives and properties of the free persons resident in the colonies;" "confusion and anarchy;" "whole districts, indeed whole colonies," they said, "might be completely depopulated;" they could see nothing in the law proposed "but confiscation of property, and the prospect of all those calamities which must result from a

dissolution of the ties which connect the colonies with the British Empire."^{*}

They declared further, that it "is not even calculated to advance the comforts and well-being of the negro, that it endangers the continuance of the colonies as dependencies of the British Crown, and utterly destroys the possibility of their productive cultivation;" that it would "throw the black population back into a state of barbarism."[†]

These gloomy forebodings have a too familiar sound. How did the event justify them? The colonies are still loyal to the British Crown, as we know to our cost; they are more productive than before emancipation; no such commercial crisis took place; the population instead of diminishing at the rate of 5000 annually, as it had done from 1820 to 1834, is increasing; and the negroes have made extraordinary advances in wealth, civilization, and morality. There has certainly been a decrease in the sugar crop, and there have been many other changes, but of these emancipation has been but in part the cause.

The British Government did not neglect to guard against the imagined dangers. They sent out additional troops, and created a special police; they made careful provision, as was thought, for the supply of labor; and under the name of indemnity, they distributed nearly \$100 000 000 among the planters, out of which the laborers' wages could be paid, until the new system had been fairly tested.

The first results of Emancipation astonished every one. In Antigua, where the slaves instantly became their own masters, the public quiet was completely undisturbed. The first of August happened to fall on Friday, and it was wisely resolved by the masters, to give their 30 000 slaves a holiday until Monday, the 4th. These three days were spent by the negroes—first, in prayer and thanksgiving to God for their great deliverance—then, in expressions of joy and congratulation among themselves. On Monday, with few exceptions, they returned to their homes, took up the shovel and the hoe again, and have ever since continued to be peaceful citizens. In the other islands there were similar events; scarcely a riot occurred, and not a single white man lost his life. The only sufferers were a few rash negroes, at Trinidad and St. Christopher's, who attempted

^{*}Proceedings of West India Body, pp. 9, 43, 49, 86 (London, 1832). [†]Ibid, pp. 96, 134.

a combination against the authorities. In Trinidad, one negro was hanged, and a few others sentenced to hard labor; in St. Christopher's, four or five were transported for life. In only one colony was martial law proclaimed; nor have there since been any serious outbreaks among the negroes, though this is the twenty-eighth year of their freedom. Yet, in Jamaica alone, from 1800-32, there had been five insurrections, of which the last, in the winter of 1831-32, cost the lives of 500 negroes, and involved a destruction of property, amounting to six or seven millions of dollars. Peace, therefore, was the first effect of Freedom.

So much for the fears of murder and pillage entertained by the colonists. The second great evil which they feared, was a complete cessation of labor, or such irregularity as to derange all the operations of business. In some colonies, and especially in Jamaica, this fear has been partly realized; in others, as in Antigua, Barbadoes, the Bahamas, nothing of the kind has occurred. Now as the same cause ought always to produce the same effect, may we not suspect that the diminution of labor in Jamaica and elsewhere, is due to other causes than the emancipation of the laborer? At any rate, may we not find some other reason for it, than the native idleness of the negro, of which Mr. Carlyle and a host of shallowers writes, say so much? May it not spring from a feeling which the Anglo-Saxon of all men ought to respect, since he has so much of it,—*Earth-hunger*—a desire to own land, and not to be the servant of another man? A committee of the House of Commons in 1842, asserted that this was the case. They said:

“Labor has diminished because the blacks have devoted themselves to work more profitable for them than field work, and because they have generally been able, especially in the larger colonies, to purchase lands without difficulty, to live comfortably, and enrich themselves without being obliged to give the planters more than three or four days of seven hours in each week. The low price of land, the ill-will of the planters, the harshness of the laws which establish the relation between the laborer and his employer,—these have been the chief causes of the difficulties experienced.”*

To the same effect, Francis Hincks, Gov-

* See Cochin's *Abolition de L'Esclavage*, Tome I. p. 404. We have translated from the French, not having access to the Blue Book in question.

ernor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands, said in 1859;† “There has been a considerable withdrawal of labor from sugar cultivation, in Jamaica. Among the causes, next to the tenure of land, the insolvency of the proprietors has been the chief. The only wonder is, that with such a land tenure as exists in the West Indies, a single laborer remains on the sugar estates.” Mr. Sewell, a Canadian by birth, now an American citizen, who visited Jamaica in 1860, and who has written a book of high value, on the Labor Question in the West Indies,‡ speaks in the same tone; “All the impartial testimony that I could obtain in Jamaica,” he says, “summed up a crushing contradiction to the unqualified pretension of the planter, that the negro would not work. And when I asked the negro himself, why he preferred the toil of the mine (eight hours in the day and six days in the week) to the comparatively easy labor of the plantation, his explanation was very simple—‘Buckra don't pay.’” Be it remembered that Mr. Sewell is no abolitionist.

But let us see how great is the evil complained of. Certainly if idleness has increased in the British colonies, it will show itself by diminished imports and exports; for the foreign and domestic trade of a country is the sure index of its industry. First let us consider the sugar crop alone, in which the alleged diminution has been greatest. There is no doubt that the sugar crop of Jamaica, and of several of the other colonies, has much decreased since emancipation. But it must not be forgotten that this decrease began so long ago as 1807, and continued steadily until 1853, when it seemed to be checked, and there is now, we are told, a slight gain. We must bear in mind, too, that the negroes in Jamaica have decreased, since 1807, nearly twenty per cent., and that the sugar monopoly, which the colonies enjoyed has been entirely superseded by the modern English theories of Free Trade, while the planters have been all this time in a state of chronic bankruptcy, far worse than the financial condition of our Southern States. Remembering all these things, we find by the sure evidence of Arithmetic that all the British sugar colonies produced, during the four last years of slavery, a yearly average of 4 377 971 cwt; in the four years of ap-

† See *Anti-Slavery Standard* (N. Y.) Sept. 24, 1859, for a report of this speech, made at London, Aug. 1st, 1859.

‡ *The ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies*. By Wm. G. Sewell. N. Y., 1861. p. 285.

apprenticeship, 4 038 321 cwt., a loss of 8.1-2 per cent.; in the first six years of freedom 3 120 765 cwt.—a loss of 40 per cent.; but in 1847, 4 393 946 cwt.,—a slight gain over the last years of slavery. In the two last years of slavery they exported to Great Britain 8 471 744 cwt.; in 1856-7 they exported 8 736 654 cwt.; a gain of 3 per cent. Leaving Jamaica out of view, and also Mauritius, where the crop has immensely increased, by reason of the immigration of Coolies, we find that the remaining fifteen sugar colonies produced in the three last years of slavery 7 405 849 cwt.; in the three years 1855-6-7, 7 427 618 cwt.,—a slight gain. From 1827 to 1855 the tonnage of vessels entering at eight of these islands—the only ones reported§—had increased more than six per cent.

If the colonies which have been well managed are considered, we shall find a still more marked gain.

The four colonies of Antigua, Barbadoes, Guiana, and Trinidad, exported, in the last four years of slavery, an annual average of 187 000 000 pounds of sugar; from 1856 to 1860, they have annually exported 265-000 000 pounds,—an increase of 41 per cent. For fourteen years before emancipation, the same colonies imported an average of \$8 840 000; in 1859, they imported \$14 600 000,—an increase of 65 per cent. It is true that in Barbadoes and Trinidad, the population has largely increased, but by no means in this ratio; in Guiana and Antigua, there are fewer people than in 1822.

Some of the single colonies show results still more astonishing.

Take Antigua, for example,—the island where the slaves were immediately emancipated. For the fourteen years before Emancipation, the annual imports averaged \$600-000; for 1859, the imports were \$1 280-000, or more than double, while its exports have increased more than 25 per cent. In this instance, free labor has had a fair field from the start, and all has gone well; in Barbadoes, Grenada, Mauritius, and, indeed, most of the colonies, the same is true, though in a less degree. On the whole, we can say that the evils resulting from the scarcity of labor were never so great as had been feared, and in many islands did not exist at all; they were by no means owing wholly to Emancipation, and they will soon be entirely removed.

§Edinburgh Review, April, 1859.

But we may be told that the prosperity of Cuba is a proof of the advantages of slavery. Nobody denies that Cuba has made, and is making, great advances in wealth. Her exports have risen from \$12 000 000 in 1828, to \$34 000 000 in 1858; her imports in the same time, from \$17 000 000 to \$39-000,000. Her population has increased nearly as fast. In 1828, it was 704 487; in 1858, it was at least 1,400,000, of whom half were probably slaves. There has been a similar increase in Porto Rico, the other colony of Spain; but there, the proportion of slaves to the whole population, is only about one-eighth. Both these islands, however, are comparatively thinly settled; especially Cuba, whose population is but 33 to the square mile, or about the same as New Hampshire. Jamaica, on the contrary, has 68, and Barbadoes 843, to the square mile. The abundance of land, together with the fertility of the soil, its favorable position for commerce, and the greater liberality of Spain's commercial policy in recent years, will explain the rapid growth of Cuba, which, after all, is only a quarter part of the growth of Iowa, within the last fifteen years. Let us see if there is not some delusion about the wealth of Cuba; let us apply a more certain test. How much value per man, for her whole population, will the trade of Cuba show for 1858? We answer, \$52. Now, the trade of the French West Indies, which we are told have been ruined by Emancipation, as well as the British colonies, gives a yearly average of \$68 per man, from 1852 to 1858. The imports of Cuba for 1858, are \$27.85 per head; those of Antigua, for 1859, are \$36.57 per head. In 1857, the whole trade of Great Britain with her West India colonies, was over \$52 000 000, giving a greater sum per head than Cuba can show. Where, then, are the boasted advantages of Slavery? Yet in Cuba, Slavery is said to be mild, and the proportion of whites to blacks is nearly four times as great as in the British colonies. We may add that in the fabulous prosperity of St. Domingo, before the French Revolution, her exports and imports are set at about \$40 000 000, giving about the same average per head as in Antigua in 1859.

§ Cochin—Tome II., p., 191.

To this careful French writer, we have been much indebted for statistics, concerning the results of Emancipation. Had he thrown these more into a tabular form, he would have much increased the value of his book. Scheuch's volumes are still of great authority, though published fifteen or twenty years ago.

So much for the "ruin" of the British colonies, and the prosperity of the Spanish. Let us now turn to the last argument of the British planters; that Emancipation would barbarize the negro. Nor have we dwelt so long on the pecuniary results of Emancipation because we regard those as the most important; but because they have been most frequently called in question. We believe most firmly in that good old maxim of the Democratic party, "the greatest good of the greatest number,"—interpreting it to mean "the greatest good of all." So even if the 100 000 whites in the British colonies had been pecuniarily ruined by Emancipation, and the prosperity of the colonies destroyed, we think we could have endured it with fortitude, on the assurance that the 800 000 negroes and mulattoes were immeasurably the gainers. Now the whites have not been ruined as a whole, and their own folly is the chief cause of what troubles have come upon them since 1834. Leaving them for the present out of the question, let us consider the moral and social condition of the negroes since Emancipation. Here the testimony is all one way, and of the strongest kind. True, Mr. Carlyle sneers at "Quashee" lying in the sun, with his "pumpkin," and "his saccharine juices,"—but a sneer is not testimony nor argument. Did not Mr. Carlyle once make a rather plain statement about "eighteen million of bores," and did any American believe him?

Because a crabbed Scotchman does not fancy the color, or the features, or the dialect of some of his fellow-men, are we to disbelieve our own eyes and ears, and reject all history till he has manipulated it?

In November 1838, Lord Glenelg, who had been Colonial Secretary, wrote: "Up to this time the results of the great experiment of abolition have justified the liveliest hopes of its authors and advocates. After having examined carefully the evils that have attended its execution, it seems to me that they must be in great measure attributed to the old colonial system. Whoever has reflected on human nature, and the history of slavery, must have expected that such a reform could not be brought about without embarrassments. I am happy, then, to be able to say that in a short period of time there has been a progress in the social condition which will increase the happiness of mankind, and of which history affords no greater example."

*Quoted by Cochin—Tome I. p., 379.

In 1842 a committee of the House of Commons, reported thus:

"The great act of Emancipation of slaves in the West India colonies has produced the most favorable effects, so far as concerns the physical and social condition of the black population. As to their moral condition, their improvement is more than proved by their constantly increasing eagerness for religious and secular instruction, by their desire, more and more perceptible, to assume the obligations of marriage, and fulfil the duties of domestic life; by the reformation of their morals and their rapid progress in civilization; finally, by the value which they now attach to the acquisition of property and a position of independence."†

In 1840 a commission of French peers, deputies, and official persons was appointed to examine into the results of British Emancipation, and report a project for the French colonies. At the head of this commission was the now venerable Duke de Broglie, whose position among French philanthropists, is like Lord Brougham's, in England; among its members, were the great De Tocqueville, who had already made a report in favor of Emancipation; (1839) Admiral Mackau, Hippolyte Passy, De Tracy, and other eminent statesman. They continued their inquiries until March 1843, when their report was presented, written by the Duke de Broglie. After quoting largely from English documents, they say:‡

"Nobody any longer pretends that the blacks are a savage, unsocial race, ready to lay waste the country the instant they are unchained. The event has quieted these apprehensions; the negroes, on the contrary, are a very gentle, very obedient, and wonderfully easy to govern. All the documents which we have examined, agree on this point. We must cease, no less, to represent them as an abject, idle, stupid race, insensible to the pleasures which activity and industry procure, and incapable of the least effort to acquire them. All the documents published by the English Government, entirely confirm this assertion. All the negroes have shown the most lively sense of the blessings of civilization; all have been prompt to do what is necessary to obtain them, and most of them have succeeded. We have shown what a prodigious increase has taken place in the importation of goods for their use. They

† Quoted in the Duc de Broglie's Report.

‡ This Report in two quarto volumes, is a marvel of faithful and impartial labor.

have everywhere become artisans, farmers, freeholders; they have built houses, cleared lands, founded villages; and if any one will take the trouble to examine the answers made to the circular questions asked by the English Government, in 1839 and 1840, he will see that these answers are uniform, and that all the colonial authorities agree that the condition of the black peasantry is equal or superior to that of the richest and happiest peasantry of Europe."

M. Jules Lechevalier, a French writer of some note who had visited all these islands, and the Southern States of America, testified before this commission. He said, * "Emancipation has worked MARVELLOUS results for the negro. I can find no other word to express what I think about this. • Education, religion, and liberty make a *man* of the negro, such as nobody would recognize—an entirely new being. For my part I answer, Emancipation is very successful. The respect and attachment of the negroes for the English Government has become a sentiment of religion. Thus a black will not name the king without taking off his hat. If you ask him who is the author of the liberty which he has gained, he will reply, "God and the king." It should be noticed that this witness was unfriendly to the Abolitionists. Mr. Burnley, for forty years a planter in Trinidad, was introduced by his friend De Tocqueville. Said he: †

"I confess that the majority of the planters expected disorders; but that was not the opinion of reflecting people. For, setting aside the natural mildness of the negroes, what reasonable ground was there to expect violence from men whose moral and social position was being changed for the better? What caused doubt and anxiety to the intelligent colonists was how to keep up the supply of labor. On this point we confess today, for the most part, that our fears were exaggerated, and we believe that the blacks will work like the whites when they are subjected to the same necessities."

We should do the subject an injustice, were we to omit here the testimony of Mr. Emerson to the same point. We quote from his address on the 1st of August 1843, an admirable essay which, it is much to be regretted is out of print.

"It was the sarcasm of Montesquieu, ‡ 'It would not do to suppose that negroes were men, lest it should turn out that whites were not;' for the white has for ages done what he could to keep the negro in that hoggish state. It now appears that the negro race is, more than any other, susceptible of rapid civilization. The Emancipation is observed in the island to have wrought for the negro a benefit as sudden as when a thermometer is brought out of the shade into the sun. It has given him eyes and ears. He is now the principal, if not the only, mechanic in the West Indies, and is, besides, an architect, a physician, a lawyer, a magistrate, an editor, and a valued and increasing political power."§

A more recent authority, Mr. Sewall, brings the evidence down to 1860. "I think," says he, (p. 254,) "that the position of the Jamaica peasant, in 1860, is a standing rebuke to those who, wittingly or unwittingly, encourage the vulgar lie that the African cannot possibly be elevated. Very large numbers work as merchants, mechanics, and tradesmen, and not a few of the ex-slaves of Jamaica, or their children, are members of the Legislature, and fill responsible offices under Government. In the Assembly alone, there are seventeen black and colored men, out of a total of forty-seven. The whole people of Jamaica work;—I am utterly amazed at the progress they have made."

Anthony Trollope confirms most of these statements, in his flippant and shallow book, "*The West Indies, and the Spanish Main.*"

But we will not leave the matter to rest on authority, however illustrious or abundant; we will bring forward the evidence that this improvement has taken place.

There are three chief tests of civilization: (1.) The security of life; (2.) The security of property, and the value attached to it; (3.) The sanctity of marriage and the position of woman. Now, these three tests can be applied rigorously by means of statistics, and we find them all verified with increasing force in the West Indies.

It is hardly needful to say that in slavery the right of property is constantly violated towards the slave, and often towards the master; while marriage, properly speaking,

*See Cochin—Tome II. p. 433, who quotes thus: "Il est impossible que nous supposions que ces gens-là soient des hommes, parceque, si nous les supposons des hommes, on commencerait à croire que nous ne sommes pas nous-mêmes chrétiens." *Écrit des Lois*, Lib. XV.

‡See Conway's "Dial," Cincinnati, 1861.

*Report. 1st Part pp. 49-52.

†3d Part p. 38th, Tome I.

hardly exists at all. A slave cannot hold property by any sure title, nor secure to himself his own wife and children. The vices thus engendered, continue to poison society long after slavery is destroyed.

It is the universal testimony of travellers, that life is more secure in the British colonies, than during slavery. In the French colonies, we have some exact statistics. Before Emancipation, 47 out of every 100 crimes brought before the court, were crimes against the person; after Emancipation, the proportion fell to 21 out of every 100.

So, too, in regard to property. No doubt there are more cases of theft tried in the courts now than in the days when every planter and overseer held court on his own premises, and administered speedy justice with the cat. But all who know, bear witness that there is less thieving. As for the increased value attached to property, we see that by the eagerness which the negroes show to become proprietors and taxpayers. In St. Vincent there were in 1834, 22 266 slaves, out of a total population of 27 000; there are now about 30 000 in all, of whom 1,500 are whites. The returns for 1857 show that 8209 persons were then living in their own houses, built by themselves since emancipation. Within the last twelve years from ten to twelve thousand acres have been brought under cultivation by small proprietors, owning from one to five acres; and there are no paupers in the island. In Grenada, out of a population of 33 000, the small proprietors, of whom there were none before 1830, now number 2000, and there are 4573 who pay direct taxes. In the whole Island there are only sixty paupers. In Tobago there are 15 500 black and colored persons, of whom 2500 are freeholders, and 2800 pay direct taxes. In St. Lucia the black and colored people number over 24 000, of whom 2045 are freeholders, and 4603 pay taxes. In Antigua, out of 36,000 inhabitants, 15 644 were living in 1858 in houses built since emancipation, and there were but 299 paupers in the island. In Jamaica, 50 000 persons have become proprietors since emancipation. So much for the second-test.

In the four French colonies, from 1837 to 1847, there were 1754 marriages of slaves in a population of 235 000; in nine years after emancipation there were 38 468 mar-

riages, or about twenty-five times as many. From all the Islands we have similar accounts.

Judged by these tests, then, civilization is making swift progress among the negroes of the Antilles, instead of the barbarism predicted by the planters.

We come now to the third experiment of abolition,—that of 1848, in the French and Danish colonies. It should be said, in passing, that we have omitted to notice the emancipation of negro slaves in Columbia, Guatemala, Mexico, and the South American republics, all which took place between 1821 and 1830. We have not dwelt on these facts, nor have we included the slaves in the number mentioned above, because we have found so few data concerning them. Their number must have been some hundreds of thousands; the only evidence we have found respecting the condition of the freedmen, is in the testimony of Vice Admiral Fleming, in 1832, before the House of Commons.*

The Admiral visited Caraccas in 1828, seven years after emancipation there, and again afterwards; he says: "My opinion, from what I saw, is, that the black population are making rapid progress toward civilization. They maintain themselves perfectly well, without any assistance, either from their former masters, or from the Government." "General Peyanga, one of the Generals at Caraccas, was a perfectly black man, a complete negro; he was a very well educated person, and well read in Spanish literature; he was a very extraordinary man. Many English officers were serving under him; I knew many other black officers of very considerable acquirements, in Caraccas." Admiral Fleming, he it observed, was an officer in the Spanish Navy, and had peculiar facilities for learning the condition of the people of Columbia. Gen. Bolivar had brought about emancipation, having previously freed his own slaves. Doubtless, the same testimony might be given, concerning Mexico and the other Spanish republics. It is well known that the independence of Texas was secured mainly by American slaveholders, who were unwilling to submit to the Mexican law against slavery.

We have already mentioned how slavery was abolished by the National Convention of France, and restored by Napoleon at the cost of the richest of all the colonies—St. Domingo. English conquests still farther

[Cochin, and Sewell, pp. 79-80.]

* Quoted in *The Tourist* (London) March 25, 1832.

reduced the French possessions, so that, at the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, they counted but four colonies: Guadaloupe, Guiana, and Martinique in the West Indies, and the Isle of Bourbon, since called Reunion, near Madagascar. In all these were slaves, and though the slave trade was nominally abolished in 1815, it continued, especially in Bourbon, till 1830. The Revolution of July, in that year, gave an impulse to emancipation by raising to power some of those formerly conspicuous as friends of abolition; among them the aged and illustrious Lafayette. This noble enthusiast, as early as 1785, had sent an agent named Richepray to Cayenne, to buy land for the home of emancipated slaves; a generous scheme of the young Marquis, to which Washington, by letter, gave his hearty approval.† But the work begun by Lafayette, and by Louis XVI. was left to be completed by a third generation. From 1831 to 1840, a succession of laws mitigating the condition of the French slaves, and restricting the power of the master, testified to the wishes of the government of Louis Philippe. These laws were advocated by famous men, first among whom the Duke de Broglie deserves to be named. Guizot, Barrot, De Tracy, De Tocqueville, Lamartine, Passy, Montalembert, Remusat, added their reputation and their eloquence to the cause. In 1840, (March 26), the grand commission, to which reference has already been made, was appointed. A majority of its members, among whom was De Tocqueville, were in favor of simultaneous emancipation after a delay of ten years for preparation; the minority wished for gradual emancipation.

A law, carrying out some of these plans, was passed in 1845, warmly supported by Count Gasparin, whose recent book, "The Uprising of a Great People," shows his singular knowledge of our affairs, and his affection for our country. But such was the influence of the handful of slaveholders, and their mercantile partners, in the seaports of France, that they contrived to delay the final act of liberation till after the Revolution of 1848.

Revolutions are not friendly to old abuses. One of the first acts of the Provisional Government (4th of March, 1848) was to ap-

point a commission to prepare a law of Emancipation.

At the head of this body, Victor Schoelcher was named; an earnest Abolitionist, a brilliant writer, who had twice visited the West Indies, and thoroughly examined their condition, concerning which his books are still the best authority. The Secretary was Wallon, himself an earnest writer on the same and kindred subjects.*

The new law was passed on the 27th of April, 1848, and took effect in May. In the Danish colonies of St. John, St. Thomas, and Santa Cruz, Emancipation was proclaimed by the humane Governor, Van Scholten, in July of the same year. The whole number of slaves for whom indemnity was paid by France, was 248 560, (including 14 000 in the petty colonies of Senegal and Nossi Bé); the whites numbered about 40 000, and the free colored people 100 000. In the Danish islands there were, in 1835, † 27 134 slaves, 8922 free colored persons, and 7 122 whites; in 1848, there were probably about 26 000 slaves. What have been the consequences of freedom in these colonies?

Let it first be said that in the French islands, the slaves were not only set free, but were at once admitted to all the rights of citizens under the new Republic. They were invited to vote at the elections of 1848, and they did so; they were allowed to sit on juries, to bear arms; in short, to assume all the duties of the citizen. The English law, on the contrary, had made every step of the freed slave upward, a slow and costly one. The result showed the greater wisdom of the English method, or, at least, the more fortunate circumstances of its trial.

The year 1848 passed with few troubles; but in the next year there were serious disturbances at Guadaloupe and Martinique, in which the new-made freemen were concerned. Yet the injury done was far less than in the Jamaica revolt of 1832; not a hundredth part so great as that inflicted by Richepanse, in 1802, when, at the command of Napoleon, he re-established slavery in Guadaloupe, at a cost of 20 000 negro lives.‡ 1848-49, were years of Revolution, and the French islands escaped as lightly as the European States.

* The other members were Mestro, Perrimon, Gatine, Gaumont, (a clock-maker), and Percin. See Cochlin, Tome I., p. 78.

† Cochlin, Tome I., page 461-2. Schoelcher, *Colonies Esclaves et Libres*, Tome II., p. 5.

‡ See *The Tourist*, Feb. 18, 1833.

† See Cochlin, Tome I., p. 7. The fact is published more at length in Mr. Sumner's lecture on Lafayette, given in Boston, October, 1860, wherein he quotes Washington's letter.

There was a derangement of commerce and agriculture for a few years. The trade of the colonies fell off 40 per cent. in 1848, as compared with 1847, which was a very prosperous year. At the same time, the trade of France fell off 25 per cent. From 1848-53 there is a falling off of 10 per cent., as compared with the five years before Emancipation; but in the five subsequent years, from 1852-57, there is a gain of nearly 50 per cent., and the four colonies are steadily gaining in wealth and numbers. We have already spoken of the effect of slavery to diminish population in the West Indies. Since emancipation, this tendency has been checked in the French colonies, though it still continues in some of the English islands. The population of the French possessions, in 1836, was 376 296; in 1846, it had fallen to 374 548; in 1856, it had risen to 387 821, exclusive of immigration. §

The Dutch colony of Guiana, where slaves are still held, gives a most atrocious example of this loss of population. ¶ About 1800 there were 80 000 slaves there, producing an annual value of \$7 000 000; in 1845 there were but 43,285 slaves and 9712 free blacks; a decrease of 46 per cent. in 45 years, or, if we include the free blacks, of 34 per cent. But these 43 000 slaves only produced in 1845 a value of \$700 000. Of 917 plantations 636 have been abandoned ¶ and the production has fallen away nine-tenths; yet Emancipation has never troubled the Dutch sugar growers.

From the Danish colonies since Emancipation we have few statistics, but those are all favorable to freedom. We know that St. Thomas is a rich emporium, and that Santa Cruz flourishes. Some disorders, by which the negroes were the greatest sufferers, attended emancipation; but they were occasioned by the ill temper of the planters, and were soon quieted by the excellent government. For the past ten years we hear no tidings of tumult or distress from them.

In 1859 when Theodore Parker visited Santa Cruz and St. Thomas, a member of his family wrote thus of the freed slaves: ¶¶

"I often think how delighted you would be with the results of Emancipation, as we see them all around us, and have abundant opportunity to examine them; twenty thousand

people raised at once from the condition of cattle to that of responsible beings,—protected and assisted, if need be, by the Government. The thrifty and industrious already succeed in laying up enough to put them forward in the world, build a comfortable little house in town, and bring their children up to trades. They have great pride in being independent. . . . They are gradually acquiring a pride of matrimony. A noble young man here, an Episcopal minister, has established a day school for the colored children of his parish, and I was never so pleased with any school I have ever visited. The progress has been surprising indeed."

"Here, as elsewhere," says Cochin, "Slavery did no good, and Emancipation no harm. A hurricane, or the change of a single degree in the thermometer, would have had an influence more hurtful and more lasting, than the fortunate release of 25 000 or 30 000 men, unjustly enslaved."

In the single Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, there were in 1846, 531 slaves, out of a population of 1700. These have all since been freed by purchase gradually made by King Oscar, \$10 000 a year having been voted for this purpose by the Swedish Parliament. We have no information about the effects; if they had been bad, we should, no doubt, have heard of it.

We have now spoken of the condition of all the West India Islands where Emancipation has taken place. It has been shown that all from which we have statistics, except Jamaica and Hayti, are more wealthy than during slavery, and that all, without exception, are increasing their trade and production; that the ruin of Hayti and Jamaica, so far as it exists, is owing to many other causes than Emancipation,—chiefly in the one case, to the cruel policy of Napoleon, and the ungenerous course of France, Spain, and the United States,—and in the other, to the folly of the planters, and the evils begotten by slavery. It has been shown, too, how delusive is the assumed prosperity of Cuba and Porto Rico—lands now passing through the bot fit of the slaveholding fever, but which must soon be let blood by Emancipation, as in Hayti, or pass into the ague fit and melancholy decline of the Dutch colonies, which slavery still curses. It has been shown that the negro is not bloodthirsty, that he is not idle, that he is capable of civilization. Let us add that he is not a pauper,—contrary to

§ Cochin, *Tome I.*, p. 276.

¶ See Cochin, *II.*, p. 267.

¶ Edinburgh Review, April, 1869.

¶ 27th Report of the Am. A. S. Society, N. Y., 1861—p. 209-10.

the theories of many Americans, who fear to do an act of justice, lest we of the North shall be overrun by black paupers from the South. No, the paupers of the South are clothed in soft raiment, and live delicately, and are, or would be, in Kings' houses. It is a curious, but well attested fact, that among the free colored people of the British West Indies, in 1826, the proportion of paupers was one in 370, while among the whites it was one in 40.* In many places, the proportion was still more surprising. In Barbadoes, there were 14 500 whites, and 4500 free blacks; there were 996 white paupers, and one black one! In Berbice, there were two colored paupers out of 900, and seventeen white ones out of 600. In Jamaica, the free colored were to the whites as two to one, while the white paupers were to the colored, as two to one. In Massachusetts, in 1855, the number of paupers was one in 148. No return was made of colored paupers, but we are told that the returns of Philadelphia, where there were in 1850, about 20 000 colored persons, show a much greater proportion of white, than of colored paupers.

Many authorities have already been quoted to show the happy results of Emancipation, and we have been careful to take the testimony of enemies as well as friends. Let us add a few more to the list.

In 1839, De Tocqueville wrote thus; † "Many persons, preoccupied by the recollections of St. Domingo, are led to believe that the Emancipation of the slaves will occasion bloody collisions between the two races, whence the expulsion or the massacre of the whites may soon follow. *Everything leads to the belief that these fears are imaginary, or at least, much exaggerated.* Nothing which has taken place in the English colonies leaves room to suppose that Emancipation would be accompanied with the disasters which are dreaded."

In the Encyclopedia Britannica, a work of the highest authority, occurs this passage in the article on Slavery, published in 1859:

"There can be but one opinion regarding the results of Emancipation entertained by any man who will dispassionately investigate the condition of the colored populations in the West Indies; and that opinion will redound, in the highest degree, to the sa-

gacity of those who then advocated the deliverance of the slave. England, by freeing her slaves, performed a politic, as well as a very just act."

Mr. Sewell, who has already been quoted, says, at the close of his book, written in 1860: "The act of British Emancipation has been widely abused; but its detractors must live among the people it disenthralled, if they would learn the value at which it can be estimated. Time, which develops the freedom that act created, adds continually to its lustre. Freedom, when allowed fair play, injured the prosperity of none of these West Indian colonies. It saved them from a far deeper and more lasting depression than any they have yet known. It was a boon conferred upon all classes of society; upon planter and upon laborer; upon commerce and agriculture; upon industry and education; upon morality and religion. And if a perfect measure of success remains to be achieved, let not freedom be condemned; for the obstacles to be overcome were great, and the workers few and unwilling."

The Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in a letter written July 21st, 1860, says:

"West India Emancipation is gravely pronounced a failure. I have heard it so described on the floor of the House of Representatives. The only reason given, is that the British Islands do not produce so many pounds of coffee and sugar as they did when they could force them out of the bones and muscles of slaves. Now mankind may, by possibility, be tolerably well off, and yet do entirely without coffee and sugar. But how can they be happy without good security for their right to seek happiness in their own way? . . . Yet they tell us, because coffee and sugar fail there is no good in Emancipation. If, by reason of this failure, it could be shown that there was misery and famine in the land, that starvation was in a fair way to turn the garden into a wilderness, I should be ready to concede something to the argument. *But I hear of no such thing as that.*"

The Hon. Charles Sumner, in a letter of July 30th, 1860, says:

"Well-proved facts vindicate completely the policy of Emancipation, even if it were not commanded by the simplest rules of morality. . . . Two different Governors of this island (Jamaica) † have assured me that, with

* See New York Independent of March 20, for an important letter of Gov. Hinks on this point.

* Blue Book, May 9, 1826. Quoted in The Tourist 1822.
† Report on the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies. By Alexis De Tocqueville. (Translation) Boston, 1840, p. 25. This is a pamphlet of 94 pages.

all their experience there, they looked upon Emancipation as a blessing."

Here ends our chapter on the West Indies. What inference can be drawn from all this?

We answer—First: *That Emancipation in the United States is safe.* If it was so in Jamaica, where the whites were as one to fifteen, will it not be in Maryland, where they are more than three to one, in Kentucky, where they are nearly four to one, in Missouri, where they are nearly ten to one?

Second: *It will be politic.* If the freeing of half a million of slaves in 1793, saved St. Domingo from falling into the hands of England, the freeing of four millions, in 1862, may save the Cotton States from a like fate, which even our recent and brilliant victories perhaps may hasten.

Third: *It must not be attended by forced colonization.* If the great want of the West Indies is labor, with what expectation can we ship out of our Southern States two-thirds of the laboring population? Immigration is the demand in the West Indies, it would be folly for us to try emigration.

Fourth. *It must not be gradual, but immediate and complete.* If the experience of Antigua and Jamaica teaches anything, it teaches that simultaneous and entire emancipation is the safest, the cheapest, and the wisest course.

Fifth. *It will attract more white men to the South than it will send black men to the North.* This is the opinion of a sensible fugitive, to whom we owe the statement; but the history of immigration to the West Indies, and to Mauritius and Bourbon proves it true. Why should the negroes come here after emancipation? On the contrary, reasons both of climate and of political economy will carry them South in great numbers, not only from the border States, but from the North and from Canada.

Finally, these facts prove, what no man of lofty virtue ever can doubt,—*That justice is always expedient.*

The Greeks had a story which devout old Herodotus has preserved, that Glaucus, the

Spartan, wishing to commit an injustice, and to confirm it by an oath, asked of the oracle if he might do so. "Glaucus, son of Epicydes!" answered the priestess, in her solemn chant, "for the present perjury is profitable, and theft; swear, then, for death lies in wait for the just and the unjust. But there is a nameless child of perjury, without hands, without feet, yet swiftly she pursues till she clutches and destroys thy race, and all thy house. But the race of the just man flourishes forever."

Thus the oracle. "And now," adds the narrator, "there is no descendant of Glaucus at all, nor any branch of the stock of Glaucus; but he has been cast forth from Sparta, root and branch."

Centuries earlier, the wise Athenian law-giver, in grave verse, which Demosthenes loved to quote, had warned his countrymen of the same truth.*

My soul, Athenians, prompts me to relate
What miseries upon injustice wait.
Riches by theft, and easeage to possess,
The sacred bounds of Justice ye transgress;
Who silent sees the present, knows the past,
And will revenge these injuries at last,
But Justice all things orderly designs,
And in strict fetters the unjust confines.
What's sour she sweetens, and allays what cloy.
Wrong she repels, ill in the growth destroys,
Softens the stubborn, the unjust reforms,
And in the State calms all seditions storms.
Bitter dissensions by her rule suppress,
Who wisely governs all things for the best.

And earlier yet, the stern warnings of the Hebrew sage, who led forth his despised people from the oppression of Egypt, had announced the eternal law with no doubtful voice:

"Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments and his judgments, and his statutes which I command this day; lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein;

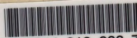
And when thy flocks and thy herds multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied;

Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God. . . . And thou say in thine heart, my power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth.

And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish.

As the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish; because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the Lord your God."—[Deuteronomy viii. 11-20.]

*Demosthenes. *False Legation*, 255. Stanley's Translation in the *History of Philosophy*.



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