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EMANCIPATION

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

A

SIX MONTHS' TOUR

IN

ANTIGUA, BARBADOS, AND JAMAICA,

IN THE YEAR 1837

BY JAS. A. THOME, AND J. HORACE KIMBALL.

SECOND EDITION.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY
THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
No. 143 NASSAU STREET.

1839.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is hardly possible that the success of British West India Emancipation should be more conclusively proved, than it has been by the absence among us of the exultation which awaited its failure. So many thousands of the citizens of the United States, without counting slaveholders, would not have suffered their prophesyings to be falsified, if they could have found whereof to manufacture fulfilment. But it is remarkable that, even since the first of August, 1834, the evils of West India emancipation on the lips of the advocates of slavery, or, as the most of them nicely prefer to be termed, the opponents of abolition, have remained in the future tense. The bad reports of the newspapers, spiritless as they have been compared with the predictions, have been traceable, on the slightest inspection, not to emancipation, but to the illegal continuance of slavery, under the cover of its legal substitute. Not the slightest reference to the rash act, whereby the thirty thousand slaves of Antigua were immediately "turned loose," now mingles with the croaking which strives to defend our republican slavery against argument and common sense.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, deemed it important that the silence which the pro-

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slavery press of the United States has seemed so desirous to maintain in regard to what is strangely enough termed the "great experiment of freedom," should be thoroughly broken up by a publication of facts and testimony collected on the spot. To this end, Rev. James A. Thome, and Joseph H. Kimball, Esq., were deputed to the West Indies to make the proper investigations. Of their qualifications for the task, the subsequent pages will furnish the best evidence: it is proper, however, to remark, that Mr. Thome is thoroughly acquainted with our own system of slavery, being a native, and still a resident of Kentucky, and the son of a slaveholder, (happily no longer so,) and that Mr. Kimball is well known as the able editor of the Herald of Freedom, published at Concord, New Hampshire.

They sailed from New York the last of November, 1836, and returned early in June, 1837. They improved a short stay at the Danish island of St. Thomas, to give a description of slavery as it exists there, which, as it appeared for the most part in the anti-slavery papers, and as it is not directly connected with the great question at issue, has not been inserted in the present volume. Hastily touching at some of the other British islands, they made Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica, successively the objects of their deliberate and laborious study—as fairly presenting the three grand phases of the "experiment"—Antigua, exemplifying immediate, unrestricted abolition; Barbados, the best working of the apprenticeship, and Jamaica the worst. Nine weeks were spent in Antigua, and the remainder of their time was divided between the other two islands.

The reception of the delegates was in the highest degree favorable to the promotion of their object, and their work will show how well they have used the extraordinary facilities afforded them. The committee have, in some instances, restored testimonials which their modesty led them to suppress, showing in what estimation they themselves, as well as the

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object of their mission, were held by some of the most distinguished persons in the islands which they visited.

So wide was the field before them, and so rich and various the fruit to be gathered, that they were tempted to go far beyond the strength supplied by the failing health they carried with them. Most nobly did they postpone every personal consideration to the interests of the cause; and the reader will, we think, agree with us, that they have achieved a result which undiminished energies could not have been expected to exceed —a result sufficient, if any thing could be, to justify the sacrifice it cost them. We regret to add that the labors and exposures of Mr. Kimball, so far prevented his recovery from the disease* which obliged him to resort to a milder climate, or perhaps we should say aggravated it, that he has been compelled to leave to his colleague, aided by a friend, nearly the whole burden of preparing for the press—which, together with the great labor of condensing from the immense amount of collected materials, accounts for the delay of the publication. As neither Mr. Thome nor Mr. Kimball were here while the work was in press, it is not improbable that trivial errors have occurred, especially in the names of individuals.

It will be perceived that the delegates rest nothing of importance on their own unattested observation. At every point they are fortified by the statements of a multitude of responsible persons in the islands, whose names, when not forbidden, they have taken the liberty to use in behalf of humanity. Many of these statements were given in the handwriting of the parties,

* We learn that Mr. Kimball closed his mortal career at Pembroke, N. H., April 12th, in the 25th year of his age. Very few men in the anti-slavery cause have been more distinguished than this lamented brother, for the zeal, discretion, and ability with which he has advocated the cause of the oppressed. "Peace to the memory of a man of worth!"

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and are in the possession of the Executive Committee. Most of these island authorities are as unchallengeable on the score of previous leaning towards abolitionism, as Mr. McDuffie or Mr. Calhoun would be two years hence, if slavery were to be abolished throughout the United States to-morrow.

Among the points established in this work beyond the power of dispute or cavil, are the following:

1. That the act of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION in Antigua was not attended with any disorder whatever.

2. That the emancipated slaves have readily, faithfully, and efficiently worked for wages from the first.

3. That wherever there has been any disturbance in the working of the apprenticeship, it has been invariably by the fault of the masters, or of the officers charged with the execution of the "Abolition Act."

4. That the prejudice of caste is fast disappearing in the emancipated islands.

5. That the apprenticeship was not sought for by the planters as a preparation for freedom.

6. That no such preparation was needed.

7. That the planters who have fairly made the experiment, now greatly prefer the new system to the old.

8. That the emancipated people are perceptibly rising in the scale of civilization, morals, and religion.

From these established facts, reason cannot fail to make its inferences in favor of the two and a half millions of slaves in our republic. We present the work to our countrymen who yet hold slaves, with the utmost confidence that its perusal will not leave in their minds a doubt either of the duty or perfect safety of *immediate emancipation*, however it may fail to persuade their hearts—which God grant it may not!

By order of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

New York, April 28th, 1838.

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island, especially in a measure which may be carried both safely and justly, and where its example may be of such beneficial consequence."

In the Legislature of Jamaica, on the question of a Committee to bring in a Bill, Mr. Good remarked,

"He could say that the negroes, from their general good conduct, were deserving of the boon. Then why not give it with a good heart? why exhibit any bad feeling about the matter? There were many honorable gentlemen who had benefitted by the pressure from without, who owed their rank in society and their seats in that house to the industry of the negroes. Why should they now show a bad heart in the matter? Nine-tenths of the proprietors of this island had determined upon giving up the apprenticeship."

Mr. Dallas said,

"*The abolition of the remaining term of apprenticeship must take place; let them then join hand and heart in doing it well, and with such grace as we now could. Let it have the appearance of a boon from ourselves, and not in downright submission to the coercive measures adopted by the British Parliament.*"

The day itself, when it came, was celebrated by the freed people in the most becoming manner. In Barbados, it was set apart by proclamation of the Governor, "as a day of devout thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God for the happy termination of slavery. The Governor himself attended divine service in the cathedral, an immense building, which was crowded in every part of its spacious area, galleries and aisles, with a most attentive assemblage of people of all colors and conditions. Several clergymen officiated; and one of them, at the opening of the services, read most appropriately the 58th chapter of Isaiah. Imagine for a moment the effect in such an audience, on such an occasion, where were many hundreds of emancipated slaves, of words like these:—'Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?' The sermon by the Bishop was, as might have been expected on such an occasion, interesting and impressive. He spoke with great effect of the unexpected pro-

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gress of freedom, from island to island, from colony to colony, until, with a solitary exception, upon that day the stain of slavery was obliterated forever from every British possession. The progress of education, the gradual reformation of morals, and the increasing thirst for religious instruction, were all dwelt upon with great force, and the glory of all ascribed, as was most fit, to the Great Giver of every good and perfect gift."

W. R. Hayes, Esq., an American resident, from whose letter the foregoing extract is taken, says,

"The close of the day was not less auspicious. Nothing was seen that could mar the decent and truly impressive solemity of the day. There were no dances, no merry-making of any sort; not a solitary drunkard, not a gun fired, nor even was a shout heard to welcome in the new-born liberty. The only groups we saw were going to or returning from the different chapels and churches; except in a few instances, where families might be seen reading or singing hymns at their own dwellings."

In Jamaica, a similar spirit generally prevailed among the freed people. Some of the celebrations were very imposing.

The following verses were sung in many places by the newly freed people on the first of August:

"The thorny bush we'll clear away,
The emblem of old slavery—
Let every fibre of it die,
And all its vices cease to be.

"Let indolence, deceit, and theft,
Be of their nourishment bereft,
Let cruel wrong now disappear,
And decent order crown each year."

Among the results of emancipation in Barbados, we find in the Barbadian newspaper of Dec. 1, a table compiled from the returns of the magistrates, respecting the police. The table includes the period from Aug. 1 to Oct. 15, in the year 1837, and the same in 1838.

Complaints against laborers in 1837 (2½ months)	3746
Punishments of do. . . .	3490
Complaints dismissed, &c. . .	256
Complaints in 1838 . . .	1071

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Punishments	657
Dismissed, &c.	414
Diminution of complaints under freedom,	2675
" Punishments, . . .	2833
Increase of cases dismissed, &c. .	158

The present condition of this island may be gathered in part from the following extract of a letter written by Charles Stuart, who, with Mr. Scoble, has again visited the islands on a voyage of inquiry. It is dated Dec. 11, 1838.

1. "The colony is in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. Magistrates and missionaries. planters and private individuals, residing in town and in the country, concur in giving praise to the emancipated laborers.

2. "The cultivation of the country was never in a finer state than at present, and an abundant crop is expected. The laborers, with few exceptions, are all at work; and although poorly paid, the attachment which they feel to their native spot prevents their wandering. Many of them, however, have suffered, and are suffering severely from the tyrant power with which the masters still continue invested.

3. "There has been a striking diminution of crime amongst the people since their emancipation. They are admitted to be a law-fearing people. They have great respect for it—and all the magistrates whom we have met, unite in according them that praise.

4. "The price of land continues to increase. Take the following example. A Mr. Samuel Inness, a merchant of this town, (Bridgetown, Barbados) was so much terrified at the slaveholder bugbears of liberty, that he was on the point of giving up business and making his escape. A black merchant, Mr. Bourne, with difficulty dissuaded him. His business has since been considerably increased; and five weeks ago, he joined his brother in purchasing Welsh-town estate for £36,000 currency. They sold it soon afterwards for £42,000; and Mr. St. John, who purchased it from them, has since been offered £3000 advance upon his bargain. Similar cases are numerous. The prices now given and offered are indeed extravagant. They do not denote the *sanity* of the people—but they emphatically attest the *confidence* which is felt in the superior advantages of liberty over slavery."

In Jamaica, we have the testimony of the Governor, in his message to the Legislature, Oct. 30, 1838:

"I am happy in being able to declare that the conduct of the laboring population, who were then the objects of your liberal and enlightened policy, *entitles them to the highest praise, and amply*

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proves how WELL THEY HAVE DESERVED the boon of freedom.

"It was not to be expected that the total extinction of the apprenticeship law would be followed by an instantaneous return to active labor, but feeling as I do the deepest interest in the successful result of the great measure now in progress, I sincerely congratulate you and the country at large on the improvement which is daily taking place in the resumption of industrious habits, and I TRUST THERE IS EVERY PROSPECT OF AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY."

The House of Assembly, in their reply, say,

"The House join your Excellency in bearing testimony to the PEACEABLE MANNER in which the laboring population have conducted themselves in a state of FREEDOM."

The present state of things in Jamaica is differently represented by different classes of persons. It seems to be agreed that many of the freed men are not at work; and the reason is, that they and their employers cannot agree as to the price of wages. This shows at least that they "know how to take care of themselves." There are strong reasons to believe that the disagreement is fostered by interested men. The Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, is active in traversing from district to district, giving advice to both of the contending parties, and striving to promote a mutual understanding. His testimony to the designs of the planters, given to their faces, and not denied, is very important. In a company, met for the purpose, in October, he said a great source of discontent was the oppressive conduct of the planters; he did not question their right to do what they pleased with their property, but doubted its prudence. "The exercise of right by the planters, and getting the people to work, are different matters." He told the managers they were trying to get up a panic, "to reduce the value of property, to create dismay, in order that you may speculate, by reducing the present value of property; but you will be disappointed."

The Falmouth (Jam.) Post of Dec. 26, says:

"We unhesitatingly declare, that on those properties on which the peasantry have been kindly treated, and honestly remunerated for their labor, the duties required of them have as honestly been performed. If on some estates, the workng of the free system has not been profitable and satisfactory, the fault must be attribut-

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ed to those grasping and avaricious proprietors, who require an extensive cultivation of their plantations, while they offer to the negro an inadequate compensation for his services, and endeavor to rob him, at the same time, of the produce of his grounds."

The moral condition of the island is greatly improved in consequence of emancipation. The Rev. John Clark, Baptist missionary, who spent the summer of 1837 in this country, in a letter to the editor of the N. Y. Baptist Register, dated January 9, 1839, says,

"On my return I found my different churches in a better state than I could have expected, through the blessing of God upon the faithful labors of the two native assistants I left in charge of them during my absence. Since, they have gone on increasing, and on Sabbath first we expect to baptize one hundred and sixty.

"The schools, also, are increasing; and all, so far as mortal eyes can penetrate, bids fair for prosperity, and knowledge, and happiness, in this interesting isle of the West. The people are working cheerfully for 1.8, 2.1, and 2.6, per day. The 1.8 is a quarter of a dollar; the 2.1 is your two shillings and six pence; and the 2.6 is with you three shillings. This is without any house or ground; when they are supplied with those, they work for less. I hear of them getting from 10 pence (i. e. your shilling) to 2.1, with hut and ground included.

"In our churches knowledge is increasing; Bibles are procured and read; many grown up people have persevered at Sabbath and night schools, until they have felt able to read intelligibly the word of eternal life for themselves. Fruits of righteousness frequently appear; liberality abounds; and a great desire prevails to send the gospel to Africa. Many here would gladly go, were they fit, to their distant kinsmen; and several of the Jamaica missionaries would, were others sent to take charge of their churches, gladly go to commence a mission, if practicable, on the banks of the Niger, or some other of the interior parts of the vast continent of Africa. Upwards of six hundred dollars have been speedily subscribed, by two or three churches, for this object; and it is hoped that the society in England will take the important matter into their most serious consideration."

Another Baptist missionary of the same name, says, October 30, 1838:

"I have received upwards of 400 new inquirers since the first of August; have a goodly number of candidates for baptism; sold a great number of Bibles, &c.; have received £1000 subscriptions, besides £300 in June. God, I think, is blessing us; and it becomes us to pray for greater showers of blessings."

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Rev. Thomas T. Abbott, of St. Ann's Bay, says:

"As to the working of the free system, I can only say that the people are working in every instance in which they could reasonably be expected to do so. The greater part are working at 1s. 8d. per day, house and grounds free, or at job-work, when they commonly earn from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d. per day of eight or nine hours."

The Falmouth Post, in recommending the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society, says:

"It is now the time to act. It is not one man, nor a million, but the spirit of Liberty that is to succeed. The waves which dash upon the shore are one by one broken, but THE OCEAN CONQUERS NEVERTHELESS."

With regard to some of the other islands, we are enabled to present the following testimonies.

TRINIDAD.—The Trinidad Standard states,

"The conduct of the lately liberated population in this colony is most exemplary, but still the planters are calling out as loudly as ourselves for emigrants." [Not, how to get rid of them.]

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—The Trinidad Standard says,

"At St. Christopher the new system appears to work better than in any other colony in the Antilles." "A census of this island has been taken, and the total population on the 31st of July last, found to be 21,578."

ST. VINCENT'S.—Amos Townsend, Esq., cashier of one of the the banks in New Haven, in a letter dated February 21, published in the N. Y. Evening Post, says:

"A Mr. Jackson, a planter from St. Vincents, has been in this city within a few days, and says that the emancipation of the slaves on that island works extremely well, and that his plantation produces more and yields a larger profit than it has ever done before. The emancipated slaves now do in eight hours what was before considered a two days' task, and he pays the laborers a dollar a day."

He was also anxious to procure a supply of laborers from the United States.

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EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED IN THE NARRATIVE.

1. THE words 'Clergy' and 'Missionary' are used to distinguish between the ministers of the English or Scotch church, and those of all other denominations.
2. The terms 'church' and 'chapel' denote a corresponding distinction in the places of worship, though the English Church have what are technically called 'chapels of ease!'
3. 'Manager' and 'overseer' are terms designating in different islands the same station. In Antigua and Barbados, *manager* is the word in general use; in Jamaica it is *overseer*—both meaning the practical conductor, or immediate superintendent of an estate. In our own country, a peculiar odium attaches to the latter term. In the West Indies, the station of manager or overseer is an honorable one; proprietors of estates, and even men of rank, do not hesitate to occupy it.
4. The terms 'colored' and 'black' or 'negro,' indicate a distinction long kept up in the West Indies between the mixed blood and the pure negro. The former, as a body, were few previous to the abolition act; and for this reason, chiefly, we presume the term of distinction was originally applied to them. To have used these terms interchangeably, in accordance with the usages in the United States, would have occasioned endless confusion in the narrative.
5. 'Prædial' and 'non-prædial' are terms used in the apprenticeship colonies to mark the difference between the agricultural class and the domestic; the former are called *prædials*, the latter *non-prædials*.

POPULATION OF THE BRITISH W. I. COLONIES.

Compiled from recent authentic documents.

Possessions.		Date of acquisit.	Extent sq. m.	Population. White.	Slaves.	F. Col'd.
British West India Islands.	Anguilla,†	1650	.....	365	2,388	327
	Antigua,*	1632	108	1,980	29,537	3,895
	Bahamas,†	1629	4,400	4,240	9,268	2,991
	Barbadoe,†	1625	166	14,959	82,807	5,146
	Bermudas,*	1611	22	3,905	4,608	738
	Dominica,†	1783	275	840	15,392	3,606
	Grenada,†	1783	125	801	24,145	3,786
	Jamaica,†	1655	6,400	37,000	311,692	55,000
	Montserrat,†	1632	47	330	6,262	814
	Nevis,†	1628	20	700	9,259	2,000
	St. Christophers,†	1632	68	1,612	19,310	3,000
	St. Lucia,†	1803	58	972	13,661	3,718
	St. Vincent,†	1783	130	1,301	23,589	2,824
	Tobago,†	1763	187	322	12,556	1,164
	Trinidad,†	1797	2,400	4,201	24,006	15,956
	Tortoli, or Virgin Isles,†	1666	.....	800	5,399	607
Total, B. W. I.		....	14,406	74,328	593,879	105,572
Cape of Good Hope,		....	.....	43,000	35,500	29,000
Guiana	Berbice,†	....	.....	523	20,645	1,161
	Demerara,†	1803	.....	3,006	65,556	6,360
	Essequibo,†	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Honduras,		1650	62,750	250	2,100	2,300
Mauritius,		....	.....	8,000	76,000	15,000
Total,		....	.....	129,107	793,680	159,393

* Emancipated entirely on the 1st of August, 1834.

† Emancipated entirely on the 1st of August, 1838, by vote of the local legislatures in the chartered Colonies; and by Governor and Council in the Crown Colonies.

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ANTIGUA.

CHAPTER I.

ANTIGUA is about eighteen miles long and fifteen broad: the interior is low and undulating, the coast mountainous. From the heights on the coast the whole island may be taken in at one view, and in a clear day the ocean can be seen entirely around the land, with the exception of a few miles of cliff in one quarter. The population of Antigua is about 37,000, of whom 30,000 are negroes—lately slaves—4500 are free people of color, and 2500 are whites.

The cultivation of the island is principally in sugar, of which the average annual crop is 15,000 hogsheads. Antigua is one of the oldest of the British West India colonies, and ranks high in importance and influence. Owing to the proportion of proprietors resident in the island, there is an accumulation of talent, intelligence and refinement, greater, perhaps, than in any English colony, excepting Jamaica.

Our solicitude on entering the Island of Antigua was intense. Charged with a mission so nearly concerning the political and domestic institutions of the colony, we might well be doubtful as to the manner of our reception. We knew indeed that slavery was abolished, that Antigua had rejected the apprenticeship, and adopted entire emancipation. We knew also, that the free system had surpassed the hopes of its advocates. But we were in the midst of those whose habits and sentiments had been formed under the influences of slavery, whose perjudices still clinging to it might lead them to regard our visit with indif-

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ference at least, if not with jealousy. We dared not hope for aid from men who, not three years before, were slaveholders, and who, as a body, strenuously resisted the abolition measure, finally yielding to it only because they found resistance vain.

Mingled with the depressing anxieties already referred to, were emotions of pleasure and exultation, when we stepped upon the shores of an unfettered isle. We trod a soil from which the last vestige of slavery had been swept away! To us, accustomed as we were to infer the existence of slavery from the presence of a particular hue, the numbers of negroes passing to and fro, engaged in their several employments, denoted a land of oppression; but the erect forms, the active movements, and the sprightly countenances, bespoke that spirit of disinthrallment which had gone abroad through Antigua.

On the day of our arrival we had an interview with the Rev. James Cox, the superintendent of the Wesleyan mission in the island. He assured us that we need apprehend no difficulty in procuring information, adding, "We are all free here now;—every man can speak his sentiments unawed. We have nothing to conceal in our present system; had you come here as the *advocates of slavery* you might have met with a very different reception."

At the same time we met the Rev. N. Gilbert, a clergyman of the English Church, and proprietor of an estate. Mr. G. expressed the hope that we might gather such facts during our stay in the island, as would tend effectually to remove the curse of slavery from the United States. He said that the failure of the crops, from the extraordinary drought which was still prevailing, would, he feared, be charged by persons abroad, to the new system. "The enemies of freedom," said he, "will not ascribe the failure to the proper cause. It will be in vain that we solemnly declare, that for more than thirty years the island has not experienced such a drought. Our enemies will persist in laying all to the charge of our free system; men will look only at the amount of sugar exported, which will be less than half the average. They will run away with this fact, and triumph over it as the disastrous consequence of abolition."

On the same day we were introduced to the Rev. Bennet

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Harvey, the principal of the Moravian mission, to a merchant, an agent for several estates, and to an intelligent manager. Each of these gentlemen gave us the most cordial welcome, and expressed a warm sympathy in the objects of our visit. On the following day we dined, by invitation, with the superintendent of the Wesleyan mission, in company with several missionaries. *Freedom in Antigua* was the engrossing and delightful topic. They rejoiced in the change, not merely from sympathy with the disinthralled negroes, but because it had emancipated them from a disheartening surveillance, and opened new fields of usefulness. They hailed the star of freedom "with exceeding great joy," because it heralded the speedy dawning of the Sun of Righteousness.

We took an early opportunity to call on the Governor, whom we found affable and courteous. On learning that we were from the United States, he remarked, that he entertained a high respect for our country, but its slavery was a stain upon the whole nation. He expressed his conviction that the instigators of northern mobs must be implicated in some way, pecuniary or otherwise, with slavery. The Governor stated various particulars in which Antigua had been greatly improved by the abolition of slavery. He said, the planters all conceded that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island, and he did not know of a single individual who wished to return to the old system.

His excellency proffered us every assistance in his power, and requested his secretary—*a colored gentleman*—to furnish us with certain documents which he thought would be of service to us. When we rose to leave, the Governor followed us to the door, repeating the advice that we should "see with our own eyes, and hear with our own ears." The interest which his Excellency manifested in our enterprise, satisfied us that the prevalent feeling in the island was opposed to slavery, since it was a matter well understood that the Governor's partialities, if he had any, were on the side of the planters rather than the people.

On the same day we were introduced to a barrister, a member of the assembly and proprietor of an estate. He was in the assembly at the time the abolition act was under discussion. He

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said that it was violently opposed, until it was seen to be inevitable. Many were the predictions made respecting the ruin which would be brought upon the colony; but these predictions had failed, and abolition was now regarded as the salvation of the island.

SABBATH.

The morning of our first Sabbath in Antigua came with that hushed stillness which marks the Sabbath dawn in the retired villages of New England. The arrangements of the family were conducted with a studied silence that indicated habitual respect for the Lord's day. At 10 o'clock the streets were filled with the church-going throng. The rich rolled along in their splendid vehicles with liveried outriders and postillions. The poor moved in lowlier procession, yet in neat attire, and with the serious air of Christian worshippers. We attended the Moravian service. In going to the chapel, which is situated on the border of the town, we passed through and across the most frequented streets. No persons were to be seen, excepting those whose course was toward some place of worship. The shops were all shut, and the voices of business and amusement were hushed. The market place, which yesterday was full of swarming life, and sent forth a confused uproar, was deserted and dumb—not a straggler was to be seen of all the multitude.

On approaching the Moravian chapel we observed the negroes wending their way churchward from the surrounding estates, along the roads leading into the town.

When we entered the chapel the service had begun, and the people were standing, and repeating their liturgy. The house, which was capable of holding about a thousand persons, was filled. The audience were all black and colored, mostly of the deepest Ethiopian hue, and had come up hither from the estates where once they toiled as slaves, but now as freemen, to present their thank-offerings unto Him whose truth and Spirit had made them free. In the simplicity and tidiness of their attire, in its uniformity and freedom from ornament, it resembled the dress of the Friends. The females were clad in plain white

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gowns, with neat turbans of cambric or muslin on their heads. The males were dressed in spencers, vests, and pantaloons, all of white. All were serious in their demeanor, and although the services continued more than two hours, they gave a wakeful attention to the end. Their responses in the litany were solemn and regular.

Great respect was paid to the aged and infirm. A poor blind man came groping his way, and was kindly conducted to a seat in an airy place. A lame man came wearily up to the door, when one within the house rose and led him to the seat he himself had just occupied. As we sat facing the congregation, we looked around upon the multitude to find the marks of those demoniac passions which are to strew carnage through our own country when its bondsmen shall be made free. The countenances gathered there, bore the traces of benevolence, of humility, of meekness, of docility, and reverence; and we felt, while looking on them, that the doers of justice to a wronged people "shall surely dwell in safety and be quiet from fear of evil."

After the service, we visited the Sabbath school The superintendent was an interesting young colored man. We attended the recitation of a Testament class of children of both sexes from eight to twelve. They read, and answered numerous questions with great sprightliness.

In the afternoon we attended the Episcopal church, of which the Rev. Robert Holberton is rector. We here saw a specimen of the aristocracy of the island. A considerable number present were whites—rich proprietors with their families, managers of estates, officers of government, and merchants. The greater proportion of the auditory, however, were colored people and blacks. It might be expected that distinctions of color would be found here, if anywhere;—however, the actual distinction, even in this the most fashionable church in Antigua, amounted only to this, that the body pews on each side of the broad aisle were occupied by the whites, the side pews by the colored people, and the broad aisle in the middle by the negroes. The gallery, on one side, was also appropriated to the colored people, and on the other to the blacks. The finery of the

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negroes was in sad contrast with the simplicity we had just seen at the Moravian chapel. Their dresses were of every color and style; their hats were of all shapes and sizes, and fillagreed with the most tawdry superfluity of ribbons. Beneath these gaudy bonnets were glossy ringlets, false and real, clustering in tropical luxuriance. This fantastic display was evidently a rude attempt to follow the examples set them by the white aristocracy.

The choir was composed chiefly of colored boys, who were placed on the right side of the organ, and about an equal number of colored girls on the left. In front of the organ were eight or ten white children. The music of this colored, or rather "amalgamated" choir, directed by a colored chorister, and accompanied by a colored organist, was in good taste.

In the evening, we accompanied a friend to the Wesleyan chapel, of which the Rev. James Cox is pastor. The minister invited us to a seat within the altar, where we could have a full view of the congregation. The chapel was crowded. Nearly twelve hundred persons were present. All sat promiscuously in respect of color. In one pew was a family of whites, next a family of colored persons, and behind that perhaps might be seen, side by side, the ebon hue of the negro, the mixed tint of the mulatto, and the unblended whiteness of the European. Thus they sat in crowded contact, seemingly unconscious that they were outraging good taste, violating natural laws, and "confounding distinctions of divine appointment!" In whatever direction we turned, there was the same commixture of colors. What to one of our own countrymen whose contempt for the oppressed has defended itself with the plea of *prejudice against color*, would have been a combination absolutely shocking, was to us a scene as gratifying as it was new.

On both sides, the gallery presented the same unconscious blending of colors. The choir was composed of a large number, mostly colored, of all ages. The front seats were filled by children of various ages—the rear, of adults, rising above these tiny choristers, and softening the shrillness of their notes by the deeper tones of mature age.

The style of the preaching which we heard on the different

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occasions above described, so far as it is any index to the intelligence of the several congregations, is certainly a high commendation. The language used would not offend the taste of any congregation, however refined.

On the other hand, the fixed attention of the people showed that the truths delivered were understood and appreciated.

We observed, that in the last two services the subject of the present drought was particularly noticed in prayer.

The account here given is but a fair specimen of the solemnity and decorum of an Antigua sabbath.

VISIT TO MILLAR'S ESTATE.

Early in the week after our arrival, by the special invitation of the manager, we visited this estate. It is situated about four miles from the town of St. John's.

The smooth MacAdamized road extending across the rolling plains and gently-sloping hill-sides, covered with waving cane, and interspersed with provision grounds, contributed with the fresh bracing air of the morning to make the drive pleasant and animating.

At short intervals were seen the buildings of the different estates thrown together in small groups, consisting of the manager's mansion and out-houses, negro huts, boiling house, cooling houses, distillery and windmill. The mansion is generally on an elevated spot, commanding a view of the estate and surrounding country. The cane fields presented a novel appearance—being without fences of any description. Even those fields which lie bordering on the highways are wholly unprotected by hedge, ditch, or rails. This is from necessity. Wooden fences they cannot have, for lack of timber. Hedges are not used, because they are found to withdraw the moisture from the canes. To prevent depredations, there are watchmen on every estate, employed both day and night. There are also stock-keepers, employed by day in keeping the cattle within proper grazing limits. As each estate guards its own stock by day, and folds them by night, the fields are in little danger.

We passed great numbers of negroes on the road, loaded with

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every kind of commodity for the town market. *The head is the beast of burthen* among the negroes throughout the West Indies. Whatever the load, whether it be trifling or valuable, strong or frail, it is consigned to the head, both for safe keeping and for transportation. While the head is thus taxed, the hands hang useless by the side, or are busied in gesticulating, as the people chat together along the way. The negroes we passed were all decently clad. They uniformly stopped as they came opposite to us, to pay the usual civilities. This the men did by touching their hats and bowing, and the women, by making a low courtesy, and adding, sometimes, "howdy, massa," or "mornin', massa." We passed several loaded wagons, drawn by three, four, or five yoke of oxen, and in every instance the driver, so far from manifesting any disposition "insolently" to crowd us off the road, or to contend for his part of it, turned his team aside, leaving us double room to go by, and sometimes stopping until we had passed.

We were kindly received at Millar's by Mr. Bourne, the manager. Millar's is one of the first estates in Antigua. The last year it made the largest sugar crop on the island. Mr. B. took us before breakfast to view the estate. On the way, he remarked that we had visited the island at a very unfavorable time for seeing the cultivation of it, as everything was suffering greatly from the drought. There had not been a single copious rain, such as would "make the water run," since the first of March previous. As we approached the laborers, the manager pointed out one company of ten, who were at work with their hoes by the side of the road, while a larger one of thirty were in the middle of the field. They greeted us in the most friendly manner. The manager spoke kindly to them, encouraging them to be industrious. He stopped a moment to explain to us the process of cane-holing. The field is first ploughed* in one direction, and the ground thrown up in ridges of about a foot high.

* In those cases where the plough is used at all. It is not yet generally introduced throughout the West Indies. Where the plough is not used, the whole process of holing is done with the hoe, and is extremely laborious.

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Then similar ridges are formed crosswise, with the hoe, making regular squares of two-feet-sides over the field. By raising the soil, a clear space of six inches square is left at the bottom. In this space the *plant* is placed horizontally, and slightly covered with earth. The ridges are left about it, for the purpose of conducting the rain to the roots, and also to retain the moisture. When we came up to the large company, they paused a moment, and with a hearty salutation, which ran all along the line, bade us "good mornin'," and immediately resumed their labor. The men and women were intermingled; the latter kept pace with the former, wielding their hoes with energy and effect. The manager addressed them for a few moments, telling them who we were, and the object of our visit. He told them of the great number of slaves in America, and appealed to them to know whether they would not be sober, industrious and diligent, so as to prove to American slaveholders the benefit of freeing all their slaves. At the close of each sentence, they all responded, "Yes, massa," or "God bless de massas," and at the conclusion, they answered the appeal, with much feeling, "Yes, massa; please God, massa, we will all do so." When we turned to leave, they wished to know what we thought of their industry. We assured them that we were much pleased, for which they returned their "thankee, massa." They were working at a *job*. The manager had given them a piece of ground "to hole," engaging to pay them sixteen dollars when they had finished it. He remarked that he had found it a good plan to give *jobs*. He obtained more work in this way than he did by giving the ordinary wages, which is about eleven cents per day. It looked very much like slavery to see the females working in the field; but the manager said they chose it generally "*for the sake of the wages.*" Mr. B. returned with us to the house, leaving the gangs in the field, with only an aged negro in charge of the work, as *superintendent*. Such now is the name of the overseer. The very *terms*, *driver* and *overseer*, are banished from Antigua; and the *whip* is buried beneath the soil of freedom.

When we reached the house we were introduced to Mr. Watkins, a *colored* planter, whom Mr. B. had invited to breakfast with us. Mr. Watkins was very communicative, and from

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him and Mr. B., who was equally free, we obtained information on a great variety of points, which we reserve for the different heads to which they appropriately belong.

FITCH'S CREEK ESTATE.

From Millar's we proceeded to Fitch's Creek Estate, where we had been invited to dine by the intelligent manager, Mr. H. Armstrong. We there met several Wesleyan missionaries. Mr. A. is himself a local preacher in the Wesleyan connection. When a stranger visits an estate in the West Indies, almost the first thing is an offer from the manager to accompany him through the sugar works. Mr. A. conducted us first to a new boiling house, which he was building after a plan of his own devising. The house is of brick, on a very extensive scale. It has been built entirely by negroes—chiefly those belonging to the estate who were emancipated in 1834. Fitch's Creek Estate is one of the largest on the Island, consisting of 500 acres, of which 300 are under cultivation. The number of people employed and living on the property is 260. This estate indicates anything else than an apprehension of approaching ruin. It presents the appearance, far more, of a *resurrection* from the grave. In addition to his improved sugar and boiling establishment, he has projected a plan for a new village, (as the collection of negro houses is called,) and has already selected the ground and begun to build. The houses are to be larger than those at present in use; they are to be built of stone instead of mud and sticks, and to be neatly roofed. Instead of being huddled together in a by place, as has mostly been the case, they are to be built on an elevated site, and ranged at regular intervals around three sides of a large square, in the centre of which a building for a chapel and school house is to be erected. Each house is to have a garden. This and similar improvements are now in progress, with the view of adding to the comforts of the laborers, and attaching them to the estate. It has become the interest of the planter to make it for the *interest of the people* to remain on his estate. This *mutual interest* is the only sure basis of prosperity on the one hand, and of industry on the other.

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The whole company heartily joined in assuring us that a knowledge of the actual working of abolition in Antigua, would be altogether favorable to the cause of freedom, *and that the more thorough our knowledge of the facts in the case, the more perfect would be our confidence in the safety of* IMMEDIATE *emancipation.*

Mr. A. said that the spirit of enterprise, before dormant, had been roused since emancipation, and planters were now beginning to inquire as to the best modes of cultivation, and to propose measures of general improvement. One of these measures was the establishing of *free villages*, in which the laborers might dwell by paying a small rent. When the adjacent planters needed help, they could here find a supply for the occasion. This plan would relieve the laborers from some of that dependence which they must feel so long as they live on the estate and in the houses of the planters. Many advantages of such a system were specified. We allude to it here only as an illustration of that spirit of inquiry which freedom has kindled in the minds of the planters.

No little desire was manifested by the company to know the state of the slavery question in this country. They all, planters and missionaries, spoke in terms of abhorrence of our slavery, our mobs, our prejudice, and our Christianity. One of the missionaries said it would never do for him to go to America, for he should certainly be excommunicated by his Methodist brethren, and Lynched by the advocates of slavery. He insisted that slaveholding professors and ministers should be cut off from the communion of the church.

As we were about to take leave, the proprietor of the estate rode up, accompanied by the Governor, whom he had brought to see the new boiling-house, and the other improvements which were in progress. The proprietor resides in St. John's, is a gentleman of large fortune, and a member of the assembly. He said he would be happy to aid us in any way—but added, that in all details of a practical kind, and in all matters of fact, the planters were the best witnesses, for they were the conductors of the present system. We were glad to obtain the endorsement of an influential proprietor to the testimony of practical planters.

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DINNER AT THE GOVERNOR'S.

On the following day, having received a very courteous invitation* from the Governor to dine at the Government House, we made our arrangements to do so. The Hon. Paul Horsford, a member of the council, called during the day, to say, that he expected to dine with us at the Government House, and that he would be happy to call for us at the appointed hour, and conduct us thither. At six o'clock Mr. H.'s carriage drove up to our door, and we accompanied him to the Governor's, where we were introduced to Col. Jarvis, a member of the privy council, and proprietor of several estates in the island, Col. Edwards, a member of the assembly and a barrister, Dr. Musgrave, a member of the assembly, and Mr. Shiel, attorney general. A dinner of state, at a Governor's house, attended by a company of high-toned politicians, professional gentlemen, and proprietors, could hardly be expected to furnish large accessions to our stock of information relating to the object of our visit. Dinner being announced, we were hardly seated at the table when his excellency politely offered to drink a glass of Madeira with us. We begged leave to decline the honor. In a short time he proposed a glass of Champaign—again we declined. "Why, surely, gentlemen," exclaimed the Governor, "you must belong to the temperance society." "Yes, sir, we do." "Is it possible! but you will surely take a glass of liqueur?" "Your excellency must pardon us if we again decline the honor; we drink no wines." This announcement of ultra temperance principles excited no little surprise. Finding that our allegiance to cold water was not to be shaken, the Governor condescended at

* We venture to publish the note in which the Governor conveyed his invitation, simply because, though a trifle in itself, it will serve to show the estimation in which our mission was held.

"If Messrs. Kimball and Thome are not engaged Tuesday next, the Lieut. Governor will be happy to see them at dinner, at six o'clock, when he will endeavor to facilitate their philanthropic inquiries, by inviting two or three proprietors to meet them.

"*Government House, St. John's*, Dec. 18th, 1836."

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last to meet us on middle ground, and drink his wine to our water.

The conversation on the subject of emancipation served to show that the prevailing sentiment was decidedly favorable to the free system. Col. Jarvis, who is the proprietor of three estates, said that he was in England at the time the bill for immediate emancipation passed the legislature. Had he been in the island he should have opposed it; but *now* he was glad it had prevailed. The evil consequences which he apprehended had not been realized, and he was now confident that they never would be.

As to prejudice against the black and colored people, all thought it was rapidly decreasing—indeed, they could scarcely say there was now any such thing. To be sure, there was an aversion among the higher classes of the whites, and especially among *females*, to associating in parties with colored people; but it was not on account of their *color*, but chiefly because of their *illegitimacy*. This was to us a new source of prejudice; but subsequent information fully explained its bearings. The whites of the West Indies are themselves the authors of that *illegitimacy*, out of which their aversion springs. It is not to be wondered that they should be unwilling to invite the colored people to their social parties, seeing they might not unfrequently be subjected to the embarrassment of introducing to their white wives a colored mistress or an *illegitimate* daughter. This also explains the special prejudice which the *ladies* of the higher classes feel towards those among whom are their guilty rivals in a husband's affections, and those whose every feature tells the story of a husband's unfaithfulness!

A few days after our dinner with the Governor and his friends, we took breakfast, by invitation, with Mr. Watkins, the *colored* planter whom we had the pleasure of meeting at Millar's, on a previous occasion. Mr. W. politely sent in his chaise for us, a distance of five miles. At an early hour we reached Donovan's, the estate of which he is manager. We found the sugar works in active operation: the broad wings of the windmill were wheeling their stately revolutions, and the smoke was issuing in dense volumes from the chimney of the boiling house. Some

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of the negroes were employed in carrying cane to the mill, others in carrying away the *trash* or *megass*, as the cane is called after the juice is pressed from it. Others, chiefly the old men and women, were tearing the megass apart, and strewing it on the ground to dry. It is the only fuel used for boiling the sugar.

On entering the house we found three planters whom Mr. W. had invited to breakfast with us. The meeting of a number of intelligent practical planters afforded a good opportunity for comparing their views. On all the main points, touching the working of freedom, there was a strong coincidence.

When breakfast was ready, Mrs. W. entered the room, and after our introduction to her, took her place at the head of the table. Her conversation was intelligent, her manners highly polished, and she presided at the table with admirable grace and dignity.

On the following day, Dr. Ferguson, of St. John's, called on us. Dr. Ferguson is a member of the assembly, and one of the first physicians in the island. The Doctor said that freedom had wrought like a magician, and had it not been for the unprecedented drought, the island would now be in a state of prosperity unequalled in any period of its history. Dr. F. remarked that a general spirit of improvement was pervading the island. The moral condition of the whites was rapidly brightening; formerly concubinage was *respectable;* it had been customary for married men—those of the highest standing—to keep one or two colored mistresses. This practice was now becoming disreputable. There had been a great alteration as to the observance of the Sabbath; formerly more business was done in St. John's on Sunday, by the merchants, than on all the other days of the week together. The mercantile business of the town had increased astonishingly; he thought that the stores and shops had multiplied in a ratio of ten to one. Mechanical pursuits were likewise in a flourishing condition. Dr. F. said that a greater number of buildings had been erected since emancipation, than had been put up for twenty years before. Great improvements had also been made in the streets and roads in town and country.

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MARKET.

SATURDAY.—This is the regular market-day here. The negroes come from all parts of the island, walking sometimes ten or fifteen miles to attend St. John's market. We pressed our way through the dense mass of all hues which crowded the market. The ground was covered with wooden trays, filled with all *kinds* of fruits, grain, vegetables, fowls, fish and flesh. Each one, as we passed, called attention to his or her little stock. We passed up to the head of the avenue, where men and women were employed in cutting up the light fire-wood which they had brought from the country on their heads, and in binding it into small bundles for sale. Here we paused a moment, and looked down upon the busy multitude below. The whole street was a *moving* mass. There were broad Panama hats, and gaudy turbans, and uncovered heads, and heads laden with water-pots, and boxes, and baskets, and trays—all moving and mingling in seemingly inextricable confusion. There could not have been less than fifteen hundred people congregated in that street—all, or nearly all, emancipated slaves. Yet, amidst all the excitements and competitions of trade, their conduct towards each other was polite and kind. Not a word, or look, or gesture of insolence or indecency did we observe. Smiling countenances and friendly voices greeted us on every side, and we felt no fears either of having our pockets picked or our throats cut!

At the other end of the market-place stood the *Lock-up house*, the *Cage*, and the *Whipping Post*, with stocks for feet and wrists. These are almost the sole relics of slavery which still linger in the town. The Lock-up house is a sort of jail, built of stone, about fifteen feet square, and originally designed as a place of confinement for slaves taken up by the patrol. The Cage is a smaller building, adjoining the former, the sides of which are composed of strong iron bars—fitly called a *cage!* The prisoner was exposed to the gaze and insult of every passer-by, without the possibility of concealment. The Whipping Post is hard by, but its occupation is gone. Indeed, all these appen-

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dages of slavery have gone into entire disuse, and Time is doing his work of dilapidation upon them. We fancied we could see in the marketers, as they walked in and out at the doorless entrance of the Lock-up house, or leaned against the Whipping Post, in careless chat, that harmless defiance which would prompt one to beard the dead lion.

Returning from the market we observed a negro woman passing through the street, with several large hat boxes strung on her arm. She accidentally let one of them fall. The box had hardly reached the ground, when a little boy sprang from the back of a carriage rolling by, handed the woman the box, and hastened to remount the carriage.

CHRISTMAS.

During the reign of slavery, the Christmas holidays brought with them general alarm. To prevent insurrections, the militia was uniformly called out, and an array made of all that was formidable in military enginery. This custom was dispensed with at once, after emancipation. As Christmas came on the Sabbath, it tested the respect for that day. The morning was similar, in all respects, to the morning of the Sabbath described above; the same serenity reigning everywhere—the same quiet in the household movements, and the same tranquillity prevailing through the streets. We attended morning service at the Moravian chapel. Notwithstanding the descriptions we had heard of the great change which emancipation had wrought in the observance of Christmas, we were quite unprepared for the delightful reality around us. Though thirty thousand slaves had but lately been "turned loose" upon a population of less than three thousand! instead of meeting with scenes of disorder, what were the sights which greeted our eyes? The neat attire, the serious demeanor, and the thronged procession to the place of worship. In every direction the roads leading into town were lined with happy beings—attired for the house of God. When groups coming from different quarters met at the corners, they stopped a moment

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to exchange salutations and shake hands, and then proceeded on together.

The Moravian chapel was slightly decorated with green branches. They were the only adorning which marked the plain sanctuary of a plain people. It was crowded with black and colored people, and very many stood without, who could not get in. After the close of the service in the chapel, the minister proceeded to the adjacent school room, and preached to another crowded audience. In the evening the Wesleyan chapel was crowded to overflowing. The aisles and communion place were full. On all festivals and holidays, which occur on the Sabbath, the churches and chapels are more thronged than on any other Lord's day.

It is hardly necessary to state that there was no instance of a dance or drunken riot, nor wild shouts of mirth during the day. The Christmas, instead of breaking in upon the repose of the Sabbath, seemed only to enhance the usual solemnity of the day.

The holidays continued until the next Wednesday morning, and the same order prevailed to the close of them. On Monday there were religious services in most of the churches and chapels, where Sabbath school addresses, discourses on the relative duties of husband and wife, and on kindred subjects, were delivered.

An intelligent gentleman informed us that the negroes, while slaves, used to spend during the Christmas holidays the extra money which they got during the year. Now they save it—*to buy small tracts of land for their own cultivation.*

The Governor informed us that the police returns did not report a single case of arrest during the holidays. He said he had been well acquainted with the country districts of England—he had also travelled extensively in Europe—yet he had never found such a *peaceable, orderly, and law-abiding people as those of Antigua.*

An acquaintance of nine weeks with the colored population of St. John's, meeting them by the wayside, in their shops, in their parlors, and elsewhere, enables us to pronounce them a people of general intelligence, refinement of manners, personal

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accomplishments, and true politeness. As to their style of dress and mode of living, were we disposed to make any criticism, we should say that they were extravagant. In refined and elevated conversation, they would certainly bear a comparison with the white families of the island.

VISIT TO THIBOU JARVIS'S ESTATE.

After the Christmas holidays were over, we resumed our visits to the country. Being provided with a letter to the manager of Thibou Jarvis's estate, Mr. James Howell, we embraced the earliest opportunity to call on him. Mr. H. has been in Antigua for thirty-six years, and has been a practical planter during the whole of that time. He has the management of two estates, on which there are more than five hundred people. The principal items of Mr. Howell's testimony will be found in another place. In this connection we shall record only miscellaneous statements of a local nature.

1. The severity of the drought. He had been in Antigua since the year 1800, and he had never known so long a continuance of dry weather, although the island is subject to severe droughts. He stated that a field of yams, which in ordinary seasons yielded ten cart-loads to the acre, would not produce this year more than *three*. The failure in the crops was not in the least degree chargeable upon the laborers, for in the first place, the cane plants for the present crop were put in earlier and in greater quantities than usual, and *until* the drought commenced, the fields promised a large return.

2. The *religious condition* of the negroes, during slavery, was extremely low. It seemed almost impossible to teach them any higher religion than *obedience to their masters*. Their highest notion of God was that he was *a little above* their owner. He mentioned, by way of illustration, that the slaves of a certain large proprietor used to have this saying, "Massa only want he little finger to touch God!" that is, *their master was lower than God only by the length of his little finger!* But now the religious and moral condition of the people was fast improving.

3. A great change in the use of *rum* had been effected on

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the estates under his management since emancipation. He formerly, in accordance with the prevalent custom, gave his people a weekly allowance of rum, and this was regarded as essential to their health and effectiveness. But he has lately discontinued this altogether, and his people had not suffered any inconvenience from it. He gave them in lieu of the rum, an allowance of molasses, with which they appeared to be entirely satisfied. When Mr. H. informed the people of his intention to discontinue the spirits, he told them that he should *set them the example* of total abstinence, by abandoning wine and malt liquor also, which he accordingly did.

4. There had been much less *pretended sickness* among the negroes since freedom. They had now a strong aversion to going to the sick house,* so much so that on many estates it had been put to some other use.

We were taken through the negro village, and shown the interior of several houses. One of the finest looking huts was decorated with pictures, printed cards, and booksellers' advertisements, in large letters. Amongst many ornaments of this kind, was an advertisement not unfamiliar to our eyes—"THE GIRL'S OWN BOOK. BY MRS. CHILD."

We generally found the women at home. Some of them had been informed of our intention to visit them, and took pains to have every thing in the best order for our reception. The negro village on this estate contains one hundred houses, each of which is occupied by a separate family. Mr. H. next conducted us to a neighboring field, where the *great gang*† were at work. There were about fifty persons in the gang—the majority females—under two inspectors or superintendents, men who take the place of the *quondam drivers*, though their province is totally

* The *estate hospital*, in which, during slavery, all sick persons were placed for medical attendance and nursing. There was one on every estate.

† The people on most estates are divided into three gangs: first, the great gang, composed of the principal effective men and women; second, the weeding gang, consisting of younger and weakly persons; and third, the grass gang, which embraces all the children able to work.

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different. They merely direct the laborers in their work, employing with the loiterers the stimulus of persuasion, or at farthest, no more than the violence of the tongue.

Mr. H. requested them to stop their work, and told them whom we were, and as we bowed, the men took off their hats, and the women made a low courtesy. Mr. Howell then informed them that we had come from America, where there were a great many slaves: that we had visited Antigua to see how freedom was working, and whether the people who were made free on the first of August were doing well—and added, that he "hoped these gentlemen might be able to carry back such a report as would induce the masters in America to set their slaves free." They unanimously replied, "Yes, massa, we hope dem will gib um free." We spoke a few words; told them of the condition of the slaves in America, urged them to pray for them that they might be patient under their sufferings, and that they might soon be made free. They repeatedly promised to pray for the poor slaves in America. We then received their hearty "Good bye, massa," and returned to the house, while they resumed their work.

We took leave of Mr. Howell, grateful for his kind offices in furtherance of the objects of our mission.

We had not been long in Antigua before we perceived the distress of the poor from the scarcity of water. As there are but few springs in the island, the sole reliance is upon rain water. Wealthy families have cisterns or tanks in their yards, to receive the rain from the roofs. There are also a few public cisterns in St. Johns. These ordinarily supply the whole population. During the present season many of these cisterns have been dry, and the supply of water has been entirely inadequate to the wants of the people. There are several large open ponds in the vicinity of St. Johns, which are commonly used to water "stock." There are one or more on every estate, for the same purpose. The poor people were obliged to use the water from these ponds both for drinking and cooking while we were in Antigua. In taking our morning walks, we uniformly met the negroes either going to, or returning from the ponds, with

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their large pails balanced on their heads, happy apparently in being able to get even such foul water.

Attended the anniversary of the "Friendly Society," connected with the church in St. John's. Many of the most respectable citizens, including the Governor, were present. After the services in the church, the society moved in procession to the Rectory school-room. We counted one hundred males and two hundred and sixty females in the procession. Having been kindly invited by the Rector to attend at the school-room, we followed the procession. We found the house crowded with women, many others, besides those in the procession, having convened. The men were seated without under a canvas, extended along one side of the house. The whole number present was supposed to be nine hundred. Short addresses were made by the Rector, the Archdeacon, and the Governor.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Society, drawn up by the secretary, a colored man, was read. It was creditable to the author. The Rector in his address affectionately warned the society, especially the female members, against extravagance in dress.

The Archdeacon exhorted them to domestic and conjugal faithfulness. He alluded to the prevalence of inconstancy during past years, and to the great improvement in this particular lately; and concluded by wishing them all "a happy new-year and *many* of them, and a blessed immortality in the end." For this kind wish they returned a loud and general "thankee, massa."

The Governor then said, that he rose merely to remark, that this society might aid in the emancipation of millions of slaves, now in bondage in other countries. A people who are capable of forming such societies as this among themselves, deserve to be free, and ought no longer to be held in bondage. You, said he, are showing to the world what the negro race are capable of doing. The Governor's remarks were received with applause. After the addresses the audience were served with refreshments, previous to which the Rector read the following lines, which were sung to the tune of Old Hundred, the whole congregation standing.

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"Lord at our table now appear
And bless us here, as every where;
Let manna to our souls be given,
The bread of life sent down from heaven."

The simple refreshment was then handed round. It consisted merely of buns and lemonade. The Governor and the Rector, each drank to the health and happiness of the members. The loud response came up from all within and all around the house—"thankee—thankee—thankee—massa—thankee, *good* massa." A scene of animation ensued. The whole concourse of black, colored and white, from the humblest to the highest, from the unlettered apprentice to the Archdeacon and the Governor of the island, joined in a common festivity.

After the repast was concluded, thanks were returned in the following verse, also sung to Old Hundred.

"We thank thee, Lord, for this our food,
But bless thee more for Jesus' blood;
Let manna to our souls be given,
The bread of life sent down from heaven."

The benediction was pronounced, and the assembly retired.

There was an aged negro man present, who was noticed with marked attention by the Archdeacon, the Rector and other clergymen. He is sometimes called the African Bishop. He was evidently used to familiarity with the clergy, and laid his hand on their shoulders as he spoke to them. The old patriarch was highly delighted with the scene. He said, when he was young, he "never saw nothing but sin and Satan. *Now I just begin to live.*"

On the same occasion the Governor remarked to us that the first thing to be done in our country toward the removal of slavery, was to discard the absurd notion that *color* made any difference, intellectually or morally, among men. "All distinctions," said he, "founded in color, must be abolished every where. We should learn to talk of men not as *colored* men, but as MEN, *as fellow citizens and fellow subjects.*" His Excellency certainly showed on this occasion a disposition to put in

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practice *his* doctrine. He spoke affectionately to the children, and conversed freely with the adults.

VISIT TO GREEN CASTLE.

According to a previous engagement, a member of the assembly called and took us in his carriage to Green Castle estate.

Green Castle lies about three miles south-east from St. John's, and contains 940 acres. The mansion stands in a rocky cliff, overlooking the estate, and commanding a wide view of the island. In one direction spreads a valley, interspersed with fields of sugar-cane and provisions. In another stretches a range of hills, with their sides clad in culture, and their tops covered with clouds. At the base of the rock are the sugar houses. On a neighboring upland lies the negro village, in the rear of which are the provision grounds. Samuel Barnard, Esq., the manager, received us kindly. He said he had been on the island forty-four years, most of the time engaged in the management of estates. He is now the manager of two estates, and the attorney for six, and has lately purchased an estate himself. Mr. B. is now an aged man, grown old in the practice of slave-holding. He has survived the wreck of slavery, and now stripped of a tyrant's power, he still lives among the people who were lately his slaves, and manages an estate which was once his empire. The testimony of such a man is invaluable. Hear him.

1. Mr. B. said, that the negroes throughout the island were very peaceable when they received their freedom.

2. He said he had found no difficulty in getting his people to work after they had received their freedom. Some estates had suffered for a short time; there was a pretty general fluctuation for a month or two, the people leaving one estate and going to another. But this, said Mr. B., was chargeable to the *folly* of the planters, who *overbid* each other in order to secure the best hands and enough of them. The negroes had a *strong attachment to their homes*, and they would rarely abandon them, unless harshly treated.

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3. He thought that the assembly acted very wisely in rejecting the apprenticeship. He considered it absurd. It took the chains partly from off the slave, and fastened them on the master, *and enslaved them both.* It withdrew from the latter the power of compelling labor, and it supplied to the former no incentive to industry.

He was opposed to the measures which many had adopted for further securing the benefits of emancipation.—He referred particularly to the system of education which now prevailed. He thought that the education of the emancipated negroes should combine industry with study even in childhood, so as not to disqualify the taught for cultivating the ground. It will be readily seen that this prejudice against education, evidently the remains of his attachment to slavery, gives additional weight to his testimony.

The Mansion on the Rock (which from its elevated and almost inaccessible position, and from the rich shrubbery in perpetual foliage surrounding it, very fitly takes the name of Green Castle) is memorable as the scene of the murder of the present proprietor's grandfather. He refused to give his slaves holiday on a particular occasion. They came several times in a body and asked for the holiday, but he obstinately refused to grant it. They rushed into his bed-room, fell upon him with their hoes, and killed him.

On our return to St. John's, we received a polite note from a colored lady, inviting us to attend the anniversary of the "Juvenile Association," at eleven o'clock. We found about forty children assembled, the greater part of them colored girls, but some were white. The ages of these juvenile philanthropists varied from four to fourteen. After singing and prayer, the object of the association was stated, which was to raise money by sewing, soliciting contributions, and otherwise, for charitable purposes.

From the annual report it appeared that this was the *twenty-first anniversary* of the society. The treasurer reported nearly £60 currency (or about $150) received and disbursed during the year. More than one hundred dollars had been given towards the erection of the new Wesleyan chapel in St. John's.

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Several resolutions were presented by little misses, expressive of gratitude to God for continued blessings, which were adopted unanimously—every child holding up its right hand in token of assent.

After the resolutions and other business were despatched, the children listened to several addresses from the gentlemen present. The last speaker was a member of the assembly. He said that his presence there was quite accidental; but that he had been amply repaid for coming by witnessing the goodly work in which this juvenile society was engaged. As there was a male branch association about to be organized, he begged the privilege of enrolling his name as an honorary member, and promised to be a constant contributor to its funds. He concluded by saying, that though he had not before enjoyed the happiness of attending their anniversaries, he should never again fail to be present (with the permission of their worthy patroness) at the future meetings of this most interesting society. We give the substance of this address, as one of the signs of the times. The speaker was a wealthy merchant of St. John's.

This society was organized in 1815. The *first proposal* came from a few *little colored girls*, who, after hearing a sermon on the blessedness of doing good, wanted to know whether they might not have a society for raising money to give to the poor.

This Juvenile Association has, since its organization, raised the sum of *fourteen hundred dollars!* Even this little association has experienced a great impulse from the free system. From a table of the annual receipts since 1815, we found that the amount raised the two last years, is nearly equal to that received during any three years before.

DR. DANIELL—WEATHERILL ESTATE.

On our return from Thibou Jarvis's estate, we called at Weatherill's; but the manager, Dr. Daniell, not being at home, we left our names, with an intimation of the object of our visit. Dr. D. called soon after at our lodgings. As authority, he is unquestionable. Before retiring from the practice of medicine, he stood at the head of his profession in the island. He is now a

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member of the council, is proprietor of an estate, manager of another, and attorney for six.

The fact that such men as Dr. D., but yesterday large slaveholders, and still holding high civil and political stations, should most cheerfully facilitate our anti-slavery investigations, manifesting a solicitude to furnish us with all the information in their power, is of itself the highest eulogy of the new system. The testimony of Dr. D. will be found mainly in a subsequent part of the work. We state, in passing a few incidentals. He was satisfied that immediate emancipation was better policy than a temporary apprenticeship. The apprenticeship was a middle state—kept the negroes in suspense—vexed and harassed them —*fed them on a starved hope;* and therefore they would not be so likely, when they ultimately obtained freedom, to feel grateful, and conduct themselves properly. The reflection that they had been cheated out of their liberty for six years would *sour their minds.* The planters in Antigua, by giving immediate freedom, had secured the attachment of their people.

The Doctor said he did not expect to make more than two thirds of his average crop; but he assured us that this was owing solely to the want of rain. There had been no deficiency of labor. The crops were *in,* in season, throughout the island, and the estates were never under better cultivation than at the present time. Nothing was wanting but RAIN—RAIN.

He said that the West India planters were very anxious to retain the services of the negro population.

Dr. D. made some inquiries as to the extent of slavery in the United States, and what was doing for its abolition. He thought that emancipation in our country would not be the result of a slow process. The anti-slavery feeling of the civilized world had become too strong to wait for a long course of "preparations" and "ameliorations." And besides, continued he, "the arbitrary control of a master can never be a preparation for freedom;—*sound and wholesome legal restraints are the only preparative.*"

The Doctor also spoke of the absurdity and wickedness of the caste of color which prevailed in the United States. It

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was the offspring of slavery, and it must disappear when slavery is abolished.

CONVERSATION WITH A NEGRO.

We had a conversation one morning with a boatman, while he was rowing us across the harbor of St. John's. He was a young negro man. Said he was a slave until emancipation. We inquired whether he heard any thing about emancipation before it took place. He said, yes—the slaves heard of it, but it was talked about so long that many of them lost all *believement* in it, got tired waiting, and bought their freedom; but he had more patience, and got his for nothing. We inquired of him what the negroes did on the first of August, 1834. He said they all went to church and chapel. "Dare was more *religious* on dat day dan you could tink of." Speaking of the *law*, he said it was his *friend*. If there was no law to take his part, a man who was stronger than he, might step up and knock him down. But now no one dare do so; all were afraid of the *law*,—the law would never hurt any body who behaved well; but a master would *slash a fellow, let him do his best.*

VISIT TO NEWFIELD.

Drove out to Newfield, a Moravian station, about eight miles from St. John's. The Rev. Mr. Morrish, the missionary at that station, has under his charge two thousand people. Connected with the station is a day school for children, and a night school for adults twice in each week.

We looked in upon the day school, and found one hundred and fifteen children. The teacher and assistant were colored persons. Mr. M. superintends. He was just dismissing the school, by singing and prayer, and the children marched out to the music of one of their little songs. During the afternoon, Mr. Favey, manager of a neighboring estate, (Lavicount's) called on us.

He spoke of the tranquility of the late Christmas holidays. They ended Tuesday evening, and his people were all in the

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field at work on Wednesday morning—there were no stragglers. Being asked to specify the chief advantages of the new system over slavery, he stated at once the following things: 1st. It (free labor) is less *expensive.* 2d. It costs a planter far less *trouble* to manage free laborers, than it did to manage slaves. 3d. It had *removed all danger of insurrection, conflagration, and conspiracies.*

ADULT SCHOOL.

In the evening, Mr. Morrish's adult school for women was held. About thirty women assembled from different estates—some walking several miles. Most of them were just beginning to read. They had just begun to learn something about figures, and it was no small effort to add 4 and 2 together. They were incredibly ignorant about the simplest matters. When they first came to the school, they could not tell which was their right arm or their right side, and they had scarcely mastered that secret, after repeated showing. We were astonished to observe that when Mr. M. asked them to point to their cheeks, they laid their finger upon their chins. They were much pleased with the evolutions of a dumb clock, which Mr. M. exhibited, but none of them could tell the time of day by it. Such is a specimen of the intelligence of the Antigua negroes. Mr. M. told us that they were a pretty fair sample of the country negroes generally. It surely cannot be said that they were uncommonly well prepared for freedom; yet with all their ignorance, and with the merest infantile state of intellect, they prove the peaceable subjects of law. That they have a great desire to learn, is manifest from their coming such distances, after working in the field all day. The school which they attend has been established since the abolition of slavery.

The next morning, we visited the day school. It was opened with singing and prayer. The children knelt and repeated the Lord's Prayer after Mr. M. They then formed into a line and marched around the room, singing and keeping the step. A tiny little one, just beginning to walk, occasionally straggled out

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of the *line*. The next child, not a little displeased with such disorderly movements, repeatedly seized the straggler by the frock and pulled her into the ranks; but finally despaired of reducing her to subordination. When the children had taken their seats, Mr. M., at our request, asked all those who were free before August, 1834, to rise. Only one girl arose, and she was in no way distinguishable from a white child. The first exercise, was an examination of a passage of scripture. The children were then questioned on the simple rules of addition and substraction, and their answers were prompt and accurate.

DR. NUGENT.

The hour having arrived when we were to visit a neighboring estate, Mr. M. kindly accompanied us to Lyon's, the estate upon which Dr. Nugent resides. In respect to general intelligence, scientific acquirements, and agricultural knowledge, no man in Antigua stands higher than Dr. Nugent. He has long been speaker of the house of assembly, and is favorably known in Europe as a geologist and man of science. He is manager of the estate on which he resides, and proprietor of another.

The Doctor informed us that the crop on his estate had almost totally failed, on account of the drought—being reduced from one hundred and fifty hogsheads, the average crop, to *fifteen!* His provision grounds had yielded almost nothing. The same soil which ordinarily produced ten cart-loads of yams to the acre—the present season barely averaged *one load to ten acres!* Yams were reduced from the dimensions of a man's head, to the size of a radish. The *cattle were dying* from want of water and grass. He had himself lost *five oxen* within the past week.

Previous to emancipation, said the Doctor, no man in the island dared to avow anti-slavery sentiments, if he wished to maintain a respectable standing. Planters might have their hopes and aspirations; but they could not make them public without incurring general odium, and being denounced as the enemies of their country.

In allusion to the motives which prompted the legislature to

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reject the apprenticeship and adopt immediate emancipation, Dr. N. said, "When we saw that abolition was *inevitable*, we began to inquire what would be the safest course for getting rid of slavery. *We wished to let ourselves down in the easiest manner possible*—THEREFORE WE CHOSE IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION!" These were his words.

On returning to the hospitable mansion of Mr. Morrish, we had an opportunity of witnessing a custom peculiar to the Moravians. It is called 'speaking.' All the members of the church are required to call on the missionary once a month, and particular days are appropriated to it. They come singly or in small companies, and the minister converses with each individual.

Mr. M. manifested great faithfulness in this duty. He was affectionate in manner—entered into all the minutiæ of individual and family affairs, and advised with them as a father with his children. We had an opportunity of conversing with some of those who came. We asked one old man what he did on the "First of August?"* His reply was, "Massa, we went to church, and tank de Lord for make a we all free."

An aged infirm woman said to us, among other things, "Since de *free* come de massa give me no—no, nothing to eat—gets all from my cousins." We next conversed with two men, who were masons on an estate. Being asked how they liked liberty, they replied, "O, it very comfortable, Sir—very comfortable indeed." They said, "that on the day when freedom came, they were as happy as though they had just been going to heaven." They said, now they had got free, they never would be slaves again. They were asked if they would not be willing to sell themselves to a man who would treat them well. They replied immediately that they would be very willing to *serve* such a man, but they would not *sell themselves* to the best person in the world! What fine logicians a slave's experience had made these men! Without any effort they struck out a distinction, which has puzzled learned men in church and state, the difference between *serving* a man and *being his property*.

* By this phrase the freed people always understand the 1st of August, 1834, when slavery was abolished.

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Being asked how they conducted themselves on the 1st of August, they said they had no frolicking, but they all went to church to "*tank God for make a we free.*" They said, they were very desirous to have their children learn all they could while they were young. We asked them if they did not fear that their children would become lazy if they went to school all the time. One said, shrewdly, "Eh! nebber mind—dey *come to* by'm by—*belly 'blige* 'em to work."

In the evening Mr. M. held a religious meeting in the chapel; the weekly meeting for exhortation. He stated to the people the object of our visit, and requested one of us to say a few words. Accordingly, a short time was occupied in stating the number of slaves in America, and in explaining their condition, physical, moral, and spiritual; and the congregation were urged to pray for the deliverance of the millions of our bondmen. They manifested much sympathy, and promised repeatedly to pray that they might be "free like we." At the close of the meeting they pressed around us to say "howdy, massa;" and when we left the chapel, they showered a thousand blessings upon us. Several of them, men and women, gathered about Mr. M.'s door after we went in, and wished to talk with us. The men were mechanics, foremen, and watchmen; the women were nurses. During our interview, which lasted nearly an hour, these persons remained standing.

When we asked them how they liked freedom, and whether it was better than slavery, they answered with a significant *umph* and a shrug of the shoulders, as though they would say, "*Why* you ask dat question, massa?"

They said, "all the people went to chapel on the first of August, to tank God for make such poor undeserving sinners as we free; we no nebber expect to hab it. But it please de Lord to gib we free, and we tank him good Lord for it."

We asked them if they thought the wages they got (a shilling per day, or about eleven cents,) was enough for them. They said it seemed to be very small, and it was as much as they could do to get along with it; but they could not get any more, and they had to be "satify and conten."

As it grew late and the good people had far to walk, we

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shook hands with them, and bade them good bye, telling them we hoped to meet again in a world where all would be free. The next morning Mr. M. accompanied us to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Jones, the rector of St. Phillip's.

Mr. J. informed us that the planters in that part of the island were gratified with the working of the new system. He alluded to the prejudices of some against having the children educated, lest it should foster indolence. But, said Mr. J., the planters have always been opposed to improvements, until they were effected, and their good results began to be manifest. They first insisted that the abolition of the slave-trade would ruin the colonies—next *the abolition of slavery* was to be the certain destruction of the islands—and now the education of children is deprecated as fraught with disastrous consequences.

FREY'S ESTATE—MR. HATLEY.

Mr. Morrish accompanied us to a neighboring estate called Frey's, which lies on the road from Newfield to English Harbor. Mr. Hatley, the manager, showed an enthusiastic admiration of the new system. Most of his testimony will be found in Chapter III. He said, that owing to the dry weather he should not make one third of his average crop. Yet his people had acted their part well. He had been encouraged by their improved industry and efficiency, to bring into cultivation lands that had never before been tilled.

It was delightful to witness the change which had been wrought in this planter by the abolition of slavery. Although accustomed for years to command a hundred human beings with absolute authority, he could rejoice in the fact that his power was wrested from him, and when asked to specify the advantages of freedom over slavery, he named emphatically and above all others *the abolition of flogging*. Formerly, he said, it was "*whip—whip—whip—incessantly*," but now we are relieved from this disagreeable task.

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THE AMERICAN CONSUL.

We called on the American Consul, Mr. Higginbothom, at his country residence, about four miles from St. John's. Shortly after we reached his elevated and picturesque seat, we were joined by Mr. Cranstoun, a planter, who had been invited to dine with us. Mr. C. is a *colored gentleman*. The Consul received him in such a manner as plainly showed that they were on terms of intimacy. Mr. C. is a gentleman of intelligence and respectability, and occupies a station of trust and honor in the island. On taking leave of us, he politely requested our company at breakfast on a following morning, saying he would send his gig for us.

At the urgent request of Mr. Bourne, of Millar's, we consented to address the people of his estate, on Sabbath evening. He sent in his gig for us in the afternoon, and we drove out.

At the appointed hour we went to the place of meeting. The chapel was crowded with attentive listeners. Whenever allusions were made to the great blessings which God had conferred upon them in delivering them from bondage, the audience heartily responded in their rough but earnest way to the sentiments expressed. At the conclusion of the meeting, they gradually withdrew, bowing or courtesying as they passed us, and dropping upon our ear their gentle "good bye, massa." During slavery every estate had its *dungeon* for refractory slaves. Just as we were leaving Millar's, we asked Mr. B. what had become of these dungeons. He instantly replied, "I'll show you one." In a few moments we stood at the door of the old prison, a small stone building, strongly built, with two cells. It was a dismal looking den, surrounded by stables, pig-styes, and cattle-pens. The door was off its hinges, and the entrance partly filled up with mason-work. The sheep and goats went in and out at pleasure.

We breakfasted one morning at the Villa estate, which lies within half a mile of St. John's. The manager was less sanguine in his views of emancipation than the planters generally We were disposed to think that, were it not for the force of

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public sentiment, he might declare himself against it. His feelings are easily accounted for. The estate is situated so near the town, that his people are assailed by a variety of temptations to leave their work, from which those on other estates are exempt. The manager admitted that the danger of insurrection was removed—crime was lessened—and the moral condition of society was rapidly improving.

A few days after, we went by invitation to a bazaar, or fair, which was held in the court-house in St. John's. The avails were to be appropriated to the building of a new Wesleyan chapel in the town. The council chamber and the assembly's hall were given for the purpose. The former spacious room was crowded with people of every class and complexion. The fair was got up by the *colored* members of the Wesleyan church: nevertheless, some of the first ladies and gentlemen in town attended it, and mingled promiscuously in the throng. Wealthy proprietors, lawyers, legislators, military officers in their uniform, merchants, &c., swelled the crowd. We recognized a number of ladies whom we had previously met at a fashionable dinner in St. John's. Colored ladies presided at the tables, and before them was spread a profusion of rich fancy articles. Among a small number of books exhibited for sale were several copies of a work entitled "COMMEMORATIVE WREATH," being a collection of poetical pieces relating to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

VISIT TO MR. CRANSTOUN'S.

On the following morning Mr. C.'s gig came for us, and we drove out to his residence. We were met at the door by the American Consul, who breakfasted with us. When he had taken leave, Mr. C. proposed that we should go over his grounds. To reach the estate, which lies in a beautiful valley far below Mr. C.'s mountainous residence, we were obliged to go on foot by a narrow path that wound along the sides of the precipitous hills. This estate is the property of Mr. Athill, a *colored* gentleman now residing in England. Mr. A. is post-master general of Antigua, one of the first merchants in St. John's and was a

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member of the assembly until the close of 1836, when, on account of his continued absence, he resigned his seat. A high born white man, the Attorney-General, now occupies the same chair which this colored member vacated. Mr. C. was formerly attorney for several estates, is now agent for a number of them, and also a magistrate.

He remarked, that since emancipation the nocturnal disorders and quarrels in the negro villages, which were incessant during slavery, had nearly ceased. The people were ready and willing to work. He had frequently given his gang jobs, instead of paying them by the day. This had proved a great stimulant to industry, and the work of the estate was performed so much quicker by this plan that it was less expensive than daily wages. When they had jobs given them, they would sometimes go to work by three o'clock in the morning, and work by moonlight. When the moon was not shining, he had known them to kindle fires among the trash or dry cane leaves to work by. They would then continue working all day until four o'clock, stopping only for breakfast, and dispensing with the usual intermission from twelve to two.

We requested him to state briefly what were in his estimation the advantages of the free system over slavery. He replied thus: 1st. The diminished expense of free labor. 2d. *The absence of coercion.* 3d. The greater facility in managing an estate. Managers had not half the perplexity and trouble in watching, driving, &c. They could leave the affairs of the estate in the hands of the people with safety. 4th. *The freedom from danger.* They had now put away all fears of insurrections, robbery, and incendiarism.

There are two reflections which the perusal of these items will probably suggest to most minds: 1st. The coincidence in the replies of different planters to the question—What are the advantages of freedom over slavery? These replies are almost identically the same in every case, though given by men who reside in different parts of the island, and have little communication with each other. 2d. They all speak exclusively of the advantages to the *master*, and say nothing of the benefit accruing to the emancipated. We are at some loss to decide whether

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this arose from indifference to the interests of the emancipated, or from a conviction that the blessings of freedom to them were self-evident and needed no specification.

While we were in the boiling-house we witnessed a scene which illustrated one of the benefits of freedom to the slave; it came quite opportunely, and supplied the deficiency in the manager's enumeration of advantages. The head boiler was performing the work of 'striking off;' i. e. of removing the liquor, after it had been sufficiently boiled, from the copper to the coolers. The liquor had been taken out of the boiler by the skipper, and thence was being conducted to the coolers by a long open spout. By some means the spout became choaked, and the liquor began to run over. Mr. C. ordered the man to let down the valve, but he became confused, and instead of letting go the string which lifted the valve, he pulled on it the more. The consequence was that the liquor poured over the sides of the spout in a torrent. The manager screamed at the top of his voice—"*let down the valve, let it down!*" But the poor man, more and more frightened, hoisted it still higher,—and the precious liquid—pure sugar—spread in a thick sheet over the earthen floor. The manager at last sprang forward, thrust aside the man, and stopped the mischief, but not until many gallons of sugar were lost. Such an accident as this, occurring during slavery, would have cost the negro a severe flogging. As it was, however, in the present case, although Mr. C. 'looked daggers,' and exclaimed by the workings of his countenance, 'a kingdom for a *cat*,'* yet the severest thing which he could say was, "You bungling fellow—if you can't manage better than this, I shall put some other person in your place—that's all." '*That's* ALL' indeed, but it would not have been all, three years ago. The negro replied to his chidings in a humble way, saying 'I couldn't help it, sir, I couldn't help it.' Mr. C. finally turned to us, and said in a calmer tone, "The poor fellow got confused, and was frightened half to death."

* A species of whip, well known in the West Indies.

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VISIT TO GRACE BAY.

We made a visit to the Moravian settlement at Grace Bay, which is on the opposite side of the island. We called, in passing, at Cedar Hall, a Moravian establishment four miles from town. Mr. Newby, one of the missionaries stationed at this place, is the oldest preacher of the Gospel in the island. He has been in Antigua for twenty-seven years. He is quite of the *old way of thinking* on all subjects, especially the divine right of kings, and the scriptural sanction of slavery. Nevertheless, he was persuaded that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island and to all parties concerned. When he first came to Antigua, in 1809, he was not suffered to teach the slaves. After some time he ventured to keep an evening school *in a secret way.* Now there is a day school of one hundred and twenty children connected with the station. It has been formed since emancipation.

From Cedar Hall we proceeded to Grace Bay. On the way we met some negro men at work on the road, and stopped our chaise to chat with them. They told us that they lived on Harvey's estate, which they pointed out to us. Before emancipation that estate had four hundred slaves on it, but a great number had since left because of ill usage during slavery. They would not live on the estate, because the same manager remained, and they could not trust him.

They told us they were Moravians, and that on the first of August they all went to the Moravian chapel at Grace Bay, 'to tank and praise de good Savior for make a we free.' We asked them if they still liked liberty; they said, "Yes, massa, we all quite *proud* to be free." The negroes use the word *proud* to express a strong feeling of delight. One man said, "One morning as I was walking along the road all alone, I prayed that the Savior would make me free, for then I could be so happy. I don't know what made me pray so, for I wasn't looking for de free; but please massa, *in one month de free come.*"

They declared that they worked a great deal better since emancipation, because they were *paid for it.* To be sure, said

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they, we get very little wages, but it is better than none. They repeated it again and again, that men could not be made to work well by *flogging* them, "*it was no use to try it.*"

We asked one of the men, whether he would not be willing to be a slave again provided he was *sure* of having a kind master. "Heigh! me massa," said he, "me neber slave no more. A good massa a very good ting, *but freedom till better.*" They said that it was a great blessing to them to have their children go to school. After getting them to show us the way to Grace Bay, we bade them good bye.

We were welcomed at Grace Bay by the missionary, and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Möhne.* The place where these missionaries reside in a beautiful spot. Their dwelling-house and the chapel are situated on a high promontory, almost surrounded by the sea. A range of tall hills in the rear cuts off the view of the island, giving to the missionary station an air of loneliness and seclusion truly impressive. In this sequestered spot, we found Mr. and Mrs. M. living alone. They informed us that they rarely have white visiters, but their house is the constant resort of the negroes, who gather there after the toil of the day to 'speak' about their souls. Mr. and Mrs. M. are wholly engrossed in their labors of love. They find their happiness in leading their numerous flock "by the still waters and the green pastures" of salvation. Occupied in this delightful work, they covet not other employments, nor other company, and desire no other earthly abode than their own little hill-embosomed, sea-girt missionary home.

There are a thousand people belonging to the church at this station, each of whom the missionaries see once every month. A day school has been lately established, and one hundred children are already in attendance. After dinner we walked out accompanied by the missionaries to enjoy the beautiful sunset. It is one of the few *harmless* luxuries of a West India climate, to go forth after the heat of the day is spent and the sun is sinking in the sea, and enjoy the refreshing coolness of the air. The ocean stretched before us, motionless after the turmoil of

* Pronounced Maynuh.

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the day, like a child which has rocked itself asleep, yet indicating by its mighty breathings as it heaved along the beach, that it only slumbered. As the sun went down, the full moon arose, only less luminous, and gradually the stars began to light up their beaming fires. The work of the day now being over, the weary laborers were seen coming from different directions to have a 'speak' with the missionaries.

Mr. M. stated a fact illustrative of the influence of the missionaries over the negroes. Some time ago, the laborers on a certain estate became dissatisfied with the wages they were receiving, and refused to work unless they were increased. The manager tried in vain to reconcile his people to the grievance of which they complained, and then sent to Mr. M., requesting him to visit the estate, and use his influence to persuade the negroes, most of whom belonged to his church, to work at the usual terms. Mr. M. sent word to the manager that it was not his province, as minister, to interfere with the affairs of any estate; but he would talk with the people about it individually, when they came to 'speak.' Accordingly he spoke to each one, as he came, in a kind manner, advising him to return to his work, and live as formerly. In a short time peace and confidence were restored, and the whole gang to a man were in the field.

Mr. and Mrs. M. stated that notwithstanding the very low rate of wages, which was scarcely sufficient to support life, they had never seen a single individual who desired to return to the condition of a slave. Even the old and infirm, who were sometimes really in a suffering state from neglect of the planters, and from inability of their relatives adequately to provide for them, expressed the liveliest gratitude for the great blessing which the Saviour had given them. They would often say to Mrs. M., "Why, Missus, old sinner just sinkin' in de grave, but God let me old eyes see dis blessed sun."

The missionaries affirmed that the negroes were an affectionate people—remarkably so. Any kindness shown them by a white person, was treasured up and never forgotten. On the other hand, the slightest neglect or contempt from a white

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person, was keenly felt. They are very fond of saying '*howdy*' to white people; but if the salutation is not returned, or noticed kindly, they are not likely to repeat it to the same individual. To shake hands with a white person is a gratification which they highly prize. Mrs. M. pleasantly remarked, that after service on Sabbath, she was usually wearied out with saying *howdy* and *shaking hands*.

During the evening we had some conversation with two men who came to 'speak.' They spoke about the blessings of liberty, and their gratitude to God for making them free. They spoke also, with deep feeling, of the still greater importance of being free from sin. That, they said, was better. *Heaven was the first best, and freedom was the next best.*

They gave us some account, in the course of the evening, of an aged saint called Grandfather Jacob, who lived on a neighboring estate. He had been a *helper** in the Moravian church, until he became too infirm to discharge the duties connected with that station. Being for the same reason discharged from labor on the estate, he now occupied himself in giving religious instruction to the other superannuated people on the estate.

Mrs. M. said it would constitute an era in the life of the old man, if he could have an interview with two strangers from a distant land; accordingly, she sent a servant to ask him to come to the mission-house early the next morning. The old man was prompt to obey the call. He left home, as he said, "before the gun fire"—about five o'clock—and came nearly three miles on foot. He was of a slender form, and had been tall, but age and slavery had bowed him down. He shook us by the hand very warmly, exclaiming,—"God bless you, God bless you—me bery glad to see you." He immediately commenced giving us an account of his conversion. Said he, putting his hand on his breast, "You see old Jacob? de old sinner use to go on *drinkin'*, *swearin'*, *dancin'*, *fightin'*! No God—no Saviour—no soul! *When old England and de Merica fall out de first time*, old Jacob was a man—

* An office somewhat similar to that of deacon.

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a wicked sinner!—drink rum, fight—love to fight! Carry coffin to de grabe on me head; put dead body under ground —dance over it—den fight and knock man down—go 'way, drink rum, den take de fiddle. And so me went on, just so, till me get sick and going to die—thought when me die, dat be de end of me;—*den de Saviour come to me!* Jacob love de Saviour, and been followin' de good Saviour ever since." He continued his story, describing the opposition he had to contend with, and the sacrifices he made to go to church. After working on the estate till six o'clock at night, he and several others would each take a large stone on his head and start for St. John's—nine miles over the hills. They carried the stones to aid in building the Moravian chapel at Spring Garden, St. John's. After he had finished this account, he read to us, in a highly animated style, some of the hymns which he taught to the old people, and then sung one of them. These exercises caused the old man's heart to burn within him, and again he ran over his past life, his early wickedness, and the grace that snatched him from ruin, while the mingled tides of gratitude burst forth from heart, and eyes, and tongue.

When we turned his attention to the temporal freedom he had received, he instantly caught the word FREE, and exclaimed vehemently, "O yes, me Massa—dat is anoder kind of blessing from de Saviour! Him make we all *free*. Can never praise him too much for dat." We inquired whether he was now provided for by the manager. He said he was not—never received anything from him—his *children* supported him. We then asked him whether it was not better to be a slave if he could get food and clothing, than to be free and not have enough. He darted his quick eye at us and said 'rader be free still.' He had been severely flogged twice since his conversion, for leaving his post as watchman to bury the dead. The minister was sick, and he was applied to, in his capacity of *helper*, to perform funeral rites, and he left his watch to do it. He said his heavenly Master called him, and he *would* go, though he expected a flogging. He must serve his Saviour whatever come. "Can't put we in dungeon *now*," said Grandfather Jacob with a triumphant look.

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When told that there were slaves in America, and that they were not yet emancipated, he exclaimed, "Ah, de Saviour make we free, and he will make dem free too. He come to Antigo first—he'll be in Merica soon."

When the time had come for him to leave, he came and pressed our hands, and fervently gave us his patriarchal blessing. Our interview with Grandfather Jacob can never be forgotten. Our hearts, we trust, will long cherish his heavenly savor—well assured that if allowed a part in the resurrection of the just, we shall behold his tall form, erect in the vigor of immortal youth, amidst the patriarchs of past generations.

After breakfast we took leave of the kind-hearted missionaries, whose singular devotedness and delightful spirit won greatly upon our affections, and bent our way homeward by another route.

MR. SCOTLAND'S ESTATE.

We called at the estate of Mr. J. Scotland, Jr., barrister, and member of the assembly. We expected to meet with the proprietor, but the manager informed us that pressing business at court had called him to St. John's on the preceding day. The testimony of the manager concerning the dry weather, the consequent failure in the crop, the industry of the laborers, and so forth, was similar to that which we had heard before. He remarked that he had not been able to introduce job-work among his people. It was a new thing with them, and they did not understand it. He had lately made a proposal to give the gang four dollars per acre for holing a certain field. They asked a little time to consider upon so novel a proposition. He gave them half a day, and at the end of that time asked them what their conclusion was. One, acting as spokesman for the rest, said, "We rada hab de shilling wages." That was certain; the job might yield them more, and it might fall short—quite a common sense transaction!

At the pressing request of Mr. Armstrong we spent a day with him at Fitch's Creek. Mr. A. received us with the most cordial hospitality, remarking that he was glad to have another

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opportunity to state some things which he regarded as obstacles to the complete success of the experiment in Antigua. One was the entire want of concert among the planters. There was no disposition to meet and compare views respecting different modes of agriculture, treatment of laborers, and employment of machinery. Another evil was, allowing people to live on the estates who took no part in the regular labor of cultivation. Some planters had adopted the foolish policy of encouraging such persons to remain on the estates, in order that they might have help at hand in cases of emergency. Mr. A. strongly condemned this policy. It withheld laborers from the estates which needed them; it was calculated to make the regular field hands discontented, and it offered a direct encouragement to the negroes to follow irregular modes of living. A third obstacle to the successful operation of free labor, was the absence of the most influential proprietors. The consequences of absenteeism were very serious. The proprietors were of all men the most deeply interested in the soil; and no attorneys, agents, or managers, whom they could employ, would feel an equal interest in it, nor make the same efforts to secure the prosperous workings of the new system.

In the year 1833, when the abolition excitement was at its height in England, and the people were thundering at the doors of Parliament for emancipation, Mr. A. visited that country for his health. To use his own expressive words, he "got a terrible scraping wherever he went." He said he could not travel in a stage-coach, or go into a party, or attend a religious meeting, without being attacked. No one the most remotely connected with the system could have peace there. He said it was astonishing to see what a feeling was abroad, how mightily the mind of the whole country, peer and priest and peasant, was wrought up. The national heart seemed on fire.

Mr. A. said he became a religious man whilst the manager of a slave estate, and when he became a Christian, he became an abolitionist. Yet this man, while his conscience was accusing him—while he was longing and praying for abolition—did not dare open his mouth in public to urge it on! How many such men are there in our southern states—men who are inwardly cheering on the abolitionist in his devoted work, and yet send up

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no voice to encourage him, but perhaps are traducing and denouncing him!

We received a call at our lodgings in St. John's from the Archdeacon. He made interesting statements respecting the improvement of the negroes in dress, morals, education and religion, since emancipation. He had resided in the island some years previous to the abolition of slavery, and spoke from personal observation.

Among many other gentlemen who honored us with a call about the same time, was the Rev. Edward Frazer, Wesleyan missionary, and a colored gentleman. He is a native of Bermuda, and ten years ago was a slave. He received a mercantile education, and was for several years the confidential clerk of his master. He was treated with much regard and general kindness. He said he was another Joseph—every thing which his master had was in his hands. The account-books and money were all committed to him. He had servants under him, and did almost as he pleased—except becoming free. Yet he must say, as respected himself, kindly as he was treated, that slavery was a *grievous wrong, most unjust and sinful.* The very thought—and it often came over him—that he was a slave, brought with it a terrible sense of degradation. It came over the soul like a frost. His sense of degradation grew more intense in proportion as his mind became more cultivated. He said, *education was a disagreeable companion for a slave.* But while he said this, Mr. F. spoke very respectfully and tenderly of his master. He would not willingly utter a word which would savor of unkindness towards him. Such was the spirit of one whose best days had been spent under the exactions of slavery. He was a local preacher in the Wesleyan connection while he was a slave, and was liberated by his master, without remuneration, at the request of the British Conference, who wished to employ him as an itinerant. He is highly esteemed both for his natural talents and general literary acquisitions and moral worth. The Conference have recently called him to England to act as an agent in that country, to procure funds for educational and religious purposes in these islands.

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MEETING OF WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES.

As we were present at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan missionaries for this district, we gained much information concerning the object of our mission, as there were about twenty missionaries, mostly from Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christophers, Anguilla, and Tortola.

Not a few of them were men of superior acquirements, who had sacrificed ease and popular applause at home, to minister to the outcast and oppressed. They are the devoted friends of the black man. It was soul-cheering to hear them rejoice over the abolition of slavery. It was as though their own limbs had been of a sudden unshackled, and a high wall had fallen from around them. Liberty had broken upon them like the bursting forth of the sun to the watchman on his midnight tower.

During the session, the mission-house was thrown open to us, and we frequently dined with the numerous company of missionaries, who there ate at a common table. Mrs. F., wife of the colored clergyman mentioned above, presided at the social board. The missionaries and their wives associated with Mr. and Mrs. F. as unreservedly as though they wore the most delicate European tint. The first time we took supper with them, at one side of a large table, around which were about twenty missionaries with their wives, sat Mrs. F., with the furniture of a tea table before her. On the other side, with the coffee urn and its accompaniments, sat the wife of a missionary, with a skin as lily-hued as the fairest Caucasian. Nearly opposite to her between two white preachers, sat a colored missionary. Farther down, with the chairman of the district on his right, sat another colored gentleman, a merchant and local preacher in Antigua. Such was the uniform appearance of the table, excepting that the numbers were occasionally swelled by the addition of several other colored gentlemen and ladies. On another occasion, at dinner, we had an interesting conversation, in which the whole company of missionaries participated. The Rev. M. Banks, of St. Bartholomews, remarked that one of the

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grossest of all absurdities was that of *preparing men for freedom.* Some, said he, pretend that immediate emancipation is unsafe, but it was evident to him that if men *are peaceable while they are slaves*, they might be trusted in any other condition, for they could not possibly be placed in one more aggravating. If *slavery* is a safe system, *freedom* surely will be. There can be no better evidence that a people are prepared for liberty, *than their patient endurance of slavery.* He expressed the greatest regret at the conduct of the American churches, particularly that of the Methodist church. "Tell them," said he, "on your return, that the missionaries in these islands are cast down and grieved when they think of their brethren in America. We feel persuaded that they are holding back the car of freedom; they are hedging up the gospel." Rev. Mr. Cheesbrough, of St. Christopher's said, "Tell them that much as we desire to visit the United States, we cannot go so long as we are prohibited from speaking against slavery, or while that *abominable prejudice* is encouraged in the churches. *We could not administer the sacrament to a church in which the distinction of colors was maintained.*" "Tell our brethren of the Wesleyan connection," said Mr. B. again, "that slavery must be abolished by *Christians*, and the church ought to take her stand at once against it." We told him that a large number of Methodist and other Christians had engaged already in the work, and that the number was daily increasing. "That's right," he exclaimed, "agitate, *agitate*, AGITATE! *You must succeed:* the Lord is with you." He dwelt particularly on the obligations resting upon Christians in the free states. He said, "Men must be at a distance from slavery to judge of its real character. Persons living in the midst of it, gradually become familiarized with its horrors and woes, so that they can view calmly exhibitions from which they would once have shrunk in dismay."

We had some conversation with Rev. Mr. Walton, of Montserrat. After making a number of statements in reference to the apprenticeship there, Mr. W. stated that there had been repeated instances of planters *emancipating all their apprentices.* He thought there had been a case of this kind every month for a year past. The planters were becoming tired of the appren-

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ticeship, and from mere considerations of interest and comfort, were adopting free labor.

A new impulse had been given to education in Montserrat, and schools were springing up in all parts of the island. Mr. W. thought there was no island in which education was so extensive. Religious influences were spreading among the people of all classes. Marriages were occurring every week.

We had an interview with the Rev. Mr. H., an aged colored minister. He has a high standing among his brethren, for talents, piety, and usefulness. There are few ministers in the West Indies who have accomplished more *for the cause of Christ* than has Mr. H.*

He said he had at different periods been stationed in Antigua, Anguilla, Tortola, and some other islands. He said that the negroes in the other islands in which he had preached, were as intelligent as those in Antigua, and in every respect as well prepared for freedom. He was in Anguilla when emancipation took place. The negroes there were kept at work on the very *day that freedom came!* They worked as orderly as on any other day. The sabbath following, he preached to them on their new state, explaining the apprenticeship to them. He said the whole congregation were in a state of high excitement, weeping and shouting. One man sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, 'Me never forget God and King William.' This same man was so full that he went out of the chapel, and burst into loud weeping.

The preaching of the missionaries, during their stay in Antigua, was full of allusions to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and especially to the entire emancipation in Antigua. Indeed, we rarely attended a meeting in Antigua, of any kind, in which the late emancipation was not in some way alluded to with feelings of gratitude and exultation. In the ordinary services of the Sabbath, this subject was almost uniformly intro-

* It is a fact well known in Antigua and Barbadoes, that this colored missionary has been instrumental in the conversion of several clergymen of the Episcopal Church in those islands, who are now eminently devoted men.

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duced, either in the prayer or sermon. Whenever thanksgiving was rendered to God for favors, *freedom* was among the number.

The meeting of the district afforded an opportunity for holding a number of anniversary meetings. We notice them here, believing that they will present the most accurate view that can be given of the religious and moral condition of Antigua.

On the evening of the 1st of February, the first anniversary of the Antigua Temperance Society was held in the Wesleyan chapel. We had been invited to attend and take a part in the exercises. The chapel was crowded with a congregation of all grades and complexions. Colored and white gentlemen appeared together on the platform. We intimated to a member of the committee, that we could not conscientiously speak without advocating *total abstinence*, which doctrine, we concluded from the nature of the pledge, (which only included ardent spirits,) would not be well received. We were assured that we might use the most perfect freedom in avowing our sentiments.

The speakers on this occasion were two planters, a Wesleyan missionary, and ourselves. All advocated the doctrine of total abstinence. The first speaker, a planter, concluded by saying, that it was commonly believed that wine and malt were rendered absolutely indispensable in the West Indies, by the exhausting nature of the climate. But facts disprove the truth of this notion. "I am happy to say that I can now present this large assembly with ocular demonstration of the fallacy of the popular opinion. I need only point you to the worthy occupants of this platform. Who are the healthiest among them? *The cold water drinkers—the teetotallers!* We can assure you that we have not lost a pound of flesh, by abandoning our cups. We have tried the cold water experiment faithfully, and we can testify that since we became cold water men, *we work better, we eat better, we sleep better, and we do every thing better, than before.*" The next speaker, a planter also, dwelt on the inconsistency of using wine and malt, and at the same time calling upon the poor to give up ardent spirits. He said this inconsistency had been cast in his teeth by his negroes. He never could prevail upon them to stop drinking rum, until he threw away his wine

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and porter. Now he and all his people were teetotallists. There were two other planters who had taken the same course. He stated, as the result of a careful calculation which he had made, that he and the two planters referred to, had been in the habit of giving to their people not less than *one thousand gallons of rum annually.* The whole of this was now withheld, and molasses and sugar were given instead. The missionary who followed them was not a whit behind in boldness and zeal, and between them, they left us little to say in our turn on the subject of total abstinence.

On the following evening the anniversary of the Bible Society was held in the Moravian school-room. During the day we received a note from the Secretary of the Society, politely requesting us to be present. The spacious school-room was filled, and the broad platform crowded with church clergymen, Moravian ministers, and Wesleyan missionaries, colored and white. The Secretary, a Moravian minister, read the twenty-first annual report. It spoke emphatically of 'the joyful event of emancipation,' and in allusion to an individual in England, of whom it spoke in terms of high commendation, it designated him, as one "who was distinguished for his efforts in the abolition of slavery." The adoption of the report was moved by one of the Wesleyan missionaries, who spoke at some length. He commenced by speaking of "the peculiar emotions with which he always arose to address an assembly of the free people of Antigua. It had been his lot for a year past to labor in a colony* where slavery still reigned, and he could not but thank God for the happiness of setting his foot once more on the free soil of an emancipated island."

Perhaps the most interesting meeting in the series, was the anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of Antigua. Both parts of the day were devoted to this anniversary. The meetings were held in the Wesleyan chapel, which was filled above and below, with the usual commixture of white, colored, and black. We saw, as on former occasions, several colored gentlemen seated among the ministers. After the usual intro-

* St Martin's.

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ductory exercises of singing and prayer, the annual report was read by the Secretary, Rev. E. Fraser, the colored minister already mentioned. It was terse, direct, and business-like. The meeting was then addressed by a Moravian missionary. He dwelt upon the decrease of the sectarian spirit, and hailed the coming of Christian charity and brotherly communion. He opened his Bible, and read about the middle wall of partition being broken down. This is what we must have, said he ; the partition wall between Christians must be broken down. "Yes, brother," said Mr. Horne, "and every other wall." "The rest are but paper walls," responded the speaker, "and when once the middle wall is removed, these will soon be burned up by the fire of Christian love."

The next speaker was a Wesleyan missionary of Nevis. He spoke of the various instrumentalities which were now employed for the conversion of the world. "We welcome," said he, "the co-operation of America, and with all our hearts do we rejoice that she is now beginning to put away from her that vile system of oppression which has hitherto crippled her moral energy and her religious enterprise." Then turning and addressing himself to us, he said, "We hail you, dear brethren, as co-workers with us. Go forward in your blessed undertaking. Be not dismayed with the huge dimensions of that vice which you are laboring to overthrow ! Be not disheartened by the violence and menaces of your enemies ! Go forward. Proclaim to the church and to your countrymen the sinfulness of slavery, and be assured that soon the fire of truth will melt down the massy chains of oppression." He then urged upon the people of Antigua *their* peculiar obligations to extend the gospel to other lands. It was the *Bible* that made them free, and he begged them to bear in mind that there were millions of their countrymen *still in the chains of slavery*. This appeal was received with great enthusiasm.

We then spoke on a resolution which had been handed us by the Secretary, and which affirmed "that the increasing and acknowledged usefulness of Christian missions was a subject of congratulation." We spoke of the increase of missionary operations in our own country, and of the spirit of self-denial which

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was widely spreading, particularly among young Christians. We spoke of that accursed thing in our midst, which not only tended greatly to kill the spirit of missions in the church, but which directly withheld *many* young men from foreign missionary fields. It had made more than two millions of heathen in our country; and so long as the cries of these *heathen at home* entered the ears of our young men and young women, they could not, dare not, go abroad. How could they go to Ceylon, to Burmah, or to Hindostan, with the cry of their *country's heathen* ringing in their ears! How could they tear themselves away from famished millions kneeling at their feet in chains and begging for the bread of life, and roam afar to China or the South Sea Islands! Increasing numbers filled with a missionary spirit felt that their obligations were at home, and they were resolved that if they could not carry the gospel *forthwith* to the slaves, they would labor for the overthrow of that system which made it a crime punishable with death to preach salvation to the poor. In conclusion, the hope was expressed that the people of Antigua—so highly favored with freedom, education, and religion, would never forget that in the nation whence we came, there were *two millions and a half of heathen*, who, instead of bread, received stones and scorpions; instead of the Bible, bolts and bars; instead of the gospel, chains and scourgings; instead of the hope of salvation, thick darkness and despair. They were entreated to remember that in the gloomy dungeon from which they had lately escaped, there were deeper and more dismal cells, *yet filled* with millions of their countrymen. The state of feeling produced by this reference to slavery, was such as might be anticipated in an audience, a portion of which were once slaves, and still remembered freshly the horrors of their late condition.

The meeting was concluded after a sitting of more than four hours. The attendance in the evening was larger than on any former occasion. Many were unable to get within the chapel. We were again favored with an opportunity of urging a variety of considerations touching the general cause, as well as those drawn from the condition of our own country, and the special objects of our mission.

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The Rev. Mr. Horne spoke very pointedly on the subject of slavery. He began by saying that he had been *so long accustomed* to speak cautiously about slavery, that he was even now almost afraid of his own voice when he alluded to it. [General laughter.] But he would remember that he was in a *free island*, and that he spoke to *freemen*, and therefore he had nothing to fear.

He said the peace and prosperity of these colonies is a matter of great moment in itself considered, but it was only when viewed as an example to the rest of the slaveholding world that its real magnitude and importance was perceived. The influence of abolition, and especially of entire emancipation in Antigua, must be very great. The eyes of the world were fixed upon her. The great nation of America must now soon *toll the knell* of slavery, and this event will be hastened by the happy operation of freedom here.

Mr. H. proceeded to say, that during the agitation of the slavery question at home, he had been suspected of not being a friend to emancipation; and it would probably be remembered by some present that his name appeared in the report of the committee of the House of Commons, where it stood in *no enviable society*. But whatever might be thought of his course at that time, he felt assured that the day was not far distant when he should be able to clear up every thing connected with it. It was not a little gratifying to us to see that the time had come in the West Indies, when the suspicion of having been opposed to emancipation is a stain upon the memory from which a public man is glad to vindicate himself.

RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING.

After a few other addresses were delivered, and just previous to the dismission of the assembly, Rev. Mr. Cox, Chairman of the District, arose and said, that as this was the last of the anniversary meetings, he begged to move a resolution which he had no doubt would meet with the hearty and unanimous approval of that large assembly. He then read the following resolu-

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tion, which we insert here as an illustration of the universal sympathy in the objects of our mission. As the resolution is not easily divisible, we insert the whole of it, making no ado on the score of the modesty.

"Resolved, that this meeting is deeply impressed with the importance of the services rendered this day to the cause of missions by the acceptable addresses of Mr.——, from America, and begs especially to express to him and his friend Mr.——, the assurance of their sincere sympathy in the object of their visit to Antigua."

Mr. C. said he would make no remarks in support of the resolution he had just read, for he did not deem them necessary. He would therefore propose at once that the vote be taken by rising. The Chairman read the resolution accordingly, and requested those who were in favor of adopting it, to rise. Not an individual in the crowded congregation kept his seat. The masters and the slaves of yesterday—all rose together—a phalanx of freemen, to testify "their sincere sympathy" in the efforts and objects of American abolitionists.

After the congregation had resumed their seats, the worthy Chairman addressed us briefly in behalf of the congregation, saying, that it was incumbent on him to convey to us the unanimous expression of sympathy on the part of this numerous assembly in the object of our visit to the island. We might regard it as an unfeigned assurance that we were welcomed among them, and that the cause which we were laboring to promote was dear to the hearts of the people of Antigua.

This was the testimonial of an assembly, many of whom, only three years before, were themselves slaveholders. It was not given at a meeting specially concerted and called for the purpose, but grew up unexpectedly and spontaneously out of the feelings of the occasion, a free will offering, the cheerful impulsive gush of *free* sympathies. We returned our acknowledgements in the best manner that our excited emotions permitted.

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LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF A WESLEYAN CHAPEL.

The corner stone of a new Wesleyan Chapel was laid in St. John's during the district meeting. The concourse of spectators was immense. At eleven o'clock religious exercises were held in the old chapel. At the close of the service a procession was formed composed of Wesleyan missionaries, Moravian ministers, clergymen of the church, members of the council and of the assembly, planters, merchants, and other gentlemen, and the children of the Sunday and infant schools, connected with the Wesleyan Chapel.

As the procession moved to the new site, a hymn was sung, in which the whole procession united. Our position in the procession, to which we were assigned by the marshal, and much to our satisfaction, was at either side of two colored gentlemen with whom we walked four abreast.

On one side of the foundation a gallery had been raised, which was covered with an awning, and was occupied by a dense mass of white and colored ladies. On another side the gentlemen of the procession stood. The other sides were thronged with a promiscuous multitude of all colors. After singing and prayer, the Hon. Nicholas Nugent, speaker of the house of assembly, descended from the platform by a flight of stairs into the cellar, escorted by two missionaries. The sealed phial was then placed in his hand, and Mr. P., a Wesleyan missionary, read from a paper the inscription written on the parchment within the phial. The closing words of the inscription alluded to the present condition of the island, thus: "The demand for a new and larger place of worship was pressing, and the progress of public liberality advancing on a scale highly creditable to this FREE, enlightened, and evangelized colony." The Speaker then placed the phial in the cavity of the rock. When it was properly secured, and the corner stone lowered down by pullies to its place, he struck three blows upon it with a mallet, and then returned to the platform. The most eager curiosity was exhibited on every side to witness the ceremony.

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At the conclusion of it, several addresses were delivered. The speakers were, Rev. Messrs. Horne and Harvey, and D. B. Garling, Esq. Mr. Horne, after enumerating several things which were deserving of praise, and worthy of imitation, exclaimed, "The grand crowning glory of all—that which places Antigua above all her sister colonies—was the magnanimous measure of the legislature in entirely abolishing slavery." It was estimated that there were more than two thousand persons assembled on this occasion. The *order* which prevailed among such a concourse was highly creditable to the island. It was pleasing to see the perfect intermixture of colors and conditions; not less so to observe the kindly bearing of the high toward the low.* After the exercises were finished, the numerous assembly dispersed quietly. Not an instance of drunkenness, quarrelling, or anger, fell under our notice during the day.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Towards the close of the district meeting, we received a kind note from the chairman, inviting us to attend the meeting, and receive in person, a set of resolutions which had been drawn up at our request, and signed by all the missionaries. At the hour appointed, we repaired to the chapel. The missionaries all arose as we entered, and gave us a brotherly salutation. We were invited to take our seats at the right hand of the chairman. He then, in the presence of the meeting, read to us the subjoined resolutions; we briefly expressed, in behalf of ourselves and our cause, the high sense we had of the value of the testimony, which the meeting had been pleased to give us. The venerable father Horne then prayed with us, commending our cause to the blessing of the Head of the church, and ourselves to the protection and guidance of our heavenly Father. After which we shook hands with the brethren, severally, receiving their warmest assurances of affectionate regard, and withdrew.

* During Mr. Horne's address, we observed Mr. A., a planter, send his umbrella to a negro man who stood at the corner-stone, exposed to the sun.

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"*Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries of the Antigua District, assembled at St. John's, Antigua, February 7th*, 1837.

1. That the emancipation of the slaves of the West Indies, while it was an act of undoubted justice to that oppressed people, has operated most favorably in furthering the triumph of the gospel, by removing one prolific source of unmerited suspicion of religious teachers, and thus opening a door to their more extensive labors and usefulness—by furnishing a greater portion of time for the service of the negro, and thus preventing the continuance of unavoidable Sabbath desecrations, in labor and neglect of the means of grace—and in its operation as a stimulus to proprietors and other influential gentlemen, to encourage religious education, and the wide dissemination of the Scriptures, as an incentive to industry and good order.

2. That while the above statements are true with reference to all the islands, even where the system of apprenticeship prevails, they are especially applicable to Antigua, where the results of the great measure, of entire freedom, so humanely and judiciously granted by the legislature, cannot be contemplated without the most devout thanksgivings to Almighty God.

3. That we regard with much gratification, the great diminution among all classes in these islands, of the most unchristian prejudice of color, the total absence of it in the government and ordinances of the churches of God, with which we are connected, and the prospect of its complete removal, by the abolition of slavery, by the increased diffusion of general knowledge, and of that religion which teaches to "honor *all* men," and to love our neighbor as ourselves.

4. That we cannot but contemplate with much humiliation and distress, the existence, among professing Christians in America, of this partial, unseemly, and unchristian system of *caste*, so distinctly prohibited in the word of God, and so utterly irreconcileable with Christian charity.

5. That regarding slavery as a most unjustifiable infringement of the rational and inalienable rights of men, and in its moral consequences, (from our own personal observation as well as other sources,) as one of the greatest curses with which the

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great Governor of the nations ever suffered this world to be blighted; we cannot but deeply regret the connection which so intimately exists between the various churches of Christ in the United States of America, and this unchristian system. With much sorrow do we learn that the *principle* of the lawfulness of slavery has been defended by some who are ministers of Christ, that so large a proportion of that body in America are exerting their influence in favor of the continuance of so indefensible and monstrous a system—and that these emotions of sorrow are especially occasioned with reference to our own denomination.

6. That while we should deprecate and condemn any recourse on the part of the slaves to measures of rebellion, as an unjustifiable mode of obtaining their freedom, we would most solemnly, and affectionately, and imploringly adjure our respected fathers and brethren in America, to endeavor, in every legitimate way, to wipe away this reproach from their body, and thus act in perfect accordance with the deliberate and recorded sentiments of our venerated founder on this subject, and in harmony with the feelings and proceedings of their brethren in the United Kingdom, who have had the honor to take a distinguished part in awakening such a determined and resistless public feeling in that country, as issued in the abolition of slavery among 800,000 of our fellow-subjects.

7. That we hail with the most lively satisfaction the progress in America of anti-slavery principles, the multiplication of anti-slavery societies, and the diffusion of correct views on this subject. We offer to the noble band of truly patriotic, and enlightened, and philanthropic men, who are combating in that country with such a fearful evil, the assurance of our most cordial and fraternal sympathy, and our earnest prayers for their complete success. We view with pity and sorrow the vile calumnies with which they have been assailed. We welcome with Christian joyfulness, in the success which has already attended their efforts, the dawn of a cloudless day of light and glory, which shall presently shine upon that vast continent, when the song of universal freedom shall sound in its length and breadth.

8. That these sentiments have been increased and confirmed by the intercourse which some of our body have enjoyed with

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our beloved brethren, the Rev. James A. Thome, and Joseph Horace Kimball, Esq., the deputation to these islands, from the Anti-Slavery Society in America. We regard this appointment, and the nomination of such men to fulfil it, as most judicious. We trust we can appreciate the spirit of entire devotedness to this cause, which animates our respected brethren, and breathes throughout their whole deportment, and rejoice in such a manifestation of the fruits of that divine charity, which flow from the constraining love of Christ,and which many waters cannot quench.

9. That the assurance of the affectionate sympathy of the twenty-five brethren who compose this district meeting, and our devout wishes for their success in the objects of their mission, are hereby presented, in our collective and individual capacity, to our endeared and Christian friends from America.

(Signed) JAMES COX, chairman of the district, and resident in Antigua.

Jonathan Cadman, St. Martin's. James Horne, St. Kitts. Matthew Banks, St. Bartholomew's. E. Frazer, Antigua. Charles Bates, do. John Keightley, do. Jesse Pilcher, do. Benjamin Tregaskiss, do. Thomas Edwards, St. Kitts. Robert Hawkins, Tortola. Thomas Pearson, Nevis. George Craft, do. W. S. Waymouth, St. Kitts. John Hodge, Tortola. William Satchel, Dominica. John Cullingford, Dominica. J. Cameron, Nevis. B. Gartside, St. Kitts. John Parker, do. Hilton Cheeseborough, do. Thomas Jeffery, do. William Rigglesworth, Tortola. Daniel Stepney, Nevis. James Walton, Montserrat.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL RESULTS.

HAVING given a general outline of our sojourn in Antigua, we proceed to a more minute account of the results of our investigations. We arrange the testimony in two general divisions, placing that which relates to the past and present condition of the colony in one, and that which bears directly upon the question of slavery in America in another.

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RELIGION.

There are three denominations of Christians in Antigua—the Established Church, the Moravians, and Wesleyans. The Moravians number fifteen thousand—almost exclusively negroes. The Wesleyans embrace three thousand members, and about as many more attendants. Of the three thousand members, says a Wesleyan missionary, "not fifty are whites—a larger number are colored; but the greater part black." "The attendance of the negro population at the churches and chapels," (of the established order) says the Rector of St. John's, "amounts to four thousand six hundred and thirty-six." The whole number of blacks receiving religious instruction from these Christian bodies, making allowance for the proportion of white and colored included in the three thousand Wesleyans, is about twenty-two thousand—leaving a population of eight thousand negroes in Antigua who are unsupplied with religious instruction.

The Established Church has six parish churches, as many "chapels of ease," and nine clergymen. The Moravians have five settlements and thirteen missionaries. The Wesleyans have seven chapels, with as many more small preaching places on estates, and twelve ministers—half of whom are itinerant missionaries, and the other half local preachers, employed as planters, or in mercantile and other pursuits, and preaching only occasionally. From the limited number of chapels and missionaries, it may be inferred that only a portion of the twenty-two thousand can enjoy stated weekly instruction. The superintendent of the Moravian mission stated that their chapels could not accommodate more than one-third of their members.

Each of the denominations complains of the lack of men and houses. The Wesleyans are now building a large chapel in St. John's. It will accommodate two thousand persons. "Besides free sittings, there will be nearly two hundred pews, every one of which is now in demand."

However much disposed the churches of different denominations might have been during slavery to maintain a strict discipline, they found it exceedingly difficult to do so. It seems im-

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possible to elevate a body of slaves, *remaining such*, to honesty and purity. The reekings of slavery will almost inevitably taint the institutions of religion, and degrade the standard of piety. Accordingly, the ministers of every denomination in Antigua feel that in the abolition of slavery their greatest enemy has been vanquished, and they now evince a determination to assume higher ground than they ever aspired to during the reign of slavery. The motto of all creeds is, "*We expect great things of freemen.*" A report which we obtained from the Wesleyan brethren states, "Our own brethren preach almost daily." "We think the negroes are uncommonly punctual and regular in their attendance upon divine worship, particularly on the Sabbath." "They always show a readiness to contribute to the support of the gospel. With the present low wages, and the entire charge of self-maintenance, they have little to spare. Parham and Sion Hill (taken as specimens) have societies almost entirely composed of rural blacks—about thirteen hundred and fifty in number. These have contributed this year above £330 sterling, or sixteen hundred and fifty dollars, in little weekly subscriptions—besides giving to special objects occasionally, and contributing for the support of schools.*

In a letter dated December 2d, 1834, but four months after emancipation, and addressed to the missionary board in England, the Rev. B. Harvey thus speaks of the Moravian missions: "With respect to our people, I believe I may say that in all our places here, they attend the meetings of the church more numerously than ever, and that many are now in frequent attendance who *could very seldom appear amongst us during slavery.*" The same statements substantially were made to us by Mr. H., showing that instead of any falling off, the attendance was still on the increase.

In a statement drawn up at our request by the Rector of St. John's, is the following: "Cases of discipline are more frequent than is usual in English congregations, but at the same time it

* The superintendent of the Wesleyan mission informed us that the collection in the several Wesleyan chapels last year, independent of occasional contributions to Sunday schools, Missionary objects, &c., amounted to £850 sterling, or more than $4000;

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should be observed, that a *closer oversight* is maintained by the ministers, and a *greater readiness to submit themselves* (to discipline) is manifested by the late slaves here than by those who have always been a free people." "I am able to speak very favorably of the attendance at church—it is regular and crowded." "The negroes on some estates have been known to contribute willingly to the Bible Society, since 1832. They are now beginning to pay a penny and a half currency per week for their children's instruction.

MORALITY.

The condition of Antigua, but a very few years previous to emancipation, is represented to have been truly revolting. It has already been stated that the Sabbath was the market-day up to 1832, and this is evidence enough that the Lord's day was utterly desecrated by the mass of the population. Now there are few parts of our own country, equal in population, which can vie with Antigua in the solemn and respectful observance of the Sabbath. Christians in St. John's spoke with joy and gratitude of the tranquillity of the Sabbath. They had long been shocked with its open and abounding profanation—until they had well nigh forgot the aspect of a Christian Sabbath. At length the full-orbed blessing beamed upon them, and they rejoiced in its brightness, and thanked God for its holy repose.

All persons of all professions testify to the fact that *marriages* are rapidly increasing. In truth, there was scarcely such a thing as marriage before the abolition of slavery. Promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was almost universal. In a report of the Antigua Branch Association of the Society for advancing the Christian Faith in the British West Indies, (for 1836,) the following statements are made:

"The number of marriages in the six parishes of the island, in the year 1835, the first entire year of freedom, was 476—all of which, excepting about 50, were between persons formerly slaves. The total number of marriages between slaves solemnized in the church during the nine years ending December 31, 1832, was 157; in 1833, the last entire year of slavery, it was 61."

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Thus it appears that the whole number of marriages during *ten years* previous to emancipation (by far the most favorable ten years that could have been selected) was but half as great as the number for a single year following emancipation!

The Governor, in one of our earliest interviews with him, said, "the great crime of this island, as indeed of all the West India colonies, has been licentiousness, but we are certainly fast improving in this particular." An aged Christian, who has spent many years in the island, and is now actively engaged in superintending several day-schools for the negro children, informed us that there was not one-third as much concubinage as formerly. This he said was owing mainly to the greater frequency of marriages, and the cessation of late night work on the estates, and in the boiling-houses, by which the females were constantly exposed during slavery. Now they may all be in their houses by dark. Formerly the mothers were the betrayers of their daughters, encouraging them to form unhallowed connections, and even *selling* them to licentious white and colored men, for their own gain. Now they were using great strictness to preserve the chastity of their daughters.

A worthy planter, who has been in the island since 1800, stated that it used to be a common practice for mothers to *sell their daughters* to the highest bidder!—generally a manager or overseer. But now," said he, "the mothers *hold their daughters up for marriage*, and take pains to let every body know that their virtue is not to be bought and sold any longer." He also stated that those who live unmarried now are uniformly neglected and suffer great deprivations. Faithfulness after marriage exists also to a greater extent than could have been expected from the utter looseness to which they had been previously accustomed, and with their ignorance of the nature and obligations of the marriage relation. We were informed both by the missionaries and the planters, that every year and month they are becoming more constant, as husband and wife, more faithful as parents, and more dutiful as children. One planter said, that out of a number who left his employ after 1834, nearly all had companions on other estates, and left for the purpose of being

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with them. He was also of the opinion that the greater proportion of changes of residence among the emancipated which took place at that time, were owing to the same cause.* In an address before the Friendly Society in St. John's, the Archdeacon stated that during the previous year (1835) several individuals had been expelled from that Society for domestic unfaithfulness; but he was happy to say that he had not heard of a single instance of expulsion for this cause during the year then ended. Much inconvenience is felt on account of the Moravian and Wesleyan missionaries being prohibited from performing the marriage service, even for their own people. Efforts are now making to obtain the repeal of the law which makes marriages performed by sectarians (as all save the established church are called) void.

That form of licentiousness which appears among the higher classes in every slaveholding country, abounded in Antigua during the reign of slavery. It has yielded its redundant fruits in a population of four thousand colored people—double the number of whites. The planters, with but few exceptions, were unmarried and licentious. Nor was this vice confined to the unmarried. Men with large families, kept one or more mistresses without any effort at concealment. We were told of an "Honorable" gentleman, who had his English wife and two concubines, a colored and a black one. The governor himself stated as an apology for the prevalence of licentiousness among the slaves, that the example was set them constantly by their masters, and it was not to be wondered at if they copied after their superiors. But it is now plain that concubinage among the whites is nearly at an end. An unguarded statement of a public man revealed the conviction which exists among his class that concubinage must soon cease. He said that the present race of

* What a resurrection to domestic life was that, when long-severed families flocked from the four corners of the island to meet their kindred members! And what a glorious resurrection will that be in our own country, when the millions of emancipated beings scattered over the west and south, shall seek the embraces of parental, and fraternal, and conjugal love!

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colored people could not be received into the society of the whites, *because of illegitimacy;* but the next generation would be fit associates for the whites, *because they would be chiefly born in wedlock.*

The uniform testimony respecting intemperance was, that it *never had been one of the vices of the negroes.* Several planters declared that they had rarely seen a black person intoxicated. The report of the Wesleyan missionaries already referred to, says, "Intemperance is most uncommon among the rural negroes. Many have joined the Temperance Society, and many act on tee-total principles." The only colored person, (either black or brown) whom we saw drunk during a residence of nine weeks in Antigua, was a carpenter in St. John's, who as he reeled by, stared in our faces and mumbled out his sentence of condemnation against wine-bibbers, "Gemmen—you sees I'se a little bit drunk, but 'pon honor I only took th—th–ree bottles of wine—that's all." It was "Christmas times," and doubtless the poor man thought he would venture for once in the year to copy the example of the whites.

In conclusion, on the subject of morals in Antigua, we are warranted in stating, 1st, That during the continuance of slavery, immoralities were rife.

2d. That the repeated efforts of the home Government and the local Legislature, for several successive years previous to 1834, to *ameliorate* the system of slavery, seconded by the labors of clergymen and missionaries, teachers and catechists, to improve the character of the slaves, failed to arrest the current of vice and profligacy. What few reformations were effected were very *partial*, leaving the more enormous immoralities as shameless and defiant as ever, up to the very day of abolition; demonstrating the utter impotence of all attempts to purify the *streams* while the *fountain* is poison.

3d. That the abolition of slavery gave the death blow to open vice, overgrown and emboldened as it had become. Immediate emancipation, instead of lifting the flood-gates, was the only power strong enough to shut them down! It restored the proper restraints upon vice, and supplied the incentives to virtue. Those great controllers of moral action, *self-respect*, *attachment*

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to law, and veneration for God, which slavery annihilated, *freedom has resuscitated*, and now they stand round about the emancipated with flaming swords deterring from evil, and with cheering voices exhorting to good. It is explicitly affirmed that the grosser forms of immorality, which in every country attend upon slavery, have in Antigua either shrunk into concealment or become extinct.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

We insert here a brief account of the benevolent institutions of Antigua. Our design in giving it is to show the effect of freedom in bringing into play those charities of social life, which slavery uniformly stifles. Antigua abounds in benevolent societies, all of which have been *materially revived* since emancipation, and some of them have been formed since that event.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

This is the oldest society in the island. It was organized in 1815. All denominations in the island cordially unite in this cause. The principal design of this society is to promote the circulation of the Scriptures among the laboring population of the island. To secure this object, numerous branch associations —amounting to nearly fifty—have been organized throughout the island *among the negroes themselves*. The society has been enabled not only to circulate the Scriptures among the people of Antigua, but to send them extensively to the neighboring islands.

The following table, drawn up at our request by the Secretary of the Society, will show the extent of foreign operations:

Years.	Colonies Supplied.	Bibles.	Test's.
1822	Anguilla	94	156
23	Demerara	18	18
24	Dominica	89	204
25	Montserrat	57	149
27	Nevis	79	117

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32	Saba	6	12
33	St. Bart's	111	65
34	St. Eustatius	97	148
35	St. Kitt's	227	487
	St. Martin's	48	37
36	Tortola	69	136
To 1837	Trinidad	25	67
	Total	920	1596

From the last annual report we quote the following cheering account, touching the events of 1834:

"The next event of importance in our annals is the magnificent grant of the parent society, on occasion of the emancipation of the slave, and the perpetual banishment of slavery from the shores of Antigua, on the first of August, 1834; by which a choice portion of the Holy Scriptures was gratuitously circulated to about one third of the inhabitants of this colony. Nine thousand seven hundred copies of the New Testament, bound together with the book of Psalms, were thus placed at the disposal of your committee."

* * * "Following hard upon this joyful event, another gratifying circumstance occurred among us. The attention of the people was roused, and their gratitude excited towards the Bible Society, and they who had freely received, now freely gave, and thus a considerable sum of money was presented to the parent society in acknowledgment of its beneficent grant."

We here add an extract from the annual report for 1826. Its sentiments contrast strongly with the congratulations of the last report upon 'the joyful event' of emancipation.

"Another question of considerable delicacy and importance still remains to be discussed. Is it advisable, under all the circumstances of the case, to circulate the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, among the slave population of these islands? Your Committee can feel no hesitation in affirming that such a measure is not merely expedient, but one of almost indispensable necessity. The Sacred Volume is in many respects peculiarly adapted to the slave. It enjoins upon him precepts so

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plain, that the most ignorant cannot fail to understand them: 'Slaves, obey in all things your masters, not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.' It furnishes him with motives the most impressive and consoling: 'Ye serve,' says the Apostle, 'the Lord Christ.' It promises him rewards sufficient to stimulate the most indolent to exertion: 'Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.' And it holds forth to him an example so glorious, that it would ennoble even angels to imitate it: 'Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a *slave!*'

It may here be proper to observe, that the precise import of the word, which in general throughout the English Bible is translated *servant* is strictly that which has been assigned it in the foregoing quotations; (!) and so understood, the Sacred Volume will be found to hold out to our slaves, both by precept and example, the most persuasive and the most compelling motives to industry, obedience, and submission."

Nothing could more plainly show the corrupting influences of slavery, upon all within its reach, than this spectacle of a noble, religious institution, prostituted to the vile work of defending oppression, and, in the zeal of its advocacy, blasphemously degrading the Savior into a self-made slave!

The receipts of the Antigua Branch Society have greatly increased since emancipation. From receipts for the year 1836, in each of the British islands, it appears that the contributions from Antigua and Bermuda, the only two islands which adopted entire emancipation, are about *double* those from any other two islands.

MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS.

These associations are connected with the Wesleyan mission, and have been in existence since 1820. Their object is to raise funds for the parent society in England. Although it has been in existence for several years, yet it was mostly confined to the whites and free people of color, during slavery. The calling

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together assemblies of rural negroes, and addressing them on the subject of missions, and soliciting contributions in aid of the cause, is a new feature in the missionary operations to which nothing but freedom could give birth.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

The first temperance society in Antigua was formed at the beginning of 1836. We give an extract from the first annual report: "Temperance societies have been formed in each town, and on many of the estates. A large number of persons who once used spirituous liquors moderately, have entirely relinquished the use. Some who were once intemperate have been reclaimed, and in some instances an adoption of the principles of the temperance society, has been followed by the pursuit and enjoyment of vital religion. Domestic peace and quietness have superseded discord and strife, and a very general sense of astonishment at the gross delusion which these drinks have long produced on the human species is manifest.

"The numbers on the various books of the society amount to about 1700. One pleasing feature in their history, is the very small number of those who have violated their pledge.

"On several estates, the usual allowance of spirits has been discontinued, and sugar or molasses substituted."

The temperance society in Antigua may be specially regarded as a result of emancipation. It is one of the guardian angels which hastened to the island as soon as the demon of slavery was cast out.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

The friendly societies are designed exclusively for the benefit of the negro population. The general object is thus stated in the constitution of one of these societies: "The object of this society is to assist in the purchase of articles of mourning for the dead; to give relief in cases of unlooked for distress; to help those who through age or infirmities are incapable of helping themselves by marketing, or working their grounds; *to*

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encourage sobriety and industry, and to check disorderly and immoral conduct."

These societies obtain their funds by laying a tax of one shilling per month on every member above eighteen years of age, and of six pence per month on all members under that age and above twelve, which is the minimum of membership. The aged members are required to pay no more than the sum last mentioned.

The first society of this kind was established in St. John's by the present rector, in 1829. Subsequently the Moravians and Wesleyans formed similar societies among their own people. Independent of the pecuniary assistance which these societies bestow, they encourage in a variety of ways the good order of the community. For example, no one is allowed to receive assistance who is "disabled by drunkenness, debauchery, or disorderly living;" also, "if any member of the society, male or female, is guilty of adultery or fornication, the offending member shall be suspended for so long a time as the members shall see fit, and shall lose all claim on the society for any benefit during the suspension, and shall not be re-admitted until clear and satisfactory evidence is given of penitence." Furthermore, "If any member of the society shall be expelled from the church to which he or she belongs, or shall commit any offence punishable by a magistrate, that member forfeits his membership in the society." Again, the society directly encourages marriage, by "making a present of a young pig to every child born in wedlock, and according as their funds will admit of it, giving rewards to those married persons living faithfully, or single persons living virtuously, who take a pride in keeping their houses neat and tidy, and their gardens flourishing.

These societies have been more than doubled, both in the number of members and in the annual receipts, since emancipation.

Of the societies connected with the established church, the rector of St. John's thus speaks: "At the beginning of 1834 there were eleven societies, embracing 1602 members. At the beginning of 1835 they numbered 4197; and in 1836 there were 4560 members," *almost quadrupled in two years!*

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The societies connected with the Moravian church, have more than doubled, both in members and funds, since emancipation. The funds now amount to $10,000 per year.

The Wesleyans have four Friendly societies. The largest society, which contained six hundred and fifty members, was organized in the *month of August*, 1834. The last year it had expended £700 currency, and had then in its treasury £600 currency.

Now, be it remembered, that the Friendly societies exist solely among the freed negroes, *and that the monies are raised exclusively among them.* Among whom? A people who are said to be so proverbially improvident, that to emancipate them, would be to abandon them to beggary, nakedness, and starvation;—a people who "cannot take care of themselves;" who "will not work when freed from the fear of the lash;" who "would squander the earnings of the day in debaucheries at night;" who "would never provide for to-morrow for the wants of a family, or for the infirmities of old age." Yea, among *negroes* these things are done; and that, too, where the wages are but one shilling per day—less than sufficient, one would reasonably suppose, to provide daily food.

DAILY MEAL SOCIETY.

The main object of this society is denoted by its name. It supplies a daily meal to those who are otherwise unprovided for. A commodious house had just been completed in the suburbs of the town, capable of lodging a considerable number of beneficiaries. It is designed to shelter those who are diseased, and cannot walk to and fro for their meals. The number now fed at this house is from eighty to a hundred. The diseased, who live at the dispensary, are mostly those who are afflicted with the elephantiasis, by which they are rendered entirely helpless. Medical aid is supplied free of expense. It is worthy of remark, that there is no *public poor-house* in Antigua,—a proof of the industry and prosperity of the emancipated people.

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DISTRESSED FEMALES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

This is a society in St. John's: there is also a similar one, called the Female Refuge Society, at English Harbor. Both these societies were established and are conducted by colored ladies. They are designed to promote two objects: the support of destitute aged females of color, and the rescue of poor young colored females from vice. The necessity for special efforts for the first object, arose out of the fact, that the colored people were allowed no parochial aid whatever, though they were required to pay their parochial taxes; hence, the support of their own poor devolved upon themselves. The demand for vigorous action in behalf of the young, grew out of the prevailing licentiousness of slave-holding times.

The society in St. John's has been in existence since 1815. It has a large and commodious asylum, and an annual income, by subscriptions, of £350, currency. This society, and the Female Refuge Society established at English Harbor, have been instrumental in effecting a great reform in the morals of females, and particularly in exciting reprobation against that horrid traffic—the sale of girls by their mothers for purposes of lust. We were told of a number of cases in which the society in St. John's had rescued young females from impending ruin. Many members of the society itself, look to it as the guardian of their orphanage. Among other cases related to us, was that of a lovely girl of fifteen, who was bartered away to a planter by her mother, a dissolute woman. The planter was to give her a quantity of cloth to the value of £80 currency, and two young slaves; he was also to give the grandmother, for her interest in the girl, *one gallon of rum!* The night was appointed, and a gig in waiting to take away the victim, when a female friend was made acquainted with the plot, just in time to save the girl by removing her to her own house. The mother was infuriated, and endeavored to get her back, but the girl had occasionally attended a Sabbath school, where she imbibed principles which forbade her to yield even to her mother for such an unhallowed purpose. She was taken before a magistrate, and indentured herself to a milliner for two years. The mother made an at-

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tempt to regain her, and was assisted by some whites with money to commence a suit for that purpose. The lady who defended her was accordingly prosecuted, and the whole case became notorious. The prosecutors were foiled. At the close of her apprenticeship, the young lady was married to a highly respectable colored gentleman, now resident in St. John's. The notoriety which was given to the above case had a happy effect. It brought the society and its object more fully before the public, and the contributions for its support greatly increased. Those for whose benefit the asylum was opened, heard of it, and came begging to be received.

This society is a signal evidence that the colored people neither lack the ability to devise, nor the hearts to cherish, nor the zeal to execute plans of enlarged benevolence and mercy.

The Juvenile Association, too, of which we gave some account in describing its anniversary, originated with the colored people, and furnishes additional evidence of the talents and charities of that class of the community. Besides the societies already enumerated, there are two associations connected with the Established Church, called the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and the "Branch Association of the Society for Advancing the Christian Faith in the British West Indies, &c." These societies are also designed chiefly for the benefit of the negro population.

EDUCATION.

Our inquiries under this head were directed to three principal points—first, The extent to which education prevailed previous to emancipation; second, The improvements introduced since; and third, The comparative capacity of negroes for receiving instruction.

Being providentially in the island at the season of the year when all the schools have their annual examinations, we enjoyed the most favorable opportunities for procuring intelligence on the subject of education. From various quarters we received invitations to attend school examinations. We visited the schools at Parham, Willoughby Bay, Newfield, Cedar Hall,

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Grace Bay, Fitch's Creek, and others: besides visiting the parochial school, the rectory school, the Moravian and Wesleyan schools, in St. John's. All the schools, save those in St. John's, were almost exclusively composed of emancipated children from the estates.

VISIT TO THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

At the invitation of the Governor, we accompanied him to the annual examination of the parochial school, in St. John's, under the superintendence of the Episcopal church. It has increased greatly, both in scholars and efficiency, since emancipation, and contributions are made to its support by the parents whose children receive its benefits. We found one hundred and fifty children, of both sexes, assembled in the society's rooms. There was every color present, from the deepest hue of the Ethiopian, to the faintest shadowing of brown.

The boys constituting the first class, to the number of fifty, were called up. They read with much fluency and distinctness, equalling white boys of the same age anywhere. After reading, various questions were put to them by the Archdeacon, which they answered with promptness and accuracy. Words were promiscuously selected from the chapter they had read, and every one was promptly spelled. The catechism was the next exercise, and they manifested a thorough acquaintance with its contents.

Our attention was particularly called to the examination in arithmetic. Many of the children solved questions readily in the compound rules, and several of them in Practice, giving the different parts of the pound, shilling, and penny, used in that rule, and all the whys and wherefores of the thing, with great promptness. One lad, only ten years of age, whose attendance had been very irregular on account of having been employed in learning a trade, performed intricate examples in Practice with a facility worthy the counting-house desk. We put several inquiries on different parts of the process, in order to test their real knowledge, to which we always received clear answers.

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The girls were then examined in the same studies and exercises, except arithmetic, and displayed the same gratifying proficiency. They also presented specimens of needlework and strawbraiding, which the ladies, on whose better judgment we depend, pronounced very creditable. We noticed several girls much older than the others, who had made much less advance in their studies, and on inquiry learned, that they had been members of the school but a short time, having formerly been employed to wield the heavy hoe in the cane field. The parents are very desirous to give their children education, and make many sacrifices for that purpose. Many who were field-laborers in the country, receiving their shilling a day, have sent their children to reside with some relations or friends in town, for the purpose of giving them the benefits of this school. Several such children were pointed out to us. The increase of female scholars during the first year of emancipation, was in this school alone about eighty.

For our gratification, the Governor requested that all the children emancipated on the *first of August*, might be called up and placed on our side of the room. Nearly one hundred children, of both sexes, who two years ago were *slaves*, now stood up before us FREE. We noticed one little girl among the rest, about ten years old, who bore not the least tinge of color. Her hair was straight and light, and her face had that mingling of vermilion and white, which Americans seem to consider, not only the nonpareil standard of beauty, but the immaculate test of human rights. At her side was another with the deepest hue of the native African. There were high emotions on the countenances of those redeemed ones, when we spoke to them of emancipation. The undying principle of freedom living and burning in the soul of the most degraded slave, like lamps amid the darkness of eastern sepulchres, was kindling up brilliantly within them, young as they were, and flashing in smiles upon their ebon faces.

The Governor made a few remarks, in which he gave some good advice, and expressed himself highly pleased with the appearance and proficiency of the school.

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His excellency remarked to us in a tone of pleasantry, "You see, gentlemen, these children have *souls*."

During the progress of the examination, he said to us, "You perceive that it is our policy to give these children every chance to make *men* of themselves. We look upon them as our *future citizens*." He had no doubt that the rising generation would assume a position in society above the contempt or opposition of the whites.

INFANT SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTRY.

We had the pleasure of attending one of the infant schools in the vicinity of Parham, on the east side of the island. Having been invited by a planter, who kindly sent his horse and carriage for our conveyance, to call and take breakfast with him on our way, we drove out early in the morning.

While we were walking about the estate, our attention was arrested by distant singing. As we cast our eyes up a road crossing the estate, we discovered a party of children! They were about twenty in number, and were marching hand in hand to the music of their infant voices. They were children from a neighboring estate, on their way to the examination at Parham, and were singing the hymns which they had learned at school. All had their Testaments in their hands, and seemed right merry-hearted.

We were received at the gate of the chapel by the Wesleyan missionary located in this district, a highly respectable and intelligent colored man, who was, ten years since, a *slave*. He gave us a cordial welcome, and conducted us to the chapel, where we found the children, to the number of *four hundred*, assembled, and the examination already commenced. There were six schools present, representing about twenty estates, and arranged under their respective teachers. The ages of the pupils were from three to ten or twelve. They were all, with the exception of two or three, the children of emancipated slaves.

They came up by classes to the superintendent's desk, were they read and were examined. They read correctly; some of

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them too, who had been in school only a few months, in any portion of the New Testament selected for them. By request of the superintendent, we put several inquires to them, which they answered in a way which showed that they *thought*. They manifested an acquaintance with the Bible and the use of language which was truly surprising. It was delightful to see so many tiny beings stand around you, dressed in their tidy gowns and frocks, with their bright morning faces, and read with the self-composure of manhood, any passage chosen for them. They all, large and small, bore in their hands the charter of their freedom, the book by the influence of which they received all the privileges they were enjoying. On the cover of each was stamped in large capitals—"PRESENTED BY THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST, 1834."

At the close of the examination, the rewards, consisting of books, work-bags, &c. &c., chiefly sent by a society of females in England, were distributed. It was impossible to repress the effervescence of the little expectants. As a little one four years old came up for her reward, the superintendent said to her—"Well, little Becky, what do you want?" "Me wants a bag," said Becky, "and me wants a pin-cushion, and me wants a little book." Becky's desires were large, but being a good girl, she was gratified. Occasionally the girls were left to choose between a book and a work-bag, and although the bag might be gaudy and tempting, they invariably took the book.

The teachers were all but one blacks, and were formerly slaves. They are very devoted and faithful, but are ill-qualified for their duties, having obtained all the learning they possess in the Sabbath school. They are all pious, and exert a happy influence on the morals of their pupils.

The number of scholars has very greatly increased since emancipation, and their morals have essentially improved. Instances of falsehood and theft, which at first were fearfully frequent and bold, have much lessened. They begin to have a regard for *character*. Their sense of right and wrong is enlightened, and their power of resisting temptation, and adhering to right, manifestly increased.

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On the whole, we know not where we have looked on a more delightful scene. To stand in front of the pulpit and look around on a multitude of negro children, gathered from the sordid huts into which slavery had carried ignorance and misery, to see them coming up, with their teachers of the same proscribed hue, to hear them read the bible, answer with readiness the questions of their superintendent, and lift up together their songs of infant praise, and then to remember that two years ago these four hundred children were *slaves*, and still more to remember that in our own country, boasting its republicanism and Christian institutions, there are thousands of just such children under the yoke and scourge, in utter heathenism, the victims of tyrannic *law* or of more tyrannic public opinion—caused the heart to swell with emotions unutterable. There were as many intelligent countenances, and as much activity and sprightliness, as we ever saw among an equal number of children anywhere. The correctness of their reading, the pertinence of their replies, the general proofs of talent which they showed through all the exercises, evinced that they are none inferior to the children of their white oppressors.

After singing a hymn they all kneeled down, and the school closed with a prayer and benediction. They continued singing as they retired from the house, and long after they had parted on their different ways home, their voices swelled on the breeze at a distance as the little parties from the estates chanted on their way the songs of the school room.

WILLOUGHBY BAY EXAMINATION.

When we entered the school house at Willoughby Bay, which is capable of containing a thousand persons, a low murmur, like the notes of preparation, ran over the multitude. One school came in after we arrived, marching in regular file, with their teacher, a negro man, at their head, and their *standard bearer* following; next, a sable girl with a box of Testaments on her head. The whole number of children was three hundred and fifty. The male division was first called out, and marched several times around the room, singing and keeping a regular

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step. After several rounds, they came to a halt, filing off and forming into ranks four rows deep—in quarter-circle shape. The music still continuing, the girls sallied forth, went through the same evolutions, and finally formed in rows corresponding with those of the boys, so as to compose with the latter a semicircle.

The schools were successively examined in spelling, reading, writing, cyphering, &c., after the manner already detailed. In most respects they showed equal proficiency with the children of Parham; and in reading the Testament, their accuracy was even greater. In looking over the writing, several "incendiary" copies caught our eyes. One was, "*Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal.*" Another, "*If I neglect the cause of my servant, what shall I do when I appear before my Master?*" A few years ago, *had children been permitted to write at all*, one such copy as the above would have exploded the school, and perchance sent the teacher to jail for sedition. But now, thanks to God! the negro children of Antigua are taught liberty from their Bibles, from their song books, and from their *copy books* too; they read of liberty, they sing of it, and they *write* of it; they chant to liberty in their school rooms, and they resume the strains on their homeward way, till every rustling lime-grove, and waving cane-field, is alive with their notes, and every hillock and dell rings with "free" echoes.

The girls, in their turn, pressed around us with the liveliest eagerness to display their little pieces of needle-work. Some had samplers marked with letters and devices in vari-colored silk. Others showed specimens of stitching; while the little ones held up their rude attempts at hemming handkerchiefs, aprons, and so on.

During the exercises we spoke to several elderly women, who were present to witness the scene. They were laborers on the estates, but having children in the school, they had put on their Sunday dresses, and "come to see." We spoke to one of the privileges which the children were enjoying, since freedom. Her eyes filled, and she exclaimed, "Yes, massa, we do tank de good Lord for bring de free—never can be too tankful." She said she had seven children present, and it made her feel happy to know that they were learning to read. Another woman said,

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when she heard the children reading so finely, she wanted to "take de words out of da mouts and put em in her own." In the morning, when she first entered the school house, she felt quite sick, but all the pleasant things she saw and heard, had made her well, and she added, "I tell you, me massa, it do my old heart good to come here." Another aged woman, who had grand-children in the school, said, when she saw what advantages the children enjoyed, she almost cried to think she was not a chiid too. Besides these there were a number of adult men and women, whom curiosity or parental solicitude had brought together, and they were thronging about the windows and doors witnessing the various exercises with the deepest interest. Among the rest was one old patriarch, who, anxious to bear some part, however humble, in the exercises of the occasion, walked to and fro among the children, with a six feet pole in his hand, to keep order.

These schools, and those examined at Parham, are under the general supervision of Mr. Charles Thwaites, an indefatigable and long tried friend of the negroes.

We here insert a valuable communication which we received from Mr. T. in reply to several queries addressed to him. It will give further information relative to the schools.

Mr. Charles Thwaites' Replies to Queries on Education in Antigua.

1. What has been your business for some years past in Antigua?

A superintendent of schools, and catechist to the negroes.

2. How long have you been engaged in this business?

Twenty-four years. The first four years engaged gratuitously, ten years employed by the Church Missionary Society, and since by the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

3. How many schools have you under your charge?

Sunday schools, (including all belonging to the Wesleyan Missionary Society,) eight, with 1850 scholars; day schools, seventeen with 1250 scholars; night schools on twenty-six

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estates, 396 scholars. The total number of scholars under instruction is about 3500.

4. Are the scholars principally the children who were emancipated in August, 1834?

Yes, except the children in St. John's, most of whom were free before.

5. Are the teachers negroes, colored, or white?

One white, four colored, and sixteen black.*

6. How many of the teachers were slaves prior to the first of August, 1834?

Thirteen.

7. What were their opportunities for learning?

The Sunday and night schools; and they have much improved themselves since they have been in their present employment.

8. What are their qualifications for teaching, as to education, religion, zeal, perseverance, &c.?

The white and two of the colored teachers, I presume, are well calculated, in all respects, to carry on a school in the ablest manner. The others are deficient in education, but are zealous, and very persevering.

9. What are the wages of these teachers?

The teachers' pay is, some four, and some three dollars per month. This sum is far too small, and would be greater if the funds were sufficient.

10. How and by whom are the expenses of superintendent, teachers, and schools defrayed?

The superintendent's salary, &c., is paid by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The expenses of teachers and schools are defrayed by charitable societies and friends in England, particularly the Negro Education Society, which grants 50*l.* sterling per annum towards this object, and pays the rent of the Church Missionary Society's premises in Willoughby Bay for use of the schools. About 46*l.* sterling per annum is also raised from the children; each child taught writing and needle-work, pays 1 1-2d. sterling per week.

* This number includes only salaried teachers, and not the gratuitous.

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11. Is it your opinion that the negro children are as ready to receive instruction as white children?

Yes, perfectly so.

12. Do parents manifest interest in the education of their children?

They do. Some of the parents are, however, still very ignorant, and are not aware how much their children lose by irregular attendance at the schools.

13. Have there been many instances of *theft* among the scholars?

Not more than among any other class of children.

RESULTS.

Besides an attendance upon the various schools, we procured specific information from teachers, missionaries, planters, and others, with regard to the past and present state of education, and the weight of testimony was to the following effect:

First, That education was by no means extensive previous to emancipation. The testimony of one planter was, that not a *tenth part* of the present adult population knew the letters of the alphabet. Other planters, and some missionaries, thought the proportion might be somewhat larger; but all agreed that it was very small. The testimony of the venerable Mr. Newby, the oldest Moravian missionary in the island, was, that such was the opposition among the planters, it was impossible to teach the slaves, excepting by night, secretly. Mr. Thwaites informed us that the children were not allowed to attend day school after they were six years old. All the instruction they obtained after that age, was got at night—a very unsuitable time to study, for those who worked all day under an exhausting sun. It is manifest that the instruction received under six years of age, would soon be effaced by the incessant toil of subsequent life. The account given in a former connection of the adult school under the charge of Mr. Morrish, at Newfield, shows most clearly the past inattention to education. And yet Mr. M. stated that his school was a *fair specimen of the intelligence of the negroes generally.* One more evidence in point is

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the acknowledged ignorance of Mr. Thwaites' teachers. After searching through the whole freed population for a dozen suitable teachers of children, Mr. T. could not find even that number who could *read well*. Many children in the schools of six years old read better than their teachers.

We must not be understood to intimate that up to the period of the Emancipation, the planters utterly prohibited the education of their slaves. Public sentiment had undergone some change previous to that event. When the public opinion of England began to be awakened against slavery, the planters were induced, for peace sake, to *tolerate* education to some extent; though they cannot be said to have *encouraged* it until after Emancipation. This is the substance of the statements made to us. Hence it appears that when the active opposition of the planters to education ceased, it was succeeded by a general indifference, but little less discouraging. We of course speak of the planters as a body; there were some honorable exceptions.

Second, Education has become very extensive *since* emancipation. There are probably not less than *six thousand* children who now enjoy daily instruction. These are of all ages under twelve. All classes feel an interest in *knowledge*. While the schools previously established are flourishing in newness of life, additional ones are springing up in every quarter. Sabbath schools, adult and infant schools, day and evening schools, are all crowded. A teacher in a Sabbath school in St. John's informed us, that the increase in that school immediately after emancipation was so sudden and great, that he could compare it to nothing but the rising of the mercury, when the thermometer is removed *out of the shade into the sun*.

We learned that the Bible was the principal book taught in all the schools throughout the island. As soon as the children have learned to read, the Bible is put into their hands. They not only read it, but commit to memory portions of it every day;—the first lesson in the morning is an examination on some passage of scripture. We have never seen, even among Sabbath-school children, a better acquaintance with the

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characters and events recorded in the Old and New Testaments, than among the negro children in Antigua. Those passages which inculcate *obedience to law* are strongly enforced; and the prohibitions against stealing, lying, cheating, idleness, &c., are reiterated day and night.

Great attention is paid to *singing* in all the schools.

The songs which they usually sung, embraced such topics as love to God—the presence of God—obedience to parents—friendship for brothers and sisters and schoolmates—love of school—the sinfulness of sloth, of lying, and of stealing. We quote the following hymn as a specimen of the subjects which are introduced into their songs: often were we greeted with this sweet hymn, while visiting the different schools throughout the island.

BROTHERLY LOVE.

CHORUS.

We're all brothers, sisters, brothers,
We're sisters and brothers,
And heaven is our home.
We're all brothers, sisters, brothers,
We're sisters and brothers,
And heaven is our home.

The God of heaven is pleased to see
That little children all agree;
And will not slight the praise they bring,
When loving children join to sing:
We're all brothers, sisters, brothers, &c.

For love and kindness please him more
Than if we gave him all our store;
And children here, who dwell in love,
Are like his happy ones above.
We're all brothers, sisters, brothers, &c.

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The gentle child that tries to please,
That hates to quarrel, fret, and teaze,
And would not say an angry word—
That child is pleasing to the Lord.
We're all brothers, sisters, brothers, &c.

O God! forgive, whenever we
Forget thy will, and disagree;
And grant that each of us may find
The sweet delight of being kind.
We're all brothers, sisters, brothers, &c.

We were convinced that the negroes were as capable of receiving instruction as any people in the world. The testimony of teachers, missionaries, clergymen and planters, was uniform on this point.

Said one planter of age and long experience on the island,—"The negroes are as capable of culture as any people on earth. *Color makes no difference in minds.* It is slavery alone that has degraded the negro."

Another planter, by way of replying to our inquiry on this subject, sent for a negro child of five years, who read with great fluency in any part of the Testament to which we turned her. "Now," said the gentleman, "I should be ashamed to let you hear my own son, of the same age with that little girl, read after her." We put the following questions to the Wesleyan missionaries: "Are the negroes as *apt to learn* as other people in similar circumstances?" Their written reply was this: "We think they are; the same diversified qualities of intellect appear among them as among other people." We put the same question to the Moravian missionaries, to the clergymen, and to the teachers of each denomination, some of whom, having taught school in England, were well qualified to judge between the European children and the negro children; and we uniforml received substantially the same answer. Such, however, wa the air of surprise with which our question was often received, that it required some courage to repeat it. Sometimes it excited a smile, as though we could not be serious in the inquiry. And

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indeed we seldom got a direct and explicit answer, without previously stating by way of explanation, that we had no doubts of our own, but wished to remove those extensively entertained among our countrymen. After all, we were scarcely credited in Antigua. Such cases as the following were common in every schoool: children of four and five years old reading the Bible; children beginning in their A, B, C's, and learning to read in four months; children of five and six, answering a variety of questions on the historical parts of the Old Testament; children but a little older, displaying fine specimens of penmanship, performing sums in the compound rules, and running over the multiplication table, and the pound, shilling and pence table, without mistake.

We were grieved to find that most of the teachers employed in the instruction of the children, were exceedingly unfit for the work. They are very ignorant themselves, and have but little skill in the management of children. This however is a necessary evil. The emancipated negroes feel a great anxiety for the education of their children. They encourage them to go to school, and they labor to support them, while they have strong temptation to detain them at home to work. They also pay a small sum every week for the maintenance of the schools.

In conclusion, we would observe, that one of the prominent features of *regenerated* Antigua, is its *education*. An intelligent religion, and a religious education, are the twin glories of this emancipated colony. It is comment enough upon the difference between slavery and freedom, that the same agents which are deprecated as the destroyers of the one, are cherished as the defenders of the other.

Before entering upon a detail of the testimony which bears more directly upon slavery in America, we deem it proper to consider the inquiry,

"What is the amount of freedom in Antigua, as regulated by law?"

1st. The people are entirely free from the whip, and from all compulsory control of the master.

2d. They can change employers whenever they become dissatisfied with their situation by previously giving a month's notice.

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3d. They have the right of trial by jury in all cases of a serious nature, while for small offences, the magistrate's court is open. They may have legal redress for any wrong or violence inflicted by their employers.

4th. Parents have the entire control of their children. The planter cannot in any way interfere with them. The parents have the whole charge of their support.

5th. By an express provision of the legislature, it was made obligatory upon every planter to support all the superannuated, infirm, or diseased on the estate, *who were such at the time of emancipation.* Those who have become so since 1834, fall upon the hands of their relatives for maintenance.

6th. The amount of wages is not determined by law. By a general understanding among the planters, the rate is at present fixed at a shilling a day, or a little more than fifty cents per week, counting five working days. This matter is wisely left to be regulated by the character of the seasons, and the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. As the island is suffering rather from a paucity of laborers, than otherwise, labor must in good seasons command good wages. The present rate of wages is extremely low, though it is made barely tolerable by the additional perquisites which the people enjoy. They have their houses rent-free, and in connection with them small premises forty feet square, suitable for gardens, and for raising poultry, and pigs, &c., for which they always find a ready market. Moreover, they are burthened with no taxes whatever; and added to this, they are supplied with medical attendance at the expense of the estates.

7th. The master is authorized, in case of neglect of work, or turning out late in the morning, or entire absence from labor, to reduce the wages, or withhold them for a time not exceeding a week.

8th. The agricultural laborers may leave the field whenever they choose, (provided they give a month's previous notice) and engage in any other business; or they may purchase land and become cultivators themselves, though in either case they are of course liable to forfeit their houses on the estates.

9th. They may leave the island, if they choose, and seek their

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fortunes in any other part of the world, by making provision for their near relatives left behind. This privilege has been lately tested by the emigration of some of the negroes to Demerara. The authorities of the island became alarmed lest they should lose too many of the laboring population, and the question was under discussion, at the time we were in Antigua, whether it would not be lawful to prohibit the emigration. It was settled, however, that such a measure would be illegal, and the planters were left to the alternative of either being abandoned by their negroes, or of securing their continuance by adding to their comforts and treating them kindly.

10th. The right of suffrage and eligibility to office are subject to no restrictions, save the single one of property, which is the same with all colors. The property qualification, however, is so great, as effectually to exclude the whole agricultural negro population for many years.

11th. *The main constabulary force is composed of emancipated negroes, living on the estates.* One or two trust-worthy men on each estate are empowered with the authority of constables in relation to the people on the same estate, and much reliance is placed upon these men to preserve order and to bring offenders to trial.

12th. A body of police has been established, whose duty it is to arrest all disorderly or riotous persons, to repair to the estates in case of trouble, and co-operate with the constables in arraigning all persons charged with a violation of law.

13th. The punishment for slight offences, such as stealing sugar-canes from the field, is confinement in the house of correction, or being sentenced to the treadmill, for any period from three days to three months. The punishment for burglary and other high offences, is solitary confinement in chains, or transportation for life to Botany Bay.

Such are the main features in the statutes, regulating the freedom of the emancipated population of Antigua. It will be seen that there is no enactment which materially modifies, or unduly restrains, the liberty of the subject. There are no secret reservations or postscript provisoes, which nullify the boon of freedom, Not only is slavery utterly abolished, but all its appendages are

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scattered to the winds; and a system of impartial laws secures justice to all, of every color and condition.

The measure of success which has crowned the experiment of emancipation in Antigua—an experiment tried under so many adverse circumstances, and with comparatively few local advantages—is highly encouraging to slaveholders in our country. It must be evident that the balance of advantages between the situation of Antigua and that of the South, *is decidedly in favor of the latter.* The South has her resident proprietors, her resources of wealth, talent, and enterprise, and her preponderance of white population; she also enjoys a regularity of seasons, but rarely disturbed by desolating droughts, a bracing climate, which imparts energy and activity to her laboring population, and comparatively numerous wants to stimulate and press the laborer up to the *working mark:* she has close by her side the example of a free country, whose superior progress in internal improvements, wealth, the arts and sciences, morals and religion, all ocular demonstration to her of her own wretched policy and a moving appeal in favor of abolition; and above all, she has the opportunity of choosing her own mode, and of ensuring all the blessings of a *voluntary and peaceable manumission*, while the energies, the resources, the sympathies, and the prayers of the North, stand pledged to her assistance.

CHAPTER III.

FACTS AND TESTIMONY.

We have reserved the mass of facts and testimony, bearing immediately upon slavery in America, in order that we might present them together in a condensed form, under distinct heads. These heads, it will be perceived, consist chiefly of propositions which are warmly contested in our country. Will the reader examine these principles in the light of facts? Will the candid of our countrymen—whatever opinions they may hitherto have

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entertained on this subject—hear the concurrent testimony of numerous planters, legislators, lawyers, physicians, and merchants, who have until three years past been wedded to slavery by birth, education, prejudice, associations, and supposed interest, but who have since been divorced from all connection with the system?

In most cases we shall give the names, the stations, and business of our witnesses; in a few instances, in which we were requested to withhold the name, we shall state such circumstances as will serve to show the standing and competency of the individuals. If the reader should find in what follows, very little testimony unfavorable to emancipation, he may know the reason to be, that little was to be gleaned from any part of Antigua. Indeed, we may say that, with very few exceptions, the sentiments here recorded as coming from individuals, are really the sentiments of the whole community. There is no such thing known in Antigua as an *opposing, disaffected party.* So complete and thorough has been the change in public opinion, that it would be now *disreputable* to speak against emancipation.

First proposition.—The transition from slavery to freedom is represented as a great revolution, by which a prodigious change was effected in *the condition of the negroes.*

In conversation with us, the planters often spoke of the greatness and suddenness of the change. Said Mr. Barnard, of Green Castle estate, "The transition from slavery to freedom, was like passing suddenly out of a dark dungeon into the light of the sun."

R. B. Eldridge, Esq., a member of the assembly, remarked, that, "There never had been in the history of the world so great and instantaneous a change in the condition of so large a body of people."

The Honorable Nicholas Nugent, speaker of the House of assembly, and proprietor, said, "There never was so sudden a transition from one state to another, by so large a body of people. When the clock began to strike the hour of twelve on the last night of July, 1834, the negroes of Antigua were *slaves*—when it ceased they were all *freemen!* It was a stupendous change," he said, "and it was one of the sublimest spectacles

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ever witnessed, to see the subjects of the change engaged at the very moment it occurred, in worshiping God."

These, and very many similar ones, were the spontaneous expressions of men *who had long contended against the change* of which they spoke.

It is exceedingly difficult to make slaveholders see that there is any material difference between slavery and freedom; but when they have once renounced slavery, they *will magnify this distinction* more than any other class of men.

SECOND PROPOSITION.—Emancipation in Antigua was the result of political and pecuniary considerations merely.

Abolition was seen to be inevitable, and there were but two courses left to the colonists—to adopt the apprenticeship system, or immediate emancipation. Motives of convenience led them to choose the latter. Considerations of general philanthrophy, of human rights, and of the sinfulness of slavery, were scarcely so much as thought of.

Some time previous to the abolition of slavery, a meeting of the influential men of the island was called in St. John's, to memorialize parliament against the measure of abolition. When the meeting convened, the Hon. Samuel O. Baijer, who had been the champion of the opposition, was called upon to propose a plan of procedure. To the consternation of the pro-slavery meeting, their leader arose and spoke to the following effect:—"Gentlemen, my previous sentiments on this subject are well known to you all; be not surprised to learn that they have undergone an entire change. I have not altered my views without mature deliberation. I have been making calculations with regard to the probable results of emancipation, and *I have ascertained beyond a doubt, that I can cultivate my estate at least one third cheaper by free labor than by slave labor.*" After Mr. B. had finished his remarks, Mr. S. Shands, member of assembly, and a wealthy proprietor, observed that he entertained precisely the same views with those just expressed; but he thought that the honorable gentleman had been unwise in uttering them in so public a manner; "for," said he, "should these sentiments reach the ear of parliament, as coming from us, *it might induce them to withhold the compensation.*"

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Col. Edwards, member of the assembly, then arose and said, that he had long been opposed to slavery, but he had not *dared to avow his sentiments.*

As might be supposed, the meeting adjourned without effecting the object for which it was convened.

When the question came before the colonial assembly, similar discussions ensued, and finally the bill for immediate emancipation passed both bodies *unanimously.* It was an evidence of the spirit of selfish expediency, which prompted the whole procedure, that they clogged the emancipation bill with the proviso that a certain governmental tax on exports, called the four and and a half per cent. tax,* should be repealed. Thus clogged, the bill was sent home for sanction, but it was rejected by parliament, and sent back with instructions, that before it could receive his majesty's seal, it must appear wholly unencumbered

*We subjoin the following brief history of the four and a half per cent. tax, which we procured from the speaker of the assembly. In the reign of Charles II., Antigua was conquered by the French, and the inhabitants were forced to swear allegiance to the French government. In a very short time the French were driven off the island, and the English again took possession of it. It was then declared, by order of the king, that as the people had, by swearing allegiance to another government, forfeited the protection of the British government, and all title to their lands, they should not again receive either, except on condition of paying to the king a duty of four and a half per cent. on every article exported from the island—and that they were to do *in perpetuity.* To this hard condition they were obliged to submit, and they have groaned under the onerous duty ever since. On every occasion, which offered any hope, they have sought the repeal of the tax, but have uniformly been defeated. When they saw that the abolition question was coming to a crises, they resolved to make a last effort for the repeal of the four and a half per cent. duty. They therefore adopted immediate emancipation, and then, covered as they were, with the laurels of so magnanimous an act, they presented to parliament their cherished object. The defeat was a humiliating one, and it produced such a reaction in the island, as well nigh led to the rescinding of the abolition bill.

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with extraneous provisoes. This was a great disappointment to the legislature, and it so chagrined them that very many actually withdrew their support from the bill for emancipation, which passed finally in the assembly only by the casting vote of the speaker.

The verbal and written statements of numerous planters also confirm the declaration that emancipation was a measure solely of selfish policy.

Said Mr. Barnard, of Green Castle estate—"Emancipation was preferred to apprenticeship, because it was attended with less trouble, and left the planters independent, instead of being saddled with a legion of stipendiary magistrates."

Said Dr. Daniell, member of the council, and proprietor—"The apprenticeship was rejected by us solely from motives of policy. We did not wish to be annoyed with stipendiary magistrates."

Said Hon. N. Nugent—"We wished to let ourselves down in the easiest manner possible; *therefore* we chose immediate freedom in preference to apprenticeship."

"Emancipation was preferred to apprenticeship, because of the inevitable and endless perplexities connected with the latter system."—*David Cranstoun, Esq., a colonial magistrate and planter.*

"It is not pretended that emancipation was produced by the influence of religious considerations. It was a measure of mere convenience and interest."—*A Moravian Missionary.*

The following testimony is extracted from a letter addressed to us by a highly respectable merchant of St. John's—a gentleman of long experience on the island, and now agent for several estates. "Emancipation was an act of mere policy, adopted as *the safest and most economic* measure."

Our last item of testimony under this head is from a written statement by the Hon. N. Nugent, speaker of the assembly, at the time of emancipation. His remarks on this subject, although long, we are sure will be read with interest. Alluding to the adoption of immediate emancipation in preference to apprenticeship, he observes :—

"The reasons and considerations which led to this step were

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various, of course impressing the minds of different individuals in different degrees. As slave emancipation could not be averted, and must inevitably take place very shortly, it was better to meet the crisis at once, than to have it hanging over our heads for six years, with all its harassing doubts and anxieties; better to give an air of grace to that which would be ultimately unavoidable; the slaves should rather have a motive of gratitude and kind reciprocation, than to feel, on being declared free, that their emancipation could neither be withheld nor retarded by their owners. The projected apprenticeship, while it destroyed the means of an instant coercion in a state of involuntary labor, equally withdrew or neutralised all those urgent motives which constrain to industrious exertion in the case of freemen. It abstracted from the master, in a state of things then barely remunerative, one fourth of the time and labor required in cultivation, and gave it to the servant, while it compelled the master to supply the same allowances as before. With many irksome restraints, conditions, and responsibilities imposed on the master, it had no equivalent advantages. There appeared no reason, in short, why general emancipation would not do as well in 1834 as in 1840. Finally, a strong conviction existed that from peculiarity of climate and soil, the physical wants and necessities of the peasantry would compel them to labor for their subsistence, to seek employment and wages from the proprietors of the soil; and if the *transformation* could be safely and quietly brought about, that the *free* system might be cheaper and more profitable than the other.

The general testimony of planters, missionaries, clergymen, merchants, and others, was in confirmation of the same truth.

There is little reason to believe that the views of the colonists on this subject have subsequently undergone much change. We did not hear, excepting occasionally among the missionaries and clergy, the slightest insinuations thrown out that *slavery was sinful;* that the slaves had a right to freedom, or that it would have been wrong to have continued them in bondage. The *politics* of anti-slavery the Antiguans are exceedingly well versed in, but of its *religion*, they seem to feel but little. They

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seem never to have examined slavery in its moral relations; never to have perceived its monstrous violations of right and its impious trainplings upon God and man. The Antigua planters, it would appear, have *yet* to repent of the sin of slave-holding.

If the results of an emancipation so destitute of *principle*, so purely selfish, could produce such general satisfaction, and be followed by such happy results, it warrants us in anticipating still more decided and unmingled blessings in the train of a voluntary, conscientious, and religious abolition.

THIRD PROPOSITION.—The *event* of emancipation passed PEACEABLY. The first of August, 1834, is universally regarded in Antigua, as having presented a most imposing and sublime moral spectacle. It is almost impossible to be in the company of a missionary, a planter, or an emancipated negro, for ten minutes, without hearing some allusion to that occasion. Even at the time of our visit to Antigua, after the lapse of nearly three years, they spoke of the event with an admiration apparently unabated.

For some time previous to the first of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery and "turned loose on the community!" and this was to be done "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves might toll the death knell of the masters.*

* We were informed by a merchant of St. John's, that several American vessels which had lain for weeks in the harbor, weighed anchor on the 31st of July, and made their escape, through actual fear, that the island would be destroyed on the following day. Ere they set sail they earnestly besought our informant to escape from the island, as he valued his life.

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The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipation, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

To convey to the reader some idea of the manner in which the great crisis passed, we give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island, by those who witnessed them.

The Wesleyans kept "watch-night" in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy, and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamations of thanksgiving and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, "Glory," "alleluia;" they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.

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After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the freed people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them.

The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked "as clouds, and as doves to their windows." The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity in order to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new relation, and above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still, and noise and tumult were unheard on the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was free from his master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapel where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes.

The churches and chapels were thronged all over the island. At Cedar Hall, a Moravian station, the crowd was so great that the minister was obliged to remove the meeting from the chapel to a neighboring grove.

At Grace Hill, another Moravian station, the negroes went to the Missionary on the day before the first of August, and begged that they might be allowed to have a meeting in the chapel at sunrise. It is the usual practice among the Moravians to hold but one sunrise meeting during the year, and that is on the morning of Easter; but as the people besought very earnestly

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for this special favor on the Easter morning of their freedom, it was granted to them.

Early in the morning they assembled at the chapel. For some time they sat in perfect silence. The missionary then proposed that they should kneel down and sing. The whole audience fell upon their knees, and sung a hymn commencing with the following verse:

"Now let us praise the Lord,
With body, soul and spirit,
Who doth such wondrous things,
Beyond our sense and merit."

The singing was frequently interrupted with the tears and sobbings of the melted people, until finally it was wholly arrested, and a tumult of emotion overwhelmed the congregation.

During the day, repeated meetings were held. At eleven o'clock, the people assembled in vast numbers. There were at least a *thousand* persons around the chapel, who could not get in. For once the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. After all the service of the day, the people went again to the missionaries in a body, and petitioned to have a meeting in the evening.

At Grace Bay, the people, all dressed in white, assembled in a spacious court in front of the Moravian chapel. They formed a procession and walked arm in arm into the chapel. Similar scenes occurred at all the chapels and at the churches also. We were told by the missionaries that the dress of the negroes on that occasion was uncommonly simple and modest. There was not the least disposition to gaiety.

We were also informed by planters and missionaries in every part of the island, that there was not a single dance known of, either day or night, nor so much as a fiddle played. There were no riotous assemblies, no drunken carousals. It was not in such channels that the excitement of the emancipated flowed. They were as far from dissipation and debauchery, as they were from violence and carnage. GRATITUDE was the absorbing emotion. From the hill-tops, and the valleys, the cry of a disenthralled people went upward like the sound of many waters, "Glory to God, glory to God."

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The testimony of the planters corresponds fully with that of the missionaries.

Said R. B. Eldridge, Esq., after speaking of the number emancipated, "Yet this vast body, (30,000,) *glided* out of slavery into freedom with the utmost tranquillity."

Dr. Daniel observed, that after so prodigious a revolution in the condition of the negroes, he expected that some irregularities would ensue; but he had been entirely disappointed. He also said that he anticipated some relaxation from labor during the week following emancipation. But he found his hands in the field early on Monday morning, and not one missing. The same day he received word from another estate, of which he was the proprietor,* that the negroes had to a man refused to go to the field. He immediately rode to the estate and found the people standing with their hoes in their hands doing nothing. He accosted them in a friendly manner: "What does this mean, my fellows, that you are not at work this morning?" They immediately replied, "It's not because we don't want to work, massa, but we wanted to see you first and foremost to *know what the bargain would be.*" As soon as that matter was settled, the whole body of negroes turned out cheerfully, without a moment's cavil.

Mr. Bourne, of Millar's, informed us that the largest gang he had ever seen in the field on his property, turned out the *week after emancipation.*

Said Hon. N. Nugent, "Nothing could surpass the universal propriety of the negroes' conduct on the first of August, 1834! Never was there a more beautiful and interesting spectacle exhibited, than on that occasion."

FOURTH PROPOSITION.—There has been *since* emancipation, not only *no rebellion in fact*, but NO FEAR OF IT in Antigua.

Proof 1st. The Militia were not called out during Christmas holidays. *Before* emancipation, martial law invariably prevailed on the holidays, but the very first Christmas after emancipation,

* It is not unusual in the West Indies for proprietors to commit their own estates into the hands of managers; and be themselves the managers of other men's estates.

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the Governor made a proclamation stating that *in consequence of the abolition of slavery* it was no longer necessary to resort to such a precaution. There has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas.*

2d. The uniform declaration of planters and others:

"Previous to emancipation, many persons apprehended violence and bloodshed as the consequence of turning the slaves all loose. But when emancipation took place, all these apprehensions vanished. The sense of personal security is universal. We know not of a single instance in which the negroes have exhibited a *revengeful spirit.*"—*S. Bourne, Esq., of Millar's—Watkins, Esq., of Donovan's.*

"It has always appeared to me self-evident, that if a man is peaceable while a *slave*, he will be so when a *free man.*"—*Dr. Ferguson.*

* This has been followed by a measure on the part of the Legislature, which is further proof of the same thing. It is "an Act for amending, and further continuing the several Acts at present in force for better organizing and ordering the militia.

The preamble reads thus:

"WHEREAS the abolition of slavery in this island renders it expedient to provide against an unnecessary augmentation of the militia, and the existing laws for better organizing and ordering that local force require amendment."

The following military advertisement also shows the increasing confidence which is felt in the freed men:

"RECRUITS WANTED.—The freemen of Antigua are now called on to show their gratitude and loyalty to King WILLIAM, for the benefits he has conferred on them and their families, by volunteering their services as soldiers in his First West India Regiment; in doing which they will acquire a still higher rank in society, by being placed on a footing of perfect equality with the other troops in his Majesty's service, and receive the same bounty, pay, clothing, rations and allowances.

None but young men of good character can be received, and all such will meet with every encouragement by applying at St. John's Barracks, to

H. DOWNIE,
Captain 1st W. I. Reg.

September 15th, 1836.

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"There is no possible danger of personal violence from the slaves; should a foreign power invade our island, I have no doubt that the negroes would, to a man, fight for the planters. I have the utmost confidence in all the people who are under my management; they are my friends, and they consider me their friend."—*H. Armstrong, Esq., of Fitch's Creek.*

The same gentleman informed us that during slavery, he used frequently to lie sleepless on his bed, thinking of his dangerous situation—a lone white person far away from help, and surrounded by hundreds of savage slaves; and he had spent hours thus, in devising plans of self-defence in case the house should be attacked by the negroes. "If they come," he would say to himself, "and break down the door, and fill my bed-room, what shall I do? It will be useless to fire at them; my only hope is to frighten the superstitious fellows by covering myself with a white sheet, and rushing into the midst of them, crying, 'ghost, ghost.'"

Now Mr. A. sleeps in peace and safety, without conjuring up a ghost to keep guard at his bed-side. His body-guard is a battalion of substantial flesh and blood, made up of those who were once the objects of his nightly terror!

"There has been no instance of personal violence since freedom. Some persons pretended, prior to emancipation, to apprehend disastrous results; but for my part I cannot say that I ever entertained such fears. I could not see any thing which was to instigate negroes to rebellion, *after* they had obtained their liberty. I have not heard of a single case of even *meditated* revenge."—*Dr. Daniell, Proprietor, Member of Council, Attorney of six estates, and Manager of Weatherill's.*

"One of the blessings of emancipation has been, that it has banished the *fear* of insurrections, incendiarism," &c.—*Mr. Favey, Manager of Lavicount's.*

"In my extensive intercourse with the people, as missionary, I have never heard of an instance of violence or revenge on the part of the negroes, even where they had been ill-treated during slavery."—*Rev. M. Morrish, Moravian Missionary.*

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"Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded, not even by those planters who were most cruel in the time of slavery. My family go to sleep every night with the doors unlocked, and we fear neither violence nor robbery."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

Again, in a written communication, the same gentleman remarks:—"There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity—quite the contrary. Property is more secure, *for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever.*"

"We have no cause now to fear insurrections; emancipation has freed us from all danger on this score."—*David Cranstoun, Esq.*

Extract of a letter from a merchant of St John's, who has resided in Antigua more than thirty years:

"There is no sense of personal danger arising from insurrections or conspiracies among the blacks. Serious apprehensions of this nature were formerly entertained; but they gradually died away *during the first year of freedom.*"

We quote the following from a communication addressed to us by a gentleman of long experience in Augusta—now a merchant in St. John's—*James Scotland, Sen., Esq.*

"Disturbances, insubordinations, and revelry, have greatly decreased since emancipation; and it is a remarkable fact, that on the day of abolition, which was observed with the solemnity and services of the Sabbath, not an instance of common insolence was experienced from any freed man.

"There is no feeling of insecurity. A stronger proof of this cannot be given than the dispensing, within five months after emancipation, with the Christmas guards, which had been regularly and uninterruptedly kept, for nearly one hundred years—during the whole time of slavery.

"The military has never been called out but on one occasion, since the abolition, and that was when a certain planter, the most violent enemy of freedom, reported to the Governor that there were strong symptoms of insurrection among his negroes. The story was generally laughed at, and the reporter of it was quite ashamed of his weakness and fears.

"My former occupation, as editor of a newspaper, rendered it

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necessary for me to make incessant inquiries into the conduct as well as the treatment of the emancipated, and I have *never heard of any instance of revenge* for former injuries. The negroes have indeed *quitted* managers who were *harsh or cruel* to them in their bondage, but they removed in a peaceable and orderly manner.

"Our negroes, and I presume other negroes too, are very little less sensible to the force of those motives which lead to the peace, order, and welfare of society, than any other set of people."

To the foregoing, we add the testimony of Ralph Higinbothom, Esq., U. S. Consul.

"The general conduct of the negroes has been worthy of much praise, especially concerning the sudden transition from slavery to unrestricted freedom. Their demeanor is peaceable and orderly."

As we mingled with the missionaries, both in town and country, they all bore witness to the security of their persons and families. They, equally with the planters, were surprised that we should make any inquiries about insurrections. A question on this subject generally excited a smile, a look of astonishment, or some exclamation, such as "*Insurrection!* my dear sirs, we do not think of such a thing;" or, "Rebellion indeed! why, what should they rebel for *now*, since they have got their liberty!"

Physicians informed us that they were in the habit of riding into the country at all hours of the night, and though they were constantly passing negroes, both singly and in companies, they never had experienced any rudeness, nor even so much as an insolent word. They could go by night or day, into any part of the island where their professional duties called them, without the slightest sense of danger.

A residence of nine weeks in the island gave us no small opportunity of testing the reality of its boasted security. The hospitality of planters and missionaries, of which we have recorded so many instances in a previous part of this work, gave us free access to their houses in every part of the island. In many cases we were constrained to spend the night with them,

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and thus enjoyed, in the intimacies of the domestic circle, and in the unguarded moments of social intercourse, every opportunity of detecting any lurking fears of violence, if such there had been; but we saw no evidence of it, either in the arrangements of the houses or in the conduct of the inmates.*

FIFTH PROPOSITION.—There has been no fear of house breaking, highway-robberies, and like misdemeanors, since emancipation. Statements, similar to those adduced under the last head, from planters, and other gentlemen, might be introduced here; but as this proposition is so intimately involved in the foregoing, separate proof is not necessary. The same causes which excite apprehensions of insurrection, produce fears of robberies and other acts of violence; so also the same state of society which establishes security of person, insures the safety of property. Both in town and country we heard gentlemen repeatedly speak of the slight fastenings to their houses. A mere lock, or bolt, was all that secured the outside doors, and they might be burst open with ease, by a single man. In some cases, as has already been intimated, the planters habitually neglect to fasten their doors—so strong is their confidence of safety. We were not a little struck with the remark of a gentleman in St. John's. He said he had long been desirous to remove to England, his native country, and had slavery continued much longer in Antigua, he certainly should have gone; but *now* the *security of property was so much greater in Antigua than it was in England*, that he thought it doubtful whether he should ever *venture* to take his family thither.

* In addition to the evidence derived from Antigua, we would mention the following fact:

A planter, who is also an attorney, informed us that on the neighboring little island of Barbuda, (which is leased from the English government by Sir. Bethel Coddrington,) there are five hundred negroes and only *three white men.* The negroes are entirely free, yet the whites continue to live among them without any fear of having their throats cut. Though, under the government of Antigua, the act of entire emancipation did not extend to that island. But Sir. Bethel, the proprietor, emancipated the slaves by deed under his own hand.

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SIXTH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation is regarded by all classes as a great blessing to the island.

There is not a class, or party, or sect, who do not esteem the abolition of slavery as a *special blessing to them.* The rich because it relieved them of "property" which was fast becoming a disgrace, as it had always been a vexation and a tax, and because it has emancipated them from the terrors of insurrection, which kept them all their life time subject to bondage. The poor whites—because it lifted from off them the yoke of civil oppression. The free colored population—because it gave the death blow to the prejudice that crushed them, and opened the prospect of social, civil, and political equality with the whites. The *slaves*—because it broke open their dungeon, led them out to liberty, and gave them, in one munificent donation, their wives, their children, their bodies, their souls—every thing !

The following extracts from the journals of the legislature, show the state of feeling existing shortly after emancipation. The first is dated October 30, 1834:

"The Speaker said, that he looked with exultation at the prospect before us. The hand of the Most High was evidently working for us. Could we regard the universal tranquillity, the respectful demeanor of the lower classes, as less than an interposition of Providence? The agricultural and commercial prosperity of the island were absolutely on the advance; and for his part he would not hesitate to purchase estates to-morrow."

The following remark was made in the course of a speech by a member of the council, November 12, 1834:

"Colonel Brown stated, that since emancipation he had never been without a sufficient number of laborers, and he was certain he could obtain as many more to-morrow as he should wish."

The general confidence in the beneficial results of emancipation, has grown stronger with every succeeding year and month. It has been seen that freedom will bear trial; that it will endure, and continue to bring forth fruits of increasing value.

The Governor informed us that "it was *universally admitted*, that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island."

In a company of proprietors and planters, who met us on a

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certain occasion, among whom were lawyers, magistrates, and members of the council, and of the assembly, the sentiment was distinctly avowed, that emancipation was highly beneficial to the island, and there was not a dissenting opinion.

"Emancipation is working most admirably, especially for the planters. It is infinitely better policy than slavery or the apprenticeship either."—*Dr. Ferguson.*

"Our planters find that freedom answers a far better purpose than slavery ever did. A gentleman, who is attorney for eight estates, assured me that there was no comparison between the benefits and advantages of the two systems."—*Archdeacon Parry.*

"All the planters in my neighborhood (St. Philip's parish) are highly pleased with the operation of the new system."—*Rev. Mr. Jones, Rector of St. Philip's.*

"I do not know of more than one or two planters in the whole island, who do not consider emancipation as a decided advantage to all parties."—*Dr. Daniell.*

That emancipation should be universally regarded as a blessing, is remarkable when we consider that combination of untoward circumstances which it has been called to encounter—a combination wholly unprecedented in the history of the island. In 1835, the first year of the new system, the colony was visited by one of the most desolating hurricanes which has occurred for many years. In the same year, cultivation was arrested, and the crops greatly reduced, by drought. About the same time, the yellow fever prevailed with fearful mortality. The next year the drought returned, and brooded in terror from March until January, and from January until June—not only blasting the harvest of '36, but extending its blight over the crops of '37.

Nothing could be better calculated to try the confidence in the new system. Yet we find all classes zealously exonerating emancipation, and in despite of tornado, plague, and wasting, still affirming the blessings and advantages of freedom!

SEVENTH PROPOSITION.—*Free labor* is decidedly LESS EXPENSIVE than *slave labor*. It costs the planter actually less to pay his free laborers daily wages, than it did to maintain his slaves. It will be observed in the testimony which follows, that there is

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some difference of opinion as to the precise amount of reduction in the expenses, which is owing to the various modes of management on different estates, and more particularly to the fact, that some estates raise all their provisions, while others raise none. But as to the fact itself, there can scarcely be said to be any dispute among the planters. There was one class of planters whose expenses seemed to be somewhat increased, viz.,—those who raised all their provisions before emancipation, and ceased to raise any after that event. But in the opinion of the most intelligent planters, even these did not really sustain any loss, for originally it was bad policy to raise provisions, since it engrossed that labor which would have been more profitably directed to the cultivation of sugar; and hence they would ultimately be gainers by the change.

S. Bourne, Esq., stated that the expenses on Millar's estate, of which he is manager, had diminished about *one-third*.

Mr. Barnard, of Green Castle, thought his expenses were about the same that they were formerly.

Mr. Favey, of Lavicount's estate, enumerated, among the advantages of freedom over slavery, "the diminished expense."

Dr. Nugent also stated, that "the expenses of cultivation were greatly diminished."

Mr. Hatley, manager of Fry's estate, said that the expenses on his estate had been greatly reduced since emancipation. He showed us the account of his expenditures for the last year of slavery, and the first full year of freedom, 1835. The expenses during the last year of slavery were 1371*l.* 2*s.* 4½*d.*; the expenses for 1835 were 821*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.*: showing a reduction of more than one-third.

D. Cranstoun, Esq., informed us that his weekly expenses during slavery, on the estate which he managed, were, on an average, 45*l.*; the average expenses now do not exceed 20*l.*

Extract of a letter from Hon. N. Nugent:

"The expenses of cultivating sugar estates have in no instance, I believe, been found *greater* than before. - As far as my experience goes, they are certainly less, particularly as regards those properties which were overhanded before, when proprietors were compelled to support more dependents than they re-

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quired. In some cases, the present cost is less by *one-third*. I have not time to furnish you with any detailed statements, but the elements of the calculation are simple enough."

It is not difficult to account for the diminution in the cost of cultivation. In the first place, for those estates that bought their provision previous to emancipation, it cost more money to purchase their stores than they now pay out in wages. This was especially true in dry seasons, when home provisions failed, and the island was mainly dependent upon foreign supplies.

But the chief source of the diminution lies in the reduced number of people to be supported by the planter. During slavery, the planter was required by law to maintain *all* the slaves belonging to the estate; the superannuated, the infirm, the pregnant, the nurses, the young children, and the infants, as well as the working slaves. Now it is only the latter class, the effective laborers, (with the addition of such as were superannuated or infirm at the period of emancipation,) who are dependent upon the planter. These are generally not more than one half, frequently less than a third, of the whole number of negroes resident on the estate; consequently a very considerable burthen has been removed from the planter.

The reader may form some estimate of the reduced expense to the planter, resulting from these causes combined, by considering the statement made to us by Hon. N. Nugent, and repeatedly by proprietors and managers, that had slavery been in existence during the present drought, many of the smaller estates *must have been inevitably ruined*; on account of the high price of imported provisions, (home provisions having fallen short) and the number of slaves to be fed.

EIGHTH PROPOSITION.—The negroes work *more cheerfully*, and *do their work better* than they did during slavery. Wages are found to be an ample substitute for the lash—they never fail to secure the amount of labor desired. This is particularly true where task work is tried, which is done occasionally in cases of a pressing nature, when considerable effort is required. We heard of no complaints on the score of idleness, but on the contrary, the negroes were highly commended for the punctuality

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and cheerfulness with which they performed the work assigned them.

The Governor stated, that "he was assured by planters, from every part of the island, that the negroes were very industriously disposed."

"My people have become much more industrious since they were emancipated. I have been induced to extend the sugar cultivation over a number of acres more than have ever been cultivated before."—*Mr. Watkins, of Donovan's.*

"Fearing the consequences of emancipation, I reduced my cultivation in the year '34; but soon finding that my people would work as well as ever, I brought up the cultivation the next year to the customary extent, and this year ('36) I have added fifteen acres of new land."—*S. Bourne, of Millar's.*

"Throughout the island the estates were never in a more advanced state than they now are. The failure in the crops is not in the slightest degree chargeable to a deficiency of labor. I have frequently adopted the job system for short periods; the results have always been gratifying—the negroes accomplished twice as much as when they worked for daily wages, because they made more money. On some days they would make three shillings—three times the ordinary wages."—*Dr. Daniell.*

"They are as a body *more* industrious than when slaves, for the obvious reason that they are *working for themselves.*"—*Ralph Higinbothom, U. S. Consul.*

"I have no hesitation in saying that on my estate cultivation is more forward than ever it has been at the same season. The failure of the crops is not in the least degree the fault of the laborers. They have done well."—*Mr. Favey, of Lavicount's estate.*

"The most general apprehension prior to emancipation was, that the negroes would not work after they were made free—that they would be indolent, buy small parcels of land, and '*squat*' on them to the neglect of sugar cultivation. Time, however, has proved that there was no foundation for this apprehension. The estates were never in better order than they are at present. If you are interrogated on your return home concerning the cultivation of Antigua, you can say that every thing

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depends upon the *weather*. If we have *sufficient rain*, you may be certain that we shall realize abundant crops. If we have no rain, the crops *must inevitably* fail. *But we can always depend upon the laborers.* On account of the stimulus to industry which wages afford, there is far less feigned sickness than there was during slavery. When slaves, the negroes were glad to find any excuse for deserting their labor, and they were incessantly feigning sickness. The sick-house was thronged with real and pretended invalids. After '34, it was wholly deserted. The negroes would not go near it; and, in truth, I have lately used it for a stable."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

"Though the laborers on both the estates under my management have been considerably reduced since freedom, yet the grounds have never been in a finer state of cultivation, than they are at present. When my work is backward, I give it out in jobs, and it is always done in half the usual time."

"Emancipation has almost wholly put an end to the practice of *skulking*, or pretending to be sick. That was a thing which caused the planter a vast deal of trouble during slavery. Every Monday morning regularly, when I awoke, I found ten or a dozen, or perhaps twenty men and women, standing around my door, waiting for me to make my first appearance, and begging that I would let them off from work that day on account of sickness. It was seldom the case that one fourth of the applicants were really unwell; but every one would maintain that he was very sick, and as it was hard to contend with them about it, they were all sent off to the sick-house. Now this is entirely done away, and my sick-house is converted into a chapel for religious worship."—*James Howell, Esq.*

"I find my people much more disposed to work than they formerly were. The habit of feigning sickness to get rid of going to the field, is completely broken up. This practice was very common during slavery. It was often amusing to hear their complaints. One would come carrying an arm in one hand, and declaring that it had a mighty pain in it, and he could not use the hoe no way; another would make his appearance with both hands on his breast, and with a rueful look complain of a great pain in the stomach; a third came limping along,

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with a *dreadful rheumatiz* in his knees; and so on for a dozen or more. It was vain to dispute with them, although it was often manifest that nothing earthly was ailing them. They would say, ' Ah! me massa, you no tink how bad me feel—it's *deep in*, massa.' But all this trouble is passed. We have no sick-house now; no feigned sickness, and really much less actual illness than formerly. My people say ' *they have not time to be sick now.*' My cultivation has never been so far advanced at the same season, or in finer order than it is at the present time. I have been encouraged by the increasing industry of my people to bring several additional acres under cultivation."—*Mr. Hatley, Fry's estate.*

" I get my work done better than formerly, and with incomparably more cheerfulness. My estate was never in a finer state of cultivation than it is now, though I employ *fewer* laborers than during slavery. I have occasionally used job, or task work, and with great success. When I give out a job, it is accomplished in about half the time that it would have required by giving the customary wages. The people will do as much in one week at job work, as they will in two, working for a shilling a day. I have known them, when they had a job to do, turn out before three o'clock in the morning, and work by moonlight."—*D. Cranstoun, Esq.*

" My people work very well for the ordinary wages; I have no fault to find with them in this respect."—*Manager of Scotland's estate.*

Extract from the Superintendent's Report to the Commander in Chief.

SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE, *June 6th*, 1836.

" During the last month I have visited the country in almost every direction, with the express object of paying a strict attention to all branches of agricultural operations at that period progressing.

The result of my observations is decidedly favorable, as regards proprieters and laborers. The manufacture of sugar has advanced as far as the long and continued want of rain will admit; the lands, generally, appear to be in a forward state of

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preparation for the ensuing crop, and the laborers seem to work with more steadiness and satisfaction to themselves and their employers, than they have manifested for some length of time past, and their work is much more correctly performed.

Complaints are, for the most part, adduced by the employers against the laborers, and principally consist, (as hitherto,) of breaches of contract; but I am happy to observe, that a diminution of dissatisfaction on this head even, has taken place, as will be seen by the accompanying general return of offences reported.

Your honor's most obedient, humble servant,

RICHARD S. WICKHAM, *Superintendent of police.*"

NINTH PROPOSITION.—The negroes are *more easily managed* as freemen than they were when slaves.

On this point as well as on every other connected with the system of slavery, public opinion in Antigua has undergone an entire revolution, since 1834. It was then a common maxim that the peculiar characteristics of the negro absolutely required a government of terror and brute force.

The Governor said, "The negroes are as a race remarkable for *docility*; they are very easily controlled by kind influence. It is only necessary to gain their confidence, and you can sway them as you please."

"Before emancipation took place, I dreaded the consequences of abolishing the power of compelling labor, but I have since found by experience that forbearance and kindness are sufficient for all purposes of authority. I have seldom had any trouble in managing my people. They consider me their friend and the expression of my wish is enough for them. Those planters who have retained their *harsh manner* do not succeed under the new system. The people will not bear it."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"I find it remarkably easy to manage my people. I govern them entirely by mildness. In every instance in which managers have persisted in their habits of arbitrary command, they have failed. I have lately been obliged to discharge a manager from one of the estates under my direction, on account of his overbearing disposition. If I had not dismissed him, the people would have abandoned the estate *en masse.*"—*Dr. Daniell.*

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"The management of an estate under the free system is a much lighter business than it used to be. We do not have the trouble to get the people to work, or to keep them in order."—*Mr. Favey.*

"Before the abolition of slavery, I thought it would be utterly impossible to manage my people without tyrannizing over them as usual, and that it would be giving up the reins of government entirely to abandon the whip; but I am now satisfied that I was mistaken. I have lost all desire to exercise arbitrary power. I have known of several instances in which unpleasant disturbances have been occasioned by managers giving way to their anger, and domineering over their laborers. The people became disobedient and disorderly, and remained so untill the estates went into other hands, and a good management immediately restored confidence and peace."—*Mr. Watkins.*

"Among the many advantages belonging to the free system, may be enumerated the greater facility in managing estates. We are freed from a world of trouble and perplexity."—*David Cranstoun, Esq.*

"I have no hesitation in saying, that if I have a supply of cash, I can take off any crop it may please God to send. Having already, since emancipation, taken off one fully sixty hogsheads above the average of the last twenty years, I can speak with confidence."—*Letter from S. Bourne, Esq.*

Mr. Bourne stated a fact which illustrates the ease with which the negroes are governed by gentle means. He said that it was a prevailing practice during slavery for the slaves to have a dance soon after they had finished gathering in the crop. At the completion of his crop in '35, the people made arrangements for having the customary dance. They were particularly elated because the crop which they had first taken off was the largest one that had ever been produced by the estate, and it was also the largest crop on the island for that year. With these extraordinary stimulants and excitements, operating in connection with the influence of habit, the people were strongly inclined to have a dance. Mr. B. told them that dancing was a bad practice—and a very childish, barbarous amusement, and he thought it was wholly unbecoming *freemen.* He hoped therefore that

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they would dispense with it. The negroes could not exactly agree with their manager—and said they did not like to be disappointed in their expected sport. Mr. B. finally proposed to them that he would get the Moravian minister, Rev. Mr. Harvey, to ride out and preach to them on the appointed evening. The people all agreed to this. Accordingly, Mr. Harvey preached, and they said no more about the dance—nor have they ever attempted to get up a dance since.

We had repeated opportunities of witnessing the management of the laborers on the estates, and were always struck with the absence of every thing like coercion.

By the kind invitation of Mr. Bourne, we accompianed him once on a morning circuit around his estate. After riding some distance, we came to the 'great gang' cutting canes. Mr. B. saluted the people in a friendly manner, and they all responded with a hearty 'good morning, massa.' There were more than fifty persons, male and female, on the spot. The most of them were employed in cuttihg canes,* which they did with a heavy knife called a *bill*. Mr. B. beckoned to the superintendent, a black man, to come to him, and gave him some directions for the forenoon's work, and then, after saying a few encouraging words to the people, took us to another part of the estate, remarking as we rode off, "I have entire confidence that those laborers will do their work just as I want to have it done." We next came upon some men, who were hoeing in a field of corn. We found that there had been a slight altercation between two

* The process of cutting canes is this:—The leafy part at top is first cut off down as low as the saccharine matter. A few of the lowest joints of the part thus cut off, are then stripped of the leaves, and cut off for *plants*, for the next crop. The stalk is then cut off close to the ground—and it is that which furnishes the juice for sugar. It is from three to twelve feet long, and from one to two inches in diameter, according to the quality of the soil, the seasonableness of the weather, &c. The cutters are followed by *gatherers*, who bind up the plants and stalks, as the cutters cast them behind them, in different bundles. The carts follow in the train, and take up the bundles—carrying the stalks to the mill to be ground, and the plants in another direction.

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of the men. Peter, who was a foreman, came to Mr. B., and complained that George would not leave the cornfield and go to another kind of work as he had bid him. Mr. B. called George, and asked for an explanation. George had a long story to tell, and he made an earnest defence, accompanied with impassioned gesticulation; but his dialect was of such outlandish description, that we could not understand him. Mr. B. told us that the main ground of his defence was that Peter's direction was *altogether unreasonable.* Peter was then called upon to sustain his complaint; he spoke with equal earnestness and equal unintelligibility. Mr. B. then gave his decision, with great kindness of manner, which quite pacified both parties.

As we rode on, Mr. B. informed us that George was himself the foreman of a small weeding gang, and felt it derogatory to his dignity to be ordered by Peter.

We observed on all the estates which we visited that the planters, when they wish to influence their people, are in the habit of appealing to them as *freemen*, and that now better things are expected of them. This appeal to their self-respect seldom fails of carrying the point.

It is evident from the foregoing testimony, that if the negroes do not work well on any estate, it is generally speaking the *fault of the manager.* We were informed of many instances in which arbitrary men were discharged from the management of estates, and the result has been the restoration of order and industry among the people.

On this point we quote the testimony of James Scotland, Sen., Esq., an intelligent and aged merchant of St. John's:

"In this colony, the evils and troubles attending emancipation have resulted almost entirely from the perseverance of the planters in their old habits of domination. The planters very frequently, indeed, *in the early stage of freedom*, used their power as employers to the annoyance and injury of their laborers. For the slightest misconduct, and sometimes without any reason whatever, the poor negroes were dragged before the magistrates, (planters or their friends,) and mulcted in their wages, fined otherwise, and committed to jail or the house of correction. And yet those harassed people remained patient, orderly and

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submissive. *Their treatment now is much improved. The planters have happily discovered, that as long as they kept the cultivators of their lands in agitations and sufferings, their own interests were sacrificed.*"

TENTH PROPOSITION.—The negroes are *more trust-worthy, and take a deeper interest in their employers' affairs*, since emancipation.

"My laborers manifest an increasing attachment to the estate. In all their habits they are becoming more settled, and they begin to feel that they have a personal interest in the success of the property on which they live."—*Mr. Favey.*

"As long as the negroes felt uncertain whether they would remain in one place, or be dismissed and compelled to seek a home elsewhere, they manifested very little concern for the advancement of their employers' interest; but in proportion as they become permanently established on an estate, they seem to identify themselves with its prosperity. The confidence between master and servant is mutually increasing."—*Mr. James Howell.*

The Hon. Mr. Nugent, Dr. Daniell, D. Cranstoun, Esq., and other planters, enumerated among the advantages of freedom, the planters being released from the perplexities growing out of want of confidence in the sympathy and honesty of the slaves.

S. Bourne, Esq., of Millar's, remarked as we were going towards his mill and boiling-house, which had been in operation about a week, "I have not been near my works for several days; yet I have no fears but that I shall find every thing going on properly."

The planters have been too deeply experienced in the nature of slavery, not to know that mutual jealousy, distrust, and alienation of feeling and interest, are its legitimate offspring; and they have already seen enough of the operation of freedom, to entertain the confident expectation, that fair wages, kind treatment, and comfortable homes, will attach the laborers to the estates, and identify the interests of the employer and the employed.

ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.—The experiment in Antigua provee that emancipated slaves can *appreciate law.* It is a prevailing opinion that those who have long been slaves, cannot at once be safely subjected to the control of law.

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It will now be seen how far this theory is supported by facts. Let it be remembered that the negroes of Antigua passed, "by a single *jump*, from absolute slavery to unqualified freedom."* In proof of *their subordination to law*, we give the testimony of planters, and quote also from the police reports sent in monthly to the Governor, with copies of which we were kindly furnished by order of His Excellency.

"I have found that the negroes are readily controlled by law; more so perhaps than the laboring classes in other countries.—*David Cranstoun, Esq.*

"The conduct of the negro population generally, has surpassed all expectation. They are as pliant to the hand of legislation, as any people; perhaps more so than some."—*Wesleyan Missionary.*

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Governor, the Hon. N. Nugent, R. B. Eldridge, Esq., Dr. Ferguson, Dr. Daniell, and James Scotland, Jr., Esq., and numerous other planters, managers, &c. This testimony is corroborated by the police reports, exhibiting, as they do, comparatively few crimes, and those for the most part minor ones. We have in our possession the police reports for every month from September, 1835, to January, 1837. We give such specimens as will serve to show the general tenor of the reports.

Police-Office, St. John's, Sept. 3, 1835.

"From the information which I have been able to collect by my own personal exertions, and from the reports of the assistant inspectors, at the out stations, I am induced to believe that, in general, a far better feeling and good understanding at present prevails between the laborers and their employers, than hitherto.

"Capital offences have much decreased in number, as well as all minor ones, and the principal crimes lately submitted for the investigation of the migistrates, seem to consist chiefly in trifling offences and breaches of contract.

Signed, RICHARD S. WICKHAM,
Superintendent of Police.

"To his excellency,
SIR C. I. MURRAY MCGREGOR, *Governor, &c.*

* Dr. Daniell.

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St. John's, Antigua, Oct. 2, 1835.

"SIR—The general state of regularity and tranquillity which prevails throughout the island, admits of my making but a concise report to your Excellency, for the last month.

"The autumnal agricultural labors continue to progress favorably, and I have every reason to believe, that the agriculturalists, generally, are far more satisfied with the internal state of the island affairs, than could possibly have been anticipated a short period since.

"From conversations which I have had with several gentlemen of extensive interest and practical experience, united with my own observations, I do not hesitate in making a favorable report of the general easy and quietly progressing state of contentedness, evidently showing itself among the laboring class; and I may add, that with few exceptions, a reciprocity of kind and friendly feeling at present is maintained between the planters and their laborers.

"Although instances do occur of breach of contract, they are not very frequent, and in many cases I have been induced to believe, that the crime has originated more from the want of a proper understanding of the time, intent, and meaning of the contract into which the laborers have entered, than from the actual existence of any dissatisfaction on their part."

Signed, &c.

St. John's, Antigua, Dec. 2d, 1835.

"SIR—I have the honor to report that a continued uninterrupted state of peace and good order has happily prevailed throughout the island, during the last month.

"The calendar of offences for trial at the ensuing sessions, bears little comparison with those of former periods, and I am happy to state, that the crimes generally, are of a trifling nature, and principally petty thefts.

"By a comparison of the two last lists of offences submitted for investigation, it will be found that a decrease has taken place in that for November." *Signed, &c.*

St. John's, January 2d, 1836.

"SIR—I have great satisfaction in reporting to your Honor

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the peaceable termination of the last year, and of the Christmas vacation.

"At this period of the year, which has for ages been celebrated for scenes of gaiety and amusement among the laboring, as well as all other classes of society, and when several successive days of idleness occur, I cannot but congratulate your Honor, on the quiet demeanor and general good order, which has happily been maintained throughout the island.

"It may not be improper here to remark, that during the holidays, I had only one prisoner committed to my charge, and that even his offence was of a minor nature." *Signed, &c.*

Extract of Report for February, 1836.

"The operation of the late Contract Acts, caused some trifling inconvenience at the commencement, but now that they are clearly understood, even by the young and ignorant, I am of opinion, that the most beneficial effects have resulted from these salutary Acts, equally to master and servant, and that a permanent understanding is fully established.

"A return of crimes reported during the month of January, I beg leave to inclose, and at the same time, to congratulate your Honor on the vast diminution of all minor misdemeanors, and of the continued total absence of capital offences."

Superintendent's office, Antigua, April 4th, 1836.

"SIR—I am happy to remark, for the information of your Honor, that the Easter holidays have passed off, without the occurrence of any violation of the existing laws sufficiently serious to merit particular observation."* *Signed, &c.*

Extract from the Report for May, 1836.

"It affords me great satisfaction in being able to report that the continued tranquillity prevailing throughout the island, prevents the necessity of my calling the particular attention of your Honor to the existence of any serious or flagrant offence.

* This and the other reports concern, not St. John's merely, but the entire population of the island.

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"The crop season having far advanced, I have much pleasure in remarking the continued steady and settled disposition, which on most properties appear to be reciprocally established between the proprietors and their agricultural laborers; and I do also venture to offer as my opinion, that a considerable improvement has taken place, in the behavior of domestic, as well as other laborers, not immediately employed in husbandry."

We quote the following table of offences as a specimen of the monthly reports:

Police Office, St. John's, 1836.

RETURN OF OFFENCES REPORTED AT THE POLICE STATIONS FROM 1ST TO 31ST MAY.

NATURE OF OFFENCES.	St. John's.	E. Harbor.	Parham.	Johnston's Point.	Total,	More than last month.	Less than last month.
Assaults,	2	2			4		5
Do. and Batteries,	2	3	5		10		8
Breach of Contract,	4	11	59		74		16
Burglaries,	2		3		5	2	
Commitments under Vagrant Act,	4	1			5		10
Do. for Fines,	5				5	2	
Do. under amended Porter's and Jobber's Act,							7
Felonies,	2				2	2	
Injury to property,	4	9	7		20		5
Larcenies,	4				4	4	
Misdemeanors,	3	12			15	15	
Murders,							
Petty Thefts,		1			1		10
Trespasses,	1	2	2		5		
Riding improperly thro' the streets,							
Total,	33	41	76		150	25	61

Signed, RICHARD S. WICKHAM,
Superintendent of Police.

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Superintendent's office, Antigua, July 6th, 1836.

"SIR—I have the honor to submit for your information, a general return of all offences reported during the last month, by which your Honor will perceive, that no increase of 'breach of contract' has been recorded.

"While I congratulate your Honor on the successful maintenance of general peace, and a reciprocal good feeling among all classes of society, I beg to assure you, that the opinion which I have been able to form in relation to the behavior of the laboring population, differs but little from my late observations.

"At a crisis like this, when all hopes of the ultimate success of so grand and bold an experiment, depends, almost entirely, on a cordial co-operation of the community, I sincerely hope, that no obstacles or interruptions will now present themselves, to disturb that general good understanding so happily established, since the adoption of unrestricted freedom."

Superintendent's office, St. John's, Sept. 4th, 1836.

"SIR—I have the honor to enclose, for the information of your Excellency, the usual monthly return of offences reported for punishment.

"It affords me very great satisfaction to report, that the internal peace and tranquillity of the island has remained uninterrupted during the last month; the conduct of all classes of the community has been orderly and peaceable, and strictly obedient to the laws of their country.

"The agricultural laborers continue a steady and uniform line of conduct, and with some few exceptions, afford a general satisfaction to their several employers.

"Every friend to this country, and to the liberties of the world, must view with satisfaction the gradual improvement in the character and behavior of this class of the community, under the constant operation of the local enactments.

"The change must naturally be slow, but I feel sure that, in due time, a general amelioration in the habits and industry of the laborers will be sensibly experienced by all grades of society in this island, and will prove the benign effects and propitious

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results of the co-operated exertions of all, for their general benefit and future advancement.

"Complaints have been made in the public prints of the robberies committed in this town, as well as the neglect of duty of the police force, and as these statements must eventually come under the observation of your Excellency, I deem it my duty to make a few observations on this point.

"The town of St. John's occupies a space of one hundred and sixty acres of land, divided into fourteen main, and nine cross streets, exclusive of lanes and alleys—with a population of about three thousand four hundred persons.

"The numerical strength of the police force in this district, is eleven sergeants and two officers; five of these sergeants are on duty every twenty-four hours. One remains in charge of the premises, arms, and stores; the other four patrole by day and night, and have also to attend to the daily duties of the magistrates, and the eleventh is employed by me (being an old one) in general patrole duties, pointing out nuisances and irregularities.

"One burglary and one felony alone were reported throughout the island population of 37,000 souls in the month of July; and no burglary, and three felonies, were last month reported.

"The cases of robbery complained of, have been effected without any violence or noise, and have principally been by concealment in stores, which, added to the great want of a single lamp, or other light, in any one street at night, must reasonably facilitate the design of the robber, and defy the detection of the most active and vigilant body of police."

Signed, &c.

Superintendent's office, Antigua, January 4th, 1837.

"Sir—It is with feelings of the most lively gratification that I report for your notice the quiet and peaceable termination of Christmas vacation, and the last year, which were concluded without a single serious violation of the governing laws.

I cannot refrain from cordially congratulating your Excellency on the regular and steady behavior, maintained by all ranks of society, at this particular period of the year.

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"Not one species of crime which can be considered of an heinous nature, has yet been discovered; and I proudly venture to declare my opinion, that in no part of his Majesty's dominions, has a population of thirty thousand conducted themselves with more strict propriety, at this annual festivity, or been more peaceably obedient to the laws of their country."

Signed, &c.

In connection with the above quotation from the monthly reports, we present an extract of a letter from the superintendent of the police, addressed to us.

St. John's, 9th February, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIRS—In compliance with your request, I have not any hesitation in affording you any information on the subject of the free system adopted in this island, which my public situation has naturally provided me with.

"The opinion which I have formed has been, and yet remains, in favor of the emancipation; and I feel very confident that the system has and continues to work well, in almost all instances. The laborers have conducted themselves generally in a highly satisfactory manner to all the authorities, and strikingly so when we reflect that the greater portion of the population of the island were at once removed from a state of long existing slavery, to one of unrestricted freedom. Unacquainted as they are with the laws newly enacted for their future government and guidance, and having been led in their ignorance to expect incalculable wonders and benefits arising from freedom, I cannot but reflect with amazement on the peace and good order which have been so fortunately maintained throughout the island population of thirty thousand subjects.

"Some trifling difficulties sprang up on the commencement of the new system among the laborers, but even these, on strict investigation, proved to originate more from *an ignorance of their actual position*, than from any bad feeling, or improper motives, and consequently *were of short duration*. In general the laborers are peaceable, orderly, and civil, not only to those who move in higher spheres of life than themselves, but also to each other.

"The crimes they are generally guilty of, are petty thefts,

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and other minor offences against the local acts; but crimes of any heinous nature are very rare among them; and I may venture to say, that petty thefts, *breaking sugar-canes to eat*, and offences of the like description, *principally* swell the calendars of our quarterly courts of sessions. *Murder* has been a stranger to this island for many years; no execution has occurred among the island population for a very long period; the only two instances were two *Irish* soldiers.

"The lower class having become more acquainted with their governing laws, have also become infinitely more obedient to them, and I have observed that *particular care is taken among most of them to explain to each other the nature of the laws*, and to point out in their usual style the ill consequences attending any violation of them. ☞ *A due fear of, and a prompt obedience to, the authority of the magistrates, is a prominent feature of the lower orders*, and to this I mainly attribute the successful maintenance of rural tranquillity.

"Since emancipation, the agricultural laborer has had to contend with two of the most obstinate droughts experienced for many years in the island, which has decreased the supply of his accustomed vegetables and ground provisions, and consequently subjected him and family to very great privations; but this even, I think, has been submitted to with becoming resignation.

"To judge of the past and present state of society throughout the island, I presume that *the lives and properties of all classes are as secure in this, as in any other portion of his Majesty's dominions;* and I sincerely hope the future behavior of all, will more clearly manifest the correctness of my views of this highly important subject.

"I remain, dear sirs, yours faithfully,

"RICHARD S. WICKHAM, *Superintendent of police.*"

This testimony is pointed and emphatic; and it comes from one whose *official business it is to know* the things whereof he here affirms. We have presented not merely the opinions of Mr. W., relative to the subordination of the emancipated negroes in Antigua, but likewise the *facts* upon which he founded his opinion.

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On a point of such paramount importance we cannot be too explicit. We therefore add the testimony of planters as to the actual state of crime compared with that previous to emancipation.

Said J. Howell, Esq., of T. Jarvis's estate, "I do not think that aggressions on property, and crime in general, have increased since emancipation, but rather decreased. They *appear* to be more frequent, because they are made *more public*. During slavery, all petty thefts, insubordination, insolence, neglect of work, and so forth, were punished summarily on the estate, by order of the manager, and not even so much as the rumor of them ever reached beyond the confines of the property. Now all offences, whether great or trifling, are to be taken cognizance of by the magistrate or jury, and hence they become notorious. Formerly each planter knew only of those crimes which occurred on his own property; now every one knows something about the crimes committed on every other estate, as well as his own."

. It will be remembered that Mr. H. is a man of thorough and long experience in the condition of the island, having lived in it since the year 1800, and being most of that time engaged directly in the management of estates.

"Aggression on private property, such as breaking into houses, cutting canes, &c., are decidedly fewer than formerly. It is true that crime is made more *public* now, than during slavery, when the master was his own magistrate."—*Dr. Daniell.*

"I am of the opinion that crime in the island has diminished rather than increased since the abolition of slavery. There is an *apparent* increase of crime, because every misdemeanor, however petty, floats to the surface."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

We might multiply testimony on this point; but suffice it to say that, with very few exceptions, the planters, many of whom are also civil magistrates, concur in these two statements; that the amount of crime is actually less than it was during slavery; and that it *appears* to *be greater* because of the publicity which is necessarily given by legal processes to offences which were formerly punished and forgotten on the spot where they occurred.

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Some of the prominent points established by the foregoing evidence are,

1st. That most of the crimes committed are petty misdemeanors, such as turning out to work late in the morning, cutting canes to eat, &c. *High penal offences* are exceedingly rare.

2d. That where offences of a serious nature do occur, or any open insubordination takes place, they are founded in ignorance or misapprehension of the law, and are seldom repeated a second time, if the law be properly explained and fully understood.

3d. That the above statements apply to no particular part of the island, where the negroes are peculiarly favored with intelligence and religion, but are made with reference to the island generally. Now it happens that in one quarter of the island the negro population are remarkably ignorant and degraded. We were credibly informed by various missionaries, who had labored in Antigua and in a number of the other English islands, that they had not found in any colony so much debasement among the people, as prevailed in the part of Antigua just alluded to. Yet they testified that the negroes in that quarter were as peaceable, orderly, and obedient to law, as in any other part of the colony. We make this statement here particularly for the purpose of remarking that in the testimony of the planters, and in the police reports, there is not a single allusion to this portion of the island as forming an exception to the prevailing state of order and subordination.

After the foregoing facts and evidences, we ask, what becomes of the dogma, that slaves cannot be immediately placed under the government of *equitable laws* with safety to themselves and the community?

TWELFTH PROPOSITION.—The emancipated negroes have shown *no disposition to roam from place to place.* A tendency to rove about, is thought by many to be a characteristic of the negro; he is not allowed even an ordinary share of local attachment, but must have the chain and staple of slavery to hold him amidst the graves of his fathers and the society of his children. The experiment in Antigua shows that such sentiments are groundless prejudices. There a large body of slaves were

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"*turned loose;*" they had full liberty to leave their old homes and settle on other properties—or if they preferred a continuous course of roving, they might change employers every six weeks, and pass from one estate to another until they had accomplished the circuit of the island. But what are the facts? "The negroes are not disposed to leave the estates on which they have formerly lived, unless they are forced away by bad treatment. I have witnessed many facts which illustrate this remark. Not unfrequently one of the laborers will get dissatisfied about something, and in the excitement of the moment will notify me that he intends to leave my employ at the end of the month. But in nine cases out of ten such persons, before the month has expired, beg to be allowed to remain on the estate. The strength of their *local attachment* soon overcomes their resentment, and even drives them to make the most humiliating confessions in order to be restored to the favor of their employer, and thus be permitted to remain in their old homes."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

"Nothing but bad treatment on the part of the planters has ever caused the negroes to leave the estates on which they were accustomed to live, and in such cases a *change of management* has almost uniformly been sufficient to induce them to return. We have known several instances of this kind."—*S. Bourne, Esq., of Millar's, and Mr. Watkins, of Donovan's.*

"The negroes are remarkably attached to their homes. In the year 1828, forty-three slaves were sold from the estate under my management, and removed to another estate ten miles distant. After emancipation, the whole of these came back, and plead with me to employ them, that they might live in their former houses."—*James Howell, Esq.*

"Very few of my people have left me. The negroes are peculiar for their attachment to their homes."—*Samuel Barnard, Esq., of Green Castle.*

"Love of home is very remarkable in the negroes. It is a passion with them. On one of the estates of which I am attorney, a part of the laborers were hired from other proprietors. They had been for a great many years living on the estate, and they became so strongly attached to it, that they all continued to work on it after emancipation, and they still remain on the

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same property. The negroes are loth to leave their homes, and they very seldom do so unless forced away by ill treatment."—*Dr. Daniell.*

On a certain occasion we were in the company of four planters, and among other topics this subject was much spoken of. They all accorded perfectly in the sentiment that the negroes were peculiarly sensible to the influence of local attachments. One of the gentlemen observed that it was a very common saying with them—"*Me nebber leave my bornin' ground*,"—i. e., birth-place.

An aged gentleman in St. John's, who was formerly a planter, remarked, "The negroes have very strong local attachments They love their little hut, where the calabash tree, planted at the birth of a son, waves over the bones of their parents. They will endure almost any hardship and suffer repeated wrongs before they will desert that spot."

Such are the sentiments of West India planters: expressed, in the majority of cases, spontaneously, and mostly in illustration of other statements. We did not hear a word that implied an opposite sentiment. It is true, much was said about the emigration to Demerara, but the facts in this case only serve to confirm the testimony already quoted. In the first place, nothing but the inducement of very high wages* could influence any to go, and in the next place, after they got there they sighed to return, (but were not permitted,) and sent back word to their relatives and friends not to leave Antigua.

Facts clearly prove, that the negroes, instead of being indifferent to local attachments, are peculiarly alive to them. That nothing short of cruelty can drive them from their homes—that they will endure even that, as long as it can be borne, rather than leave; and that as soon as the instrument of cruelty is removed, they will hasten back to their "*bornin' ground.*"

THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.—"The gift of unrestricted freedom, though so suddenly bestowed, has not made the negroes more insolent than they were while slaves, but has rendered them *less so.*"—*Dr. Daniell.*

* From fifty cents to a dollar per day.

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Said James Howell, Esq.—"A short time after emancipation, the negroes showed some disposition to assume airs and affect a degree of independence; but this soon disappeared, and they are now respectful and civil. There has been a mutual improvement in this particular. The planters treat the laborers more like fellow men, and this leads the latter to be respectful in their turn."

R. B. Eldridge, Esq., asked us if we had not observed the civility of the lower classes as we passed them on the streets, both in town and in the country. He said it was their uniform custom to bow or touch their hat when they passed a white person. They did so during slavery, and he had not discovered any change in this respect since emancipation.

Said Mr. Bourne—"The negroes are decidedly less insolent now than they were during slavery."

Said Mr. Watkins, of Donovan's—"The negroes are now all *cap in hand*; as they know that it is for their interest to be respectful to their employers."

Said Dr. Nugent—"Emancipation has not produced insolence among the negroes."

During our stay in Antigua, we saw no indications whatever of insolence. We spoke in a former part of this work of the uncommon civility manifested in a variety of ways on the road-sides.

A trifling incident occurred one day in St. John's, which at first seemed to be no small rudeness. As one of us was standing in the verandah of our lodging-house, in the dusk of the evening, a brawny negro man who was walking down the middle of the street, stopped opposite us, and squaring himself, called out "Heigh! what for you stand dare wid your arms so?" placing his arms a-kimbo, in imitation of ours. Seeing we made no answer, he repeated the question, still standing in the same posture. We took no notice of him, seeing that his supposed insolence was at most good-humored and innocent. Our hostess, a colored lady, happened to step out at the moment, and told us that the man had mistaken us for her son, with whom he was well acquainted, at the same time calling to the man, and telling him of his mistake. The negro instantly dropped his arms, took

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off his hat, begged pardon, and walked away apparently quite ashamed.

FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation in Antigua has demonstrated that GRATITUDE *is a prominent trait in the negro character.* The conduct of the negroes on the first of August, 1834, is ample proof of this; and their uniform conduct since that event manifests an habitual feeling of gratitude. Said one, "The liberty we received from the king, we can never sufficiently thank God for; whenever we think of it, our hearts go out in gratitude to God." Similar expressions we heard repeatedly from the negroes. We observed that the slightest allusion to the first of August in a company of freed persons, would awaken powerful emotions, accompanied with exclamations of "tank de good Lord," "bless de Savior," "praise de Savior," and such like.

It was the remark of Mr. James Howell, manager of Thibou Jarvis's—"That the negroes evinced very little gratitude to their *masters* for freedom. Their gratitude all flowed toward God and the king, whom they regarded as the sole authors of their liberty."

Mr. Watkins observed that, "the negroes' motto was God and the king. This feeling existed particularly at the time of emancipation, and shortly after it. They have since become more attached to their former masters."

It is by no means strange that the negroes should feel little gratitude toward their late masters, since they knew their opposition to the benevolent intentions of the English government. We were informed by Dr. Daniell and many others, that for several months before emancipation took place, the negroes had an idea that the king had sent them 'free papers,' and that *their masters were keeping them back.* Besides, it was but two years before that period, that they had come into fierce and open hostility with the planters for abolishing the Sunday market, and giving them no market-day instead thereof. In this thing, their masters had shown themselves to be their enemies. That any good thing could come from such persons the slaves were doubtless slow to believe. However, it is an undeniable fact, that since emancipation, kind treatment on the

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part of the masters has never failed to excite gratitude in the negroes. The planters understand fully how they may secure the attachment and confidence of their people. A *grateful* and *contented* spirit certainly characterizes the negroes of Antigua. They do not lightly esteem what they have got, and murmur because they have no more. They do not complain of small wages, and strike for higher. They do not grumble about their simple food and their coarse clothes, and flaunt about, saying '*freemen ought to live better.*' They do not become dissatisfied with their lowly, cane-thatched huts, and say, we ought to have as good houses as massa. They do not look with an evil eye upon the political privileges of the whites, and say we have the majority, and we'll rule. It is the common saying with them, as we were told by the missionaries, when speaking of the inconveniences which they sometimes suffer, "Well, we must be satisfy and conten."

FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.—The freed negroes of Antigua have proved that *they are able to take care of themselves.* It is affirmed by the opponents of emancipation in the United States, that if the slaves were liberated they could not take care of themselves. Some of the reasons assigned for entertaining this view are—1st, "The negro is naturally improvident." 2d, "He is constitutionally indolent." 3d, "Being of an inferior race, he is deficient in that shrewdness and management necessary to prevent his being imposed upon, and which are indispensable to enable him to conduct any kind of business with success." 4th, "All these natural defects have been aggravated by slavery. The slave never provides for himself, but looks to his master for every thing he needs. So likewise he becomes increasingly averse to labor, by being driven to it daily, and flogged for neglecting it. Furthermore, whatever of mind he had originally has been extinguished by slavery." Thus by nature and by habit the negro is utterly unqualified to take care of himself. So much for theory; now for testimony. First, what is the evidence with regard to the *improvidence* of the negroes?

"During slavery, the negroes squandered every cent of money they got, because they were sure of food and clothing.

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Since their freedom, they have begun to cultivate habits of carefulness and economy,"—*Mr. James Howell.*

Facts—1st. The low wages of the laborers is proof of their providence. Did they not observe the strictest economy, they could not live on fifty cents per week.

2d. That they buy small parcels of land to cultivate, is proof of economy and foresight. The planters have to resort to every means in their power to induce their laborers not to purchase land.

3d. The Friendly Societies are an evidence of the same thing. How can we account for the number of these societies, and for the large sums of money annually contributed in them? And how is it that these societies have trebled, both in members and means since emancipation, if it be true that the negroes are thus improvident, and that freedom brings starvation?

4th. The weekly and monthly contributions to the churches, to benevolent societies, and to the schools, demonstrate the economy of the negroes; and the *great increase* of these contributions since August, 1834, proves that emancipation has not made them less economical.

5th. The increasing attention paid to the cultivation of their private provision grounds is further proof of their foresight. For some time subsequent to emancipation, as long as the people were in an unsettled state, they partially neglected their grounds. The reason was, they did not know whether they should remain on the same estate long enough to reap their provisions, should they plant any. This state of uncertainty very naturally paralyzed all industry and enterprise; and their neglecting the cultivation of their provision grounds, *under such circumstances*, evinced foresight rather than improvidence. Since they have become more permanently established on the estates, they are resuming the cultivation of their grounds with renewed vigor.

Said Dr. Daniell—"There is an increasing attention paid by the negroes to cultivating their private lands, since they have become more permanently settled."

6th. The fact that the parents take care of the wages which their children earn, shows their provident disposition. We were

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informed that the mothers usually take charge of the money paid to their children, especially their daughters, and this, in order to teach them proper subordination, and to provide against casualties, sickness, and the infirmities of age.

7th. The fact that the negroes are able to support their aged parents, is further proof.

As it regards the second specification, viz., *constitutional indolence*, we may refer generally to the evidence on this subject under a former proposition. We will merely state here two facts.

1st. Although the negroes are not obliged to work on Saturday, yet they are in the habit of going to estates that are weak-handed, and hiring themselves out on that day.

2d. It is customary throughout the island to give two hours (from 12 to 2) recess from labor. We were told that in many cases this time is spent in working on their private provision grounds, or in some active employment by which a pittance may be added to their scanty earnings.

What are the facts respecting the natural *inferiority* of the negro race, and their incompetency to manage their own affairs.

Said Mr. Armstrong—"The negroes are exceedingly quick *to turn a thought*. They show a great deal of shrewdness in every thing which concerns their own interests. To a stranger it must be utterly incredible how they can manage to live on such small wages. They are very exact in keeping their accounts with the manager."

"The negroes are very acute in making bargains. A difficulty once arose on an estate under my charge, between the manager and the people, in settling for a job which the laborers had done. The latter complained that the manager did not give them as much as was stipulated in the original agreement. The manager contended that he had paid the whole amount. The people brought their complaint before me, as attorney, and maintained that there was one shilling and six-pence (about nineteen cents) due each of them. I examined the accounts and found that they were right, and that the manager had really made a mistake to the very amount specified."—*Dr. Daniell*

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"The emancipated people manifest as much cunning and address in business, as any class of persons."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"The capabilities of the blacks for education are conspicuous; so also as to mental acquirements and trades."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

It is a little remarkable that while Americans fear that the negroes, if emancipated, could not take care of themselves, the West Indians fear lest they *should* take care of themselves; hence they discourage them from buying lands, from learning trades, and from all employments which might render them independent of sugar cultivation.

SIXTEENTH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation has operated at once to elevate and improve the negroes. It introduced them into the midst of all relations, human and divine. It was the first formal acknowledgment that they were MEN—personally interested in the operations of law, and the requirements of God. It laid the corner-stone in the fabric of their moral and intellectual improvement.

"The negroes have a growing self-respect and regard for character. This was a feeling which was scarcely known by them during slavery."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"The negroes pay a great deal more attention to their personal appearance, than they were accustomed to while slaves. The *women* in particular have improved astonishingly in their dress and manners."—*Dr. Daniell.*

Abundant proof of this proposition may be found in the statements already made respecting the decrease of licentiousness, the increased attention paid to marriage, the abandonment by the mothers of the horrible practice of selling their daughters to vile white men, the reverence for the Sabbath, the attendance upon divine worship, the exemplary subordination to law, the avoidance of riotous conduct, insolence and intemperance.

SEVENTEENTH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation promises a vast improvement in the condition of woman. What could more effectually force woman from her sphere, than slavery has done by dragging her to the field, subjecting her to the obscene remarks, and to the vile abominations of licentious drivers and overseers; by compelling her to wield the heavy hoe, until ad-

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vancing pregnancy rendered her useless, then at the earliest possible period driving her back to the field with her infant swung at her back, or torn from her and committed to a stranger. Some of these evils still exist in Antigua, but there has already been a great abatement of them, and the humane planters look forward to their complete removal, and to the ultimate restoration of woman to the quiet and purity of domestic life.

Samuel Bourne, Esq., stated that there had been a great improvement in the treatment of mothers on his estate. "Under the old system, mothers were required to work half the time after their children were six weeks old; but now we do not call them out for *nine months* after their confinement, until their children are entirely weaned."

"In those cases where women have husbands in the field, they do not turn out while they are nursing their children. In many instances the husbands prefer to have their wives engaged in other work, and I do not require them to go to the field."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

Much is already beginning to be said of the probability that the women will withdraw from agricultural labor. A conviction of the impropriety of females engaging in such employments is gradually forming in the minds of enlightened and influential planters.

A short time previous to emancipation, the Hon. N. Nugent, speaker of the assembly, made the following remarks before the house:—"At the close of the debate, he uttered his fervent hope that the day would come when the principal part of the agriculture of the island would be performed by males, and that the women would be occupied in keeping their cottages in order, and in increasing their domestic comforts. The desire of improvement is strong among them; they are looking anxiously forward to the instruction and advancement of their children, and even of themselves."—*Antigua Herald of March*, 1834.

In a written communication to us, dated January 17, 1837, the Speaker says: "Emancipation will, I doubt not, improve the condition of the females. There can be no doubt that they will ultimately leave the field, (except in times of emergency,)

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and confine themselves to their appropriate domestic employments."

EIGHTEENTH PROPOSITION.—Real estate has risen in value since emancipation; mercantile and mechanical occupations have received a fresh impulse; and the general condition of the colony is decidedly more flourishing than at any former period.

"The credit of the island has decidedly improved. The internal prosperity of the island is advancing in an increased ratio. More buildings have been erected since emancipation, than for twenty years before. Stores and shops have multiplied astonishingly; I can safely say that their number has more than quintupled since the abolition of slavery."—*Dr. Ferguson.*

"Emancipation has very greatly increased the value of, and consequently the demand for, real estate. That which three years ago was a drug altogether unsaleable by private bargain, has now many inquirers after it, and ready purchasers at good prices. The importation of British manufactured goods has been considerably augmented, probably one fourth.

"The credit of the planters who have been chiefly affected by the change, has been much improved. And *the great reduction of expense in managing the estates*, has made them men of more real wealth, and consequently raised their credit both with the English merchants and our own."—*James Scotland, Sen., Esq.*

"The effect of emancipation upon the commerce of the island *must needs* have been beneficial, as the laborers indulge in more wheaten flour, rice, mackerel, dry fish, and salt-pork, than formerly. More lumber is used in the superior cottages now built for their habitations. More dry goods—manufactures of wool, cotton, linen, silk, leather, &c., are also used, now that the laborers can better afford to indulge their propensity for gay clothing."—*Statement of a merchant and agent for estates.*

"Real estate has risen in value, and mercantile business has greatly improved."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

A merchant of St. John's informed us, that real estate had increased in value at least fifty per cent. He mentioned the fact, that an estate which previous to emancipation could not be sold for £600 current, lately brought £2000 current.

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NINETEENTH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation has been followed by the introduction of labor-saving machinery.

"Various expedients for saving manual labor have already been introduced, and we anticipate still greater improvements. Very little was thought of this subject previous to emancipation." *S. Bourne, Esq.*

"Planters are beginning to cast about for improvements in labor. My own mind has been greatly turned to this subject since emancipation."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

"The plough is beginning to be very extensively used."—*Mr. Hatley.*

"There has been considerable simplification in agricultural labor already, which would have been more conspicious, had it not been for the excessive drought which has prevailed since 1834. The plough is more used, and the expedients for manuring land are less laborious."—*Extract of a letter from Hon. N. Nugent.*

TWENTIETH PROPOSITION.—Emancipation has produced the most decided change in the views of the *planters.*

"Before emancipation took place, there was the bitterest opposition to it among the planters. But after freedom came, they were delighted with the change. I felt strong opposition myself, being exceedingly unwilling to give up my *power of command.* But I shall never forget how differently I felt when freedom took place. I arose from my bed on the first of August, exclaiming with joy, 'I am free, I am free; I *was the greatest slave on the estate*, but now I am free.' "—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"We all resisted violently the measure of abolition, when it first began to be agitated in England. We regarded it as an outrageous interference with our rights, with our property. But we are now rejoiced that slavery is abolished."—*Dr. Daniell.*

"I have already seen such decided benefits growing out of the free labor system, that for my part I wish never to see the face of slavery again."—*Mr. Hatley.*

"I do not know of a single planter who would be willing to return to slavery. We all feel that it was a great curse."—*D. Cranstoun, Esq.*

The speaker of the assembly was requested to state especially

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the advantages of freedom both to the master and the slave; and he kindly communicated the following reply:

"The benefits to the master are conspicuous—he has got rid of the cark and care, the anxiety and incessant worry of managing slaves; all the trouble and responsibility of rearing them from infancy, of their proper maintenance in health, and sickness, and decrepitude, of coercing them to labor, restraining, correcting, and punishing their faults and crimes—settling all their grievances and disputes. He is now entirely free from all apprehension of injury, revenge, or insurrection, however transient and momentary such impression may have formerly been. He has no longer the reproach of being a *slaveholder*; his property has lost all the *taint* of slavery, and is placed on as secure a footing, in a moral and political point of view, as that in any other part of the British dominions.

"As regards the *other* party, it seems almost unnecessary to point out the advantages of being a free man rather than a slave. He is no longer liable to personal trespass of any sort; he has a right of self-control, and all the immunities enjoyed by other classes of his fellow subjects—he is enabled to better his condition as he thinks proper--he can make what arrangements he likes best, as regards his kindred, and all his domestic relations—he takes to his *own* use and behoof, all the wages and profits of his own labor; he receives money wages instead of weekly allowances, and can purchase uch particular food and necessaries as he prefers—*and so on!* IT WOULD BE ENDLESS TO ATTEMPT TO ENUMERATE ALL THE SUPERIOR ADVANTAGES OF A STATE OF FREEDOM TO ONE OF SLAVERY!"

The writer says, at the close of his invaluable letter, "I was born in Antigua, and have resided here with little interruption since 1809. Since 1814, I have taken an active concern in plantation affairs." He was born heir to a large slave property, and retained it up to the hour of emancipation. He is now the proprietor of an estate.

We have another witness to introduce to the reader, Ralph Higinbothom, Esq., the UNITED STATES CONSUL!—*Hear him!*

"Whatever may have been the dissatisfaction as regards emancipation among the planters as its commencement, there

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are few, indeed, if any, who are not *now* well satisfied that under the present system, their properties are better worked, and their laborers more contented and cheerful, than in the time of slavery."

In order that the reader may see the *revolution* that has taken place since emancipation in the views of the highest class of society in Antigua, we make a few extracts.

"There was the most violent opposition in the legislature, and throughout the island, to the anti-slavery proceedings in Parliament. The anti-slavery party in England were detested here for their *fanatical and reckless course.* Such was the state of feeling previous to emancipation, that it would have been certain disgrace for any planter to have avowed the least sympathy with anti-slavery sentiments. The humane might have their hopes and aspirations, and they might secretly long to see slavery ultimately terminated; but they did not dare to make such feelings public. *They would at once have been branded as the enemies of their country!*"—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

"There cannot be said to have been any *anti-slavery party* in the island before emancipation. There were some individuals in St. John's and a very few planters, who favored the anti-slavery views, but they dared not open their mouths, because of the bitter hostility which prevailed."—*S. Bourne, Esq.*

"The opinions of the clergymen and missionaries, with the exception of, I believe, a few clergymen, were favorable to emancipation; but neither in their conduct, preaching, or prayers, did they declare themselves openly, until the measure of abolition was determined on. The missionaries felt restrained by their instructions from home, and the clergymen thought that it did not comport with their order 'to take part in politics!' I never heard of a single *planter* who was favorable, until about three months before the emancipation took place; when some few of them began to perceive that it would be advantageous to their *interests.* Whoever was known, or suspected of being an advocate for freedom, became the object of vengeance, and was sure to suffer, if in no other way, by a loss of part of his business. My son-in-law,* my son,† and myself, were perhaps the chief

* Dr. Ferguson, physician in St. John's.

† James Scotland, Jun., Esq., barrister, proprietor, and member of Assembly.

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marks for calumny and resentment. The first was twice elected a member of the Assembly, and as often put out by scrutinies conducted by the House, in the most flagrantly dishonest manner. Every attempt was made to deprive the second of his business, as a lawyer. With regard to myself, I was thrown into prison, without any semblance of justice, without any form of trial, but in the most summary manner, simply upon the complaint of one of the justices, and without any opportunity being allowed me of saying one word in my defence. I remained in jail until discharged by a peremptory order from the Colonial Secretary, to whom I appealed."—*James Scotland, Sen., Esq.*

Another gentleman, a white man, was arrested on the charge of being in the interest of the English Anti-Slavery party, and in a manner equally summary and illegal, was cast into prison, and confined there for one year.

From the foregoing statements we obtain the following comparative view of the past and present state of sentiment in Antigua.

Views and conduct of the planters previous to emancipation:

1st. They regarded the negroes as an inferior race, fit only for slaves.

2d. They regarded them as their rightful property.

3d. They took it for granted that negroes could never be made to work without the use of the whip; hence,

4th. They supposed that emancipation would annihilate sugar cultivation; and,

5th. That it would lead to bloodshed and general rebellion.

6th. Those therefore who favored it, were considered the "*enemies of their country*"—"TRAITORS"—and were accordingly persecuted in various ways, not excepting imprisonment in the common jail.

7th. So popular was slavery among the higher classes, that its morality or justice could not be questioned by a missionary—an editor—or a *planter* even, without endangering the safety of the individual.

8th. The anti-slavery people in England were considered detestable men, intermeddling with matters which they did not understand, and which at any rate did not concern them. They

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were accused of being influenced by selfish motives, and of designing to further their own interests by the ruin of the planters. They were denounced as *fanatics*, *incendiaries*, *knaves*, *religious enthusiasts*.

9th. The abolition measures of the English Government were considered a gross outrage on the rights of private property, a violation of their multiplied pledges of countenance and support, and a flagrant usurpation of power over the weak.

Views and conduct of the planters subsequent to emancipation:

1st. The negroes are regarded as *men*—equals standing on the same footing as fellow-citizens.

2d. Slavery is considered a foolish, impolitic, and wicked system.

3d. Slaves are regarded as an *unsafe* species of property, and to hold them disgraceful.

4th. The planters have become the *decided enemies* of slavery. The worst thing they could say against the apprenticeship, was, that "it was only another name for *slavery*."

5th. The abolition of slavery is applauded by the planters as one of the most noble and magnanimous triumphs ever achieved by the British government.

6th. Distinguished abolitionists are spoken of in terms of respect and admiration. The English Anti-Slavery Delegation* spent a fortnight in the island, and left it the same day we arrived. Wherever we went we heard of them as "the respectable gentlemen from England," "the worthy and intelligent members of the Society of Friends," &c. A distinguished agent of the English Anti-Slavery Society now resides in St. John's, and keeps a bookstore, well stocked with anti-slavery books and pamphlets. The bust of GEORGE THOMPSON stands conspicuously upon the counter of the bookstore, looking forth upon the public street.

7th. The planters affirm that the abolition of slavery put an end to all danger from insurrection, rebellion, privy conspiracy, and sedition, on the part of the slaves.

8th. Emancipation is deemed an incalculable blessing, because

* Messrs. Sturge and Harvey.

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it released the planters from an endless complication of responsibilities, perplexities, temptations and anxieties, and because it *emancipated them from the bondage of the whip.*

9th. *Slavery—emancipation—freedom*—are the universal topics of conversation in Antigua. Anti-slavery is the popular doctrine among all classes. He is considered an enemy to his country who opposes the principles of liberty. The planters look with astonishment on the continuance of slavery in the United States, and express their strong belief that it must soon terminate here and throughout the world. They hailed the arrival of French and American visitors on tours of inquiry as a bright omen. In publishing our arrival, one of the St. John's papers remarks, "We regard this as a pleasing indication that the American public have their eyes turned upon our experiment, with a view, we may hope, of ultimately following our excellent example." (!) All classes showed the same readiness to aid us in what the Governor was pleased to call "the objects of our philanthropic mission."

Such are the views *now* entertained among the planters of Antigua. What a complete change*—and all in less than three years, and effected by the abolition of slavery and a trial of free-

* The following little story will further illustrate the wonderful revolution which has taken place in the public sentiment of this colony. The facts here stated all occurred while we were in Antigua, and we procured them from a variety of authentic sources. They were indeed publicly known and talked of, and produced no little excitement throughout the island. Mr. Corbett was a respectable and intelligent planter residing on an estate near Johnston's Point. Several months previous to the time of which we now speak, a few colored families (emancipated negroes) bought of a white man some small parcels of land lying adjacent to Mr. C.'s estate. They planted their lands in provisions, and also built them houses thereon, and moved into them. After they had become actively engaged in cultivating their provisions, Mr. Corbett laid claim to the lands, and ordered the negroes to leave them forthwith.

They of course refused to do so. Mr. C. then flew into a violent rage, and stormed and swore, and threatened to burn their houses down over their heads. The terrified negroes forsook their property and fled. Mr. C. then ordered his negroes to tear down

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dom! Most certainly, if the former views of the Antigua planters resemble those held by pro-slavery men in this country, their present sentiments are a *fac simile* of those entertained by the immediate abolitionists.

TWENTY-FIRST PROPOSITION.—Emancipation has been followed by a manifest diminution of "*prejudice against color*," and has opened the prospect of its speedy extirpation.

Some thirty years ago, the president of the island, Sir Edward Byam, issued an order forbidding the great bell in the cathedral of St. John's being tolled at the funeral of a colored person; and directing a *smaller* bell to be hung up in the same belfry, and used on such occasions. For twenty years this distinction was strictly maintained. When a white person, however *vile*, was buried, the great bell was tolled; when a colored person, whatever his moral worth, intelligence, or station, was carried to his grave, the little bell was tinkled. It was not until the arrival of the present excellent Rector, that this "prejudice bell"

their huts and burn up the materials—which was accordingly done. He also turned in his cattle upon the provision grounds, and destroyed them. The negroes made a complaint against Mr. C., and he was arrested and committed to jail in St. John's for trial on the charge of *arson*.

We heard of this circumstance on the day of Mr. C.'s commitment, and we were told that it would probably go very hard with him on his trial, and that he would be very fortunate if he escaped the *gallows* or *transportation*. A few days after this we were surprised to hear that Mr. C. had died in prison. Upon inquiry, we learned that he died literally from *rage and mortification*. His case defied the skill and power of the physicians. They could detect the presence of no disease whatever, even on a minute post-mortem examination. They pronounced it as their opinion that he had died from the violence of his passions—excited by being imprisoned, together with his apprehensions of the fatal issue of the trial.

Not long before emancipation, Mr. Scotland was imprisoned for *befriending* the negroes. After emancipation, Mr. Corbett was imprisoned for *wronging* them.

Mr. Corbett was a respectable planter, of good family, and moved in the first circles in the island.

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was silenced. The Rev. Mr. Cox informed us that prejudice had greatly decreased since emancipation. It was very common for white and colored gentlemen to be seen walking arm and arm on the streets of St. John's.

"Prejudice against color is fast disappearing. The colored people have themselves contributed to prolong this feeling, *by keeping aloof from the society of the whites.*"—*James Howell, of T. Jarvis's.*

How utterly at variance is this with the commonly received opinion, that the colored people are disposed to *thrust* themselves into the society of the whites!

"*Prejudice against color* exists in this community only to a limited extent, and that chiefly among those who could never bring themselves to believe that emancipation would really take place. Policy dictates to them the propriety of confining any expression of their feelings to those of the same opinions. Nothing is shown of this prejudice in their intercourse with the colored class—it is '*kept behind the scenes.*' "—*Ralph Higinbothom, U. S. Consul.*

Mr. H. was not the only individual standing in "high places" who insinuated that the whites that still entertained prejudice were ashamed of it. His Excellency the Governor intimated as much, by his repeated assurances for himself and his compeers of the first circles, that there was no such feeling in the island as prejudice against *color*. The reasons for excluding the colored people from their society, he said, were wholly different from that. It was chiefly because of their *illegitimacy*, and also because they were not sufficiently refined, and because their *occupations* were of an inferior kind, such as mechanical trades, small shop keeping, &c. Said he, "You would not wish to ask your tailor, or your shoemaker to dine with you?" However, we were too unsophisticated to coincide in his Excellency's notions of social propriety.

TWENTY-SECOND PROPOSITION.—The progress of the anti-slavery discussions in England did not cause the masters to treat their slaves worse, but on the contrary restrained them from outrage.

"The treatment of the slaves during the discussions in England, was manifestly milder than before."—*Dr. Daniell.*

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"The effect of the proceedings in parliament was to make the planters treat their slaves better. Milder laws were passed by the assembly, and the general condition of the slave was greatly ameliorated."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

"The planters did not increase the rigor of their discipline because of the anti-slavery discussions; but as a general thing, were more lenient than formerly."—*S. Bourne, Esq.*

"We pursued a much milder policy toward our slaves after the agitation began in England."—*Mr. Jas. Howell.*

'The planters did not treat their slaves worse on account of the discussions; but were more lenient and *circumspect.*"—*Letter of Hon. N. Nugent.*

"There was far less cruelty exercised by the planters during the anti-slavery excitement in England. They were always on their guard to escape the notice of the abolitionists. *They did not wish to have thier names published abroad, and to be exposed as monsters of cruelty!*"—*David Cranstoun, Esq.*

We have now completed our observations upon Antigua. It has been our single object in the foregoing account to give an accurate statement of the results of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. We have not taken a single step beyond the limits of testimony, and we are persuaded that testimony materially conflicting with this, cannot be procured from respectable sources in Antigua. We now leave it to our readers to decide, whether emancipation in Antigua has been to all classes in that island a *blessing* or a *curse.*

We cannot pass from this part of our report without recording the kindness and hospitality which we everywhere experienced during our sojourn in Antigua. Whatever may have been our apprehensions of a cool reception from a community of ex-slaveholders, none of our forebodings were realized. It rarely falls to the lot of strangers visiting a distant land, with none of the contingencies of birth, fortune, or fame to herald their arrival, and without the imposing circumstance of a popular mission to recommend them, to meet with a warmer reception, or to enjoy a more hearty confidence, than that with which we were honored in the interesting island of Antigua. The very *object* of our visit, humble, and even odious as it may appear

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in the eyes of many of our own countrymen, was our passport to the consideration and attention of the higher classes in that free colony. We hold in grateful remembrance the interests which all—not excepting those most deeply implicated in the late system of slavery—manifested in our investigations. To his excellency the Governor, to officers both civil and military, to legislators and judges, to proprietors and planters, to physicians, barristers, and merchants, to clergymen, missionaries, and teachers, we are indebted for their uniform readiness in furthering our objects, and for the mass of information with which they were pleased to furnish us. To the free colored population, also, we are lasting debtors for their hearty co-operation and assistance. To the emancipated, we recognise our obligations as the friends of the slave, for their simple-hearted and reiterated assurances that they should remember the oppressed of our land in their prayers to God. In the name of the multiplying hosts of freedom's friends, and in behalf of the millions of speechless but grateful-hearted slaves, we tender to our acquaintances of every class in Antigua our warmest thanks for their cordial sympathy with the cause of emancipation in America. We left Antigua with regret. The natural advantages of that lovely island; its climate, situation, and scenery; the intelligence and hospitality of the higher orders, and the simplicity and sobriety of the poor; the prevalence of education, morality and religion; its solemn Sabbaths and thronged sanctuaries; and above *all*, its rising institutions of liberty—flourishing so vigorously,—conspire to make Antigua one of the fairest portions of the earth. Formerly it was in our eyes but a speck on the world's map, and little had we recked if an earthquake had sunk, or the ocean had overwhelmed it; but now, the minute circumstances in its condition, or little incidents in its history, are to our minds invested with grave interest.

None, who are alive to the cause of religious freedom in the world, can be indifferent to the movements and destiny of this little colony. Henceforth, Antigua is the morning star of our nation, and though it glimmers faintly through a lurid sky, yet we hail it, and catch at every ray as the token of a bright sun which may yet burst gloriously upon us.

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BARBADOS.

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE.

Barbados was the next island which we visited. Having failed of a passage in the steamer,* (on account of her leaving Antigua on the Sabbath,) we were reduced to the necessity of sailing in a small schooner, a vessel of only seventeen tons burthen, with no cabin but a mere *hole*, scarcely large enough to receive our baggage. The berths, for there were two, had but one mattress between them; however, a foresail folded made up the complement.

The wind being for the most part directly against us, we were seven days in reaching Barbados. Our aversion to the sepulchre-like cabin obliged us to spend, not the days only, but the nights mostly on the open deck. Wrapping our cloaks about us, and drawing our fur caps over our faces, we slept securely in the soft air of a tropical clime, undisturbed save by the hoarse voice of the black captain crying "ready, bout," and the flapping of the sails, and the creaking of the cordage, in the frequent tackings of our staunch little sea-boat. On our way we passed under the lee of Guadaloupe and to the windward of Dominica, Martinique, and St. Lucia. In passing Guadaloupe, we were obliged to keep at a league's distance from the land, in obedience to an express regulation of that colony prohibiting small English vessels from approaching any nearer. This is a pre-

* There are several English steamers which ply between Barbados and Jamaica, touching at several of the intermediate and surrounding islands, and carrying the mails.

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cautionary measure against the escape of slaves to the English islands. Numerous small vessels, called *guarda costas*, are stationed around the coast to warn off vessels and seize upon all slaves attempting to make their escape. We were informed that the eagerness of the French negroes to taste the sweets of liberty, which they hear to exist in the surrounding English islands, is so great, that notwithstanding all the vigilance by land and sea, they are escaping in vast numbers. They steal to the shores by night, and seizing upon any sort of vessel within their reach, launch forth and make for Dominica, Montserrat, or Antigua. They have been known to venture out in skiffs, canoes, and such like hazardous conveyances, and make a voyage of fifty or sixty miles; and it is not without reason supposed, that very many have been lost in these eager darings for freedom.

Such is their defiance of dangers when liberty is to be won, that old ocean, with its wild storms, and fierce monsters, and its yawning deep, and even the superadded terrors of armed vessels ever hovering around the island, are barriers altogether ineffectual to prevent escape. The western side of Guadaloupe, along which we passed, is hilly and little cultivated. It is mostly occupied in pasturage. The sugar estates are on the opposite side of the island, which stretches out eastward in a low sloping country, beautifully situated for sugar cultivation. The hills were covered with trees, with here and there small patches of cultivated grounds where the negroes raise provisions. A deep rich verdure covered all that portion of the island which we saw. We were a day and night in passing the long island of Guadaloupe. Another day and night were spent in beating through the channel between Guadaloupe and Dominica: another day in passing the latter island; and then we stood for Martinique. This is the queen island of the French West Indies. It is fertile and healthful, and though not so large as Guadaloupe, produces a larger revenue. It has large streams of water, and many of the sugar mills are worked by them. Martinique and Dominica are both very mountainous. Their highest peaks are constantly covered with clouds, which in their varied shiftings, now wheeling around, then rising or falling, give the hills the appearance of smoking volcanoes. It was not until the eighth day of

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the voyage, that we landed at Barbados. The passage from Barbados to Antigua seldom occupies more than three days, the wind being mostly in that direction.

In approaching Barbados, it presented an entirely different appearance from that of the islands we had passed on the way. It is low and level, almost wholly destitute of trees. As we drew nearer we discovered in every direction the marks of its extraordinary cultivation. The cane fields and provision grounds in alternate patches cover the island with one continuous mantle of green. The mansions of the planters, and the clusters of negro houses, appear at short intervals dotting the face of the island, and giving to it the appearance of a vast village interspersed with verdant gardens.

We "rounded up" in the bay, off Bridgetown, the principal place in Barbados, where we underwent a searching examination by the health officers; who, after some demurring, concluded that we might pass muster. We took lodgings in Bridgetown with Mrs. M., a colored lady.

The houses are mostly built of brick or stone, or wood plastered. They are seldom more than two stories high, with flat roofs, and huge window shutters and doors—the structures of a hurricane country. The streets are narrow and crooked, and formed of white marl, which reflects the sun with a brilliancy half blinding to the eyes. Most of the buildings are occupied as stores below and dwelling houses above, with piazzas to the upper story, which jut over the narrow streets, and afford a shade for the side walks. The population of Bridgetown is about 30,000. The population of the island is about 140,000, of whom nearly 90,000 are apprentices, the remainder are free colored and white in the proportion of 30,000 free colored and 20,000 whites. This large population exists on an island not more than twenty miles long, by fifteen broad. The whole island is under the most vigorous and systematic culture. There is scarcely a foot of productive land that is not brought into requisition. There is no such thing as a forest of any extent in the island. It is thus that, notwithstanding the insignificance of its size, Barbados ranks among the British islands next to Jamaica in value and importance. It was on account of its conspicuous standing

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