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Class A.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SLAVERY

AND

THE SLAVE TRADE

IN

FOREIGN COUNTRIES,

AND

OTHER MATTERS.

From January 1 to December 31, 1871.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1872.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Class A.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES AND AGENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

SPAIN.

No. 1.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord,

Madrid, December 23, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the communication which, in pursuance of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of this month, I have addressed to Señor Sagasta relative to Mr. Dunlop's remarks upon the probable evasion of the prohibition of corporal punishment contained in the Law of the 23rd of June last providing for the emancipation of certain classes of slaves, and upon the contracts concluded, according to the provisions of the same Law, under the supervision of the Spanish Government with the emancipados.

It appears to me that Mr. Dunlop's observations with regard to the emancipados are especially deserving of attention, and I should be glad to be furnished with any further information which your Lordship may think it desirable to obtain from him in order that I may lose no opportunity of pressing the subject of the illegal treatment of this unfortunate class upon the Spanish Government.

Señor Moret y Prendergast is so much occupied with his heavy duties as Minister both of Finance and the Colonies that I have not been able to see him of late, as I had wished, in order to speak with him on the subject of the despatches from Her Majesty's Consul at Porto Rico recently forwarded to me by your Lordship. I hope to be able to do so soon, and I will not fail at the same time to call his attention very earnestly to the important observations contained in Mr. Dunlop's despatches upon the probable effect of the new law in Cuba.

It appears to me that Mr. Dunlop has taken a just view of the intentions of the present Government with regard to the question of the abolition of slavery, and of the difficulties in their way owing to the opposition of influential and wealthy slaveholders.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Mr. Layard to Señor Sagasta:

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, December 23, 1870.

I AM instructed by the Earl Granville to call your Excellency's attention to the following observations of Her Majesty's Commissary Judge in Cuba upon the subject of the Articles of the Law of the 23rd of June last for the emancipation of certain classes of slaves, relating to the abolition of corporal punishment and to the contracts to be concluded under the supervision of the Government with the "emancipados."

Her Majesty's Commissary Judge is of opinion that it is to be feared that the aboli-

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tion of the use of the the lash by the XXIst Article of the Law in question will be greatly unheeded, for means will be found to induce the local authorities to pass over any complaints which the negro may be enabled to make of its violation. Judging from past experience, there is, indeed, every reason to fear that the law, as passed, admits of great evasion, and evasion implies abuse.

Already there are reports in Cuba of a shameful traffic in emancipados. This unfortunate class, which has been kept in the most abject kind of slavery for so many years, and which has been such a source of peculation and income to successive officials in Cuba, is declared entirely free by Article V of the Law but by Article XIII they are to remain under the control of the State as far as protecting them and furnishing them with the means of gaining their livelihood. This has been taken advantage of and interpreted as best suits the plans of the slavery party in Cuba. The "emancipados" are being dealt out to the planters and their former masters under contracts for eight years, during which they are to receive 8 dol. a month wages, and are, in all other respects, treated as slaves, the contracts being made to appear as the voluntary act of the emancipado.

These contracts are made under the supervision of the Government, and cost from 5 dol. to 10 dol. for each emancipado, so that even to the last moment an opportunity is afforded for peculation.

What may become of the wretched victims, after their sale, may be easily inferred. The emancipado may be worked till he dies, or may be made to fill the place of a defunct slave, and the same iniquitous system which has been so often exposed will continue.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 23, 1871.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 23rd ultimo, I inclose a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at the Havana respecting the Cuban "emancipados" called in by various recent Decrees of the-Captain General to receive their free papers.*

No. 3.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received February 21.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, February 16, 1871.

A MEETING in favour of the total abolition of slavery was held yesterday in one of the theatres of this capital. It was, I understand, well attended. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That the meeting has seen with sorrow that the Government has not declared slavery to be abolished in the Antilles, notwithstanding the time which has elapsed since the Revolution of September.

2. That a commission for the association (for the abolition of slavery) should wait upon the Minister of the Colonies to demand that the laws passed by the Cortes, with regard to slavery, should be enforced in Cuba and Porto Rico.

3. That the Government should be called upon, in fulfilment of the pledges of the Constituent Cortes, to propose to the Cortes about to be elected, a plan for the abolition of slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico.

4. That a commission of lawyers of different political opinions should be appointed to examine the contracts entered into between the "emancipados" of Cuba and their former masters, and to report upon their validity and legality.

These resolutions, it appears to me, are appropriate and well calculated to effect the object in view, and if the general public opinion in Spain can be brought to bear upon the Government in their sense, the complete abolition of slavery would only be a question of months.

General Sickles, the Minister of the United States, accepted an invitation to attend, and made a short speech, which was, I am informed, received with great applause.

General Sickles informs me that he has been able to give his Government satisfactory assurances from the new Minister of the Colonies, of his intention to carry out the pledges given by his predecessor with regard to the abolition of slavery, upon which, General Sickles observed, the policy of the President, with reference to the struggle in Cuba, had been founded.

Señor Ayala is still indisposed, and I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing him. I hope to do so very shortly.

No. 4.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, February 17, 1871.

DURING an interview which I had yesterday with Señor Martos, the conversation having turned upon the public meeting on the subject of the abolition of slavery, to which I referred in my despatch of yesterday, I took the opportunity of asking his Excellency what were the intentions of the Spanish Government with regard to that question. I had not yet, I said, been able to communicate with Señor Ayala, and I was, therefore, anxious to hear from him, Señor Martos, whether the Government had determined to proceed with the measures for the total abolition of slavery which Señor Moret, when Minister of the Colonies, had promised to introduce into the Cortes at the earliest possible moment, and which I had announced at his request to Her Majesty's Government.

Señor Martos replied that I was well acquainted with his own and Señor Moret's opinions on the subject of slavery, and that I might assure your Lordship that they had in no way been changed or modified. He much feared, however, that it would be impossible to introduce any measure for the abolition of slavery in the next Session of the Cortes. I must be aware, he went on to say, of the difficult position in which the Ministry were placed. One of these questions was the abolition of slavery, with regard to which he admitted that certain pledges had been given to Her Majesty's Government.

I replied to Señor Martos that, as he would find from my correspondence with his predecessor, both your Lordship and Lord Clarendon had not been ignorant of the difficulties which existed in dealing with this subject, but had made full allowance for them in the answers, which they had given to the addresses of the Anti-Slavery Society. Yet Her Majesty's Government, after the assurances given to them last year, would have just grounds for remonstrance, if something were not done to prove the intention of the Spanish Government to carry out those measures for the eventual total abolition of slavery, which they had publicly pledged themselves, not only to Spain, but to Europe and the United States, to adopt. I observed that, if the subject were not in some way dealt with by the Cortes, an impression very unfavourable to the Spanish Government could not fail to be the result, and he must expect a renewal of the agitation with regard to it in Spain and elsewhere. I suggested whether, if in the exceptional circumstances in which Cuba was placed, the Government felt it impossible to deal thoroughly with the question of slavery in that island, they could not at once do so in Porto Rico. In that colony the number of slaves was comparatively small, the principal slaveholders themselves were apparently prepared to accept an arrangement, and it was generally admitted, that even a measure for the total abolition of slavery could be carried through in Porto Rico without any risk whatever. If the Government would take this step, it would afford evidence of their intention to abolish slavery throughout the Spanish dominions, and would enable them at a future period to extend a similar measure to Cuba.

Señor Martos said that he would consult his colleagues with regard to this suggestion, and would see whether something could not be done in Porto Rico, where, he admitted, the small number of slaves and the state of public opinion on the question of slavery were favourable to the introduction of a measure of complete abolition. He again begged me to assure your Lordship that the views of his friends were in no way changed with regard to it.

No. 5.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, February 20, 1871.

ACCORDING to a statement published in the Madrid papers, during the Administration of General Caballero de Rodas in Cuba, 26,000 slaves received their liberty. I

presume that the statement refers to the "emancipados." It might be useful, if your Lordship thought it desirable to do so, to obtain from Mr. Dunlop a full and accurate report upon the condition of this unfortunate class.

No. 6.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received March 6.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, February 28, 1871.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 29th of November last, I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, translation of a memorandum which has been communicated to me by the Minister of the Colonies, on the subject of the supposed landing of slaves in the Island of Cuba, in September or October last.

As I have already had occasion to inform your Lordship that the landing in question was absolutely denied by the former Minister of the Colonies, Señor Moret, it would be desirable to allow the matter to drop unless Mr. Consul-General Dunlop has really grounds for believing that there is evidence, notwithstanding the denial of the Spanish authorities, that the landing did take place.

Inclósure in No. 6.

Señor Ballasteras to Mr. Layard.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Madrid, February 25, 1871.

THE Superior Civil Governor of Cuba reports the following to this Office under date of 27th of last January:—

"Together with your Excellency's Superior Order of the 27th ultimo, I have received copy of a Memorandum presented to the Supreme Government by the Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty in Madrid, concerning a supposed disembarkation of slaves in this island. It is my duty to inform your Excellency that the statement of Mr. Dunlop, British Consul-General in this island, is completely inexact and without foundation. I believe that no one, absolutely no one, has thought of a thing which the lofty patriotism of all repels, for they understand that it would be creating for the Government difficulties which they are desirous of avoiding.

"Public opinion in the whole of the island has agreed to accept the situation, and the stories spread about by the German who says he had a conversation on this subject with Mr. Dunlop are a tissue of falsehoods, and bad wishes which can only be entertained by some of those few strangers, who being on bad terms with the existing order of things, sympathize with the enemies of Spain.

"The party of the Casino is not known in this island, since these associations do not mix themselves up in politics, which is strictly prohibited by the regulations, and it has not occurred to anybody to place obstacles in the way of the orders of the Government, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Dunlop, in fulfilling the duty imposed upon him by his mission, should have reported, with reference to such vague tales, causing the Government to be surprised at the silence of the Representative in this Island, who would have hastened to state the fact if such an occurrence had really taken place, which cannot be in view of public feelings which for a long time past has repelled the Slave Trade from these places."

Which by Royal Order commissioned by the Minister of the Colonies, I transmit to your Excellency in answer to your letter of 5th of last December.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

M. BALLASTERAS.

No. 7.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 31, 1871.

I TRANSMIT to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana,* with its inclosure in Spanish, containing suggestions from one of the chief

planters in Cuba as to the best means of abolishing slavery there—namely, by exchanging slaves for coolies from India, at a depôt to be established in the island.

I need not point out to you the impracticability of this scheme, but I forward the letter as an indication of the views of a large planter upon the abolition of slavery.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 8.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 31, 1871.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 16th and 17th ultimo, reporting the delay in the promised measures for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indian Colonies, and the language of Señor Martos upon this subject; and I am compelled to express the feeling of disappointment with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt that the fulfilment of the satisfactory pledges given by the late Spanish Government is thus indefinitely postponed.

Her Majesty's Government are prepared to make every allowance for the difficulties pointed out by Señor Martos, as attending the settlement of this question by a Government composed of Statesmen of different parties and shades of politics; but it seems to Her Majesty's Government, that as abolition of slavery has apparently been determined by a large majority in Spain, it cannot be a disadvantage to the Government to deal with this troublesome question in a bold and comprehensive manner.

Questions are being asked in Parliament here, and papers have been moved for, pointing to a suspicion entertained in this country, that the matter is not progressing satisfactorily: and nothing would give greater satisfaction than an announcement that the Government of Spain were redeeming their pledges, and taking measures for the prompt abolition of slavery.

No better proofs of their intentions in this respect could be given than the complete and unconditional liberation of the "emancipados" in Cuba, and the passing of a law for the immediate abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, where the small number of slaves would render such a measure comparatively easy of accomplishment, while it would prepare the Cuban Colonists, and pave the way for its extension to that island.

You will address a communication in the above sense, and in the most conciliatory terms to the Spanish Government, appealing to their honour not to allow the confidence which Her Majesty's Government have expressed in the promises given last year by Señor Moret, to appear misplaced, and urging the adoption of the measures I have indicated.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 9.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, April 10, 1871.

IN my previous despatch of the 31st ultimo, I authorized you to urge the Spanish Government to pave the way for the abolition of slavery in Cuba, by at once decreeing its abolition in Porto Rico; and while I admit the difficulties which attend the passing of a similar measure in Cuba at the present moment, I think that the Spanish Government might at once take steps for unconditionally liberating the slaves described as "emancipados" and "liberos y libres," referred to in Articles 3 and 5 of the Law of July 4, as well as all slaves employed on estates which, by confiscation or otherwise, are under the control of Government authorities.

With reference, however, to any suggestion for the encouragement under proper regulations of the immigration of free labourers, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government could only consider a scheme for the introduction of British immigrants, when slavery is absolutely abolished in the island, and then only under the protection of a Treaty.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received April 17.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, April 12, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note which I have addressed to Señor Martos on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indian Colonies in pursuance of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo.

I have much pleasure in informing your Lordship that I have received from General Serrano very satisfactory assurances as regards his own views on the subject of slavery, his Excellency having stated to me that he considered that it was absolutely necessary to deal thoroughly at the earliest possible moment with this question, and that he was in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery in Porto Rico.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Mr. Layard to Señor Martos.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, April 12, 1871.

IN the communications which it has been my duty on various occasions to address to my Government on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indian Colonies, a subject which, as your Excellency is aware, is one of the deepest interest to Her Majesty's Government and to the English people, I have not failed to bring to their notice, not only the measures which were last year introduced to this end by his Excellency Señor Moret in the Constituent Cortes, but also the satisfactory assurances given by that distinguished statesman, when Minister of the Colonies, of his future intentions with regard to this important matter. Nor have I omitted to represent to Her Majesty's Government the difficulties that existing political circumstances have unexpectedly placed in the way of the immediate settlement of this question and the fulfilment of those pledges which have been publicly given with regard to it by the Government of Spain to foreign nations as well as to the Spanish people. Her Majesty's Government are also well acquainted with the liberal and enlightened views on the subject entertained by your Excellency and by other eminent statesmen who form the present Government of Spain.

I am, however, instructed by the Earl Granville to express the feeling of disappointment with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt that it is possible that the satisfactory pledges given by the late Spanish Government may not, for various reasons, be for the present fulfilled. Her Majesty's Government are prepared to make every allowance for the difficulties to which I have alluded as attending at this moment the settlement of the question of slavery. But it seems to Her Majesty's Government that, as the abolition of slavery has apparently been determined by a large majority of the Spanish nation itself, it cannot be a disadvantage to the Spanish Government to deal with this troublesome question in a bold and comprehensive manner.

As your Excellency is no doubt aware, questions are being asked in the British Parliament, and documents and correspondence have been moved for in that assembly pointing to a suspicion entertained in England that the measures promised by the Spanish Government with regard to slavery are not progressing satisfactorily. Nothing would give greater satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government and to the English people, or would tend more to the strengthening of those sentiments of friendship and respect which they entertain for the Spanish nation than an announcement that the Government of Spain was redeeming its pledges and taking measures for the prompt abolition of slavery.

Her Majesty's Government venture to suggest that no better proofs of the intention of the Spanish Government, in this respect, could be given than the complete and unconditional liberation of the "emancipados" in Cuba, and the passing of a law for the immediate abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, where the small number of slaves would render such a measure comparatively easy of accomplishment, while it would prepare the Cuban colonists and pave the way for its extension to that island.

Relying upon the honourable determination on all occasions shown by Spanish statesmen to fulfil their engagements, Her Majesty's Government have not hesitated to express their entire confidence in the assurances given by his Excellency Señor Moret last year on the subject of the abolition of slavery, and they are convinced that that confidence has not been misplaced. In suggesting therefore the course which, it appears to them, might at once be pursued in dealing with this question, they are solely actuated by a desire to express their views in the most friendly spirit to the Spanish Government, feeling

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confident, from the well known opinions of those who compose it, that they, as well as Her Majesty's Government, have but one object in view, that of bringing to the earliest possible settlement a question which cannot be deferred without the risk of serious consequences.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 11.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 21, 1871.*
I APPROVE your note to Señor Martos on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indian Colonies, a copy of which is inclosed in your despatch of the 12th instant; and I learn, with great satisfaction, that General Serrano is personally disposed to deal with this question thoroughly, as soon as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 12.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

My Lord, *Madrid, May 4, 1871.*
WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th ultimo, inclosing copy of the note, which, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, I had addressed to Señor Martos on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Antilles, I have now the honour to forward translation of his Excellency's reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 12.

Señor Martos to Mr. Layard.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Madrid, April 26, 1871.*
THE Minister of the Colonies to whom I in due time transmitted your note of the 12th instant, referring to the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Antilles, replies under date of the 19th, as follows:

“In view of the note of the Representative of Her Britannic Majesty, of the 12th instant, and in reply to the same, I have to inform you that the intentions of this office in the important matter in question, are the same as those with which the above-named Representative is already acquainted, and for which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty has already on different occasions addressed its congratulations to the Spanish Government, *i.e.*, the abolition of slavery in our American Colonies. The measures, however, which have to be taken for the attainment of this result, require a very special and attentive examination, since they affect very important political, social, and economic interests, and their very nature requires that, before being submitted to the approbation of the Cortes, a resolution should be taken on them by the consultative bodies of the States, and even by the proprietors in the Antilles.

“Directly after the publication of the Law of Slavery, of June 20, 1870, the Spanish Government, carrying out with the greatest loyalty the fulfilment of the laws preceding it, which had already been made with reference to the abolition of slavery, whilst directing its delegates in their American Colonies to examine and report on the bases formed for the provisions of that law, also enjoined the drawing up of a complete project of abolition, which was to be accompanied by data of all sorts on the subject, in order to assist the decision of the Government and Cortes.

“The Government authorized, moreover, the meeting of proprietors in both Antilles, with the object of contributing to this task, and since then it has not ceased to reiterate to the Governors of the above-named provinces, those orders which had already been given them.

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“The Government of Her Britannic Majesty being already acquainted with the measures taken by this office, and knowing how exactly the law of the 20th of June is observed, notwithstanding the absence of regulations which are now awaiting the report of the Council of State, and not being able to doubt the sentiments of friendship and respect entertained by Spain for England, acts unjustly in manifesting doubts as to the satisfactory fulfilment of the offers made in the question of abolition, and ought to amend such a mistaken opinion.”

I avail, &c.
(Signed) CRISTINO MARTOS.

No. 13.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office. May 12, 1871.

AFTER the frank and cordial communications that have been exchanged between you and the Spanish Government upon the subject of the proposed abolition of slavery in the Spanish Colonies, I extremely regret that they imagine, as stated by Señor Martos in his letter to you of the 26th ultimo, that Her Majesty's Government “act unjustly in manifesting doubts as to the satisfactory fulfilment of the offer made in the question of abolition, and ought to amend such a mistaken opinion.”

Far from entertaining any doubt as to the intentions of the Spanish Government upon this question, you correctly interpreted my views by stating in your note of the 12th ultimo to Señor Martos, that “Her Majesty's Government have not hesitated to express their entire confidence in the assurances given by Señor Moret last year on the subject of the abolition of slavery, and they are convinced that that confidence has not been misplaced;” and, in an answer which I recently returned to a letter from the Anti-Slavery Society, urging that strong representations should be made to the Spanish Government on behalf of the “emancipados” in Cuba, I stated that as I entertained the same confidence that Lord Clarendon expressed in the intentions of the Spanish Government, I must decline to press the Spanish Government unnecessarily to a course of policy which they were inaugurating spontaneously, and which necessarily require time for its development.

The only fear that Her Majesty's Government entertain, and which induced the representations, embodied in your note of the 12th ultimo, is that the political difficulties urged by Señor Moret, in his conversation with you on the 16th of February last, as an excuse for “some apparent lukewarmness on the part of the Government in dealing with this important question, which difficulties, he feared, would render it impossible to introduce any measure for the abolition of slavery in the next Session of Cortes,” may seriously delay further legislation on this subject.

I have complete confidence in the intentions of the Spanish Government and in their honesty and integrity of purpose, but thinking that they attribute undue importance to political difficulties in settling this question, in accordance, as I believe, with the wish of the majority of the Spanish people, I instructed you to express these views, in the most friendly spirit, to the Spanish Government in the strong hope that they will settle this question without delay.

You will be good enough to explain this to the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 14.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

My Lord,

Madrid, May 15. 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy and translation of a communication addressed by the Minister of the Colonies to the Superior Civil Governor of Cuba and published in the “Official Gazette,” on the subject of the Chinese immigrants in that island.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 14.

Señor de Ayala to the Superior Civil Governor of Cuba.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Madrid, April 27, 1871.

IN view of your Excellency's letter of 24th July, 1870, giving a detailed account of the difficulties caused by the Chinese immigration to the development of agriculture and commerce, and especially to the pacifying of Cuba, and finally expressing the opinion that the entry of new expeditions of Asiatics should be at once prohibited, to which prohibition the question of labour ought to be no obstacle, for no prejudice thereto would be felt, as there is already free labour on the estates, which free labour would increase according to necessity, as the proprietors prefer it to the Chinese.

In view of another letter of your Excellency, of 29th of the following August, in which you reproduce the arguments of the previous one, to press the urgent necessity of coming to a determination that may put an end to the grave prejudice caused in Cuba by the Chinese, who do not fulfil their obligations, who infringe the laws of hospitality, disturb public order, resist the enemies of the nation, and keep the interests and tranquillity of the island in constant alarm; and in which you inclose, in support of your statements, copy of the documents drawn up on the subjects, and you ask, in consequence, for an authorization to oblige vagrant Chinese, and coolies not employed in agriculture (for which they were brought in) to leave the island.

In view of the dispositions in force upon the subject, and especially of the Royal Decree—Regulation of 6th July, 1860—by which the Government reserved to itself the right of suspending or prohibiting at any time the introduction of Chinese coolies, although, according to Article LXXXI of the same, that decision must be published in the Madrid and Habana Gazettes, and a term of eight months counted, from the date of publication in the latter, as a minimum space of time, during which the expeditions coming to the island would be still admitted.

Considering, with regard to the expulsion of vagrant Chinese, and of coolies not employed in those agricultural labours which were the object of their introduction and the principal aim of the aforesaid Royal Decree, that with that measure your Excellency intends to free Cuba from an element of disturbance, which might, perhaps, postpone indefinitely the time of its pacification.

Considering that, for the attaining of that object, there are sufficient means within the laws in force, and especially in the aforesaid Decree Regulation of 6th of July, 1860, which has all the character and condition of a mutual contract between the Chinese and their masters on the one hand and the Spanish Government on the other, and implicitly establishes the principle that the labourer, on engaging himself by a spontaneous act of his free will, limits himself to the rights and powers which the law allows him, and submits to leave the island at the expiration of his term of service.

Considering that, in exacting the fulfilment of this engagement when considered necessary for the safety of the island, the Government does nothing but make use of an indisputable right.

Considering also that, for the carrying out of such a measure with the speed necessary on account of the pressing circumstances, a difficulty may arise in the shape of a want of money in the coolies to pay their journey back.

Considering, on the other hand, that the present circumstances of Cuba do not now permit the application of Article 18 of the Regulation, in so far as it refers to the obligation of the Chinese to labour at the public works until their personal expenses being covered, there be a surplus sufficient to pay their journey.

Considering, lastly, that in order to adopt in due time and with the greatest possible amount of data, a definitive resolution as to the fitness or unfitness of the immigration of Chinese labourers into Cuba, it is urgent to examine the reports referred to in the Royal Orders of 26th of December, 1867, 21st of January, and 17th of February, 1868, with which orders were sent to your Excellency, among other documents, certain projects of Convention and regulations drawn up by the Governments of France and England.

His Majesty the King, having heard the full Council of State, and in conformity with the same, has seen fit to order as follows:—

1. In accordance with the power which the Government reserved to itself by Article 81 of the Regulation of 6th of July, 1860, the introduction of Chinese labourers into the Island of Cuba is suspended after a space of eight months from the date of the publication of this resolution in the "Habana Gazette."

2. Notwithstanding the above resolution, and with a view to reconcile private interests

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with those of the public administration, the Ministry of State will stimulate the zeal of the Spanish Consular Agents in China, to the end that, when giving publicity to this measure at the places where the shipments are generally made, they may endeavour, by the use of such means as may be in their power, to obtain from the contractors a voluntary renunciation of any new expedition, without waiting for the expiration of the term of eight months granted for the arrival of the last expeditions to Cuba.

3. Your Excellency is authorized to send out of Cuba (so long as the insurrection is not completely suppressed) all engaged coolies who, having finished their contract, have not renewed it in accordance with the dispositions in force; and those who are engaged in occupations different from that for which they were brought in, as well as those who, having abandoned their work to convert themselves into an element of disturbance, may not be claimed by their masters within a given time.

4. Your Excellency is also authorized to embark, at the State expense, all vagrant Chinese, and those who have no money for the journey; and your Excellency will take care that this resolution be carried out as economically as possible.

5. Your Excellency will cause to be fulfilled the Royal Orders of 26th December, 1867, 21st of January, and 17th of February, 1868, and in giving your report as to the fitness or unfitness of the immigration of Chinese labourers into Cuba, you will send to this Ministry not only the reports made on so delicate a matter by the authors and corporations of the island whom you may think most competent, but also those of such persons as, on account of their special knowledge, or the nature of their property, profession, or trade, may be most directly interested in the fomenting of agriculture, in the development of industry, and in the general increase of the riches of the important province of Cuba.

By Royal Order I communicate this to your Excellency, &c., and you will at once read to this Ministry a copy of the "Habana Gazette," in which this resolution is published.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

LOPEZ DE AYALA.

No. 15.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, May 18, 1871.

IN pursuance of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, I have the honour to inform you that I communicated its substance to Señor Martos, at an interview which I had with his Excellency this afternoon.

His Excellency seemed much gratified by this communication, and begged me to assure your Lordship that he attached great value to this expression of your Lordship's friendly sentiments, and of your Lordship's confidence in the Spanish Government, and in himself personally.

No. 16.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

Madrid, May 25, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the paragraph in the address submitted to the Congress in answer to the King's Speech, on the subject of Cuba and slavery.

Your Lordship will perceive that this paragraph states that the civil war in Cuba only impedes the realization by the Cortes of the provinces of the revolution, which in Puerto Rico, as regards the full enjoyment of political rights and the abolition of slavery, will, no doubt, before long be carried out. This declaration is perhaps not quite as satisfactory as I had been led to expect, but at any rate it is a further solemn and public pledge that slavery is to be abolished in the Spanish Colonies.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. H. LAYARD.

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Inclosure in No. 16.

Extract from the Address in answer to the King of Spain's Speech.

(Translation.)

THE civil war which still rages in Cuba is a fatal legacy of the old *régime*, during which rancorous passions fermented, and the explosion prepared itself; but the Congress hopes, with your Majesty, that it may soon come to a happy conclusion. The firmness of the Government, the patriotism, valour, and patience of the navy, army, and volunteers, the skill of their commanders, and the constant efforts of the whole nation, together with the persuasion, which must at last come to the minds of the rebels, that in submission they will acquire those liberties which they seek in vain to obtain by force, will contribute to the aforesaid termination. The use of that force only impedes the fulfilment of the promises of the Revolution, which will doubtless before long be, as the Congress desires, wholly realized in Porto Rico, where peace has not been disturbed, and where the full enjoyment of political rights and the abolition of slavery will not cause it to be disturbed.

No. 17.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1871.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at the Havana,* containing remarks on the condition of the emancipados in Cuba, and stating that a detailed Report upon the subject will shortly be furnished by Mr. Crawford founded on such official statistics as may be obtainable in the island on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 18.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, May 31, 1871.

AN address to the Queen of Spain praying for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish dominions has been forwarded to me for presentation to Her Majesty by the Birmingham "Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society." There is nothing objectionable in the address; on the contrary, it may be well calculated to interest Her Majesty on this important question. But I feel bound to express my opinion that, in the present somewhat critical state of affairs, it would not be desirable, nor would it probably conduce to the good of the cause, that it should be presented by me officially to Her Majesty.

No. 19.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 5, 1871.

AN amendment on the paragraph in the address of the Congress in answer to the King's Speech relating to Cuba and slavery will be moved by Señor Canovas de Castillo, an eminent member of the Assembly, and the leader of the small party which may be called the "Conservative Opposition."

After condemning the civil war in Cuba as "an impious struggle," and declaring that only an absolute and unconditional surrender on the part of the insurgents, can be accepted as a sufficient atonement for the blood of the Spanish youth shed in it, the amendment deals with the questions of local administration and slavery in the following words:—

"The Cortes will, in the meanwhile, deliberate on the measures presented to them for the amelioration of the political, administrative, and financial situation of all our colonial

* No. 41.

possessions, but will proceed with prudence, especially as regards the institution of slavery, which is still legally existing in Cuba, for even though its final abolition is resolved and accepted by all, it is necessary that this should be realized in such a manner as not to give occasion to such acts of barbarity and terrible catastrophes as occurred in the neighbouring islands, once as prosperous as they are now unfortunate."

Señor Canovas de Castillo's amendment will probably receive considerable support in the Congress, but unless the Government were to accept it there would be little chance of its passing.

The declaration coming from this quarter that the final abolition of slavery has been decided on and accepted by all is of importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 20.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1871.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 31st ultimo, I have to acquaint you that I have received from the Anti-Slavery Society a copy of the address from the Ladies' Negroes' Friends' Society, to which you refer, and I have informed the Society in reply, that as you consider it unadvisable to present the address just now, it must be left to your discretion to choose a more favourable opportunity for presenting it.

No. 21.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, June 13, 1871.

THE Session of the Cortes is drawing to a close, and, although the Chambers met on the 2nd of April, the address in answer to the speech from the Throne is still under discussion in the Congress, and will probably continue so for some days to come. All hope of legislation is consequently at an end until the Cortes meet again in autumn. The Opposition has succeeded in throwing every possible obstacle in the way of business, and several laws of vital importance, which have been promised by the Government, have not been even presented to the Congress. Amongst them is the further law for the abolition of slavery which Señor Moret had pledged himself, in the Constituent Cortes, to introduce at the earliest possible moment.

After the solemn public pledges of the Spanish Government of the Revolution to deal with this question, Her Majesty's Government cannot but feel greatly disappointed that no law on the subject has been presented to the Cortes.

The reasons given for the delay in submitting a law for this purpose to the Cortes are:—the conduct of the opposition in factiously putting a stop to all business in that Assembly, the modifications which have taken place in the Government since the death of General Prim, and the continuation of the insurrection in Cuba.

General Prim and many other Spanish Ministers, with whom I have conversed on the subject of slavery, have declared that, until the insurrection has been suppressed and the authority of the Spanish Government fully established in Cuba, no Government could venture upon a measure of abolition in that island. I have reason to believe that such is now the opinion of the Spanish anti-slavery society, and of the principal advocates for abolition in the Cortes. But the arguments against dealing with slavery in Cuba do not apply to Porto Rico; and I am inclined to think that, if public opinion could be brought strongly to bear on the Government, a satisfactory settlement of the question would soon be arrived at with regard to that island. And no one doubts that, if slavery be abolished in Porto Rico, its abolition in Cuba becomes merely a question of time.

That public opinion in Spain is daily becoming more favourable to the immediate and complete abolition of slavery scarcely admits of a doubt. In my despatch of the 15th instant, I called your Lordship's attention to the fact that the "moderado" opposition had admitted, in an amendment to the address, that all parties had agreed that slavery must be abolished. Even the members of the Cabinet who hesitate to propose a broad and liberal measure with that object to the Cortes, are only

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doubtful as to the mode in which abolition is to be accomplished, and not as to its necessity. These are important facts, and prove that the Government would really have no difficulty in dealing with the question at once in Porto Rico, if they could have an opportunity of presenting a law to the Cortes. It is earnestly to be hoped that, when the Assembly meets again in the autumn, this will be one of the first questions submitted to them.

I have been induced to make these remarks to your Lordship in order that your Lordship may understand the difficulties which have stood in the way of the Spanish Government in carrying out the pledges which they had given to Her Majesty's Government through me, as well as those which they had publicly given to the Cortes and the Spanish nation. I would not venture to assert that those difficulties might have been overcome if the Spanish Government had shown more decision and greater determination to grapple with this most important question. But I can easily understand the impatience and even resentment of those in England and elsewhere who feel a deep interest in the abolition of slavery, and who are not disposed to take into consideration political or personal circumstances which have at different times in all countries unavoidably postponed reforms admitted, by a great majority, to be necessary, wise, and urgent.

There is this to be said for the Spanish Governments since the revolution of 1868, that they have done more than any others for the settlement of this question, and that, although they have not yet actually brought it about, they have inaugurated a policy which must insure the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions.

No. 22.

Earl Granville to Mr. Ffrench.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1871.

I INCLOSE for your information copies of a correspondence with the Spanish Minister at this Court regarding the Slave Trade Mixed Commission Courts established under the Treaty of 1835 with Spain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 22.

Memorandum given by the Spanish Minister to Viscount Enfield.

SI l'Angleterre a considéré comme définitivement fini le Traité du 28 Juin, 1835, en vertu duquel existait le Tribunal Mixte de Sierra Leone; s'il s'est établi entente à ce sujet entre elle et les autres Puissances; et si le Portugal fait maintenant des démarches dans le même but.

Le 21 Avril, 1871.

Inclosure 2 in No. 22.

Viscount Enfield to Señor Rances.

M. le Ministre,

Foreign Office, April 26, 1871.

WITH reference to your inquiry whether any steps have been taken by Her Majesty's Government, for cancelling the existing Slave Trade Treaties between Great Britain and Spain, or other foreign Powers, I have the honour to inform you that no such steps have been taken or are contemplated by Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to inclose for your information a copy of a Convention recently concluded with the United States' Government, providing for the abolition of the Mixed Commission Courts established under the Treaty of 1862, and for the future trial in the Courts of their respective countries of vessels, captured for being engaged in the Slave Trade, but making no other alteration in the Treaty of 1862, which, as you will perceive, is otherwise maintained in its integrity, including the mutual right of searching and detaining suspected slavers.

A precisely similar arrangement is under negotiation with the Portuguese Government but is not yet concluded.

I have only to add that the reasons which led Her Majesty's Government to propose the abolition of these Courts were their great expense and the inutility of maintaining them, in view of the abolition of slavery in the United States and in the Portuguese territories.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

Inclosure 3 in No. 22.

Señor Rances to Viscount Enfield.

Cher Milord,

Londres, le 5 Mai, 1871.

LES renseignements que vous avez bien voulu me procurer sur la question que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser il y a quelques jours répondaient en grande partie à mon désir. Mais je voudrais particulièrement savoir si le Gouvernement de la Reine a le projet de supprimer le Tribunal Mixte de Sierra Léone. Comme nous avons un Juge dans le Tribunal, mon Gouvernement voudrait en être informé pour faire à son tour, si tel était le cas, la réduction de la place dans le budget.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) M. RANCES.

Inclosure 4 in No. 22.

Viscount Enfield to Señor Rances.

Dear M. Rances,

Foreign Office, May 10, 1871.

IN reply to your note of the 5th instant, I hasten to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have no present intention of abolishing the Sierra Leone Court, which is now our only remaining mixed Commission Establishment on the West Coast of Africa, and although we propose and reorganize it on a more economical footing, we shall continue to employ the proper complement of officers connected with the Court, whom we are bound to maintain in virtue of the provisions of the Treaty of 1835.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 23.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received July 20.)

(Extract.)

London, July 20, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a despatch from Lord Enfield, transmitting to me, by your Lordship's direction, a memorial from the Anti-Slavery Society, and requesting me to furnish your Lordship with any observations that I may wish to make thereon, and as to the reply that should be returned to the memorialists.

The memorialists appear to assume that Her Majesty's Government have not brought to bear "a vigorous and direct moral intervention" upon the Spanish Government, with regard to the question of the abolition of slavery. I may venture to say that no previous Government has done more through Her Majesty's Mission at Madrid, by official and private representations to the Spanish Ministers, to advance the cause of abolition than that of which your Lordship is a member, and with more important results. In support of this assertion, I need only refer your Lordship to the despatches which have passed between your Lordship and myself on this subject.

There is no doubt that through corruption and fraud many persons entitled to freedom are still kept in slavery in Cuba, in violation of our Treaty with Spain. Your Lordship has recently called for a full report with regard to these persons, and, when that report is received, it may afford sufficient evidence of this fact to enable Her Majesty's Government to insist upon the liberation of those who are still held in slavery. The Spanish Government by communicating to me, from time to time, the number of emancipados who have received their liberty, fully admit the right of Her Majesty's Government to interfere in this matter.

The memorialists assert that cargoes of slaves are from time to time landed on some of the remote parts of Cuba, and that these slaves are supposed to come from the East Coast of Africa. Rumours to this effect have no doubt been in circulation; but hitherto they have proved, as far as I am aware, unfounded. The truth of them is absolutely denied by the Cuban authorities and the Spanish Government. If any evidence could be produced to establish the fact, Her Majesty's Government would be justified in demanding a searching inquiry, and the signal punishment of the offenders.

The memorialists suggest that the functions of the Commissioners in Cuba should be extended, and their powers increased. I do not see that this suggestion could be carried out with any advantage, and the memorialists do not point out the results which they anticipate from its adoption.

The memorialists further state that the civil war in Cuba is "carried on between the partizans of slavery and the advocates of freedom," and they "earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to invite the co-operation of the Government of the United States in friendly efforts to establish complete freedom and permanent peace in that Island." I have already had occasion to point out to your Lordship, from the evidence furnished by Her Majesty's Commissioners in Cuba, that the character of the civil war is not such as described by the memorialists. It is simply an effort, encouraged by a powerful party in the United States, to throw off the Spanish dominion. No Spanish statesman would venture to abolish slavery in Cuba whilst the insurrection continues, and any encouragement given to the insurgents will only tend to prolong this horrible war, and to delay the abolition of slavery. It is on this account that any intervention on the part of a foreign Power is at this moment much to be deprecated.

Whatever may be the views and opinions of the volunteer party in Cuba, slavery is doomed. Spain must either abolish slavery in Cuba, or lose the island. She knows this, and so do the slaveholders, and the efforts they are making to substitute free labour for slave labour prove it. I have every reason to hope that a measure for the total and immediate abolition of slavery in Porto Rico will soon be passed through the Spanish Cortes, and when such a measure is passed, the abolition of slavery in Cuba will only be a question of time.

No. 24.

Earl Granville to Mr. Ffrench.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 22, 1871.

I INCLOSE, for your information, copies of my correspondence with the Anti-Slavery Society respecting the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government, with reference to the questions of slavery and the Slave Trade in the Spanish West Indian colonies.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 24.

Mr. Phillips to Earl Granville.

*Anti-Slavery Society, Office, 27, New Broad Street,
London, July 10, 1871.*

My Lord,

AT a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on the afternoon of Friday last, 7th July, it was unanimously resolved—

That the address to the Right Honourable the Earl Granville, K.G., now read (inclosed herewith), be adopted, signed by the Secretaries, and forwarded to his Lordship.

I beg respectfully to explain that I have been compelled to delay its transmission on account of the absence from town of two of the Honorary Secretaries.

I am, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS PHILLIPS, *Assistant Secretary.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 24.

Address.

To the Right Honourable the Earl Granville, K.G., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

IT is with great regret that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society finds itself obliged once more respectfully to call the attention of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the state of the island of Cuba, in reference to slavery and the Slave Trade.

The Committee continues to receive information from various sources on the deplorable condition of Cuba, and of the determination of the volunteer or Spanish party to maintain slavery in the island at any cost, and if triumphant to revive the Slave Trade. They observe that these opinions are fully confirmed by statements in the Blue Books recently laid before Parliament.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that nearly every slave in Cuba is entitled to freedom under British Treaty, the Committee had hoped to see some traces in the Parliamentary papers of a more vigorous and direct moral intervention with Spain by Her Majesty's present Government than they are able to discover.

From reliable information received through America, and from other quarters, the Committee believe that the Slave Trade has already recommenced, that some cargoes of slaves are from time to time being landed in small detachments on some of the remote parts of the island.

It is supposed in the United States that these slaves are brought to Cuba from the East Coast of Africa, but on this point no official information appears to have been published.

The Committee respectfully suggest that some good might arise, were Her Majesty's Government to extend the functions and increase the powers of the Commissioners in Cuba.

At the same time the enormous price paid for the hire of slaves in Cuba, is a temptation so great that the only sure prevention is the abolition of slavery itself.

The facts disclosed or confirmed by the Parliamentary papers, that the Spanish Government are powerless to control the volunteer or Spanish party in Cuba, and that this party, if successful in crushing the Cubans, will not only perpetuate slavery but reopen the Slave Trade, emphatically show that the time has arrived when Her Majesty's Government are called upon to assert its Treaty rights in insisting on the liberation of the slave population illicitly imported, and who are virtually the wards of Great Britain.

The present state of affairs admits of no delay.

The Committee would respectfully but very earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to invite the co-operation of the Government of the United States in friendly efforts to establish complete freedom and permanent peace in Cuba, which has been so long devastated by a ruthless civil war, carried on between the partisans of slavery and the advocates of freedom.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

(Signed)

JOSEPH COOPER,

EDMD. STURGE,

ROBT. ALSOP,

THOMAS PHILLIPS, *Assistant Secretary.*

} *Honorary Secretaries.*

27, New Broad Street. London, July 10. 1871.

Inclosure 3 in No. 24.

Viscount Enfield to Messrs. Cooper, Sturge, and Alsop.

Gentlemen,

Foreign Office, July 22, 1871.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your Memorial of the 10th instant, calling attention to the state of affairs in the Island of Cuba with reference to slavery and the Slave Trade, and urging Her Majesty's Government to adopt a more

vigorous policy towards Spain by insisting on the immediate liberation of all slaves imported into Cuba in contravention of the stipulations of the Treaty.

I am to state to you, in reply, that although Lord Granville fully shares your anxiety to put an end to slavery in the Spanish colonies, he cannot concur in your views as to the best means of attaining this object, and that Her Majesty's Government assume the responsibility of taking such measures as they consider best calculated to induce the Spanish Government to abolish slavery within the Spanish dominions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 25.

Mr. Ffrench to Earl Granville.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

San Ildefonso, August 19, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of a note which I have received from General Cordova on the subject of the remarks made by Her Majesty's Commissary in Cuba on certain articles of the Law of June 23, 1870, relating to "emancipados."

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. PERCY FFRENCH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 25.

Señor de Corduba to Mr. Ffrench.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Madrid, August 16, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Captain-General of Cuba states the following in reply to the despatch which was sent to him, inclosing copy of the note from Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, dated 23rd of last December:—

"In making the report requested by your Excellency in consequence of the note from the Minister of Her Britannic Majesty, in which mention is made of the observations by the Commissary of Her Britannic Majesty in Cuba respecting various articles of the Law of June 23, 1870, for the emancipation of certain classes of slaves, it is my duty to say that, as far as acts of the late administration, I can say nothing as to their exactitude or inexactitude, but I may assure you, and I do so without fear that any one can prove the contrary, that during the time that I govern and administer this island, the 'emancipados' declared free, enter into contracts with whom they please, without their liberty being infringed on by any one; and in order that the same may be scrupulously respected it is ascertained, as I have already informed your Excellency in public at this office, by the Secretary himself, or by the Chief of the Section in the case of residents in the capital, and by the Lieutenant-Governors, assisted by the Syndic of the Ayuntamiento, accompanied by two respectable inhabitants of the place, in the case of those who live elsewhere, there being many cases in which, owing to the 'emancipados' having refused to renew their contracts with their former masters, have selected another, the contract has been made out in this sense.

"The intervention of the State has no other object than that of preventing the negroes from being in a state of vagrancy to their own injury, and a source of great danger to public tranquillity. The salary paid is not 8 but 10 dol. to males, and 8 to females, neither is the term of the contract eight years, but from two to six, according to the choice of the negro. The contract does not cost from 5 to 10 dol. for each 'emancipado.' The freed negro make choice of the person whom he wishes to serve for the future, and when, owing to his knowing no one who is satisfactory, he entrusts the selection to me, I make it myself, and even then all details of the person designated by me are explained to him in order that he may express his wishes freely, as he is in the habit of doing, and all these steps cost the contracting parties nothing. Your Excellency may then, with the most complete certainty, that what I affirm is nothing but the truth, give these my positive

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assertions as a reply to the Minister of Great Britain, and I think that with them the report requested by your Excellency is complete, and I would conclude by saying that the punishment of the lash is forbidden, and that if, however, it has been inflicted on any estate, this has been an isolated case which must not be taken as an instance of what passes in general. This is the true state of facts, and your Excellency will understand with what certainty I have asserted that the charges of Her Britannic Majesty's Commissary are not applicable to my time.

"It is not true, I repeat, 'that an "emancipado" may be made to take the place of a slave who has died, and that this system, so often condemned, will be continued,' for the present system has not been used before, and every negro formerly an "emancipado" and now a contract servant, keeps a printed specimen, of which I inclose a copy, of his ticket of liberty and of his contract, and is acquainted with his rights and duties, which are explained to him at the time of the contract being made."

While transmitting to you the above, with the inclosed document, I avail myself, &c.
(Signed) FERNANDO FCO. DE CORDUBA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 25.

[Stamp, 2·50 pesetas.]

(Translation.)

Contract.

MR. _____, inhabitant of the Habana, proprietor, on the one hand, and, on the other, _____, of full age, native of Africa who, in virtue of the exemption which he has obtained from the Government, is qualified to contract freely for his labour, agree to the following:—

1. I, _____, promise to work under the orders of Mr. _____, or under those of the person to whom he may hand over this contract, for which I give him my authorization, at any of the tasks usual here, in the country or town, wherever he may appoint, whether in private houses, or industrial establishments, or in refineries, coffee pounds, &c.

2. The contract shall last six years, which shall begin to count from the day of signing.

3. I likewise subject myself to the regulations and discipline observed in the establishment, estate, or private house to which I may be sent, subjecting myself directly both as regards hours of work, and those of rest, discipline, holidays, &c., to the orders and customs established at the place where I may be employed.

4. I consent to be subject during the time of my engagement to all rules and regulations relating to my class.

I, Mr. _____, bind myself to the following:—

1. From the day on which the six years of this contract begin to count, will pay him the salary of _____ dollars monthly as payment of his labour.

2. That I will give him daily 8 ounces of salt meat, and 2½ lbs. of boniatus, or other nourishing and wholesome victuals.

3. In case of illness I will give him in the infirmary all necessary care and remedies, and will pay him at the rate of _____ dollars monthly during the first eight days of his illness.

4. I will give him yearly two changes of clothes, one woollen shirt, and a blanket.

5. Of the present contract, two equal shall be drawn up, one for each of the contracting parties, and the contract shall be null if not authorized by the competent authority.

[Date.]

No. 26.

Earl Granville to Mr. Ffrench.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 13, 1871.

I INCLOSE a copy of a despatch from the Acting British Consul-General at the Havana,* reporting upon the condition and prospects of the "emancipados" in Cuba,

* No. 42.

which contains statements somewhat at variance with those of the Captain-General of Cuba, as embodied in General Córdoba's note to you of the 16th ultimo, a copy of which was inclosed in your despatch of the 19th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 27.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received October 21.)

My Lord,

Madrid, October 17, 1871.

IN the manifesto directed to the Spanish nation by that section of the Progresista-Democratic party, at the head of which is Señor Ruiz Zorilla, there occurs the following passage with regard to Cuba. It declares that the party is prepared to "extinguish at all hazards the Cuban rebellion, and to insure at any cost territorial integrity, without granting for that purpose concessions which the honour of Spain does not admit, nor making concessions which the patriotism of the party repudiates, and when peace has been once re-established, to enter with regard to that island upon the road of those reforms which the Constitution of 1869 has freely offered to our Colonial compatriots, and which have been initiated in Porto Rico, where tranquillity has not been disturbed, and where the fulfilment of those reforms and the abolition of slavery will not cause it to be disturbed."

This manifesto is issued by that party in the Cortes which, with the exception of the Republicans, represents the most advanced liberal opinions in the country.

The declaration as regards Cuba furnishes further evidence of what I have frequently had occasion to bring to your Lordship's notice—that no party in Spain, however liberal its opinions on the subject may be, will venture to deal with the question of slavery in Cuba until the insurrection is at an end, and Spanish authority restored in that island. I had an opportunity to-day of speaking to one of the most consistent and earnest advocates of the abolition of slavery in the Cortes, and I regret to say that he states his conviction that it would be useless, and even mischievous, to bring at this moment the subject before the Assembly. On the other hand, the manifesto seems to infer that the Progresistas are prepared to carry out at once measures for the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 28.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received November 4.)

My Lord,

Madrid, October 31, 1871.

IT is to be inferred from an answer recently given by Señor Balaquer, the Minister of the Colonies, to a question in the Congress that the law relating to slavery which Señor Moret carried through the Constituent Cortes is still before the Council of State for their report ("en consulto"). It is important to know whether that Law has yet been put into execution in Cuba, and whether children born since September 1868, and slaves above the age of sixty, are now free. Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana could, of course, give this information, with which it is desirable that I should be furnished.

Señor Labra, who brought this matter before the Congress also inquired what had become of the slaves on the properties belonging to insurgents confiscated by the State, as according to the Law, the State could not possess slaves. No answer appears to have been given by Señor Balaquer to this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received November 6.)

My Lord,

Madrid, November 3, 1871.

A DEPUTATION of the Senators and Deputies for the Island of Puerto Rico (with the exception of General Sanz, who professes strong Conservative opinions) waited upon the King yesterday, and presented him with an Address, a copy and translation of which I have the honour to enclose.

Your Lordship will observe that the Address asks that "the wretched and abominable institution of slavery may be extirpated from its very roots." This is a very important declaration coming from those who represent the Island in the Cortes, and I trust that it may lead to some action on the part of the Assembly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 29.

Extract from the "Imparcial" of November 3, 1871.

(Translation.)

AFTER that so many years have passed without the island of Puerto Rico enjoying the great honour of being represented in the Congress and Senate of the nation, now that right is restored to her by virtue of the Revolution of September, and the throne of St. Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic is worthily occupied by your Majesty, the reforming senators and deputies of that province believe they are fulfilling a duty in coming to your Majesty to offer you the expression of their most profound respect, and in order to give you a fresh and solemn proof of the warm attachment of Porto Rico to the common mother country as well as to your Majesty's dynasty.

This manifestation is sincere and loyal, because to the closest union with the mother country as well as with the dynasty which has sprung from the national sovereignty, the pacific and rational people of Porto Rico entrust their hopes of seeing their constant aspirations promptly and legally attained—of living in common political rights with the other provinces of the monarchy under the ægis of the Democratic Constitution of 1869, and uprooting the wretched and abominable institution of slavery.

May it please the Almighty to prolong for many years your Majesty's precious life, in order that, while continuing the glorious traditions of your august father, you may succeed by means of liberty in drawing closer and closer the bonds of love and fraternity which ought to unite all the sons of the noble Spanish nation to which we belong.

No. 30.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received November 7.)

My Lord,

Madrid, November 4, 1871.

PETITIONS were yesterday presented to the Congress from the inhabitants of Santander and St. Sebastian in favour of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Colonies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 31.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received November 10.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, November 7, 1871.

THE deputies from Porto Rico have submitted a motion to the Congress for the immediate abolition of slavery, and for a simultaneous compensation to the proprietors of slaves; and other petitions besides those mentioned in my despatch of the 4th instant have been presented to the Cortes, praying for the abolition of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions. I understand that the Senators for Porto Rico are also about to

present to the Senate a petition for immediate abolition, pointing out how it may be effected and the owners of slaves compensated, by applying to that purpose the annual surplus of the revenue of the island. I am informed that the representatives of Porto Rico propose that a loan of about 2,000,000*l.* sterling nominal for the payment of compensation to the slave-owners (amounting to about 1,500,000*l.* sterling) should be raised, to be guaranteed by the revenues of the island, and in case of their insufficiency, by the Spanish Government; the loan to be paid off in twenty-one years. This petition is, I am told, to be presented by Señor Tirado himself, the owner of 240 slaves.

Whilst those Spaniards who are sincerely opposed to slavery are at this moment doing their utmost to induce the Government to abolish it in Porto Rico, the Cuban slave-owners, well aware that abolition in Porto Rico must lead to abolition in Cuba, are making extraordinary efforts to prevent or delay the passing of any measure for that purpose in the Cortes.

It is known that to this end large sums of money have been sent to their agents in this capital, and have, it is suspected, been made use of to gain over to the side of the slave-owners persons of influence in the Cortes and in the press. In one of the papers published this morning, it is stated that "the Spaniards of Cuba have addressed a warm exhortation to the newspapers of the Peninsula to persevere in the noble task of unmasking the filibustering traitors (by which name those who are in favour of abolition and of Colonial reform are now denounced)," declaring that "they have ample means to indemnify those who, by any unexpected fatality ('fatalidad inconcebible') may be exposed to punishment ('penas') for doing so."

One of the results of this appeal is an Agreement signed by twelve editors of some of the principal papers of Madrid to expose and combat "filibusters" and "filibusterism."

The first Article of this Agreement states, "that the Spanish press, represented by the writers who sign this declaration, or who should adhere to it, constitute an association consecrated to the unconditional defence of the Spanish territories and to the maintenance of the existing social laws."

Unfortunately, the language which has been held out of Spain by those who at all hazard demand total abolition has led the Spanish people to believe that the independence of the Island of Cuba is as much their object as the abolition of slavery. Such being the case, we can scarcely be surprised that the national spirit and pride should be roused, and that the pro-slavery party should take advantage of this feeling to embarrass and intimidate the Government.

I have reason to believe the most earnest and consistent friends of abolition in this country concur in the opinion that for the present, and considering the state of Cuba, it would be advisable to leave the question of slavery in that island untouched, and to deal with it in the Island of Porto Rico. I am of the same opinion. The Spanish Government cannot advance even a plausible excuse for maintaining the institution of slavery in that island. Its inhabitants, through their representatives in the Cortes, demand its abolition; they are prepared to devote the surplus revenues of the Colony to this purpose without having recourse to the imperial treasury, and have pointed out the way in which compensation may be given to the slave-owners. Successive Ministers have declared that the slaves in Porto Rico could be at once freed without any danger to the tranquillity of the island; and there is a strong and influential party in Spain prepared to support the Government in carrying a measure for that purpose through the Congress. The only opponents to abolition in Porto Rico are the slave-owners of Cuba, who believe that abolition in the one Colony would speedily lead to abolition in the other.

Her Majesty's Government have the right to insist peremptorily upon the fulfilment of the Treaty engagements of Spain with respect to the "emancipados" and other persons illegally held in slavery in the Spanish Colonies. If they have not done so already, it has been from a sincere desire to show their confidence in the honour and their reliance upon the pledges and assurances of the Spanish Government, and out of consideration for the critical condition of the Spanish rule in Cuba. It would be difficult to show a more signal proof of the friendly feelings of England towards Spain, and of her desire not to add to the difficulties which have recently visited in this country, than the moderation and forbearance we have shown in our communications with Spanish Government on the subject of slavery.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Madrid, November 8, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the motion for the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, submitted to the Congress, and signed by seven Deputies out of ten returned by the Island to that Assembly. I had been given to understand that this motion was to be made in the Senate; but it appears that at the last moment it was decided to submit it to the more popular branch of the Legislature.

The importance of this motion cannot be exaggerated. It not only demands, on behalf of the Porto Ricans, the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, but it points out the way in which it may be effected, and proposes that the revenues of the island itself shall be applied to that purpose. The statistics and the statements which it contains appear to be conclusive, not only as to the possibility of introducing a measure for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, but as to the absolute necessity of that step being taken. The terms in which the motion is drawn up, and the liberal, humane, and just sentiments which it expresses, are highly creditable to the Porto Rican Deputies; and it can scarcely be believed that the Spanish Cortes, and the Spanish nation, which have on repeated occasions expressed their determination that slavery should be abolished throughout the Spanish dominions, can resist this appeal from the people of Porto Rico. However, the most strenuous endeavours are being made by the Cuban slaveholders, through their agents in Madrid, to prevent the passing of any law dealing with the question of slavery.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 32.

Motion for the Abolition of Slavery in Porto Rico.

(Translation.)

CONSIDERING that the Governments of Europe and America have abolished slavery in the majority of those parts of the world where it existed;

Considering that the abolition which has been accomplished so far has resulted in a greater morality, and a wider extended well-being among the people;

Considering that the Spanish nation has prepared for a life of liberty the slaves in the island of Porto Rico by former acts of a relatively humane legislation, by the absolute suppression of the slave-trade during 36 years, and by the consequent and radical change in the habits both of the masters and slaves;

Considering that these slaves, with the exception of a small number of old men, have all been born in the province, and are acquainted with the language, profess the religion, and have the same manners and customs as the free labourers;

Considering that the number of slaves in the province is at most 32,000, in a total population of 650,000, that the net work of this class does not represent more than 5 per cent., that not more than 10,000 slaves take part in agriculture, and that the excess of labour which might be owing to the conditions of slavery does not alter in an appreciable manner its general results, and cannot compensate for the moral, political, and economic inconveniences which the existence of slavery at the present day entails;

Considering that among these inconveniences may arise some of a serious nature in our international relations, the more so inasmuch as in all the nations surrounding Porto Rico slavery has not only ceased to exist, but also the "libertos" and "ingenuos" are daily raising themselves in the spheres of civilization, and view with manifest repugnance the continuance of this institution in their neighbourhood; that some of these nations might very well, in time of war, take great advantage of the peculiar condition in which we find ourselves, and that, as we have not on our side either the reason or the force of the equilibrium which formerly existed on this point, it is prudent to avoid the dangers which our isolated position might bring on us;

Considering that all classes in Porto Rico represented by the Commissions of 1866, by the deputies of 1869, by the juntas of proprietors convoked to this end by the Government, both in the departments and in the capital of the island, and by the senators and deputies in the present Cortes, have in a great majority always given, and always do give, their opinion in favour of abolition with indemnity, and only differ as to the manner of accomplishing it;

Considering that the prosperous agricultural condition and the state of trade in that province, its peaceful state of perfect public tranquillity, permit the granting of an equitable and real indemnity to slaveholders (a much greater one than that granted by other nations), without prejudice to the necessary service of the province, and that this indemnity is of great public and private convenience ;

Considering, finally, that the nation has contracted solemn engagements with the whole world in official documents of the greatest importance in this matter, and that the moment for fulfilling them has arrived :—

The undersigned Deputies, animated by the most fervent love for their country, and being deeply interested in the national honour, and being convinced both of the justice and convenience of the abolition of slavery, have the honour to present to the Cortes the following project of law :—

Article 1. Slavery is abolished in the Island of Porto Rico.

Art. 2. The actual possessors of slaves shall be indemnified.

Art. 3. The Municipalities and Provincial Deputation shall give to those who, being unable to work, cannot remain with their old owners, the relief given in similar cases to the other day labourers in the island.

They shall also, in the same form, provide the minors of both sexes with schooling.

Art. 4. The “libertos” shall be subject to the police regulations in force for the other day labourers in the island.

Art. 5. Indemnification shall be proceeded to by individual valuation, which shall be made in each place by two experts named, one by the master, the other by the “sindico” in representation of the slave, respectively, and a third expert, named by the Provincial Deputation, to act as arbitrator.

The said valuation shall be made simultaneously in all the province.

The average of the valuation shall not exceed 200 pesos per individual ; if, in any place, the average should result to be greater, the valuations shall be reduced by sliding scale.

Slaves who have made an arrangement for buying their freedom (coartados) shall in no case be valued at a higher price than that at which their agreement may have been made.

Art. 6. As regards the indemnification, none shall be recognized as slaves except those included in the last slave census. Any doubts that may arise as to date of birth, and as to those over 60 years of age, shall be settled by inspection of baptismal certificates, and of census of previous years, or, if that be not sufficient, by proof of witnesses.

Art. 7. The Supreme Civil Government and Provincial Deputation of Porto Rico are authorized to contract a loan, or to issue “bonos de indemnizacion,” with the guarantee of the nation, at an interest of 6 per cent., for the sum of 7,000,000 pesos, to cover the total amount of the valuation ordered in Art. 5.

Art. 8. For the payment of the interest on this sum, and for the amortization thereof, the budget of expenditure of the island shall contain an item of 600,000 pesos every year, which shall be paid by the Treasury, until the extinction of the indemnification debt.

The Provincial Deputation is also authorized legally to establish the lottery, a tax of so much per cent. on intestacies and collateral inheritance, and any other means that patriotism may suggest for increasing the amortization fund, and hastening the extinction of this debt.

Art. 9. All the administrative and judicial steps caused by this law shall be gratis.

Art. 10. The Government of His Majesty shall take the measures necessary for the fulfilment of this law, so that, within six months of its date, the abolition and the simultaneous indemnification of the owners may be carried out by one or the other of the means mentioned in Art. 7.

Palace of the Cortes, November 5, 1871.

(Signed)

J. N. SANROMA.

J. J. ACOSTA.

R. BALDORIOTY DE CASTRO.

J. ALVAREZ PERALTA.

J. A. HERNANDEZ ARBIZU.

F. M. QUINONES.

J. F. CINTRON.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 24, 1871.

THE account given in your recent despatches of the position of the Slavery question in Spain, and the apparently small prospect of further legislation, are so discouraging and unsatisfactory that Her Majesty's Government do not feel justified in maintaining any longer the silence and reserve they have hitherto observed upon a question in which they have a Treaty right to interfere. I refer to the position of the negroes captured and held in slavery in Cuba under the name of "emancipados" since the date of the Treaty by which both Spain and England mutually agreed, not only immediately to set free all slaves captured by either nation under the provisions of the Treaty, but also, upon the requisition of either of the Contracting Parties, to afford the fullest information as to the state and condition of the negroes, with a view of insuring the due execution of the Treaty in this respect.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th Articles of Annex C to the Treaty provided that regulations should be adopted with the humane object of improving and securing honestly and faithfully to the emancipated negroes, the enjoyment of their acquired liberty, good treatment, a knowledge of the Christian religion, and their advancement in morality and civilization, and of providing sufficient instruction for them in mechanical arts, in order that they might gain their own livelihood as artizans, mechanics, or servants.

A register was moreover to be kept of the negroes (a copy of which was to be furnished every six months to the mixed Commission), showing the existence of the negroes emancipated under the Treaty, the disease of such as had died, the improvement made in their condition, and the progress made in their instruction, both religious and moral, as also in the arts of life.

These are the solemn obligations that were contracted by both England and Spain in this Treaty. But how far have they been observed by Spain?

It has been officially reported that the so-called emancipados have, on their arrival at the Havana, been hired out to the planters by the authorities for a money consideration, that their purchase and sale has been openly carried on, and that, in the case of the death of a slave, an emancipado, whose death was then reported, was made to assume the slave's name, so that a large proportion of emancipados have been returned as dead, who were really living and in slavery.

It is true that the Law of the 23rd of June, 1870, gave to the emancipados the long-deferred privilege of at once entering upon the full exercise of the rights of free men, but it remains to be seen whether this provision has been faithfully fulfilled, and in fact, the Cuban authorities can hardly have interpreted it literally, inasmuch as subsequently to the promulgation of the Law, the Captain-General issued various separate Decrees granting the liberty, which the law secured to all, to only a portion of the emancipados.

I have thus shortly reviewed the history of the emancipados, and the claims of Her Majesty's Government to intercede on their behalf. You are aware of the reasons that have induced Her Majesty's Government to refrain from making any representation in favour of these unfortunate men up to this time, and even to resist the pressure put upon Government both in and out of Parliament to interfere in their behalf.

They have not hesitated to express their entire confidence in the solemn assurances and pledges given by the late and former Spanish Governments that the Law of the 23rd of June was only the initiation of a more complete and thorough measure of abolition; and they were most unwilling to press the Spanish Government unnecessarily in a course of policy which they were inaugurating spontaneously, which necessarily required time for its development, and which Her Majesty's Government were confidentially and repeatedly assured would shortly lead to the entire abolition of slavery, and to the consequent freedom of the emancipados.

Two Sessions of the Cortes have passed since these promises were made, and no further legislation has, to my knowledge been attempted by the Government. The difficulties arising from the state of affairs in Cuba were alleged as a justification for this delay, and Her Majesty's Government admitting the validity of the excuse, refrained from pressing the question during the last Session of the Cortes.

But affairs appear to have completely changed since that time.

Notwithstanding that a petition has been presented to Congress by the Deputies from Porto Rico itself, submitting an admirable scheme for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in that island (compensation to the slave-owners being made from a loan to be raised on the revenues of the island, which show an annual surplus); notwithstanding the

admitted fact that, from the small number of slaves in the island, the feeling of the planters, and the excellent labour regulations in force there, the emancipation of the slaves might be effected with ease and security; notwithstanding that petitions have been presented from other important places in favour of the thorough and immediate abolition of slavery; and notwithstanding the exertions of a considerable number of able and determined men, to whom all credit and honour are due,—these efforts are likely to be defeated by the uncompromising opposition of the pro-slavery party in Cuba, who are determined to resist, by all means in their power, the introduction of any further measure for the abolition of slavery, and by the indisposition of the Spanish Government to grapple with the difficulties of the question. I am unwilling to say a single word that could wound the sensitiveness of the Spanish Government upon this subject, nor do Her Majesty's Government pretend in the slightest degree to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain, or to dictate any course of legislation to that Government, but they have a just claim, by virtue of the Treaty, to interfere on behalf of the emancipados, and if the Spanish Government neglect to take advantage of this opportunity of dealing with the question of slavery in Porto Rico, when their hands are so strengthened by the petition presented to Congress by the deputies from that island, and from other influential quarters, Her Majesty's Government can only reluctantly come to the conclusion that there is no further hope of any spontaneous action on the part of the Spanish Government in dealing with the matter, and they must consequently fall back upon their Treaty right in favour of the emancipados.

I leave entirely to your discretion the use that should be made of this despatch, and the time and mode of communicating its contents to the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

P.S.—I transmit to you a copy of a despatch, received since the above was written, from the Acting British Consul-General in Cuba,* substantiating the statements above made concerning the emancipados.

No. 34.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received December 1.)

My Lord,

Madrid, November 28, 1871.

I INCLOSE, for your Lordship's information, extracts, in translation, from speeches of Señores Rivero and Martos, delivered at the great Progresista-Democratic meeting on Sunday last, with regard to the question of slavery and the Government of Cuba. As these gentlemen may be considered as the leading members of a party which has already formed a Spanish Ministry, and will probably do so again, their declarations on those subjects, forming part of the programme of the Progresista-Democrats, are of considerable importance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 34.

Extracts from the Speeches of Señores Rivers and Martos.

(Translation.)

Señor Rivero.—I have been called a Filibuster and a Republican. I wish to be understood as regards these matters, and to speak without any reserve to my political friends, here assembled. Gentleman, I have always defended the same principle, from which I shall never deviate. It is my wish that the colonies be true Spanish provinces but that the flag of Castile may always wave within their borders. I have always defended this, and I take the liberty of remarking that I was the first to raise the standard of the perfect assimilation of those possessions in a political and administrative sense with the other provinces of our country. But, Gentlemen, for the same reason that I love the inhabitants of those colonies like brothers, I would see them in the enjoyment of the same liberties and privileges which we have won for ourselves with so much trouble; liberties and privileges which are their

* No. 45.

due, since they were promised them, and because they are, because I wish that they be, and because they are disposed to be true and loyal brothers of ours (applause). Gentlemen, I do not want slavery (loud cheers), I do not want that my country (the country of Isabella the Catholic), I do not want, I say, that the country of Father Las Casas be the last to tear from its breast this reproach to humanity. But if I would concede to my brothers in the colonies the constitution and liberties of Spain, I would never, as far as I am concerned, be a party to granting them that same liberty and constitution, as long as they are demanded from us at the point of the bayonet (applause). It must be a spontaneous gift from our hearts; a resolution of the public authorities, generously arrived at. It is only thus, that that which our fathers won, that which we ourselves have acquired, that which has cost so much blood, so many tears, and such heroic victims, can be suitably conceded to them; for if it be true that I would wish to see our brothers in the Colonies in the enjoyment of the same liberties and the same constitution as ourselves, I have the honour of my country still nearer at heart, which would be tarnished, supposing liberty were conceded to those, who are in revolt against Spain; and there is one thing which I value more highly than anything else, not even excepting liberty, and that is the honour of my country (loud cheers).

Señor Martos recommended that no great importance be attached to the system of calumny and defamation employed against persons belonging to their party, in order to damage it.

We are called filibusters because we would concede liberal reforms to our colonial possessions, to Cuba, after having made the rebels feel the weight of our arm, and because we are likewise in favour of the abolition of slavery, which is an insult to this century. May we not with equal justice brand those who thus speak as slave-drivers.

No. 35.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 28, 1871.

M. RANCES called upon me on the 13th instant. He told me that he did so pursuant to instructions recently received from his Government touching the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Colonies.

He was directed to inform me in the most positive manner that the Spanish Government, and, indeed, the whole nation, was firmly resolved to deal with the question of slavery in their Colonies, but that the Cuban insurrection being still unsuppressed, the primary object of the nation at this moment was effectually to extinguish that insurrection.

Further efforts were about to be made with this object. It was confidently expected that the dispatch of a numerous body of troops, as well as of four additional men-of-war to the island, would help to re-establish Government authority there within the space of eight months.

The Spanish Government wished us to understand that until that object had been fully attained, the adoption of the line of policy which we advocated in connection with slavery would only tend to weaken the hands of Government in Cuba. They therefore relied on our friendly feeling not to embarrass them by pressing for a change of policy at an inopportune moment; at the same time they assured Her Majesty's Government that the measures they intended eventually to adopt were strictly in accordance with the views held in this country.

After bringing the question before my colleagues on the 14th, I again saw M. Rances.

I told him that Her Majesty's Government entertained very friendly feelings towards the Government of the King, and that they were always ready to make allowances for the political difficulties with which the King's Government might have to deal.

But the Spanish Government must be aware of the strong feeling which existed in this country on the subject of slavery. It was not with us a question of merely making a representation on a matter which we had at heart, but also of insisting on the execution of positive Treaty engagements. The assurances now given by the Spanish Government were merely a repetition of those constantly given on former occasions.

With regard to Cuba, it could not be a matter of indifference to attract or repel the moral sympathies not only of this country, but of the United States. But even admitting hypothetically the correctness of the view held by the Spanish Government with regard to Cuba, the same arguments which might be supposed to hold good in this instance, were

quite inapplicable to Puerto Rico. There, indeed, the facilities for successfully dealing with the question were exceptional.

Her Majesty's Government did not wish to meet Parliament unprovided with any explanation of the delay in abolishing Spanish slavery, other than a mere repetition of the assurances which they have so often received, but which have hitherto invariably remained unfulfilled. If any material advance were made in the matter, such as the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico, it would readily be accepted by Her Majesty's Government as an earnest that the Spanish Government intends at no distant day fully to carry out the pledges frequently and formally given to Her Majesty's Minister, of the total abolition of slavery in all the Spanish colonies.

In conclusion, I told M. Rances that I should instruct you to defer making any formal representation founded on my despatch of the 24th ultimo, until I had received the observations of the Spanish Government, on the reply which I had now given him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

SPAIN. (Consular)—Havana.

No. 36.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received January 4, 1871.)

(Extract.)

Havana, December 12, 1870.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship copies and translations of the last edicts published here, calling in all the remaining Emancipados, in order that they may receive their free papers.

Captain-General Caballero de Rodas has, therefore, previous to his leaving Cuba, tried, in one sense, to carry out the Vth Article of the Emancipation Act of 23rd June last, as regards this unfortunate and much-abused class, in so far as granting them their free papers; but it remains to be seen whether their condition will be materially altered, and whether their continuing under the protection of the State, as provided in the XIIIth Article of the Act, is not tantamount to their remaining for life in a condition far different from that of freedom—in fact—in a state very little better than absolute slavery.

The contracts spoken of in my Annual Report of the 19th ultimo, by which these Emancipados are farmed out for eight years will be very probably renewed on expiry for another similar term, on the plea of providing employment for them, the more so as these contracts are a source of income to the authorities. It is only a continuation of the same shameful system hitherto practised with these "slaves without an owner," so aptly described in the Act by the Spanish word "ingenuo."

I have no means of ascertaining the actual number of Emancipados now forthcoming and about to be re-contracted. I can only recapitulate the number called for in the Captain-General's edicts, viz. :—

Date of Edict.	Years.	Negroes.
21st September, 1869.. ..	1829 to 1842	Unknown.
1st June, 1870	1849 „ 1852	600
18th August, 1870	1853 „ 1854	1,004
18th September, 1870.. ..	1854	2,311
7th October, 1870	1855 „ 1857	2,033
27th October, 1870	1858 „ 1860	2,459
22nd November, 1870.. ..	1860 „ 1861	3,183
6th December, 1870	1863 „ 1866	3,929
Total	15,519

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Decree of the Captain-General of November 22, 1870.

(Translation.)

CONFORMABLY with what is enacted by the Vth Article of the Law of 23rd June last, I have determined that the patrons of Emancipados of the Expeditions below mentioned, are to present them at the Government Secretary's office within a month from the date of this decree, in order that these Emancipados may, after the usual formalities, personally receive their free papers, under the understanding that said patrons can afterwards engage them as free labourers, if both parties are willing, the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of the local jurisdiction supervising the agreements in those cases in which it is solicited, owing to the difficulty of coming to Havana.

Names of Expeditions.	Years.	Negroes.
Cayo Sal	1860	847
Casilda	1860	371
Second Neptuno	1860	419
Jibacoa	1860	47
Yateras	1861	40
Juanita	1861	69
Manati	1861	397
Maniabon	1861	49
Santa Cruz	1861	42
Santa Maria	1861	621
Cabo Indiq	1862	281
Total	3,183

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this decree in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions, and will instruct the police to circulate it by printed notice, so that the holders of Emancipados may not allege ignorance with the understanding that if these patrons or holders do not deliver up the negroes within the prescribed time, they will incur the responsibility indicated by Article XVIII of said Law, which is punishable according to the 13th clause of the Penal Code.

Havana, November 22, 1870.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Decree of the Captain-General of December 6, 1870.

(Translation.)

THE exemption of the Expeditions of negroes captured since the year 1862 being wanting to the complete fulfilment of the Vth Article of the Law of the 23rd June last, I have determined that the patrons who have Emancipados of the said Expeditions which are mentioned below, are to present them at the Government Secretary's office within a month from the date of this decree, in order that these Emancipados may, after the usual formalities, personally receive their free papers, with the understanding that said patrons can afterwards engage them as free labourers, if both parties are agreeable, the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of the local jurisdictions supervising the agreements in those cases in which it is solicited, owing to the difficulty of coming to Havana.

Expeditions.	Years.	Negroes.
Agüica	1863	1,031
Dominica	1863	353
Manaca	1863	418
Canao, Sagua, and Bosmaniel	1863	216
Third Neptuno	1864	659
Lezo	1864	365
Guadalquivir	1864	469
Galo	1865	140
Punta Holandesa	1866	278
Total	3,929

By this last decree, all the Emancipados who were dependent upon the Government, as belonging to Expeditions captured since the year 1824, are declared free, and therefore the patrons who fail in presenting any negro of said Expeditions within the time fixed hereby, will not only incur the fines enacted by law, but also the serious responsibility pointed out in the XVIIIth Article of the said Law of 23rd June, and which is punishable in terms of the XIIIth Article of the Penal Code.

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this decree in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions; they will make it known by all customary means, and they will order the local police to circulate it by printed notice, so that no one may allege ignorance of it.

Havana, December 6, 1870.

(Signed)

CABALLERO DE RODAS.

No. 37.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received January 28.)

(Extract.)

Havana, January 16, 1871.

IN 1869-70, the approximate value of the sugar crop of Cuba, exported from the island, was 14,000,000*l.* sterling. The crop just at present being taken off, and being now manufactured for exportation (called the crop of 1870-71) is estimated to be worth from 11,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling, the former crop having been about the largest ever made in Cuba, and the most valuable.

There are at present, in round numbers, about 350,000 negro slaves in Cuba, a considerable proportion of whom are African born, imported during the last thirty years—deducting from this the aged negroes, children, and those employed in domestic and other servitude, there may be rather more than 200,000 active, able-bodied “estates’ slaves” occupied in the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, &c., and, in addition, there are similarly employed about 50,000 to 60,000 Chinese, who are, whilst under bond of labour, to all intents and purposes “slaves.”

Compared with other sugar-growing colonies, such as Demerara, Jamaica, and Barbadoes, &c., the amount of sugar produced in Cuba by slave labour is enormous, indeed wonderful. Before “emancipation” in Jamaica, for instance, an estate producing about 500 hhds., of sugar, generally had on it from 400 to 500 slaves. One estate here, near Matanzas, is expected to export this year about 6,000 boxes of sugar, or equal to about 1,500 hhds. Long ago in Jamaica such an estate would have been worked by probably 900 to 1,000 negroes, not one of whom was ever over-tasked; but it (the said Cuban estate) had only 250 slaves, including the Chinese, and this was here a normal quantity. The natural consequence of this state of affairs is, that every estate in Cuba is short-handed, any diminution of labour is an immediate loss to the planter, and all the slaves employed in estates’ labour are, some more and some less, over-worked.

The machinery and engines on the Cuban estates are generally of an expensive and superior character. On some the “works” could not, with machinery, have cost less than from 25,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* sterling, on one estate 40,000*l.* sterling. Thus, immense capital is invested solely in the “manufacture;” and sugar, far superior in quality to the “muscovado” of Jamaica and Demerara, is made here on the estates themselves. On some lands steam ploughs are also in use, and everything has been done, at vast cost, to supersede or supplement manual labour. But with all this there is naturally an increasing dearth of negro workmen. The owner of an active strong slave can at present let him out at field labour for from 4*l.* to 5*l.* sterling per month, which is readily paid to the owner, the slave being fed, clothed, and receiving medical attendance at the cost of the temporary employer, who is bound to take no more work out of him than out of his own slaves, and to treat him like them.

Ever since slave-trading has been seriously interfered with, the field-negro has been diminishing in numbers over the whole of Cuba. They are not encouraged to contract regular marriages, lead irregular social lives, and are, as beforesaid, generally over-worked. I do not mean by this that they are always treated with wanton cruelty. During my two years’ residence in Cuba I have never seen a negro slave receive a buffet or a blow, and they often deserve it; for an insolent, sulky, obstinate, healthy negro is as provoking and cross-tempered as a wicked, wilful, disobedient schoolboy, or a refractory mule.

But the estate-slave in this island is called to his work at 6 o’clock in the morning (or earlier during crop-time), and labours in a kind of slow way, with little intermission,

up to 6, 7, and with moonlight, 8, and even 9 at night; this I have seen repeatedly, and it is painful and melancholy to witness,—for the negro in Cuba rarely seems to work “with a will” (as he used to do in Jamaica, &c.), and in the end I believe he does less work, and ages rapidly.

Another “system” regarding the slaves here has struck me. In Jamaica long ago the negro-slaves resided in villages not far from the estate’s buildings. These villages were generally placed in a grove of cocoa-nut and other fruit-trees; each hut was well thatched and had a small inclosed garden; there was often a stream of good water hard by, and the negroes were obliged to keep their cottages and inclosures neat and clean. There they raised some vegetables, herbs, fruit, and poultry for sale or for their own use. These negro villages were often pretty and picturesque. At some distance and generally on some upland the negroes had also their “provision grounds,” where plantains, yams, and other nourishing vegetables were grown in abundance, on a larger scale, all for their own use; they worked these “grounds” themselves, and thus, besides being “field-hands,” who understood something of sugar-culture, &c., as far as their limited intelligence served, they were, in some degree, gardeners and poulterers; and when “freedom” came were nearly independent of want; and then also they were (after emancipation) permitted to remain in their villages and work their “grounds” on paying a small rent to the proprietor. It is also to be remarked that almost all the British negroes were, at the time of the abolition of slavery, creole-born, far superior to the imported African savage, fresh from his native wilds.

In Cuba every estate slave is not only a mere toiler, always under the orders or “surveillance” of an overseer, but he is a prisoner too. The whole working-gang on a Cuban estate are locked up in an immense “barracoon” every night when their labour is over, and not let out till the bell rings for work at sunrise; such has always been the Spanish “system” here. These creatures are therefore in general ignorant of any work in which they are not directed. The “barracoons” are large strong buildings, often not uncomfortable, and are dry, with good roofs; but they are, in reality, “prisons.” The Cuban negro is well-fed, but is untaught in acting for himself; he is on “estates” a mere “hewer of wood and drawer of water,” and nothing more, every day of his weary life; he is ill-prepared for freedom in Cuba, unlike the negro in the British and French Colonies, and in the Southern States of America (I have never visited Brazil, and cannot speak of that country from personal experience).

Such is the result of the whole routine and “system” pursued by the Spanish planter, for the last four generations, all with the sanction of the Madrid Government, from time to time.

Almost all the sugar-planters in Cuba are more or less in debt in Havana and other out-ports; although they may have large incomes when the crops are good, and may have investments abroad out of the island. I question if there be thirty large sugar estates in the island quite unburdened, and perfectly clear of temporary claims or of mortgages. The planters generally pledge or sell their crop before it is made into sugar, and obtain advances, for convenience, from the merchants and dealers, or from American purchasers; New York being a principal market for Cuban sugar. For these advances they pay interest at about from 8 to 12 per cent. per annum.

Thus, to avoid pecuniary difficulties, and deliver as much sugar as possible, the estate-negro, is, day after day, too long at work; and in consequence of the “hand to mouth” system, and from the penny-wisdom caused by continually struggling with direct or indirect embarrassments, the Cuban planters are induced to be improvident, and to regard only “to-day” as it comes—thinking little of “to-morrow” in respect of their slaves. If they obtain a fine crop for a few years they become rich, and spend large sums of money on their estates, or on their living, and on their families; if not, they are ever on the verge of bankruptcy, are pinched, and their estates and their negroes suffer.

In comparing the English and French plan of sugar-cultivation with that pursued here, some other differences strike the on-looker. In Jamaica, in former days, every available ripe cane on an estate was carefully cut, and taken to the sugar-mill as quickly as possible. This was easily accomplished with the large labour-gangs on these estates.

Here, from the want of labour and field-hands, the whole crop on an estate is rarely got in when ripe. They have always more canes growing than they can conveniently cut and carry, and those left remain on the ground till the next crop, thereby deteriorating. I have been surprised to see, on some estates, hundreds of acres of ripe canes standing after the year’s grinding was over. The Cuban soil is fertile, and not difficult to labour—in many districts well suited for ploughing, and, on the whole, the cane-fields are tolerably well prepared for planting. The canes, whilst growing, are not so well tended as was the case in Jamaica. There they were carefully “trashed, *i.e.*, the lower leaves of the cane were, from time to time, plucked off, during the ripening, and laid on the ground as a

top-dressing; air was thus permitted to circulate around the cane, the decaying leaves warmed the soil, and encouraged the roots, thus increasing the juice.

I did not see on any estate here the canes properly "trashed;" they are, besides, inferior in quality to the old "Bourbon" cane, grown in Jamaica and our other colonies.

But, as I have before explained, the manufacture of the cane-juice into sugar, is, in Cuba, singularly well performed. They have excellent machines for boiling "in vacuo," and their utensils and the process of using them, are almost identical with the first-class beet-root sugar-refining establishments in Germany and Belgium. An economical question might arise, whether or not this custom of refining sugar on the spot, with costly machinery, and with scant and dear labour, is the best way of turning a sugar-estate in Cuba to most profitable account.

But the "system" has been almost universally adopted, and has taken root; and till very lately, the planter expected that slavery would remain little disturbed, least of all by Madrid. He made his arrangements on this fond expectation, the machinery was bought and placed, and perhaps now, since it is there, he is better to go on with it than throw it away.

Chinese labour has not been altogether a success in Cuba. On some small sugar estates, and among the tobacco-fields, the Chinese coolie does well enough; but he cannot work so hard as the negro, nor indeed as the Indian coolie used to work on Jamaica estates. Most of the Chinese brought to Cuba are of the lowest and feeblest type of inferior South Chinese coolies, such as swarm about Macao, Batavia, and Singapore, &c., and they are rarely of sinewy frame, nor much physical strength; nor have they the endurance of the Indian coolie.

It is, therefore, evident that unless in some way large bodies of additional labour hands be imported into Cuba, the island must, ere long, cease to export sugar as hitherto, in enormous quantities. The negroes are fast diminishing, and, indeed, never did increase in Cuba, except by importation in "slavers" from Africa, which is happily becoming each year more and more rare.

The effect of the recent regulation, freeing the negro of 60 years of age, will bring numbers of these poor decrepit creatures, as it were, "on the parish." They will become certainly "free"—as having no master or owner,—but also, in most instances, vagabond paupers and beggars. They will not be so well taken care of, in the way that suits them at their age, as when under an owner, who fed and housed them, and got a little dawdling work out of them, such as they could accomplish. I think the principle of freeing any slave, of whatever age, a step in the right direction, but here the aged negro-slave of 60, or more, will scarcely ever really benefit by his personal freedom, because of the "system" under which he has grown old.

Long ago, during a five years' residence in our West India islands, I visited Cuba (in 1841 and in 1843), and find that the mass of estates' negroes, from the age of 16 to 60, are to-day much in the same condition of ignorance and of "treatment" as then; indeed, I have perceived little or no difference as regards them. They certainly know more, and cannot help learning more, than they would have done whilst leading the savage and debased existence prevalent in Africa, but the normal condition of the slave in Cuba is much as it was in 1841.

The Cuban planters quite recognize now the probability, almost certainty, of a coming abolition of slavery. They make here no organised public objection to its eventual arrival; but they demand time, and an immigration of labour hands under Government sanction and aid, and also a series of years of preparation of a very gradual description. "How not to do it!" is their *môt d'ordre*, and the Madrid Government will find it difficult to press immediate emancipation on Cuba. In Puerto Rico it is different, because of the comparatively small numbers of slaves remaining there.

The importation of large bodies of Chinese (of a class superior to those hitherto brought), of coolies from India, of free negroes from Africa, and of labourers from Mexico and Yucatan, respecting which importations numerous plans and projects are sometimes brought forward and published here, and are often favourably commented on, must always be surrounded with a thousand difficulties, so long as the present negro slaves in Cuba are in bondage, nor do I see that this importation can be possible on a large and useful scale whilst slavery, in any form, exists in the island. Were such immigrations permitted on the certain condition of full freedom being granted to the negro slave, there might be a future chance for the Cuban sugar-grower to continue the present large value of his exports, which, naturally, is his first and great desideratum. But such importations would require to be carefully watched by the authorities, and would (*au reste*) be expensive to the planter, unless the Government helped him by funds in some shape—advances, loans, or bounties.

The planters, almost universally, associate the idea of rapid ruin to themselves and their estates if the 350,000 slaves now working in the island be suddenly emancipated, or, as they call it, "licensed not to labour." What with their debts and difficulties, they (the planters) declare, that any radical or hasty change in the present "system," must plunge them inevitably deeper into financial troubles. They allege, that they foresee the coming of "emancipation" by and by, but that they ought to have eight or ten good sugar crops off their lands before it does arrive, and after that, as regards them, "the deluge!"

It is always most unquestionably desirable for any country to rid itself of negro slavery, for the sake both of the whites and the blacks; but, to the planter in Cuba, a question may have (perhaps naturally) arisen as to whether it ought to be more gradual than immediate. Could free labourers be at once largely introduced, then surely speedy "emancipation" would tend to benefit all?

In conversing yesterday with Captain-General Valmaseda, his Excellency expressed himself as personally and strongly opposed to any long continuance of slavery; but seemed also to be aware of the many difficulties attending an immediate emancipation in Cuba; especially whilst an unsubdued "insurrection" against Spain goes on in the island. His Excellency spoke moderately and sensibly about the whole subject.

The able-bodied estate slave in Cuba remains (I regret to say), in 1871, too much as his class was twenty-five years ago; and looking at the subject broadly, and from a humane point of view, it seems grievous to reflect, that, if "emancipation" be put off in Cuba for another fifteen, or even ten, years, and should the present "system" of estates' labour be persevered in, how few comparatively of these unfortunate creatures will then be alive and "able-bodied!" The Cuban planters have not been encouraged nor taught by Spain to make such reflections: and the embargoed and confiscated estates (formerly possessed by Insurgent Cuban families, and, at this moment, worked by, and for the benefit of, the Government, under orders from Spain), are laboured by gangs of negro slaves, just now in the same way as the private estates are by the slave-owners.

No. 38.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 8, 1871.

HER Majesty's Minister at Madrid has represented to me that it might be very useful if he could obtain a full and accurate report upon the condition of the Emancipados in Cuba, such as he might submit to the Spanish Government in the event of its being necessary for him to make a representation to it on the subject of slavery in that island, and I have to instruct you to furnish such a Report, which should include a statement of the number of Emancipados actually released by the various decrees of the Captains-General, and of the number (approximately) of those still detained in slavery, their position and prospects.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 39.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord,

Havana, February 9, 1871.

SINCE addressing your Lordship on the 16th January, I have had several opportunities of conversing here with Don Juan Poey, one of the most wealthy of the sugar-planters in this Island, and possessed of large and fertile estates.

M. Poey is well known here, not only as an intelligent man of business, but as a humane slave-owner, and successful manager of his properties.

I have yesterday received from him an interesting letter, in which he incloses copy of a proposal which he has recently laid before the Spanish authorities here for their consideration, and which includes a proposal for his receiving permission to import temporarily to his estates and on his own account, Indian coolies, either from Hindustan, or from some of our West Indian colonies, where these labourers may have worked out their contracts,

and would be willing to re-contract themselves for another term of years in this island—of course under conditions of labour and of remuneration to be fixed by the Spanish authorities here; and all to be done by their sanction.

M. Poey states to me that he is ready to advance in time, a million of francs (40,000*l.*) towards the carrying out of his general project, which, he says, is to be considered merely in the light of an experiment, in the meantime.

He asserts that a more speedy total abolition of negro slavery will be the certain consequence and result of his plan, should he be able to show to the planters of Cuba that, under proper arrangements, the importation of coolies from India or the British colonies would suit their wants and requirements better than the retaining of the negroes in forced servitude. I have conversed with Count Valmasèda, the Captain-General of Cuba (at M. Poey's request), regarding his proposal; and his Excellency informed me that he thought it of sufficient importance to place before the official Committee here, who have charge of all affairs which affect agriculture and the management of labour; and that, after receiving their opinion, he will officially study the details of the scheme, and report on it to Madrid.

His Excellency indicated in his conversation with me an inclination to regard the proposition rather favourably.

I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies and translations of the documents sent me by M. Poey. The scheme has many good points about it; but the importation of coolies into Cuba from India and elsewhere would require, as M. Poey allows, careful vigilance here, both on the part of the Spanish authorities and also of the British Commissary Judge.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

P.S.—I ought to add, that in placing Don Juan Poey's ideas before your Lordship, it is not to be supposed that I adopt or recommend them in their integrity. There exists many serious objections to his proposals, which will be obvious to the Madrid Government.

But I lay them before your Lordship in fulfilment of instructions to report the views on such affairs of the sugar-planting interest in Cuba.

A. G. D.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

Señor Poey to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, February 6, 1871.

(Translation.)

I HAVE the honour to place in your Excellency's hands a project for the temporary immigration to this Island of Coolies, or English subjects from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, &c., which, if properly carried out, would present the political, economical, and moral advantages which I shall only notice briefly; being ready to explain them fully, verbally, in your Excellency's presence, should you think them worthy of your illustrious attention.

The principal bases of my plan would be:

1. The formation in this island of a general depôt for the class of coolies agreed upon between England and Spain.

2. The recognition of the right of every Spaniard who is a citizen of this island, to exchange any number of slaves, newly freed, for a double number of coolies, if they have belonged to domestic service, or for a triple number, if they have been in agricultural service.

3. The obligation in both cases on the employers of the coolies to pay the expenses occasioned by their immigration.

The political advantages of this project would be founded, as far as Spain is concerned, on the necessity in which she finds herself, of fulfilling her engagements with the Governments of England and the United States, with regard to the more or less speedy emancipation of her slaves; inasmuch as there would be few persons, who, being able to exchange their slaves of from 2½ to 12 years of age, those from 50 to 60 years of age, or the sick, infirm and vicious slaves, for a double or triple number of coolies (whose docility and aptitude for work have been proved by experience) would fail to do so.

As regards England, the political advantages would rest chiefly in being able to satisfy that necessity for emigration which is felt more and more every day in her Possessions on the Indian ocean.

The economical advantages on the side of Spain would consist in this: If, with the

CLASS A.

scanty rural population of this island, more than three million boxes of sugar have been produced,—were the population doubled or trebled, this production would probably speedily be increased to six million boxes,—in which case your Excellency may consider what her province of Cuba would be for Spain.

On the side of England, the advantages of the economical order would be that, considering, as she considers sugar, to be one of the alimentary substances coming immediately after meat and bread, it is to be believed that there is no reasonable effort that she would not make to obtain an increase of production, which could not fail to bring about a proportionate diminution in the price of sugar; which is, undoubtedly, the object which the Governments of the nations, who are to consume it, should have in view.

With regard to the moral advantages on the side of Spain, it is enough to consider the fact, that forced labour would disappear from the country, through the most free and spontaneous will of the owners of slaves, in order to put aside any other considerations which might be offered.

And I say the same with regard to England, whose Government—(in presence of the new laws concerning the “freedom of the womb” and old age, and above all, in presence of the moral progress which has allowed the prohibition of corporal punishment throughout the island, without the slightest detriment to the efficacy of domestic service, or even of field-labour)—should be convinced of the facts, that this island is still the country where slaves have always been treated with most lenity; and that in consequence of the actual laws having been rendered more favourable to *them* (the slaves), those causes have completely disappeared, which some years back induced the English Government not to grant us the benefit of the Asiatic immigration; although she was encouraging this immigration in all sugar-producing countries.

My project is therefore to be recommended for reasons of State policy, economical interests, and approved morality; but, as is only just, your Excellency’s better judgment will decide the ulterior course which it is to take.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

JUAN POEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

Señor Poey to Consul-General Dunlop.

(Translation.)

My dear Sir,

Havana, February 6, 1871.

THE increasing dearness of the articles of primary necessity, as well as of sugar, which immediately follows them, decided the Government of England not long ago to make a considerable deduction in its import duties, which, however, was not adequate to the chief object for which it was made, viz., the cheapness of a product, the supply of which does not actually increase, in spite of the constant rise in its value.

On the contrary, it is to be feared, as regards the present year, that (in consequence of the drought, and particularly of the two hurricanes which this island experienced in the month of October), the diminution of the crop, as compared with that of last year, may reach 20 per cent.; and hence the almost certainty that, notwithstanding the aforesaid reduction of duties, a rise of prices, which has already begun to be felt, may supervene (from wholly abnormal causes, however). It is probable that, with speedy restoration of the meteorologic conditions of the climate, the island may again become as productive as before. It is even to be hoped, that the production being influenced by constantly rising prices, the effect of the enormous extension of sugar-cane planting, which is being cultivated everywhere, and which is superseding the cultivation of maize and other alimentary substances, may begin to be perceptible from the year 1871-72.

Nevertheless, the Law of 23 June 1870 (declaring the “freedom of the womb,” and the liberty of slaves 60 years old and upwards) having been promulgated, it is to be believed that there will be no difficulty in carrying it out; and even supposing that the slaves of much less advanced age should not abuse this law (a thing most difficult to avoid in a country where there is no reliable register of their real age, especially of those who are Africans), the consequence of it cannot fail to be that agriculture will be, deprived of a very considerable number of slaves of 60 years old and upwards, which the census now being made exhibits, and that the rural improvement, which had been generally initiated, will be fatally arrested.

The production of this island has reached more than 12,000,000 quintals, or 3,000,000 boxes of sugar; and holding, as the island now does, such abundance of capital that the rate of interest recently fixed by the “Banco Español” of Havana does not exceed 7 per cent., there is no doubt that it is not money that she would require in order to double her present production in a few years, if she had only the labouring hands. In

a country where there are planters like Messrs. Baró, Zulueta, Ybañez, &c., whose individual production amounts to more than 40,000 boxes annually—in a country where there are proprietors who make on every acre of ground $45\frac{1}{2}$ quintals of clayed sugar, chiefly white—in a country where up to 2,000,000 of dollars are embarked on a single plantation, how can one doubt that the industrial progress which has led to such colossal fortunes would eventually become more general, if it could count on even a small number of those labourers of whom England has such a superfluity in her Asiatic and African possessions? It is a fact, therefore, that a progressive movement as regards sugar has already been inaugurated in Cuba, and begun in a manner which should convince the Government of Great Britain that there is a country on which she can with more reason rely for increasing its production to the large amount which the general consumption of the world demands. It is not, however, sufficient that fertile Cuba should possess the most wonderful powers for the cultivation and usefulness of the sugar-cane.

In order that England may take Cuba, though only indirectly, under her patronage—in order that England may provide her with coolies (which is the only thing necessary to double her present production in 10 years), she must satisfy special conditions, which, if unfulfilled, would tie the hands of her Government in such a manner that, however much her Government might wish it, they could not permit the immigration of these colonists. Cuba has slaves, whom in reality she does not think of emancipating for many years; and this is enough for her not to be able at the same time to make use of the aforesaid class of English subjects.

But if the introduction of coolies into the island of Cuba should have for its immediate and infallible result the simultaneous emancipation of the immense majority of its present slaves—if a distinct condition of the treaty between England and Spain were, that the liberty of at least one slave should correspond to every two or three coolies introduced into the island, would not the immigration of these last be converted into a means of immediate emancipation for the former?

And if, as is not to be denied, the primary effect of so worthy an agreement on the part of a civilized and religious nation were to satisfy one of the greatest necessities of humanity, viz., the abundance and consequent cheapness of sugar, would not a treaty be equally acceptable to Spain and Great Britain, which, while it provided the large populations of Asia and Africa with the means of temporary emigration so necessary to them, would in a few years abolish slavery in Cuba, and give to commerce a double quantity of sugar to what the island produces at present?

I am aware of the distrust which at first sight my ideas will awaken. I know that among some persons—very respectable, no doubt, but not very conversant with the present situation of this island as regards her slaves—the fear will prevail that the coolies will be treated as little better than slaves, and that, under this impression, even the best disposed people in England will shrink from the idea.

But we must distinguish between what Cuba was (and can never be again), as regards her slaves, and what she really is at present, and must continue to be for the future.

Spain being (with reason) considered to be the most humane of the nations towards her slaves, it follows that, in a country in which such an outcry has been raised against corporal punishment, these ideas should be more favourably received in our colonies than in any others. Thus it was; and, as thenceforward the lash was abolished even in the smallest towns, it also disappeared from so large a number of estates that the Spanish Cortes, thinking that the hour had arrived for its suppression, passed a law which, sanctioned by the Government, has been carried out in the island, without the slightest detriment to the efficacy of labour.

So that, were the coolies treated as the slaves in Cuba and Porto Rico are at present, there would be no objection to the proposed treaty. Now, as we must admit that the coolies, being protected by the laws of the country, and by your authority as the representative of Great Britain, could not really be exposed to any risk, I think myself justified in inferring that the aforesaid objection is not only unfounded, but that the barbarous character which slavery had in Cuba, having been done away with by law, and, what is more, by a moral progress to which honour is due, the objection is far from having for the coolies the application which might have been reasonably feared in times gone by in Cuba.

In its moral view the question then presents itself as advantageously as under its economical and political aspect, and you will not be surprised to hear that, under this conviction, I have addressed a communication to the Governor-General of this island, intended to call his attention to the propriety of recommending to His Majesty the celebration of a Treaty with England for permitting the immigration of coolies to Cuba on the three following bases:—

1. The formation in this city of a general depôt for the class of coolies stipulated for between the two nations.

2. The recognition of the right of every Spanish citizen in Cuba, on presenting the free papers of any of his slaves, of those destined for domestic service, to choose two coolies in the general depôt, with the obligation to pay the expenses of their introduction, and to sign four contracts expressing the respective rights and obligations, as well of the coolies as of their employers, one of these contracts remaining in the hands of the Spanish Government, another in the hands of the English Government, and the other in the hands of the two Contracting Parties.

3. Recognition of the right to take from the same depôt three coolies for every paper conferring immediate freedom on slaves at present employed in field labour, presented by Spanish citizens in Cuba.

And, convinced that the project which I have just made known to you may have some weight in your opinion, I venture to request you will place it before the Government of your illustrious nation, and thus co-operate in its more speedy realization.

This will be a favour which I shall esteem from you, and I have, &c.

(Signed) JUAN POEY.

No. 40.

Viscount Enfield to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 27, 1871.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 9th ultimo, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,* respecting the reported landing of slaves in Cuba in September or October last; and I am to state that, unless reliable proof of the alleged shipment of slaves can be produced, the matter should be allowed to drop.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 41.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(Extract.)

Havana, May 3, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's despatch of the 8th of March, desiring me to furnish a report respecting the position and prospects of the negro "emancipados" in this island, and the numbers actually released by the recent Decrees. This instruction will be carefully complied with, and Mr. Crawford (after obtaining, as fully as he can, the official statistics on the subject) will have the honour of submitting the information to your Lordship as soon as possible, with his own views regarding them, in most of which I concur.

In the meantime, it is right that your Lordship should know that all official statistics in Cuba respecting the emancipados are necessarily defective, and not much to be depended on. So many of these unfortunate creatures have had their names changed, and are now in the lists of "working slaves," and so many have been "re-contracted," which places them, for at least eight years, in the category of forced labourers, that it will be difficult to give, even approximately, the number still in bonds, and toiling in cane-fields; but I question whether any considerable number of negro "emancipados" were actually released from slavery, and were permitted to go at large "uncontracted."

The demand for labour in Cuba is now so great, that the planters naturally endeavoured to "re-contract" the "emancipados" in their employ; and when the planter or "padron" (*i.e.*, owner of the "emancipado" for the time being) came to an understanding with the local magistrate of his district (not a difficult proceeding), the ignorant negro was easily induced to recontract, or sell himself into slavery, for eight years longer, under the promise of good treatment and a monthly pay of a few dollars.

I think that when Mr. Crawford's next despatch regarding the "emancipados" is completed, and in your Lordship's hands, the whole question of their position will be fully placed before your Lordship.

The Madrid Government will have many obstacles placed in their way here, perhaps of a serious nature, should they insist on legislating for Cuba on the slavery question, in any manner opposed to the views and interests of the planters and leading Spanish merchants in this island, however loud their present profession of loyalty to Spain.

No. 42.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received August 26.)

(Extract.)

Havana, July 28, 1871.

WITH reference to Mr. Dunlop's despatch of the 3rd of May last, on the subject of the emancipados in this island, I have now the honour of transmitting herewith a translation of the form of agreement under which these negroes are being contracted.

Your Lordship will notice that by this contract the emancipado engages to work for the space of six years in domestic, agricultural, rural, or industrial labours of any kind, sort, or description, and subjects himself, without any reserve, to whatever treatment may be observed or may be customary at the place where he may be employed, and to all rules and regulations regarding persons of his class.

His employer is bound to pay him 10 dollars per month wages, and to furnish him with a stipulated amount of food and clothing, besides proper medical attendance when sick, no pay to be stopped during the first eight days of any illness.

Abstractedly considered, the contract seems fair enough, and if the emancipado voluntarily accepts its conditions, and meets with a kind, honest, and humane master, he is certainly far better off under this limited freedom than if he was left to seek his own livelihood unconditionally. But when, as it is too much to be feared, the emancipado is made to contract himself, and falls, as is generally the case, into the hands of a hard master, his lot under this forced agreement becomes pitiable. With the exception of his pay, he is neither more nor less than a slave of the worst kind, for he will be wrought to death without the sordid consideration which even the slave owner has for his own property.

The total number of emancipados called in by the Captain-General Caballero de Rodas' edicts was published at 15,519, exclusive of those emancipados who might possibly be still alive belonging to captures between the years of 1829 to 1842, of which no data were given.

By the census of 1862, the number of emancipados returned is 4,521, out of 11,590 acknowledged to have been registered between the years 1849 to 1862 inclusive, those imported previously being probably considered as dead.

From 1862 to 1866 there were 3,929 added to the list, which, with 4,521 returned by official statistics, make 8,450 emancipados. but allowing for mortality at the rate of 5 per cent. yearly, and 10 per cent. additional for cholera and small-pox, say 3,450, we may reasonably calculate at 5,000 the number of emancipados now alive in this island.

It is impossible to get at any correct information on this head, nor do I believe that the Government possesses it, for the official returns have not yet come in from the country, and even if they had there is no reliance whatever to be placed on them.

All those emancipados who were in the revolted districts will probably never be heard of again, and of those who have been substituted for deceased slaves, few, if any, will ever regain their status of emancipados.

The contracts referred to in this despatch are not all alike as to time and pay. They vary from three to six years, and the wages from 6 to 10 dol. a month. All the aged and infirm emancipados receive their free papers without any delay or trouble, but able-bodied hands are more or less constrained to contract themselves.

These contracts being transferable, are being disposed of at a premium of from 6 to 10 doubloons, so that they are a matter of speculation.

In conclusion, the emancipado has been somewhat bettered by the Law of the 4th of July, 1870, but, as shown by these contracts, he is really continued in a modified sort of slavery for six years longer, and slavery in Cuba is of the most degrading character, especially as the use of the lash is quite as much in vogue as ever it was, in spite of the 21st Article of the Law referred to.

Inclosure in No. 42.

Contract.

(Translation.)

MR. _____, of _____, planter, on one side, and, on the other side, the emancipado _____, being of age, native of Africa, who, through the exemption which he has obtained from Government, is in a position to hire himself out freely, agree as follows:—

1. I, _____, engage to work under the orders of Mr. _____, or of the person to whom he may transfer this contract, which I authorize him to do, in all customary tasks here in the country, in town or wherever I may be destined, whether in private dwellings, establishments of any kind of arts or industry, or on sugar, tobacco, or coffee plantations, pasturages, cattle or vegetable farms, and whatsoever appertains to town or country labourers of whatever sort.

2. The contract will last six years, which will begin to count and to run from the day of its date.

3. I subject myself likewise to the order and discipline which may be observed in the establishment, shop, estate, or private house to which I may be destined, subjecting myself forthwith, as regards the working hours as well as the hours for rest, the discipline, feast days, &c., to the order and customs established on the estate or at the works, and services upon which I may be employed.

4. I consent to subject myself, during the time of my engagement, to all the orders and regulations concerning persons of my class.

I, Mr. _____, bind myself to the following:—

1. That from the day upon which the six years of this contract commence to count, his salary of 10 dol. per month will run as remuneration for his work.

2. That I shall furnish a daily ration of 8 ounces of salt meat and 2½ lbs. of sweet potatoes, or other sound and nutritive food.

3. In case of illness he shall be supplied in the infirmary with all the medicines and care which his illness and preservation may require, no deduction to be made from his salary of 10 dol. monthly during the first eight days he is sick.

4. Two changes of clothes, a woollen shirt, and a blanket shall be given yearly.

5. Of this contract, two copies of the same tenor shall be made, one for each contracting party, and it shall be null if it is not attested by competent authority.

[Place and date.]

No. 43.

Viscount Enfield to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 13, 1871.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you for your information, a copy of a letter from General Corduba to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid,* embodying the observations of the Captain-General of Cuba upon some of Mr. Dunlop's statements respecting the condition and prospects of the "emancipados" in Cuba.

No. 44.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 13, 1871.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,† asking, with reference to certain questions that have recently been put in Congress upon the subject of slavery in the Spanish Colonies, whether the provisions of the Law of the 23rd of June, 1870, are enforced in Cuba, and whether children born since September 1868, and slaves above the age of 60, are really free.

You will be good enough to furnish the required answers upon these points, as well as any further information that you can obtain regarding the position of the "emancipados" under the Laws, and as to the working of the new contracts entered into with them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* Inclosure in No. 25.

† No. 28.

No. 45.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received November 13.)

(Extract.)

Havana, October 24, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hammond's despatch of the 13th ultimo, inclosing a translation of a letter from General Cordoba to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, embodying the observations of the Captain-General of Cuba, upon some of Mr. Dunlop's statements respecting the condition and prospects of the negroes called "emancipados" in Cuba.

Upon careful revision of my Report upon this subject, contained in my despatch of the 28th of July last, I do not find anything to rectify, neither do I see that General Valmaseda's statements contradict that Report, except as regards the use of the lash.

His Excellency cannot answer for the acts of the late administration, and, as far as he is concerned, I have every reason to believe that he has adopted all possible means to prevent coercion in the contracts entered into by the emancipados; but in the Island of Cuba it is extremely difficult to guard against abuses, especially when it concerns an unfortunate class of negroes. The horrible treatment of the emancipados forms, indeed, a very dark page in the history of this island.

Whether the emancipado is allowed to exercise his own free will in the choice of a master, or not, does not in any way alter the injustice practised towards him in denying him his liberty—in binding him to serve for a term of years without the certainty of freedom after all—and in fixing his wages at a minimum rate, in most, and I may venture to say, in every case, far below the average which is paid in this most expensive country

A negro who has been a slave, and who has obtained his free papers, is permitted to act as any other free person. The emancipado, who never knew an owner, cannot unfortunately do anything to free himself, and yet he is better entitled to freedom, and is certainly quite as fit to take care of himself as the former slave.

No matter the point we start from, or the way we look at the subject, the unjust and shameful condition of the emancipado stares us in the face, and the Spanish Government cannot put forward any tangible or honest reason for keeping him in an indefinite state of servitude.

As regards the use of the lash, I beg to observe that, although it is abolished by Law, and although the reports received by the Captain-General may incline him to believe that the Law is complied with, the information which reaches me from time to time leads to a very different conclusion.

No. 46.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Havana, November 3, 1871.

DURING the period which has elapsed since Mr. Dunlop's report of the 19th of November, 1870, there has not been any well authenticated case of negro slaves having been introduced into the Island of Cuba from Africa, although, as usual, rumours of such importations have not been wanting; in fact, five cargoes are reported to have been successfully run. More or less importance is attached to these rumours, according to the credulity of those who listen to them; but I have not yet been able to find any person who could give me the least reliable information on the subject.

A considerable local traffic has been carried on in embargoed slave property, and in slaves who have been withdrawn from the Eastern Department, where the insurgents still continue to threaten the destruction of the plantations. It is very possible, therefore, that the slave traders, who are always on the alert, may have availed of this circumstance to introduce negroes from the coast of Africa, and the opinion prevails that they have done so, and are still doing so to some extent.

The sudden disappearance of a mysterious brigantine, or other rigged sailing vessel, which was seen near Batabano, on the south side of Cuba, and gave rise to some inquiry a short time ago, would seem to warrant such a belief.

The slave traders have by no means abandoned the idea of renewing their detestable commerce, and it is said that extensive preparations are being made for that purpose.

There never was a time more tempting nor more favourable than the present for carrying out their schemes, for the demand for labouring hands here is very great, and to provide an adequate and speedy supply there is no place more convenient than the coast of Africa—no colonist so welcome to the planter as the negro slave.

Chinese immigration, as it is carried on here, is so faulty that it can never lead to a successful colonization of Cuba. The mistaken policy of the Government, as exhibited in the treatment of these colonists, must end in their refusal to come here. The condition of obligatory and continuous servitude to which they are now subjected, if they desire to remain in Cuba, after the completion of their primitive contract, is tantamount to slavery; and it is contrary to common sense to suppose that free men will voluntarily submit to it. The Chinese emigrant, therefore, to be induced to come here, must either do so in a fit of desperation, or he must be imposed upon; and a traffic which is based upon deceit, and which subjects him to life-long drudgery under the worst of systems, can scarcely be designated by any other name than that of Slave Trade.

It cannot be denied that proper regulations, which will prevent vagrancy, and which will organize labour, are absolutely necessary in Cuba, where there are labourers of distinct races and conditions; but these regulations should all have a decided tendency towards preparing these classes for speedy and complete emancipation.

The Law of 28th June, 1870, does not hasten the freedom of the slaves in this island. It virtually postpones emancipation for twenty-two years, and, in the meantime, it closes the door to any feasible arrangement for the introduction of free labourers.

The Chinese under contract here on the plantations are, with, perhaps, a very few exceptions, treated pretty much as slaves, and with the compulsory engagements now before them, or the sorry alternative of seeking a home elsewhere, there can be no inducement for them to come here.

If they are treated in such a manner, other colonists must expect the same, and thus, at the very moment when everything should be done by the Spanish Government to further free emigration to Cuba, it would appear as if no means were left untried to render such emigration unpalatable and repulsive.
