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P A P E R S

PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT, BY HIS MAJESTY'S
COMMAND,

IN EXPLANATION OF THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY
HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

FOR THE MELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF

THE SLAVE POPULATION

IN HIS MAJESTY'S POSSESSIONS IN THE

WEST INDIES,

AND

ON THE CONTINENT OF SOUTH AMERICA.

[In further continuation of the Papers presented in December 1831.]

1832.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
15 March 1832.*

SCHEDULE

Of CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Officers administering the Governments in His Majesty's Possessions in the West Indies, and on the Continent of South America.

I.

- No. 1.—CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Viscount Goderich to the Governors of the West Indian Legislative Colonies, dated 10th December 1831, and enclosing Copy of the Slave Order in Council, dated November 2d - p. 3
- No. 2.—CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Viscount Goderich to the Governors of the West Indian Legislative Colonies, dated 16th December 1831 - p. 6
- No. 3.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-General Sir James Lyon, Governor of Barbadoes, to Viscount Goderich, dated 26th January 1832 - p. 6
- No. 4.—DESPATCH from Colonel Sir E. J. M. M'Gregor, Bart. K. C. H. Governor of Dominica, to Viscount Goderich, dated 28th January 1832 - p. 7
- No. 5.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir James Campbell, Governor of Grenada, to Viscount Goderich, dated 28th January 1832 - p. 8
- No. 6.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Patrick Ross, Governor of Antigua, to Viscount Goderich, dated 3d February 1832 - p. 8
- No. 7.—DESPATCH from Major-General Nicolay, Governor of St. Christopher, to Viscount Goderich, dated 26th January 1832 - p. 10
- No. 8.—EXTRACT DESPATCH from the Right Hon. Sir George Hill, Bart. Governor of St. Vincent, to Viscount Goderich, dated 28th January 1832 - p. 10

II.

- No. 1.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir B. D'Urban, K. C. B. Governor of British Guiana, to Viscount Goderich, dated 31st December 1831 - p. 11
- No. 2.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir B. D'Urban, Governor of British Guiana, to Viscount Goderich, dated 13th January 1832 - p. 12
- No. 3.—DESPATCH from Viscount Goderich to Major-General Sir B. D'Urban, Governor of British Guiana, dated 14th March 1832 - p. 17
- No. 4.—EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Lewis Grant to Viscount Goderich, dated 13th January 1832 - p. 18
- No. 5.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Lewis Grant to Viscount Goderich, dated 13th January 1832 - p. 22
- No. 6.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Lewis Grant to Viscount Goderich, dated 13th January 1832 - p. 27
- No. 7.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Lewis Grant to Viscount Goderich, dated 18th January 1832 - p. 27
- No. 8.—DESPATCH from Major-General Sir Lewis Grant to Viscount Goderich, dated 25th January 1832 - p. 29
- No. 9.—EXTRACT DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 8th January 1832 - p. 32
- No. 10.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 24th January 1832 - p. 32
- No. 11.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 27th January 1832 - p. 35
- No. 12.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 24th January 1832 - p. 59
- No. 13.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 27th January 1832 - p. 59
- No. 14.—DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel Carter, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, dated 28th January 1832 - p. 71
- No. 15.—DESPATCH from Viscount Goderich to Major-General Farquharson, dated 10th March 1832 - p. 77
- No. 16.—CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Viscount Goderich to the Governors of the West India Crown Colonies, dated 10th December 1831 - p. 79
- No. 17.—LETTER from Joseph Marryat, Esq. M. P. addressed to Viscount Goderich, dated 23d February 1832, transmitting Observations made by the Committee of the Crown Colonies, upon the Circular Despatch of Viscount Goderich, dated 5th November 1831, enclosing the Slave Order in Council, of the 2d of the same month - p. 80

SLAVE POPULATION

IN THE

WEST INDIES, AND ON THE CONTINENT OF SOUTH AMERICA.

I.

— No. 1. —

CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Viscount *Goderich* to the GOVERNORS
of the WEST INDIA LEGISLATIVE COLONIES.

Sir,

Downing-street, 10th December 1831.

I HAVE the honour to enclose to you herewith, for your own information and for that of the Legislative Bodies of the Colony under your Government, a copy of an amended Order made by His Majesty in Council on the 2d ultimo, for improving the condition of the Slaves in British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. The grounds upon which His Majesty's Confidential Servants have felt it their duty to advise the making of this Order, and the views by which they have been guided in resisting the opposition made to several of its provisions, are fully set forth in a Circular Despatch which I addressed to the Governors of the above-mentioned Colonies on the 5th ultimo; and I enclose certain printed Papers which have been presented to the House of Commons by His Majesty's Command, wherein you will find a copy of that document, as well as of others relating to the Order in Council. The further object of my present Despatch is to enable you, at the same time that the measures in favour of the Slaves which have thus been enforced in the Crown Colonies are brought to the knowledge of the Council and Assembly within your Government, to communicate also to those bodies the course which His Majesty's Government have resolved to adopt, with a view to induce the extension of these measures to the Colonies having local Legislatures. And it is my anxious desire not only that the intentions of His Majesty's Government should be made known to the Legislative Bodies at the earliest possible moment, but that our motives should be fully explained to them. I am most desirous to satisfy them, if not that our measures are, as we consider them, necessary for the well-being of the Slaves, at least that they are dictated by a conscientious sense of duty. I am anxious to convey to them an adequate impression of the necessity which exists for us to take at length some effective step towards the redemption of the pledges given with the concurrence of the West India body in 1823, and of the solicitude which we have felt to consult the interests of the Planters simultaneously with those of the Slaves, and to accomplish, by such means as should be the least unacceptable to the owners of West Indian property, an object which it has become impossible to postpone without compromising the dignity and consistency of the Imperial Legislature, and occasioning danger to all parties concerned.

When I look back in the records of this Department to the many earnest appeals upon this subject, which have been addressed since the year 1823 to the reason and discretion of the Colonial Legislatures, it may well seem superfluous to observe, that nothing has been further from the wish of those who have successively administered the affairs of this country since that period, than to have recourse to any measures of a coercive character. The Circular Despatches which were written from year to year, repeating the expression of hopes which had been in no instance fulfilled, and of confidence which had not been justified, evince with what extreme reluctance the Ministers of the Crown have been compelled to relinquish the expectations which were originally entertained, that effectual measures for the improvement of the condition of the Slaves would be at length spontaneously adopted by the Colonial Legislatures. The Despatches which have been written to point out

in detail the defects of such laws as were enacted in alleged fulfilment of the wishes of His Majesty's Government, or in partial compliance with them, bear further testimony to the patient and persevering endeavours which have been made by His Majesty's Government to impress upon the several Councils and Assemblies the necessity which existed for satisfying the feelings entertained in this country in favour of the Slaves, and the inadequacy of their legislation to effect that purpose. If His Majesty's present Advisers have resolved to pursue no further this course of warning and entreaty, it is not that they are in any degree less anxious to conciliate the good-will, whilst they consult the real interests, of the Colonists, but only because they feel that the language of admonition has been exhausted, and that any further attempt to produce an impression upon the Legislatures by the same means alone, could add nothing to the respect of those bodies for the authority of the Crown, whilst it would be in vain to expect that it could contribute any thing to the accomplishment of the object in view.

His Majesty's Government had thus before them the alternative either of proposing some measures of a stronger character than mere injunction, or of desisting altogether from the promotion of an object to which Parliament is not less justly than solemnly pledged, and the postponement of which is tending more and more every day to precipitate a powerful party in this country in the opposite extreme, and to produce dangers which, however ill they may be understood in a distant quarter of the world, no one who is conversant with the influence of public opinion in this country, and the direction of it upon the subject of Slavery, could fail to foresee.

At the same time that this alternative presented itself, the increasing commercial distress of the West Indian interest could not but attract the most anxious and painful attention of His Majesty's Government. Deeply as they have regretted the opposition of the Colonies to their measures in favour of the Slaves, neither that opposition, nor any thing that was ill-judged and intemperate in the manner of it, has prevented His Majesty's Government from entertaining the strongest feelings of sympathy and compassion for the distress under which all persons connected with West Indian property are indiscriminately suffering. His Majesty's Government were thus scarcely more anxious to secure the adoption of their measures for the protection of the Slaves, than to find means, not incompatible with that object, of relieving the Planters from some portion of their commercial difficulties. In this view, as well as from its importance to the interests of humanity, it has been peculiarly gratifying to His Majesty's Government to have been enabled to conclude a Convention with France, which promises, more than any other practicable measure, to repress the Foreign Slave Trade; and this, at the same time that it militates against the dreadful atrocities of that traffic, will give some check to the competition of foreign sugar growers, so far as it is promoted by such iniquitous means. A measure of fiscal regulation, so devised as to be productive of real and substantial relief, has appeared to be the only additional method within the power of His Majesty's Government to propose, which would in some degree meet the exigencies of the West Indian commercial interest: But to offer such an advantage to the Planters without at the same time taking any security for their acceptance of the measures in behalf of the Slaves, would be, if not directly inconsistent with the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823, at least an abandonment, and even reversal, of the policy of the Executive Government resulting from those Resolutions. On the 16th of March 1824, the late Mr. Canning announced in his place in Parliament the several modes of giving effect to the Resolutions of 1823, which were successively to be tried for the purpose of overcoming the resistance to them, which it had appeared from the experience of the preceding year was to be expected from the Colonial Legislatures. He pointed out the course of authoritative admonition as the most eligible in the first instance; and should that be unavailing, he adverted to the means which Parliament possesses of constraining the Colonies by fiscal regulations and enactments adverse to their navigation, as preferable to a more direct application of the powers of Parliament; of which more direct exercise of power he nevertheless declared the necessity, should all other means fail. The course of authoritative admonition has been pursued for eight years, and has been, as I have already observed, utterly unsuccessful. Advice again and again tendered to the Colonial Legislatures, has been but little listened to in any of the Colonies; and in some of the most important and considerable,

considerable, has been more than once rejected, without even the forms of respect. Ceasing therefore to entertain hopes that their admonitions will ever prove efficacious, it might, perhaps, be expected of His Majesty's Government to propose at once to Parliament the second mode of operating upon the Legislatures which was contemplated by Mr. Canning. But to use any endeavours to harass the Colonies by fiscal regulations in their present circumstances of distress, would indeed be most repugnant to the feelings of His Majesty's Government. They could not at this moment, nor until a less painful experiment should have been tried, reconcile it to those feelings which the sufferings consequent upon commercial adversity must always excite, to propose any measures to which a character of unmixed severity could be attributed. Whilst, however, their feelings of concern for the difficulties of the West Indian proprietors and merchants withhold them from originating any measure in which their interests should not be considered, they are not less powerfully withheld by a sense of their duty to the great cause of Slave Melioration, and, by a consciousness of the obligations under which the Government of this country has been placed by the Resolutions of Parliament, from propounding any measure of indulgence to the Planters in which the interests of the Slaves should be lost sight of. To propose a measure of fiscal relief, to take effect before the object of the Parliamentary Resolutions should be secured, would be a manifest dereliction of the only course of policy short of the direct application of power, through which there has ever been a prospect of redeeming the pledges contained in those Resolutions. Such being the position of the question, and such the obligations incumbent upon His Majesty's Government, it only remained for them to combine the two great objects which they had to effect in a single measure, and thus to make the one contingent upon the other.

I have therefore to announce to you the fixed determination of His Majesty's Government to propose to Parliament in the present Session, and so soon as the details of this, in common with their other financial operations for the year 1832, can be arranged, a measure of substantial relief to the West Indian interest; and that this measure will be so framed as to take effect upon the produce of the Crown Colonies as a matter of course, and upon that of those only of the other Colonies, in which the provisions, in their precise terms and in their entire extent, of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2d ultimo, for improving the condition of the Slaves in British Guiana, Trinidad, Saint Lucia, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, shall have acquired in perpetuity the force of law. It cannot be too distinctly explained, that the measure to be submitted to Parliament will be so framed, that the indispensable condition of receiving the consequent benefit will be the fact of a statute having passed the Colonial Legislature, simply, and without qualification in terms or limitation of time, declaring the Order in Council to possess the force of law in the Colony.

The language here used is by no means needlessly strict. The motives and sentiments of His Majesty's Government would be much mistaken were it to be conceived, that in making the terms of the proposed alternative thus definite and precise, they had been actuated by any spirit of peremptory dictation. The whole efficacy of a law depends upon verbal distinctions and minute accuracies of expression. To leave the choice of the words to any body of men, is to place the substance and essence of the law at their discretion. To do this would be nothing less than to resume and continue the fruitless correspondence of the last eight years upon the terms of Colonial Slave Acts. An interminable controversy would arise between His Majesty's Government and each of the Legislative Colonies, as to whether the required amendments in the laws relating to Slavery had or had not been enacted, and His Majesty's Government would be called upon to discharge the invidious and even impracticable office of determining constructively upon the words of thirteen different Codes; while upon their decision it would depend to which of as many Colonies the benefit provided by Parliament should be dispensed, and to which it should be denied. Even if such a revision were possible, the experience of eight years has now placed beyond the reach of all rational doubt the fact which, independently of such experience, might have been anticipated, that laws framed in the Colonies, and passed by the Colonial Assemblies, for the improvement of the condition of Slavery, are deficient in that quality without which all such legislation must be nugatory. The compilation of Acts passed during that period by thirteen different Assemblies (with the exception of a few enactments passed in some of the smaller Islands on the subject of Slave evidence and of an

Act of Grenada respecting the legal presumption in favour of freedom), does not contain a single statute which carries within itself any reasonable security for the faithful execution of its provisions. I am willing to give to the Colonial Legislatures the same credit for upright intentions which is claimed for those who discharge corresponding functions in this country; but I should sacrifice truth to an unmeaning and ill-timed compliment, were I to attribute to the members of those bodies that freedom from prejudice and dispassionate self-possession on the subject of Slavery, or that skill in the technical business of legislation, without which the most honest intentions are totally inadequate to the production of an effective law. Moreover, the opinion of the Assemblies has been too distinctly and repeatedly expressed to leave it doubtful what would be the result, if the task of reconstructing the Order in Council were referred to them, instead of the option of unconditionally adopting or absolutely rejecting it.

You will lay this Despatch and its Enclosures before both branches of the Legislature in the Colony under your government; and I shall await, with feelings of deep and anxious interest, the result of the proposals here made. Should they not meet the views of the Legislature, His Majesty's Government will have more than one cause for the most serious concern: they will then have to regret, not only the temporary postponement (for more than temporary it cannot be) of the benefits which are intended for the Slaves, but the failure also of their efforts to renew the prosperity or mitigate the distress of the Planters; and, above all, they will have to deplore the continuance, on the part of the West Indian colonists, of that insensibility to the influence of public opinion in the Mother Country, by which they are daily bringing themselves more and more within the danger of calamities far more grievous than any which can be caused by commercial reverses, and of disasters from which it may be beyond the power of any Government to protect them.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Goderich.

— No. 2. —

CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Viscount *Goderich* to the Governors of the *West Indian* Legislative Colonies.

My Lord,

16 December 1831.

WITH reference to my other Circular Despatch of this date, I have to desire that if the Assembly of the Colony under your Government be not in Session at the time when you shall receive that communication, you will take the earliest opportunity which may not occasion any serious inconvenience to the Gentlemen composing the Assembly, of convoking that body, together with the Council, for the purpose of taking into consideration the important question on which it is so essential to their own interest that they should come to an early decision.

Circular to the Legislative Council,

&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Goderich.

— No. 3. —

DESPATCH from Lieut.-General Sir *James Lyon*, Governor of *Barbadoes*, to Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Government House, Barbadoes, 26th January 1832.

I HAVE been honoured with your Lordship's Circular Despatch, dated 10th December 1831, enclosing an Order made by His Majesty in Council, on the 2d November last, for improving the condition of the slaves, and other printed papers; also, a Circular of the same date, directing me to convoke, without delay, the Council and House of Assembly, for the purpose of taking into consideration the important question contained in your Lordship's Despatch. This direction I lost not a moment in complying with, and sent copies of the Despatch, and the whole of the Papers, to both branches of the Legislature; and I have herewith enclosed an answer from the Speaker of the House of Assembly, acknowledging the same.

From the extreme importance of the Despatch and its Enclosures, I cannot expect any further communication for some time; but I may assure your Lordship, that

that so soon as the Legislature shall have maturely weighed and arrived at any decision on the subject, I shall embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding the same for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(signed) *James Lyon.*

THE House of Assembly has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of His Excellency the Governor's Message of this day's date, transmitting copy of a Despatch, with printed Enclosures, received by the last packet, from the Right honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and in reply, the House respectfully begs leave to inform his Excellency, that the subject shall have due consideration.

By order of the House,

(signed) *N. Forte,*
Speaker.

House of Assembly,
17th January 1832.

— No. 4. —

DESPATCH from Colonel Sir *E. J. M. MacGregor*, Bart. K. C. H., Governor of *Dominica*, to the Right honourable Lord Viscount *Goderich*.

Government House, Roseau, Dominica,
28th January 1832.

My Lord,

BOTH branches of the local Legislature having been in session when your Lordship's Circular Despatches, of the 10th December 1831, arrived, it will be perceived from the Enclosures, that the proposal therein contained was laid before them on the 21st instant.

I am encouraged in the anticipation that the provisions of His Majesty's Order in Council, of the 2d November last, for improving the condition of Slaves in the Crown Colonies, will certainly be rendered applicable to this Island by the Board of Council, and probably by the House of Assembly. The latter body has adjourned for the present, in order to afford the members time for mature consideration; and I anxiously trust it will be in my power, ere long, to report satisfactorily to your Lordship on this important and highly interesting subject.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. J. Murray MacGregor.*

Enclosures.

1. Governor to President and Council.
21 Jan. 1832.
2. Governor to House of Assembly.
Same date.
3. President and Council in reply.
Same date.
4. House of Assembly in reply.
Same date.

No. 1.—His Excellency the Governor to His Honour the President and Council.

THE Governor transmits to the Board of Council the copy of a Despatch from Lord Viscount *Goderich*, marked "Circular," and dated the 10th ult., together with its Enclosures; viz.—a Copy of an amended Order, made by His Majesty in Council on the 2d of November last, for improving the condition of Slaves in British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope; and certain printed Papers, presented to the House of Commons by His Majesty's command, wherein will be found the copy of a Circular Despatch, addressed by his Lordship on the 5th November last, to Governors of the above-mentioned Colonies, as well as of other documents relating to the Order in Council.

By laying the Secretary of State's Despatch, and its Enclosures, before the branches of Legislature of this Island, the Governor obeys the commands he has received. In their consideration of the subject, his Excellency cherishes and ventures to express an ardent hope, that the Honourable Board and House may be so guided by a spirit of high-minded confidence in the King's Government as to concur in promptly conciliating the generous feelings of the British people, and in thereby securing to the inhabitants of *Dominica* the earliest available participation in that measure of substantial relief which His Majesty's Ministers have resolved on effecting in the Colonies of the Crown, and anxiously tender, while it is yet within the scope of their power to protect them, for the acceptance of the other West Indian Colonies.

(signed) *E. J. M. MacGregor*, Governor.

Government House, Roseau, 21st Jan. 1832.

No. 2.—A similar Message to the House of Assembly, of the same date.

No. 3.—His Honour the President and Council to His Excellency the Governor.

THE Board acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's Communication of this morning, containing Lord Viscount Goderich's Despatch of 10th December last, and the several documents connected with such Despatch.

The Board are duly impressed with the importance of the subject thus committed to their consideration, and they pledge themselves to give it their immediate and most careful attention.

(signed) *Robert S. Jameson.*

Council Chamber, 21st Jan. 1832.

No. 4.—His Honour the Speaker and House of Assembly to
His Excellency the Governor.

THE House have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Message of this date, accompanying copy of a Circular from Lord Goderich, under date the 10th of December last, as likewise certain Orders in Council, dated the 2d November last, and to inform your Excellency, the House will take the same into their serious consideration.

(signed) *H. J. Glanville, Speaker.*

House of Assembly, 21st January 1832.

— No. 5. —

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *James Campbell*, Governor of *Grenada*,
to the Right honourable Lord Viscount *Goderich*.

My Lord,

Government House, Grenada, 28th Jan. 1832.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Circular of the 10th December last, with the accompanying Documents, on the 16th instant. As both branches of the Legislature stood adjourned to the 26th instant, I did not deem it necessary to call them together at an earlier period. On that day I pursued your Lordship's directions, and laid before both branches copies of your Despatch, together with the printed Papers published by order of the House of Commons. They immediately proceeded to take the same into consideration, and have appointed a Joint Committee of the Council and Assembly to take the same into consideration, and report thereon. The House has requested an adjournment to the 6th of March, when I shall again have the honour to acquaint your Lordship with their further proceedings.

I have, &c.

(signed) *James Campbell.*

— No. 6. —

DESPATCH from Major General Sir *Patrick Ross*, Governor of *Antigua*,
to the Right honourable the Lord Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Government House, Antigua,
3d February 1832.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, I lost no time in summoning the Houses of Legislature of this Colony, and submitting to them your Lordship's Despatch of the 10th December, together with the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 2d November 1831, and the several printed Papers which accompanied them. The Enclosure, No. 1, contains a Copy of my Communication to the Legislature on this occasion; and it is with the most lively concern that I now transmit to your Lordship the Replies of those bodies conveyed in the Enclosures marked 2 and 3.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Patrick Ross.*

Enclosure, No. 1.

Honourable Sirs,

Government House, Antigua,
24th January 1832.

I HAVE called the Houses of Legislature together by special summons, for the purpose of laying before them, at the earliest possible moment, a Despatch from the Right honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 10th December last, accompanied by Copies of an amended Order made by His Majesty in Council, for improving the condition of the Slaves in the Crown Colonies, and also Copies of certain printed Papers on the same subject which have been presented to the House of Commons by the King's commands.

I cannot for a moment doubt, that the powerful and convincing arguments which support the recommendation contained in the very able Despatch addressed to me by Lord Goderich, as also those conveyed in his Lordship's Circular Letter to the Governors of the Crown Colonies, of the 5th November last, will be perused and weighed by both Houses of Legislature with that calm and dispassionate consideration which a subject of such serious and vital import so imperatively demands.

As that sincere friend and well-wisher of the Colony which I can most conscientiously declare myself to be, it is a paramount obligation on my part to take this occasion of most strenuously urging upon your Honourable Houses the wisdom and prudence of yielding an early compliance with the expectations of His Majesty's Government; and I sincerely hope, that the result of your deliberations will enable me to convey to the Secretary of State the assurance of your having at length resolved on the adoption, and that in the manner which has been now suggested to you, of all those measures of amelioration which have been for many years so earnestly recommended by each succeeding Cabinet, in conformity with the Resolutions passed by the Imperial Parliament in the year 1823.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Patrick Ross.

The Honourable The President of the Council,
and The Speaker of the Assembly,
&c. &c. &c. Antigua.

Enclosure, No. 2.

Sir,

St. John's, 25th January 1832.

I AM directed by the House of Assembly to acknowledge, on its behalf, the communication from your Excellency, of yesterday's date, addressed jointly to the President of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly, transmitting the copy of a Despatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, of the 10th December last, accompanied by the copy of an amended Order, made by His Majesty in Council, for improving the condition of the Slaves in the Crown Colonies; and also, by copies of certain printed Papers, on the same subject, which have been presented to the House of Commons by the King's commands.

I am commanded, Sir, to convey to your Excellency, as the result of the mature deliberation of the House, on the several documents which have been laid before it on this subject, the expression of its becoming respect to His Majesty's Government, and high personal esteem towards your Excellency, as the official channel of the communication referred to, and its regret, that it feels itself compelled to decline to entertain the speculative propositions which have been so authoritatively addressed to it on this occasion; involving, as they do, the introduction of a code of innovations, ruinous in their effects, being compatible neither with the safety of the Colony, nor with a fair and equitable consideration of the rights of property.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Nicholas Nugent,

Speaker of the House of Assembly.

His Excellency
Major-General Sir Patrick Ross,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure, No. 3.

Sir,

Antigua, Council Chamber, February 2, 1832.

THIS Board having, with sentiments of due respect to His Majesty's Government, and high personal esteem towards your Excellency, taken into its calm and deliberate consideration the Despatch of the Secretary of State, of the 10th of December, presenting to the unqualified acceptance of our Legislature, certain Regulations for the amelioration and government of the Slave Population of this Island, on a scale commensurate with those expected from the Crown Colonies; but as totally incompatible with its natural resources, and inconsistent with its internal policy, as impracticable, from the extreme state of ruinous depression to which this unfortunate Colony has been gradually reduced, and now rendered hopeless, by the imperative tone of His Majesty's Government, in prohibiting reconstruction, and precluding remonstrance, banishing thereby every ray of hope and confident reliance of an impartial review of our deplorable condition.

This Board, therefore, most respectfully and reluctantly, but unavoidably, as an only alternative, feels itself called upon to decline its compliance with the determined and ruinous conditions submitted by His Majesty's Government to our unmodified adoption.

(signed) *Samuel Athill,*
President of the Council.

His Excellency
Major General Sir Patrick Ross, K. C. M. G.
&c. &c. &c.

— No. 7. —

DESPATCH from Major General *Nicolay*, Governor of St. Christopher, to the Right honourable Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

St. Christopher, 27th January 1832.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Circular Despatch, of the 10th ultimo, transmitting a copy of an amended Order of His Majesty in Council, dated 2d November last, for improving the condition of the Slaves in the Crown Colonies; and I shall immediately submit it, together with your Lordship's Despatch, to the Legislatures of this Island, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W^m Nicolay.*

— No. 8. —

EXTRACT from a DESPATCH from the Right honourable Sir *George Hill*, Bart. to Viscount *Goderich*; dated St. Vincent's, 28 January 1832.

“ I HAVE most carefully perused your Lordship's two Despatches, dated 10th December 1831, together with their Enclosures, viz. His Majesty's Order in Council, dated the 2d of November last, and the Papers laid before Parliament, dated as of the 6th December last; all on the subject of ameliorating the condition of the Slave Population of His Majesty's Colonies.

“ Pursuant to your Lordship's instructions, I have summoned a meeting of the Legislative Council and Assembly for the earliest day I could, with reasonable notice and convenience to them at this busy period, call them from their estates.

“ The meeting is appointed for Friday se'nnight, the 10th of February next.

“ The intermediate time shall be zealously employed in ascertaining the views and dispositions of the gentlemen of property and influence amongst them towards the measures proposed by His Majesty's Government on this all-important subject; and in a sincere endeavour to obviate such objections as they may oppose, by the application of your Lordship's powerful reasoning in support of those measures, and by reference in addition to the fixed determination (as it appears) of His Majesty's Government.

“ I cannot,

“ I cannot, however, hold out to your Lordship an expectation that these measures will be accepted, as your Despatch seems to enjoin ; namely, by adopting the Order in Council *in toto*, without alteration or qualification, as the permanent Law of the Colony ; for although some individuals have expressed an acquiescence in many of the injunctions and regulations prescribed, yet there is an objection *universally* urged against,

“ First, The unrestricted admission of the Protector into the negro hut, at all times to communicate with him in secret.

“ Secondly, Against the minute enumeration of the articles of food and clothing to be supplied, with their quantities and qualities. The first they consider likely to endanger the peace, quiet and comfort of the estate ; the second as degrading to their character and common sense.

“ I am further induced to expect opposition to the measure, from the example which I understand has been recently set in Trinidad, St. Lucia, Barbadoes and St. Kitt's.

“ I will, however, propitiate, if I can, the Members of Council and the Assembly towards, and zealously promote the adoption of, the measures of His Majesty's Government on this subject.

“ The rejection of them in other Colonies may produce (though not in this) agitation and excitement among the Slaves, who will soon learn that their masters had refused benefits proposed for them by their King.

II.

— No. 1. —

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *B. D'Urban*, K. C. B. Governor of British Guiana, to the Right honourable the Lord Viscount *Goderich*.

My Lord,

King's House, British Guiana, 31st December 1831.

I AM very happy to inform your Lordship, that the Slave Population of the Colony are now, at the conclusion of this year, perfectly tranquil, and I have reason to believe contented and happy.

I must not however conceal from your Lordship, that during the months of September and October, reports had got among them (I am unable to discover in what source precisely originating, or whether disseminated by accident or design,) engendering a vague expectation of some important change in their condition being about to arrive from England, to the extent, in short, “ that they were to be made free at the Christmas of the present year.”

The measure of enfranchisement to the Crown Slaves, which was in operation and became known in the end of October, had in some degree tended to favour this expectation ; and considerable apprehension was entertained that the disappointment of these hopes might lead to uneasiness.

As I found from corroborating accounts upon which I could depend, that this was not altogether void of foundation, I judged it prudent to avail myself of a tour of inspection of the country militia (which I always make in November and the first weeks of December, and which carries me through the whole Colony) to speak to them myself, in order to dispel any illusion which might have arisen among them, well knowing that they would give implicit confidence to what I should say to them. Accordingly I caused parties of the Slave Population, consisting of two or three intelligent men from every estate, to meet me at convenient points in the course of my tour, and with these I entered into a short explanation of their real state and position, and warned them against giving credit to groundless reports, which would only serve to unsettle their minds, render them discontented and uneasy, and perhaps ultimately lead them into trouble.

They everywhere heard me with the closest and most respectful attention, and in the best apparent temper, thanked me for having explained to them the true state of the case, as to which some of them admitted they had heard reports of some intended

intended change, but to which they affirmed none of their *steady people* had given credit; and they all promised to communicate what I had said to them to their respective comrades upon their return.

I believe that they all did so very faithfully, and I am happy also to believe that this measure has had a salutary effect in settling and quieting their minds, and banishing any impression, wherever it had been made, of a contrary tendency. In fact (as I have ascertained from the corroborating reports of inhabitants of all the different districts of the Colony,) the Christmas holidays have not for some years past been attended with so much gaiety and good humour among them, or been followed by such a ready and punctual return to their ordinary work afterwards. I think that this may be satisfactory to your Lordship to know, and therefore I communicate it.

I have &c.

(signed) B. D'Urban.

—No. 2.—

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir B. D'Urban, K.C.B. Governor of British Guiana, to the Right honourable Lord Viscount Goderich.

My Lord, King's House, British Guiana, 13th January 1832.

ON the 10th of last month I had the honour to receive your Lordship's Despatch of the 5th November last, accompanied by Copies of His Majesty's Orders in Council of the 2d November 1831, and other Documents.

And on the 1st instant I had also the honour to receive your Lordship's Despatches of the 14th November, and of the 16th November, with corrected copies of the same Orders in Council, and 150 additional copies for subsequent distribution on the public service.

In obedience to the provisions of the second of the above Orders in Council, and to the commands contained in your Lordship's accompanying Despatches, I yesterday published the Orders in Council, followed by the Proclamation (Enclosure, No. 1.), as authorized and enjoined by the 31st and 40th Clauses of the said Order.

These Orders in Council, and the Proclamation, will, therefore, by the provisions of the former, commence to be in force and operation in the Colony on the 26th instant.

In the substituted punishments of the Proclamation under the 40th Clause of the Order, I have endeavoured, according to the best of my judgment, and as far as has appeared to me practicable, to be guided by the principles laid down in your Lordship's Despatch. The field stocks had already, I understood, fallen into general disuse in the Colony; and I have omitted them altogether in the enumerated lawful modes of punishment; they will henceforth be an illegal punishment for females, and cease accordingly.

I have good reason for believing, however, that the abuse to which your Lordship adverts as having taken place in St. Lucia, has not been practised in this Colony; and the Extract Minute (Enclosure, No. 2.) from the Proceedings of the Court of Policy, at its first sitting in 1826 (about two months after the operation of the 1st Slave Ordinance) may suffice to show your Lordship how early a due regulation of this mode of punishment was established here, the object of which was to divest it of bodily pain.

On the 11th instant the two senior Colonial Members of the Court of Policy waited upon me in the name of the whole (it appears they had received copies of the Orders in Council by a recent arrival from England), and delivered to me the enclosed Representation and Request (No. 3.)

If under any circumstances such an instruction as that contained in the 121st Clause of the Order in Council could have at all admitted of a discretionary power of suspension on the part of a Colonial Governor, the tenor of your Lordship's Despatches would in this instance have rendered its exercise altogether impossible; and of course it became my imperative duty to return to these gentlemen an immediate and unqualified negative.

I have, &c.
(signed) B. D'Urban.

Enclosure, No. 1.

PROCLAMATION.

BY His Excellency Major-General Sir *Benjamin D'Urban*,
 British Guiana. Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military
 (L. s.) Order of the Bath, of the Royal Guelphic Order, and of
 (signed) *B. D'Urban*. the Portuguese Royal Military Order of the Tower and
 Sword, Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-Admi-
 ral in and over the Colony of British Guiana, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS by an Order of His Majesty in Council, bearing date the 2d day of November 1831, the Governor of this Colony is authorized and enjoined to issue certain Proclamations: I do, in obedience thereto, hereby order and direct,

1st. With reference to the 31st Clause of the said Order in Council, that Saturday in each week shall be a day for holding markets at all places within this Colony at which it hath heretofore been customary to hold markets on Sunday, and that the hours of the day during which such markets shall be holden, shall be from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon.

2nd. And I do hereby further order and direct, with reference to the 40th Clause of the said Order in Council, that the following shall be the nature and extent of the punishments to be substituted for the punishment of whipping in the case of female Slaves, and the rules and regulations for preventing and punishing any abuses in the infliction of such substituted punishments.

Modes of Punishment.

Solitary or other confinement, with or without work, in any fit or proper place on any estate, or in any place in the said Colony; provided that such place be approved by some duly licensed medical practitioner in the said Colony, by certificate in writing under his hand; such certificate to be duly entered in the Punishment Record Book on every plantation if in the country, and if in town, by some duly licensed medical practitioner, to be recorded in the office of the Protector of Slaves; and provided that all such places of confinement be visited by a duly licensed medical practitioner once in every month, and certified by him to be wholesome and proper for this purpose; such certificates to be annexed to the Punishment Returns.

House Stocks.—For the hands and feet, or either of them, with seats, to be used as hereinafter specified.

Bed Stocks.—For confinement of the feet, to be used as hereinafter specified.

Handcuffs.—For securing the hands of violent and refractory offenders, in cases of such necessity.

Distinguishing Dresses.

Distinguishing Marks.—To be suspended from the neck by collars, and secured by padlocks; the collars and marks to be made of tin, and as well as the handcuffs, to be very light, so as not to injure the skin.

All these to be made according to the sealed models in the office of the Protector of Slaves, any deviation from which is, and is hereby declared to be illegal.

Classes of Offences and Punishments which it shall be lawful to inflict for any such Offences respectively:—

1st Class of Offences:

1. Absenting, and skulking from work.
2. Not coming to work in due time.
3. Doing bad work.
4. Losing, breaking or making away with tools.
5. Refusing to work under false pretences of sickness; provided that in such cases a distinct certificate to that effect be furnished by the medical practitioner of the estate, and annexed to the Punishment Records.

Lawful Punishments for ditto:

1. Confinement, solitary or otherwise (without work), during the hours of intermission and cessation of labour allowed by the 91st Clause of the said Order in Council; provided always, that this punishment shall not, for each offence, be continued for more than three working days in succession; and that the usual meal of the offender, for the period in question (if it be a meal time) shall be duly sent to her in the place of confinement.

2. Or

2d Class of Offences :

1. Insolence and abuse to superiors.
2. Disobedience of orders.
3. Fighting and rioting.
4. Ill-using or neglecting their children.
5. Striking, beating or maltreating others.
6. Ill-using animals.
7. Killing, destroying or injuring stock.
8. Bringing rum into estates clandestinely.
9. Ditto, ditto, into hospitals.
10. Neglecting, concealing or occasioning wilfully sores.
11. Eating dirt.
12. Indecent language and behaviour.
13. Pretending to obeah and witchcraft.
14. Breaking and destroying buildings, fences, boats, &c.
15. Destroying produce, plantains, provision, &c.
16. Carelessness and inattention with fire, to the endangering of property.
17. Concealing runaway slaves.
18. Receiving stolen goods.
19. Conniving at theft.
20. Embezzling goods under their charge.
21. Theft.

3d Class of Offences :

1. Drunkenness :

4th Class of Offences :

1. Absconding and remaining absent from the estate for more than three days.
2. Breaking out of confinement or hospital.
3. Complete disregard, and violent opposition of lawful authority.

2. Or instead of the punishment hereinbefore set forth, confinement, solitary or otherwise, with or without work; if solitary, for a period not exceeding twenty-four successive hours; if otherwise, not exceeding forty-eight successive hours, for each offence.

Lawful Punishments for ditto :

1. Confinement, solitary or otherwise, without work, during the hours of intermission or cessation of labour, allowed by the 91st Clause of the said Order in Council: Provided always, that this punishment shall not, for each offence, be continued for more than five working days in succession; and that the usual meal of the offender for the period in question (if it be a meal-time) shall be duly sent to her in the place of confinement.

2. Or instead of the punishment hereinbefore set forth, confinement, solitary or otherwise, with or without work; if solitary, not exceeding four successive hours; if otherwise, not exceeding 72 successive hours.

Lawful punishments for ditto :

Bed-stocks for the confinement of the feet during the continuance of the intoxication; afterwards either of the punishments prescribed for the 2d class of offences; and, in this case, distinguishing dresses or marks of degradation until there is reformation of conduct.

Lawful Punishments for ditto :

1. Confinement in the house-stocks for hands and feet, or either of them, with seats. Provided, however, that for each offence the continuance of this punishment shall not exceed six hours, nor be inflicted at any time between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock on the following morning, nor upon any female who shall be known to be in a state of pregnancy.

2. Or instead of the punishment of the house-stocks hereinbefore set forth, confinement,

finement, solitary or otherwise, with or without work; if solitary, for a period not exceeding ninety-six successive hours; if otherwise, not exceeding six successive days, or three days and three nights.

Provided always, and I do hereby order and direct, that if any woman in confinement shall be at the time giving suck to a child, the said child shall be duly sent in at the proper periods to its mother for that purpose, unless it be ordered otherwise by the competent medical practitioner, in which case his certificate to that effect must be attached to the Punishment Record.

And I do hereby further order and direct, that in all cases of this punishment, either solitary or otherwise, where such confinement shall exceed the period of twelve hours, the prisoner shall be supplied with a sufficient quantity of prepared farinaceous food, at least once in every twelve hours, and with a proper supply of good water; and I do hereby further order and direct, that not more than one of the modes of punishment hereby authorized shall be inflicted for the same offence; nor shall any offender be punished for a new offence until twenty-four hours after the termination of any previous punishment; nor shall any of the punishments herein specified be exceeded, under a penalty not greater than forty pounds and not less than ten pounds; and no other mode of punishment of females than is herein specified shall be inflicted, under a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, nor less than twenty pounds: Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall authorize any manager to inflict any of the above punishments on any female Slave, on any Sunday throughout the year: Provided also, and I do hereby further order and direct, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any punishment which may be inflicted on any female Slave by virtue of the sentence of any Court of competent jurisdiction.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at the King's House in George Town, Demerara, British Guiana, this 12th day of January 1832, and in the third year of His Majesty's reign.

God save the King.

By His Excellency's Command,

(signed) *T. C. Hammill,*

Assistant Government Secretary.

Enclosure, No. 2.

EXTRACT from the MINUTES of the PROCEEDINGS of the Honourable the Court of Policy of the Colony and Dependent Districts of *Demerara* and *Essequibo*, at an adjourned Meeting held at the Colony House, *George Town, Demerara*.

Wednesday, the 8th March 1826.

(after Prayers.)

It was communicated to the Court, by his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, that some serious inconvenience had arisen from the present form of the field stocks, and his Honour the Second Fiscal stated that complaints on the subject had been made to him in *Essequibo*, which made it desirable that the models should be reconsidered.

Whereupon it was resolved to appoint the Second Fiscal and the four Colonial Members a Committee to reconsider the present model for the field stocks, and, from the similarity of the punishment, the model also of the house stocks; which models, when approved by the Court aforesaid, shall be the legal instruments of punishment allowed to be used hereafter in lieu of those at present adopted.

It was further resolved, that full-sized patterns of the same, when determined on, shall be kept in the office of the First Fiscal and in that of the Protector of Slaves, and be sent also to the Second Fiscal and the several Deputy Fiscals.

(A true Extract.)

(signed)

Charles Wildall,

Dep. Col. Sec

Enclosure, No. 3.

EXTRACT from the MINUTES of the PROCEEDINGS of the Honourable the Court of Policy of the Colony and Dependent Districts of *Demerara* and *Essequibo*, at an adjourned Meeting held at the Colony House, *George Town, Demerara*.

“ Friday, the 10th March 1826.

“ (After Prayers.)

“ THE Court resumed the consideration of the Communication of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and its Resolution thereupon, dated the 8th instant ; after viewing the models of the field and house stocks, and having maturely considered the same, was of opinion that the following alterations were required ; viz.

“ That the moveable hand board in the field stocks be confined within a range of 3 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 6 inches high from the foot board, to the intent, and it is expressly ordered and to be understood, that in no case shall the hands of the person confined in them be brought above the level of the eyes.

“ That the seat attached to the house stocks be continued and brought close up to the upright of the hand stocks, allowing support for the legs while the feet are confined in the stocks.

“ And his Honour the Second Fiscal was requested to have the models altered as pointed out herein, which when done and completed, the same shall be taken and considered as the legal standard pattern for field and house stocks.

“ The Court requesting their Honours, the respective Fiscals, to order a sufficient number of full-sized models to be made and sent to each of the Deputy Fiscals resident within their respective districts, pursuant to its Resolution to this effect passed on the 8th instant, with instructions that the same shall be the legal instruments of punishment allowed to be used hereafter in lieu of those at present adopted, adhering to the principle of not allowing the hands to be raised above the eyes ; and that these Orders be sent round to all the estates and inhabitants in their respective districts.

“ Ordered, That an extract of the Minute of the 8th instant, containing the Court's Resolution of that date, together with the foregoing, be handed to his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, and to their Honours the respective Fiscals.”

(A true Extract.)

(signed)

Charles Wildall,
Dep. Col. Sec.

Enclosure, No. 4.

To His Excellency Major-General Sir *Benjamin D'Urban*, K. C. B., &c. Governor and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c. in and over the Colony of *British Guiana*.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the Colonial Members of the Court of Policy, elected in conformity with the constitutional laws, have ascertained, by documents received by the recent arrivals from England, that an Order of His Majesty in Council has been lately transmitted to your Excellency for publication in this Colony.

From the nature of this Order in Council, we are impressed with a firm conviction, that if such publication does take place, the utter ruin and desolation of this Colony, already suffering under the severest calamities, will be consummated.

As Members of the Court of Policy, called upon by our duty to the Colonists at large, and as the only hope to which they now cling to avert this fatal measure, we, on behalf of the Colony, implore your Excellency to stay the publication of the said Order in Council, that we may have an opportunity of demonstrating to His Majesty its ruinous tendency to every interest of this community.

As British subjects, we claim your Excellency's protection, as the representative of our Most Gracious Sovereign, not to be instrumental in confiscating our property, and consigning to misery and ruin, without a hearing, a population which your
Excellency

Excellency found, on your accession to the Government, in a state of comparative prosperity, and in every way disposed to meet the views of Government, in the true intent and meaning of the Resolutions of Parliament, of 1823.

The evil once inflicted can never be remedied; but a calm consideration of the objections which we are prepared to offer, if an opportunity be afforded to us, may yet avert the impending calamity; and surely from us, constituted as we are His Majesty's Council of Advice to your Excellency, objections may legitimately be offered at this critical juncture, to a measure affecting the lives and properties of ourselves and fellow Colonists.

(signed) *Jas. Johnston.*
F. P. Van Berckel.
Jno. Croal.
F. Frankland.

Colony House, George Town, Demerara,
 10th January 1832.

— No. 3. —

DESPATCH from Viscount *Goderich* to Major-General Sir *B. D'Urban*.

Sir,

Downing-street, 14th March 1832.

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Despatch of January 13th, 1832, acknowledging the receipt of that which I addressed to you on the 5th November, and informing me that you had, in conformity with the instructions conveyed to you, promulgated His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2d of that month.

It is with the greatest regret that I have learnt that the Gentlemen of the Court of Policy have expressed an opinion so decidedly adverse to that measure, and that the law which His Majesty has been advised to enact for the improvement of the condition of the Slaves in those of the British Colonies which are under his direct legislative authority, should have been regarded as likely to be so injurious to the interests of their owners.

Urgent as were the representations addressed to you against the enforcement of a law so enacted, it is scarcely necessary to observe that you judged correctly in not considering yourself at liberty to disregard its authority; nor can I hold out to the Colonists of Guiana the slightest expectation that a measure which has not been adopted without the most mature consideration will be revoked. I trust that no attempt will have been made to oppose or impede the execution of this law since the certain failure of such an attempt might not prevent it from producing a most mischievous effect upon the minds of the Slaves, and thus leading to calamitous results. I cannot allow myself to doubt that the inhabitants of the Colony may be impressed with a conviction that it is not less their interest than their duty to yield to His Majesty's commands a respectful and deferential obedience. Recent events in Jamaica afford but too melancholy a proof of the danger of suffering any sign of a want of harmony between their masters and the Government to be detected by the Slaves; while the facts mentioned in your Despatch of December 1831, and the success which has attended your efforts to remove those mistaken notions which had been circulated amongst this class of the population, show how much security is gained by the existence of an authority in whose power to prevent oppression, and in whose impartiality, they have reason to confide.

The maintenance of public tranquillity in British Guiana may justly be attributed to your well-directed exertions, and to the confidence of the Slaves in the Executive Government, which has been created by the policy of late years pursued in the Crown Colonies.

I reserve for a future opportunity any remarks which I may think it necessary to make upon the Proclamation issued by you under the 40th Clause of His Majesty's Order in Council of 2d November last.

I have &c.
 (signed) *Goderich.*

— No. 4.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *Lewis Grant* to
Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.Government House, Trinidad,
13th January 1832.

“ I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that on the 5th instant I issued the Royal Proclamation of 2d November 1831, and that I have forwarded copies thereof to the several commandants of quarters and to the principal proprietors of sugar estates, and that I have ordered a sufficient number to be printed to supply all the proprietors or managers of the sugar estates. Soon after the arrival of the Order in Council, a few proprietors, calling themselves members of a committee, expressed a wish to have an interview with me on its subject: I objected to acknowledge them officially, but received them as respectable proprietors. The Enclosure, No. 1, was forwarded me soon after as a memorandum of the conversation which passed: a copy of my Letter to Mr. Jackson attached to the memorandum will show the exception I took to it.

“ On the 4th instant there was brought forward in the Cabildo the motion of which, Enclosure, No. 2, is a printed copy. My observation to the Cabildo on that occasion was to the effect that, as Corregidor, I objected to the motion; that with every respect for the authority of the illustrious Board I would never allow that it could claim any right whatever to interfere in matters connected with the general affairs of the Colony, or with His Majesty's commands regarding them; that I considered the powers of the Board to be entirely of a municipal kind, chiefly confined to the town of Port D'Espagne, and that, on all points confined to this, I should be happy to take their opinion and have their co-operation; that I gave them this notice lest the issuing of the Proclamation, without doing so, might appear an ungracious act on my part.

“ The proprietors did hold their meeting on the 6th, and Enclosure, No. 3, will show that part of their proceedings which reached me; and annexed to that is the reply I gave them. I must in justice to the gentlemen who composed the deputation say, that, with not more than one or two exceptions, their language was highly moderate, and their conduct throughout the occasion, perfectly unobjectionable.

“ As no papers have reached me to be forwarded, I am disposed to think that representations will reach your Lordship through another channel.

“ Whatever your Lordship may be induced to do, in regard to modification, I would most strongly recommend that the power of the Protector to enter upon estates and into negro houses, in order to ascertain the actual condition of the slaves, in cases where he may have reason to suspect improper proceedings, should not in any way be curtailed.

“ Every day instances are brought before me, to show the necessity for such a power existing. Within the last two hours a manager has been brought up from the country to gaol, who is to be indicted for murder and repeated cruelty.

“ I could mention more cases to your Lordship, but they will appear in the Report of the Protector.

“ I have, &c.

(signed)

“ *Lewis Grant.*”

Enclosure, No. 1.

MEMORANDUM.

A DEPUTATION appointed by the Committee, and consisting of the following gentlemen, viz. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Laperouse, Mr. Ganteaume, Begorrat, Mr. Bushe and Mr. Scott, waited on his Excellency the Governor this morning. The Vice-Chairman informed his Excellency of the object of deputation, and read the resolution of the Committee in the following words :

“ Resolved, That a deputation of this Committee, consisting of the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, Mr. Begorrat, Mr. Laperouse, Mr. Ganteaume and Mr. Bush, do wait on his Excellency the Governor as soon as possible, to request his Excellency to inform them whether he had received the Order in Council respecting the Slave population, which the Committee have been informed it is the intention of His Majesty’s Ministers to promulgate in the Crown Colonies, and also further to request his Excellency to inform them of the nature and extent of the changes proposed to be made in the existing law, and if the same were actually determined on, or that some changes and modifications of the proposed order might be expected from the representations made by the Committee of Merchants and Planters in London; and that they further request his Excellency to inform them of the exact nature of the regulations respecting the limitation of agricultural and manufacturing labour, which the Committee have understood are proposed to be adopted, and whether his Excellency would permit some representations and statements on this subject to be made to him; and further, that if possible his Excellency would suspend the promulgation of any Order in Council on this subject until the inhabitants of this Colony have an opportunity of laying their representations on this subject before His Majesty’s Ministers.” And then prayed his Excellency to furnish the deputation with the information therein requested.

To which his Excellency replied, “ That he could not, in his public capacity, recognize the committee or the deputation, or receive them in any other light than as private individuals interested in the prosperity of the Colony, but in that capacity he was ready to furnish them with any information which he could communicate consistent with his public duties.” He then informed the deputation that he had received the Order in Council alluded to in the Resolution, but that he could not from memory state the nature of the changes proposed to be made; that it was not his intention to promulgate the Order in Council until after the arrival of the next packet, by which he expected to receive some further documents, and that some days previous to its promulgation he would furnish the principal proprietors, and amongst them the individuals present, with copies of the Order in Council, and hoped that they would take the opportunity of putting the changes into operation previous to its proclamation; that some modifications had been made in the Order in Council, in consequence of the representations of the London Committee, but that in its present state he believed it was finally determined on; that he could not from memory state the exact restrictions and limitations on agricultural and manufacturing labour, but that he would furnish the gentlemen present with the provisions of the Order in Council in this respect, and again expressed his hope that advantage would be taken of this communication to put these restrictions into immediate practical operation; that he would receive, and take into consideration, and would transmit to His Majesty’s Government any representations and statements on this subject which were made in proper terms; but that the clause of the Order had received such full consideration in Europe, that he could not hold out any hope that any changes would be made, and that his instructions would preclude him from making any modifications of the Order previous to its being carried into operation, or to suspend its promulgation beyond the time directed for that purpose.

Mr. Jackson inquired if his Excellency could inform the deputation whether it was the intention of His Majesty’s Ministers to afford any compensation to the Crown Colonies for the losses they would sustain by the new Order in Council, either

either by some advantages in the duties on the produce or otherwise. To this his Excellency replied, that he could not give any precise information on that subject, but that he rather believed that it was the intention of Ministers to enforce the adoption of similar regulations in the other Colonies, by giving advantages in the levying of the duties on the produce of those Colonies by which they were adopted.

The deputation then withdrew.

Dear Sir,

St. Ann's, 14th January 1832.

As I did not consider the conversation I had with you, Mr. Laperouse, Mr. Begorrat, and some others, to be of an official kind, the Memorandum which you sent me some time ago did not, in the midst of hurry in other business, attract my attention until lately.

In the latter part you mention, that you ask me for information, if it was the intention on the part of Ministers to compensate the Crown Colonies for the losses they would sustain by the new Order in Council, by some advantages in the duties on the produce or otherwise, and that I replied, that I could not give any precise information on the subject, but that I rather believed it was the intention of Ministers to enforce similar regulations in the other Colonies, by giving advantages in the levying of the duties on the produce of those Colonies by which they were adopted.

On this I have to observe, that whatever may have passed in the course of cursory information on the day we met, I can have no sort of knowledge of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, in regard to any plan they may have in contemplation for obtaining the concurrence of the Colonial Governments to adopt the new Order in Council. I am not of opinion, however, that any steps which may be taken will originate in the motive of compensating the Crown Colonies for losses in consequence of the Order in Council, as, from the Despatch, of which you are in possession of a copy, His Majesty's Government is firmly of opinion that the Crown Colonies will be alternately benefited in a high degree by its operation.

I have, &c.

Edward Jackson, Esq.

(signed) *Lewis Grant.*

Enclosure, No. 2.

To His Excellency Major General Sir *Lewis Grant*, K. C. H.
Governor and Corregidor, &c. &c. &c.

WE His Majesty's dutiful subjects, the Alcaldes in Ordinary and Regidores of the illustrious Cabildo, having been informed that your Excellency has received from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and is about to promulgate in this Colony, an Order in Council, whereof some of the provisions are subversive of the rights, and destructive of the properties of His Majesty's subjects in Trinidad, and deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility which devolves on us as guardians of the welfare and protector of the rights of the community over which we are appointed to preside, pray your Excellency's serious and attentive consideration to the solemn compact, and the laws by which their rights were guaranteed and assured at the time of the capitulation of this Island, and by the very Act which made its inhabitants British subjects, the public faith of England was solemnly and distinctly pledged; that in the laws and ordinances to be enforced by the British Government, the rights, the properties and the religion of the capitulants should be preserved inviolate. The laws at that time in force in Trinidad, and those subsequently promulgated by the British Government, not only recognized the right and property in negro slaves, but held out every possible encouragement to the investment of capital in such property, which consists wholly in the right of the proprietor to exact the labour of his slave. The clauses of the Order in Council, which limit the hours of labour to an extent hitherto unknown, and in a manner not requisite for protecting the health and comfort of the slave, are a palpable infringement of this right; the regulations respecting the food and clothing of negro slaves, are needlessly

needlessly extravagant; and the enactments which permit persons appointed to act as salaried informers to enter on estates and negro houses at all hours, without information or even suspicion of the commission of an offence, unnecessarily authorize and encourage a direct invasion of the rights of private property.

By the constitutional and unaltered laws of the Spanish Monarchy, no power in the empire can take or impair the property of any individual, without previous compensation; the laws of the Partidas and of the Indies, prohibit the promulgation of any Ordinances, by which the rights or properties of any communities are invaded; declaring, in case any such Ordinances should be received, that their enforcement should be suspended, until the decision of the King or the representatives of his people shall be made known.

The Recop. de Indias, l. 2, tit. 1, l. 24, l. 30, tit. 18, Part 3.

Availing ourselves of the protection and the privileges which the inhabitants of this Island are under, these laws entitle us solemnly to entreat your Excellency to suspend the promulgation of this Order in Council, and more especially the enforcement of the clauses before particularly referred to, until such time as an humble application to the justice of our Sovereign shall have been received and answered.

But in case your Excellency shall not deem it proper to comply with our request, then in the names and on the behalf of all His Majesty's subjects in this Island, we declare to enter our solemn protest against the enforcement of all such parts thereof as are injurious to, or destructive of private property, reserving to all the inhabitants of this Colony the said rights and privileges to which they are entitled under the laws of the land, and the engagements solemnly undertaken at the capitulation of the Colony, together with their claims to full and ample compensation for all loss and depreciation of property which they may sustain by reason of the promulgation of the Order in Council, or their obedience to the provisions thereof.

Robert Bushe, First Alcalde.
Fred. Brown, Second Alcalde.
William Roberts.
George Bland.
William S. Neilson.

David Hutchison.
Francis R. Wallen.
Wright Sherlock.
John Watson.

Cabildo Hall, 4th January 1832.

See the substance of Sir L. Grant's reply to the motion made in Cabildo, in the body of the Despatch.

Enclosure, No. 3.

COPY of the PAPER read to Sir *Lewis Grant* by the Gentlemen of the Deputation.

Resolved,

THAT a Deputation of this Meeting, consisting of twenty-four gentlemen to be named by the meeting, do wait forthwith on his Excellency the Governor, for the purpose of making a strong remonstrance against the enforcement of the clauses of the Order in Council which restrict the hours of labour, and which regulate the number of days for working in their grounds, and to represent to his Excellency the ruin with which the enforcement of these provisions must overwhelm all the planters in the Colony, and without in any manner compromising the rights of the inhabitants of this Colony, and without prejudice to their petition to His Majesty adopted at this meeting, and the protest resolved to be entered into, to pray his Excellency, in consideration of the urgent necessity of the case, and the protection for their property, which the inhabitants of this Colony are entitled to demand of his Excellency as representing His Majesty's Government, that he would be pleased to promulgate, without delay, an Order of Government, whereby these provisions may be modified in the following manner; that is, that in crop time ten hours of agricultural and twelve of manufacturing labour be permitted, and that thirty days be allowed to the negroes, including the four great festivals, the proprietors offering to continue on these conditions their present allowance of salt fish.

Governor Sir Lewis Grant's Reply.

Gentlemen,

ON no occasion do I feel it within my authority to deviate from, or to modify an Order from the King in Council, but on the present particular occasion there is contained in the Order much more than a tacit injunction to this effect, for the last clause but one takes away, in most explicit words, all power from me or any other Governor or authority to intermeddle with it. I cannot even qualify or modify the Order, by any view or wish of mine in regard to its meaning, supposing that either were at variance with what is intended as its purpose. Any representations which may be made to me for the purpose of being forwarded, I shall hope will be done free from passion, that they may convey the more weight with them; in the mean time I would most earnestly recommend the gentlemen proprietors not to give way to angry feelings, or be discussing the subject on occasions obviously objectionable. My anxious wish was, and I expressed myself on a former occasion to this effect, that the proprietors would of themselves begin the innovations before the Order was promulgated, and thus make it appear to those dependant upon them, that it had its emanation with the masters.

— No. 5. —

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *Lewis Grant*, to the
Right Honourable Viscount *Goderich* &c. &c. &c.

Government House, Trinidad,
13th January 1832.

My Lord,

SOON after the arrival of the Order in Council, Mr. Jackson, who is Chairman of the Committee of Proprietors, accompanied by Mr. Charles Marryatt and Mr. Wilson, who are two mortgagees to a very large extent in the Colony, came to me to talk over the subject. I immediately after sent Mr. Jackson a Letter, of which Enclosure No. 1 is a copy, and soon after received from him in return the one of which No. 2 is a copy. To these I beg leave to request your Lordship's attention.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Lewis Grant*.

Enclosure No. 1.

Sir,

Government House, 22d December 1831.

FOLLOWING up the communication I made to you this morning, I have now to intimate to you, that being most anxious to bring into operation the provisions which His Majesty's Government have decided upon to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in the way that would be most acceptable to the proprietors, and likely to obtain their co-operation, I think it my best plan to put you in possession of a copy of the Order in Council previous to its being promulgated, and while I am awaiting the coming of the next mail. My object in this is, that you and those proprietors to whom you have occasion to show the order, may be made timely aware of its contents, and will be disposed, of their own accord, to anticipate in practice the changes which are provided for. The great advantage which will accrue from this mode of proceeding appears to me to be that the benefits or improvements will have the appearance of emanating from the proprietors instead of being the result of legal provision and compulsion. I attach so very much importance to this, that I beg leave to urge it on the attention of proprietors. I would earnestly recommend, that a summary of the leading provisions of the order where the bringing them into practice shall hereafter rest with the proprietors, shall be printed and distributed among them for the purpose mentioned, that is to say, if the gentlemen proprietors view the matter as I do. The representations which were made by the London Committee to Lord Godarich, after they were put in possession of the draft of the order were all specially considered and intensely canvassed. The result was, that several of the suggestions were adopted, as you will perceive, in the difference between the order
and

and the original draft, such as were not adopted were rejected, as being at variance with the general principles upon which His Majesty's Government are proceeding.

I shall, in conclusion, observe, that in Lord Goderich's Despatch to me it is pointed out, that every measure prescribed in the Order in Council has been already made law in some one or other of the West India Colonies.

Edward Jackson, Esq.

I have, &c.
(signed) *L. Grant.*

Enclosure, No. 2.

Sir,

Port of Spain, 31st December 1831.

WITH reference to the communication I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency on the 23d instant, I beg leave to state, that by the packet which has just arrived, I have received a copy of the Despatch addressed by Lord Goderich to the several Governors of the Crown Colonies, with which their agents were furnished by the Colonial Office. This Despatch contains an elaborate commentary on the several clauses in the new Order in Council, and is most valuable as evincing the principles on which His Majesty's advisers officially declare the provisions of that enactment to be founded. A careful perusal of that document has confirmed me in the opinion that His Majesty's Ministers must and would approve of the modification of the clauses respecting manufacturing labour, which are essential to preserve the peace of the Island and to prevent the total ruin of the sugar planters; and which, moreover, are not in any manner inconsistent with those principles which Lord Goderich in his Despatch lays down as the ground work of the new Order in Council.

I have, in conformity with the wish expressed in your Excellency's Letter of the 22d instant, communicated to a great number of the respectable proprietors a short abstract of the principal provisions of the proposed Order in Council, informing them of your hope that they would voluntarily and immediately adopt and carry into operation the most material changes. At the same time, I requested them to furnish me with their observations on this subject in writing. To these communications I have as yet received only four replies, accompanied by the statements and circulations on which the opinions and apprehensions of the writers are founded. It is my intention, as soon as the other answers are received, to prepare a digest of their contents, which will place the opinions and arguments of the most influential and most intelligent proprietors in the Colony fairly under your consideration and that of His Majesty's Government.

In the mean time, however, as your Excellency's Letter before referred to, stated, that the publication of the Order in Council would probably be deferred only until the arrival of the expected packet, I deem it my duty not to lose a moment in informing you, that both in the communications which I have received from the proprietors, as well as in the numerous conversations I have had with most of the practical planters in the Colony, I find it to be the universal and unhesitating opinion that the restrictions on the hours of manufacturing labour cannot be enforced without total and immediate ruin.

I am of course most desirous to have the assistance of the Committee appointed by the inhabitants of this Island in preparing for your Excellency's consideration a statement of the grounds of their opinion, which is founded on the most unanswerable statements and calculations, and in a few days I shall be enabled to lay before you the result of their considerations on this most important subject. Fearing, however, lest in the space which must necessarily intervene, irreparable injury may be done by the promulgation of the Order in Council unaccompanied by any modifications, I venture most respectfully to call your Excellency's attention to the following imperfect remarks.

By the Clauses 90, 91, 92 and 93 of the Order in Council, the proprietor is precluded from employing his slaves in manufacturing or other labour for more than nine hours out of the twenty-four.

To show some part of the ruinous consequences of this restriction, in respect of the manufacturer of sugar during the crop, it is necessary for me to explain, 1st. That no part of the labour required in the carrying or the manufacturing process

process is of a fatiguing kind, excepting perhaps the feeding of the mill; 2d. That the labour is not continuous, being liable from its very nature to frequent interruption. Thus the boiler-men, of whom there is usually one man to each set of coppers more than can be employed at the same time, have nothing to do until the liquor requires skimming, and are at least one half of their time wholly unemployed; nothing but severe punishment could prevail on them to go through nine hours of field out, in lieu of the more protracted but lighter labour which they now perform both easily and cheerfully.

The drivers of the cattle mill who set on the sweeps, are totally unoccupied during the very considerable intervals which take place in changing the mules in the mill, an operation which consumes full one quarter of every hour. The carters have merely to ride in the carts which convey the canes to the mill. To the mule boys, who are generally from twelve to fourteen or sixteen years of age, crop time is a season of great enjoyment; and no one who has seen them galloping their mules into the field, would for one instant suppose that their labour is excessive, either in point of exertion or duration. The feeders of the mill and the five men, who are perhaps the only persons constantly employed, usually exchange their places for labour of a lighter description every two or three hours, and on a well regulated estate the same persons are not employed in these occupations more than three, seldom more than two days in the week. From the foregoing observations, it is clear that the negroes employed in the manufacture of sugar do not in fact undergo one-half the labour required in the same period of field work. A good cattle mill should on an average take off a copper of liquor in one hour and three quarters, and in the fine dry season, which lasts about two months, eight coppers of liquor are usually expressed and boiled in from twelve to fourteen hours. At other seasons the work is limited to six or seven coppers according as the state of the weather and of the canes and fuel, extends or limits the time for the process. Now, although the attendance of the slaves employed in the mill and boiling-house cannot be dispensed with during this period, the time of actual labour does not perhaps exceed eight or at the most nine hours. Indeed it is notorious that the negroes on an estate always enjoy better health, and are in every respect more comfortable and happy during the crop than at any other period, and the season of high crop is always selected as the most favourable time for making a high appraisalment. The produce which such an estate with a cattle mill can make, under the system at present in operation, has not for the last two years enabled the proprietor to pay the expenses of his estate, and nothing but the hope of better prices induces him to continue its cultivation. Supposing the hours of labour in the mill and boiling-house to be limited to nine hours, not more than four coppers of liquor could be taken off by a cattle mill, and consequently the crop would be diminished one-half. This is evident to every practical planter, who is aware how much less time it is required to take off the four last than the four first coppers. Those who possess the means of procuring expensive machinery and additional stock might, by a strictness of discipline not now practised, exact as much labour in nine hours as is usually obtained in twelve or fourteen, and might thus perhaps avert some part of the heavy loss which must overwhelm the small proprietor; but it is to be observed, that nine-tenths of the planters in this Island use cattle mills and have no means of procuring other machinery; and that at least this proportion of the estates do not possess a sufficient number of slaves to admit of their capability of employing different spells in the mill and boiling-house on the same day.

I have no doubt that your Excellency's own experience and knowledge of the nature of the cultivation of sugar estates will fairly confirm all the material part of the above statement; from which it is clear, 1st, That the labour of the slaves employed in the actual manufactory of the sugar is much lighter than field labour; 2dly, That under the proposed restrictions not more than one-half the expected crop can be taken off; and, 3dly, That the loss of this or even a much less proportion of his produce, is in the present state of colonial affairs nothing less than the total ruin of the proprietor. Should there, however, exist in the mind of your Excellency, the smallest doubt on any one of these conclusions, it may be easily removed by a reference to any person in whose opinion and practical information you may feel disposed to place confidence.

It is to be observed, that if the proposed restrictions on the hours on manufacturing labour are once enforced by the promulgation of the Order in Council, without any modifications, the evil is irreparable. The slave having found that during

during one crop he can only be employed during nine hours in the boiling-house, will never willingly undertake a greater portion of labour, however moderate. Under these circumstances, it becomes a matter of the most serious importance to ascertain how far those restrictions are consistent with the views which His Majesty's Ministers profess to take of this subject; and if it is apparent that they are not necessary consequences of their general principles, but in all probability proceed from a want of local and minute information respecting the details of the manufacture of sugar, it may fairly be presumed that the representations of those to whom the practical evils of the proposed system must be more particularly known, will not meet with less attention than the remonstrances of the London Committee, in deference to whose observations and objections many of the clauses have received important modifications.

The general principle which Lord Goderich, in his Despatch, has stated as the ground of the regulations of slave labour is, that the Slave shall not be over-worked; that is, that only such a portion of labour shall be exacted from him as is consistent with his health and comfort. From his Despatch we may collect that two distinct criterions are referred to as constituting the rules for reducing this principle into practical operation in the proposed regulations; first, that nine hours of field labour are not excessive; secondly, that the proposed regulations do not essentially differ from the provisions of the Court of Policy of Demerara of the 7th April 1830. As to the first point, it is admitted that nine hours labour is not an excessive exertion, it will follow that at least twelve hours of labour in the carrying of canes and in the manufacturing of sugar ought to be allowed. Upon what principle, indeed, save that of a most unjust and oppressive invasion of property, can it be reconciled that the master in England may by law exact twelve hours labour from children in the heated and sickly atmosphere of a cotton manufactory, and the West India proprietor is prohibited from employing the full-grown workmen under the cool and airy shade of the mill and boiling-house, in a much lighter work, for more than nine hours.

As to the second point, I need only observe, that no conclusion can be drawn in favour of the restrictions of manufacturing labour to nine hours, from the Demerara Order, which allows sixteen; but, on the contrary, a very strong argument against those restrictions may be deduced, from the circumstance of the Court of Policy having limited the hours of field labour out of crop to nine, and extended the hours of manufacturing labour to sixteen.

There are several other provisions of the new Order in Council, which are in the highest degree injurious to the planter, and if, after receiving these representations, His Majesty's Ministers still persist in their enforcement, the proprietor will be entitled to compensation for any loss which he may in consequence sustain. These, however, may be left for further consideration. The evil which must ensue from enforcing the restrictions on the hours of manufacturing labour would be irreparable. It would amount to the total destruction of the value of every sugar estate in the Island, nor could the entire confiscation of his property bring more certain and inevitable ruin on the proprietor. This is not one of those vague or exaggerated apprehensions which are alluded to in Lord Goderich's Despatch, but the settled and confirmed opinion of every practical planter in the Colony. I leave your Excellency to judge of what the effects must be of attempting to enforce these restrictions, in a community which to a man consider them unjust, illegal and inconsistent with the very principles on which they profess to be founded. Presuming that His Majesty's Ministers are really actuated by the desire of ameliorating the condition of the Slaves, and not by that of ruining the proprietor, I ask your Excellency whether the proposed object will be in any manner promoted by a measure which will unite every proprietor in the Colony in a clearly just and reasonable opposition to the whole Order in Council; while, on the other hand, if the clauses which regulate manufacturing labour are modified in a manner not inconsistent with the general principles of the enactment, so as to avert the immediate ruin which is anticipated, all reasonable persons will be satisfied with an appeal to the Government in Parliament of Great Britain, for such further modification of the Order in Council as they think necessary, or for such compensation as they may be entitled to in case of refusal.

Having pointed out in a most imperfect, but I am sure in a candid and fair manner, the serious and unavoidable evils which must ensue from the enforcement of the restrictions imposed by the new Order in Council on manufacturing labour, permit me to suggest, that there are other provisions contained in that enactment

which

which will weigh most severely on the comforts of the Negro population. These are the regulations respecting food. Our Negroes have been constantly in the habit of receiving an allowance of three and a half pounds of salt fish per week, and they would reject with contempt the weekly dole of seven herrings or shads, which are allowed them by the new Order in Council. No planter, who values the health or the comfort of his Negroes, would substitute the less plentiful, less nutritive, less wholesome and far more economical food, provided by law, for the expensive allowance which they now receive. Nor could such a substitution be effected without producing much discontent and much misery, even although accompanied by the allotment of a much larger portion of time for the cultivation of the grounds than the Order in Council provides for that purpose. This enactment of the intended law proceeds, no doubt, from the same causes as the restrictions on manufacturing labour, from an ignorance, namely, of local circumstances and practical details. The obligation to allow forty days in forty successive weeks, for the cultivation of the Negro grounds, is a similar anomaly; during the dry season, or in crop time, there is little or no labour required in the provision grounds. Plantains (the principal food of our Negroes) if planted in this season, will not grow, and if weeded will die; and it is this circumstance, as much as the necessity of taking advantage of our harvest weather, which prevents us from giving the Negroes their day in crop time. In another point of view, the restrictions on manufacturing labour, as well as the regulation respecting the cultivation of the provision grounds, will operate as a great hardship on the Negroes. During the fine day weather the operation of making sugar is carried on with comfort and cheerfulness by the persons employed; but if prevented from taking advantage of this season, which in Trinidad is, as it is well known, unfortunately of less duration than in that of any other Colony, the planter must continue crop all the year round, and by this measure endeavour to make up for the time which he will lose by the restrictions.

If your Excellency has ever witnessed the discomfort and additional exertion which are required in the making of sugar in wet weather, I shall need no other argument to satisfy you to what an extent the health and the happiness of the Negro population will suffer by this change.

The above observations authorize me to press most earnestly on your Excellency's consideration the absolute necessity of some modification of the regulations of the new Order in Council with respect to manufacturing labour. Without such modifications, the promulgation of the Order in Council will be universally considered as a sentence of confiscation of the property of all the sugar planters in the Island. With such modifications as may enable the crop to be taken off, the inhabitants will, I doubt not, wait in patience and quietness the result of their appeal to the justice of the mother country.

The modifications should extend to permit the labour of those actually employed in the manufacture of sugar, and in the bringing canes to the mill, not exceeding fourteen, or at the very least twelve hours in the twenty-four. This is in truth nothing more than might be exacted by a literal adherence to the provisions of the Order in Council, for if it were possible to take an account of the necessary interruptions of labour in the several manufacturing employments, they would be found in all cases to amount to, and in most to exceed, the intervals provided by law. These modifications might easily be carried into effect by a clause in the Supplementary Order, which your Excellency is, by the Order in Council, directed to publish. I cannot close these observations without calling to your Excellency's attention, that while, on the one hand, the evil and injury which the proprietors must sustain, by the promulgation of the Order in Council without modification, are certain and irreparable. No inconvenience can arise from their adoption, even under the very improbable supposition that they should not be approved and confirmed by His Majesty's Ministers, except a continuance for a very short time of that portion of labour which the Negro now cheerfully and willingly performs. I beg leave to acknowledge the obligation which I owe to your Excellency, for permitting me this opportunity of submitting for your consideration the foregoing observations, which, though only bearing the signature of an humble individual, are, as I am sure your Excellency is aware, confirmed by the coinciding opinions of the whole community.

His Excellency Major General

Sir Lewis Grant, &c. &c.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Edward Jackson.*

— No. 6. —

DESPATCH from Major General Sir *Lewis Grant* to Viscount *Goderich*,
&c. &c. &c.

Government House, Trinidad,
13th January 1832.

MY LORD,

I HAVE to acquaint your Lordship, that on two estates in this Colony, viz. the Palmiste, in the District of Naparima, and Felicity Hall, in the District of Carapuchima, the Slaves have refused to go to work, giving it as their reason, that at the time of their removal from Tortola, about ten years ago, they had been promised by Mr. Pickering, their holder, that they should have their freedom in seven years after their being in Trinidad. These, amounting to about 200, with many more now in this Colony, had been removed from Tortola, and I must say that I do not think this removal could have easily been effected without some inducement being held out to them, as in Tortola there is little means to compel them, if they had chosen to have objected. Those in the Palmiste Property are tranquillized, and have returned to their work; those in the Felicity Hall still hold out. I have commissioned the Commandant of Carapuchima, and the Protector of Slaves, to allow three men and three women to come to Port D'Espagne, to have the question of their pretension to freedom tried in Court. Whatever their impression may be, I little doubt that no proof can be produced of their title to freedom, but it probably will be satisfactory to them, to see that their claims are duly attended to, and they will have an opportunity of being informed, by a case of this day's occurrence, that ill treatment to their class is seriously taken notice of. I have seen no necessity in the affair as yet, of making a show of force, and of course I deem it best to avoid it while there is a chance of conciliatory measures having effect.

I have particularly to observe that this matter has, *in no manner whatever*, its rise in the recent Order in Council.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Lewis Grant.*

— No. 7. —

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *Lewis Grant* to the Right Honourable
Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

Government House, Trinidad,
18th January 1832.

MY LORD,

IN my Despatch, No. 6, I communicated to your Lordship certain proceedings which had resulted from the arrival of the Order in Council for consolidating the Slave Laws in the Crown Colonies, and in Enclosure, No. 3, attached to that Despatch, will be found a certain Resolution of the Inhabitants, presented to me by a deputation of about thirty respectable persons. In the concluding paragraph of that Resolution will be found a proposition coming from them, which they would wish to be substituted for the clauses of the Order providing for the feeding of the Slaves, and their hours of labour.

This proposed substitute is, that in crop time ten hours of agricultural, and twelve hours of manufacturing labour be permitted, and that thirty days in the year be allowed in the whole, including the four great holidays. The proprietors to continue, on these conditions, the present weekly allowance of salt fish, viz. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. to adults, and 2 lbs. to those under 10 years.

These propositions came from the proprietors through the deputation appointed to confer with me, but another more favourable proposition was handed to me by a very large proprietor, and an influential character in the Colony, which is, that the hours of agricultural labour shall continue on the footing established by the Order, but that in regard to the manufacturing process in carrying canes to the mill, and grinding them off, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours labour shall be required, with an intermission from labour of half an hour for breakfast, between eight and nine o'clock, and this description of labour to cease at five in the afternoon.

With regard to the fuel and boiler men, it is proposed, that they should remain at work until the boiling process is completed, provided, however, that after the mill has been stopped at 6 o'clock, no fresh liquor shall be put into the coppers or boilers.

The planters urge, that ten of the forty privileged days of labour assigned to the Slave might well be spared to them during crop, and as a compensation for this loss of their time, and the extension of labour during crop, they propose that a weekly ration of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of salt fish shall be given to each adult, and 2 lbs. to all under 10 years of age, throughout the year, and also one pound of sugar, or quart of molasses or syrup per week during the crop season; and that 26 days in 26 successive weeks out of crop, exclusive of the four great holidays, should be set apart for the cultivation of their provision grounds; and that Saturday, being the market day, should be declared their privileged day.

It is to be observed, that since the year 1800 the same allowance of fish as here mentioned has been provided for the Slaves in Trinidad by an order of General Picton. It is abundant, and they will not be satisfied at once with the very reduced quantity provided in the Order in Council.

Your Lordship will be so good as to observe, that forty days in the year is the time prescribed in the Order for the Slave to labour to procure wherewithal to feed himself. In this there is an uncertainty, particularly in plantations distant from markets; in the last proposition I have mentioned, there is only 10 days of difference of time, and for this is substituted 182 lbs. of salt fish to adults during the year, value at four dollars per cwt., say $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, which is pretty high wages for 10 days; and, in addition, there is proposed to be given one quart of molasses per week, for I put one pound of sugar out of the question.

I hesitate not my Lord to recommend this proposition being left to the proprietor as a third option in regard to the work and food of his Slaves.

I will in this matter call your Lordship's attention to one part that may at first appear hard on one portion of the manufacturing class; viz. the extension of the period of their labour in crop time. The manufacturing class consists of boiler-men, muleteers for the cattle-mill, or persons employed about the steam-engine or water mill, the persons to feed the mill with canes to be ground, the persons to carry fuel to the fire, and the persons to feed the fire. It is proposed that the mill shall stop at six o'clock P. M. wherefore none of these manufacturing persons are required for further operations beyond that hour, with the exception of the carriers of fuel, the fire-feeders and the boilers, for whose extra labour it is proposed to give one pound of salt pork weekly during crop.

This proposition, my Lord, has this to commend it, it comes from the proprietors, and of course their good will goes with it. It has custom, as to the salt fish, to recommend it, both as regards the proprietor and the Slave. Perhaps it might be well not to make it permanent law in the first instance, but that a sanction be given to the Governor to permit it from year to year until time proves its merits or defects.

I would beg, my Lord, a little discretion being left to me and the Protector, in so far that nothing less than the last proposition be given to the Slave, and that we be judges of the compensation to the manufacturers who are to be employed beyond the usual time of labour. I am quite sure, my Lord, that it is necessary to be on guard that advantage is not taken of the Slave, and on this account I wish the proposition to be only temporary.

I beg to observe, that the labour required daily from the boiler men, is by no means to be compared with that performed by the agricultural people. During the process of boiling a 300 gallon copper of cane juice, which requires from an hour and a quarter to an hour and a half, the boiler men are not occupied in skimming more than half the time.

When cattle mills are used, the mill feeders and cane carriers enjoy every two hours a remission from labour, while the mule drivers are engaged in changing the mules, this remission is never less than 10 minutes, but in general 15.

The last observation which on this occasion I shall intrude on your Lordship's notice is, that as the proposition herein contained has emanated from the proprietors themselves, the adoption of it in the other Colonies could not reasonably be objected to.

Respectfully requesting your Lordship's early consideration of the subject,

I have, &c.

(signed) *Lewis Grant.*

—No. 8.—

DESPATCH from Major-General Sir *Lewis Grant* to Lord Viscount *Goderich*,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Government House, Trinidad,
25th January 1832.

ACCOMPANYING this I have the honour to forward Copy, in duplicate, of the Proclamation which I have issued here supplementary to the Royal Order in Council of 2d November 1831 ; and, with respect,

I have, &c.

(signed) *Lewis Grant*.

TRINIDAD.

(L. s.) BY His Excellency Sir *Lewis Grant*, Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Major-General in His Majesty's Army, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the said Island and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral thereof, &c. &c. &c.

Lewis Grant.

A PROCLAMATION.

I.—WHEREAS The King's most Excellent Majesty by Royal Order in Council, bearing date the 2d day of November 1831, has been pleased to repeal and annul the Order of His late Majesty in Council, bearing date the 2d day of February 1830, for consolidating the several laws recently made for improving the condition of the Slaves in his said Majesty's Colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, and also the several laws, ordinances and proclamations promulgated in the said Colonies under and in pursuance of the said Order of the said 2d day of February 1830 : And whereas by the said Order in Council of the 2d day of November last past, it was ordered that the Protector of Slaves should establish and keep an office in the principal town or seat of Government in each of the said Colonies respectively, and should regularly attend at such office on such days and during such hours of the day as the Governor of the Colony by any general or special order to be by him for that purpose issued, might appoint : And it was also thereby Ordered and Declared, That the custom of holding public markets on Sundays was unlawful, and that such markets should cease and determine : And it was also declared, That it should be lawful for the Governor of each of the said Colonies respectively, by a public Proclamation or Proclamations to be by him for that purpose issued, to appoint one day in each week for holding markets at all places within the said Colony, at which it had theretofore been customary to hold markets on Sundays, and to determine the hours of the day during which such markets should be holden : And whereas, after declaring that it was necessary that effectual means should be adopted for the punishment of such offences as might thereafter be committed by female slaves within the said Colonies, it was thereby ordered that any female slave who should commit any offence within the said Colonies, which by the laws in force there was theretofore punishable by whipping, should for such her offence be subject and liable to imprisonment or to confinement in the stocks, or to such other punishment as might be specially authorized by any Proclamation or Proclamations, from time to time to be thereafter for that purpose issued by the Governors of the said Colonies respectively, and that in such Proclamations the said Governors should prescribe with all practicable

practicable precision the nature and extent of the punishments to be substituted for the punishment of whipping in the case of female slaves, and should make such rules and regulations as might be necessary for preventing and punishing any abuses in the infliction of such substituted punishments: And it was also thereby Ordered, That the Protector of Slaves in each of the said Colonies should, at the times therein more particularly specified, deliver to the Governor for the time being of such Colony, a written Report of the manner in which the duties of his office had been performed, and that such Reports should be compiled in such form as His Majesty through the medium of the Governor of each of the said Colonies should, by Proclamation for that purpose issued, prescribe, and in none other.

II.—It is therefore hereby Ordered, Proclaimed and Declared, That the Protector of Slaves shall and do attend at his office from the hour of nine o'clock in the forenoon to the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon of every Tuesday, and from the hour of nine o'clock in the forenoon to the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon of every Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday throughout the year; and also shall and do attend at his said office at such other times as his duties may require. And in case indisposition may prevent his attendance at his said office, or that his duties may require his absence from the town of Port of Spain, the Protector shall and do report the same in writing to the Governor or Acting Governor without delay.

III.—And it is hereby further Ordered, That the day of Saturday in each week shall be the market day throughout the several towns and villages of the said Island of Trinidad, from the hour of six of the clock in the morning until the hour of six in the evening.

IV.—And it is hereby further Ordered and Proclaimed, That it shall and may be lawful to employ on Sundays any slave or slaves as a watchman or watchmen upon any plantation or estate, or in nursing, or in attendance upon the sick, or in performing or making preparations for interments, or in preventing any damage or injury to the property of his or her owner, employer or manager, by the trespassing of cattle or other stock, or by fire, floods or hurricanes; and no slave so employed shall be entitled to any hire or wages for such his or her services.

V.—And it is hereby further Ordered and Declared, That all and every offence and offences which shall or may be committed by any female slave or slaves within the said Island of Trinidad and its several Dependencies, and which said offences by the laws in force previous to the promulgation of the Order in Council of the 10th March 1824, were punishable by flogging, shall be, as the same are hereby declared to be, punishable by the adoption or infliction of one or other of the modes of punishment hereinafter mentioned, and none other, that is to say:—

1. Solitary confinement, with or without work, in any fit or proper place on any estate, or in any place in the said Island or its Dependencies; provided that the same be approved by some duly licensed medical practitioner in the said Island, or by the Commandant, or by the Assistant Protector of the district, by certificate in writing, under their or either of their hands, such certificates to be duly entered in the Record Book on every plantation, if in the country; and if in town, by some duly licensed Medical Practitioner and the Chief of Police of the said town, to be duly recorded in the office of the said Chief of Police; and provided that for each offence the period of detention in such solitary confinement shall not at any time exceed three days.

2. Hand-cuffs, not exceeding eight ounces in weight; provided that for each offence the period of confinement shall not exceed six hours.

3. Distinguishing dresses, to be used without the stocks.

4. Distinguishing marks, to be suspended from the neck by collars, and secured by padlocks; the collars and marks to be made of tin, and to be of the form and weight approved by the Government.

5. Confinement, either solitary or otherwise, during one of the hours of noon, without work during such confinement: Provided always, and it is hereby Ordered,

Ordered, that in all cases of punishment, either solitary or otherwise, where such confinement shall exceed the period of twelve hours, the slave in confinement shall be supplied with twelve ounces of prepared farinaceous food, and one quart of good water at the least, once in every twelve hours: Provided always, and it is hereby Declared, that it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whomsoever, of his, her or their own authority, to punish any slave or slaves on a Sunday in any manner whatsoever.

6. By confinement in the various kinds of stocks hereinafter more particularly mentioned: Provided always, that models of such stocks shall be first duly inspected and approved by the Governor for the time being, the Chief Justice for the time being, and the Protector of Slaves for the time being; that is to say, stocks for the hands only, during any period of the day; provided that for each offence the period of confinement shall not exceed six hours. Stocks for the hands and feet, during any period of the day; provided that for each offence the period of confinement shall not exceed three hours. Bed stocks, for confinement of the feet during the day only; provided that for each offence the period of confinement shall not exceed six hours; and provided always, that no female slave within the said Island or its Dependencies shall be corrected or punished by confinement in any or either of the said stocks, for any actual or alleged indolence, neglect of work, disobedience of orders, lateness in coming to work, abusive language, violence of demeanor, bad work, neglect of stock or of gardens, feigning sickness or other such like domestic offence: And provided always, That no person or persons in the said Island shall have, use or employ any stocks for the confinement or punishment of any male or female slave, other than such as shall be made of the size and dimensions of the said models so to be approved as aforesaid, under a penalty not exceeding £.5 sterling for each offence, to be recovered in the same manner and form as any fines and penalties are declared to be recoverable under and by virtue of the Order of His Majesty in Council, dated the 2d day of November last, for improving the condition of Slaves in His Majesty's Colonies of Trinidad, British Guiana, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius.

VI.—And it is hereby Ordered and Declared, That in all cases where it shall seem proper to any owner or manager or other person to impose any or either of the foregoing punishments upon any male slave or slaves for any offence to be hereafter committed by such slave or slaves, in lieu of the punishment of flogging, it shall be lawful for such owner or manager or other person so to do.

VII.—And it is hereby further Ordered and Proclaimed, That the Protector of Slaves of the said Island of Trinidad shall, and he is hereby required to prepare and compile his half-yearly Reports in the manner and form approved by His Majesty and furnished to the said Protector of Slaves.

VIII.—And it is hereby further Ordered, Proclaimed and Declared, That the several Divisions of the said Island, as now established by the term "Districts," shall, for the purposes of the said Order in Council of the 2d day of November 1831, and of this Proclamation, be deemed and taken as the Districts thereof.

IX.—And it is hereby further Ordered and Proclaimed, That from and after the date of the promulgation of this Proclamation, the same shall be in force in the said Island of Trinidad and its several Dependencies.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the Island, at Government House, in the Town of Port of Spain, this Nineteenth day of January, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-two.

By His Excellency's Command,

Philip Dottin Souper,
Colonial Secretary.

— No. 9. —

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from Lieut.-Colonel *Bozon*, Acting Governor of *St. Lucia*, addressed to Viscount *Goderich*; dated *St. Lucia*, 8th January 1832.

“ I CONSIDER it necessary to put your Lordship in possession of the circumstances of the arrival of the Orders in Council of the 20th of June and the 2d of November 1831, in this Island, and also of their publication and proclamation.

“ These documents were received here on the 12th of December, when Colonel Mallet was lying dangerously ill; he died on the 14th and was interred on the 15th.

“ The First President was also seriously ill, in consequence of attendance on Colonel Mallet, and cold caught at the funeral, and could not attend to any business until the 20th of December, when these documents came into my possession.

“ It naturally required some short time to peruse Orders in Council of such great importance, and to make ourselves well acquainted with their contents. On Wednesday the 21st, the Order in Council of the 20th of June was published in the *St. Lucia Gazette*, with a memorandum that due notice would be given when it would come into operation; on the 26th it was proclaimed, and to take effect on the 1st of January.

“ The Order in Council of the 2d of November was proclaimed on Saturday the 24th of December, five days after I received it; the Order itself giving the Governor the discretion of one month previous to its being proclaimed.”

— No. 10. —

DESPATCH from Lieut.-Colonel *Bozon*, Acting Governor of *St. Lucia*, to Lord Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

St. Lucia, 24th January 1832.

I HAVE already acquainted your Lordship, that the Order in Council of the 2d of November 1831, was proclaimed in this Island on the 24th of December, with due notice that the same would be in operation fourteen days after such proclamation.

On the 28th of that month, a deputation of three merchants and planters, Mr. William Muter, the most influential man in the Island, with Messrs. Chevalier and Robinson, waited on me with a Letter from twenty-eight of the principal inhabitants, requesting I would allow them to call a meeting of the other inhabitants, and your Lordship will perceive, by Documents Nos. 1 & 2 herewith transmitted, that I granted their request.

On the 6th of January I received Document No. 3, from ten of the merchants, planters and inhabitants, who were appointed a Committee of the whole, with the accompanying Resolutions, Memorials from Managers, Protest of Medical Practitioners, and other Documents, which are couched in violent and intemperate language; but agreeable to their wishes, I granted the Committee an audience in the Council-room on the 6th instant, where after long discussion, which I very patiently and dispassionately heard, gave them my decision, as your Lordship will find in Document No. 4, at the same time acquainting them that I would forward any proper representation they might wish to make for the consideration of His Majesty.

I also thought it advisable to allow the Committee a perusal of your Lordship's Despatch No. 68, which so completely answers all the objections which could be possibly

possibly made against the said Order in Council, with the view of their being apprized that your Lordship had already anticipated and was fully prepared for any remonstrance they could possibly submit.

On the 8th instant I received Document No. 5, which is a Remonstrance; and I beg leave to observe that the Chief Justice, Mr. Masson, and the Protector of Slaves have had copies of the same, and the parts that relate to them they have been desired to explain; the other parts of this Document are objections to almost every clause of the said Order in Council of 20th June and 2d November 1831.

The opinion quoted of the ablest of His Majesty's Colonial Law Officers, is applicable to Mr. Jeremie.

All Proclamations are made by beat of drum, by the Provost Marshal, accompanied by a police man, and read in front of the Court House, Government Office, and Market place, consequently their complaint on this head is unworthy of notice.

I carefully perused this remonstrance, and on the 9th instant gave them my definitive reply, as your Lordship will perceive in Document No. 7.

Here the affair rested. But between the 7th and 16th of the month, various alarming reports were in circulation, such as setting fire to the town, burning and leaving the estates, the Slaves to march to the capital town; all these rumours I considered as being fomented with a view to induce me to comply with their desires by suspending the Orders in Council, but a strict watch being kept, nothing of the nature took place.

On the evening of the 14th, Saturday, I was informed that the Orders in Council had so exasperated the merchants and others, that they were determined to shut up their shops and stores, and transact no further public business, until I had suspended the said orders; this I did not credit, but on the Monday morning the stores and shops were all actually shut up, all business ceased, which continued until the 23d instant, when they were again all re-opened, and I hope and trust that tranquillity and peace will again be resumed; but it becomes my duty to acquaint your Lordship with what occurred from the 16th to the 23d.

On the 17th, perceiving the determination of keeping the stores and shops closed, and a strong excitement having been evinced by all classes, and taking into consideration that two of the Members of Council had declared that the orders of the King in Council would be ruinous to the Colony, as noted in the last Meeting of the Council, and knowing how useless it would be to ask their advice or opinion in matters relative to these Orders of the 2d November last, and being left alone, and on my own responsibility, I judged it expedient to call a meeting of the public officers, viz. the Chief Justice, the Chief Secretary, the Procureur General, Protector of Slaves, Registrar of Slaves, Colonial Treasurer, Comptroller of the Customs, Provost Marshal and the Greffier, to ask their advice, and mutually consider what measures it would be necessary to adopt on the present agitated state of the country.

The probable want of provisions was the first object that presented itself, for should such take place, no doubt the lower classes would be led to believe that such was caused by the measures of the Government at home, and the Colonial Government; and no doubt many disaffected persons would gladly have instilled this into their minds, and the consequence most probably would have been revolt and rebellion.

It was therefore agreed to dispatch a vessel to Martinique for the purchase of £. 400. worth of provisions, which was done that evening after great impediments thrown in the way by the owners of some of the vessels, by refusing to hire them; but these obstacles were all overcome by the exertions of that indefatigable and zealous officer, the Comptroller of the Customs, Mr. Chipchase. The Governor of Martinique, on application, refused his sanction to any transport of provisions from this Island, for the reasons explained in his Letter herewith transmitted, neither could provisions be had from Dominica; the military stores in the Island were not complete for more than six weeks; a severe frost had set in in America, and if the merchants and shopkeepers held this determination to close their stores, and the slaves on the different plantations which they furnish, would suffer such privations

vations as would exasperate them, and designing persons would induce them to believe it was in consequence of the measures of His Majesty's Government.

On the day following there was an unusual anxiety to dispatch a sloop, the *Jane*, to Martinique, which called forth the attention of the public officers and myself, and it occurred to us the object was to prevent the merchants at Martinique supplying St. Lucia with the articles which we required, and I immediately gave orders for an embargo to be laid on to prevent all vessels leaving the port until further orders, the Comptroller, Mr. Chipchase, was on the alert, and your Lordship will perceive by his Report, how well founded our suspicions were; for between the hours of nine and ten at night, a boat belonging to the *Jane* was endeavouring to break the embargo, and on which the master and another man were seized, and several letters, proving the existence of a conspiracy to obstruct the measure of Government by preventing provisions coming to the Island, were found on them; and Reeve, the coxswain of the Custom-house boat, displayed much zeal and activity on the occasion; and I shall conceive it my duty to recommend him to your Lordship's most favourable consideration. It was not until the 18th instant that I received the declaration and protest of the merchants and professional men against the Tax Ordinance for the year, Document No. 8, as being severe on them by increased taxation, and directing them to pay the same on the 20th of January, whilst the direct taxes on the planters, which have not been increased, are only to be paid in May and August next. The representation of Mr. Muter, relative to Mr. Jeremie's salary, and himself, I explained to him on the 18th instant, and on the other points alluded to; and on the same day I received another letter from him, complaining of the Tax Ordinance, and other circumstances, I thereon issued a Proclamation, herewith transmitted, giving them until the next Monday to open their stores, and thereon sent for Mr. Muter, who is the leading man, and informed him that as soon as commerce was again revived, I would give them all the redress in my power. This was about four in the afternoon, and at half past seven in the evening I received the Document, No. 10, by which your Lordship will observe that they wanted to make conditions the following morning. Mr. Muter opened his store, and shut it again at twelve o'clock, previous to which I had addressed him, No. 11, and received the reply, 12, requiring me to pledge myself to the conditions they had so boldly offered, which, of course, I never could contemplate doing; and on the same day I received another letter, No. 13, from the Committee, in language very uncourteous, to which I gave no reply.

On the 21st of January, late in the afternoon, I received another communication of that date, which reflects on some of the public officers, and evidently with a view to induce me to be distrustful of them, and to prevent their assistance and advice; but, taking every thing into consideration, I addressed them for the last time the next day, Document No. 18; their reply, No. 19, appeared to me the most reasonable they had ever communicated, and on the following morning they were given to understand that I would make no promise beyond that which I had previously made, and that the moment their stores and shops were re-opened, I would give them such relief as I thought necessary. Their stores were re-opened at half past eleven o'clock, which was very acceptable to many of the inhabitants, and a great number of slaves and others who had come from the country, it being market day. At one o'clock the embargo was taken off, and I issued a Government Memorandum, No. 20, calling the Council to assemble on the 30th instant, to take into consideration the grievances of which they complain, and with this they are perfectly satisfied; commerce has been re-established, and the peace and tranquillity of the Island, which I feared would have been seriously disturbed, has been restored, and evils of serious and greater magnitude have, I trust, been prevented.

I have, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon,*
 Lt-Col. administrator the Governm.

— No. 11. —

DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel *Bozon*, acting Governor of St. Lucia, to
Lord Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

St. Lucia, 27th January 1832.

THE remarks of the Protector of Slaves on the remonstrance of the Committee I have transmitted to His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Carter, and they will be found accompanied by the Protector's Report to the 3d of December 1831.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon.*

Enclosure No. 1.

Sir,

Castries, 28th December 1831.

IMPRESSED with the necessity of a public meeting of the inhabitants to bring under the notice of His Majesty's Government the unparalleled situation of this colony, the undersigned have the honour to request your Excellency will authorize them to call a meeting of the inhabitants, to take into consideration the measures necessary to adopt in the present position of the colony.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Hardy Dubocage,*
and Twenty-seven others.

To His Excellency
Lieutenant-Colonel *Bozon*,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 2.

Gentlemen,

Government Office, Castries, 29th Dec. 1831.

I AM directed by the Officer administering the Government to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of yesterday, signed by twenty-eight of the principal inhabitants and merchants of St. Lucia, requesting he would permit a meeting of the inhabitants, to take into consideration the present state of the colony, and which was presented to him yesterday by Messrs. W. Muter, Chevalier & Robinson, that his Excellency has no objection to the meeting, provided it is conducted (as he has every reason to presume it will be) in a respectful and orderly manner.

I am also directed by Colonel Bozon to request you will be pleased to communicate the day on which the meeting is to be held.

I have the honour to be,

(signed) *G. W. Busted,*
Chief Secretary.

Messrs. Muter, Chevalier & Robinson.

Enclosure No. 3.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 4th January 1832.

CHOSEN by the unanimous voice of our fellow-colonists to represent to your Excellency the fatal effects of certain measures of Government which have thrown this colony into an unexampled state of agitation, we beg most respectfully to present to your Excellency the resolution passed at a numerous meeting held this day in the town of Castries, under your Excellency's sanction.

The inhabitants of this colony have submitted without complaint to the different changes that have been made in their slave laws up to the present time ; that this submission has been carried to an extent beyond that which prudence should have dictated ; that the consequence has been, that the authority of the master has been unnecessarily restricted ; that the natural bonds of attachment between the slave and his master have been loosened ; that the slave, a recognized legal property, has lost a considerable proportion of its value :

That the land, which in these colonies has only a relative value, altogether subordinate to the extent of culture effected by slave labour, has diminished to a frightful extent :

That the production of the colony in the last year has decreased nearly a million and a half of sugar :

That the colonial expenditure has been increased, and the public money so wantonly squandered, that the colonial treasury is reduced to a state of bankruptcy :

That the value of the whole produce of the colony for the year 1830 did not exceed 60,000*l.* sterling, of which 19,250*l.* sterling was paid into the colonial chest, or otherwise applied to the public service :

That notwithstanding the excessive taxation, the expenses of the year 1831 appear greatly to have exceeded the income ; and the colonial government have found it necessary to increase, for the present year, the enormous tax levied on industry, in some cases double, and in others more than double, the amount of the last year.

This picture of the state of the colony proves, not only that 16 years of uninterrupted peace have not diminished the burthens imposed on them by a long protracted war, but that they have been increased by regulations so onerous and oppressive as to have reduced the proprietors to a state bordering upon insolvency.

To add to their misfortunes, calumny has shed her poison on the inhabitants, to frustrate in advance, by the most odious misrepresentations, their just reclamations for redress of their grievances.

One only resource remained : their magistrates were sensible to their misfortunes ; justice, uninfluenced by any motive, governed by the law, showed herself independent ; redressing all wrongs brought before her, without calculating, without regarding whether her independence and impartiality should excite ministerial hatred and proscription : this last hope has vanished ; we have seen our magistrates dismissed ; and, at the same time, the palladium of our liberties as British subjects torn from us by the destruction of every resemblance to trial by jury, and the judgment seat disgraced by the nomination of a man as a judge of the land who has been recently dismissed from the commission of the peace in a neighbouring colony for incapacity.

It is in this situation, and under the yoke of such a Jurisprudence, when every resource has failed, when no farther sacrifice can be made, and when every source of industry and of public prosperity is dried up, that a new slave code is thrown amongst us, in a manner the most illegal and insulting.

One only opinion can be entertained respecting the Order in Council of the 2d November : it must be the final ruin of the whole colony ; it is the miserable residue of our rights and property that it seeks to annihilate.

The inhabitants of this colony are convinced that the Ministers of the Crown, who have counselled their Sovereign to sanction such a law, have exceeded the power vested in them ; that they appeal to the Parliament of Great Britain for the decision of this important question ; but if they were ever disposed to set aside the question of right, and weakly to yield up their properties, and all the guarantee of their creditors, by entering into the views of their present rulers, it is clear from the preceding statements that it is impossible for the inhabitants to carry into effect these unjust and ruinous measures.

In thus fulfilling the charge imposed upon us, to remonstrate with your Excellency against enforcing these measures in the present state of the colony, we most earnestly entreat your Excellency to grant us a personal interview, at your earliest convenience, in order that we may discuss more fully a subject which has produced the most alarming excitement in the public mind, and that we may have the happiness of receiving from your Excellency's mouth some
assurance

assurance which will tend to relieve these feelings, and dismiss back to their already sufficiently onerous charges the great mass of the population now assembled in the capital, waiting the result of our application.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *William Muter,*
and Nine others.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Colonel Bozon,
&c. &c. &c.

To his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Anthony Bozon, administering
the Government of the Island of St. Lucia, &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Managers and Others having the Administration of
Estates in St. Lucia ;

Humbly showeth,

That your Memorialists approach your Excellency with feelings of the deepest sorrow and despondency, on being apprised that it is your Excellency's determination to enforce the execution of the late Order of His Majesty in Council, for the government and management of slaves and properties in this island.

That your Memorialists are fully aware of the ruin that must follow the operation of several clauses of that Order in Council, to the slaves themselves, as well as to the estates to which they are attached ; as it will be impossible for the estates to give the extravagant quantity of provisions specified in the case of giving rations ; and in the case of giving land, which must be the case on all estates in this island, the slaves are sure to fall into despondency and die, when they find themselves entirely dependent on the produce of their gardens for subsistence, and deprived of their weekly allowance of salt provisions, which was their greatest support and comfort, and which can never be made up to them by substituting frivolous articles of wearing, which they do not make use of in this climate, and of which they do not feel the least want.

That the abridgment of the hours of labour by the said Order in Council, deprives your Memorialists of the power of manufacturing the crops of the estates under their charge, inasmuch as that manufacture absolutely requires a continual attendance, with but very short interruptions, during its process, which, according to the said abridgments, cannot be accomplished.

That the said Order in Council having subjected the government and management of slaves and properties to the decision and judgment of officers entirely unacquainted with the intricacies and peculiarities of the subjects placed under their control, the Memorialists, by the smallest act of nonconformity to these absurd and perplexed regulations, would be liable to enormous penalties, which would deprive them of the means of existence.

That your Memorialists, convinced that under the operation of many clauses of that Order in Council, and from its tenor as a whole, it will be utterly impossible to conduct the estates under their charge with any advantage to their employers, or safety to themselves ; and that the execution of the said Order in Council will immediately drive them, however reluctantly, to the necessity of giving up their situations, although their only means of subsistence, unless they are guaranteed against such a cruel and vexatious law.

Your Memorialists, therefore, most humbly implore your Excellency to avert the ruin that must fall upon them, and upon the properties under their charge, from the said Order in Council, by delaying to enforce the execution of the said Order in Council until His Majesty's gracious pleasure is known thereupon, in answer to the humble representations of the inhabitants of this colony on their most perilous and unhappy situation.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Castries, St. Lucia.

(signed) *Chas. M. Palmer,*
and Twenty-two others.

At a Meeting of Planters, Merchants and others, Inhabitants of the Island of St. Lucia, held at the Court House, the 4th January 1832 ;

William Muter, Esquire, in the Chair ;

Resolved unanimously,

That the inhabitants, proprietors of this colony, with a promptitude and loyalty not surpassed by any portion of His Majesty's subjects, have adopted every measure tending to ameliorate the condition of their slaves suggested by His Majesty's Ministers : that they have carried their compliance to a length beyond the bounds prudence should have suggested, by the increased expense at which they have conducted their estates ; they have been unable to diminish the burthens laid upon them, in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects, by a long protracted war, whilst to them 16 years of uninterrupted peace have produced only increase of oppressive and vexatious regulations.

That the inhabitants of this colony, with a patience unexampled, have supported a most exorbitant local taxation, assessed in a manner the most arbitrary, and over the expenditure of which they have no control ; whilst the despotic government under which they live have carelessly guarded, or wantonly squandered, the public money, until it has reduced the colonial treasury to a state of bankruptcy.

That the value of all the annual produce of the island for the last two years has not amounted to 60,000*l.* sterling ; that of this sum nearly one third is paid into the colonial chest, to defray officers' salaries and other public charges ; whilst the remainder is entirely absorbed by the necessary expense in cultivating our land.

That the inhabitants of this colony had a right to expect such sacrifices and submission would not have been in vain, and that their inveterate enemies would have left them a respite from injustice and vexation.

That the inhabitants of this colony challenge the minutest investigation into their treatment of their slaves, provided that recourse is not again had to the grossest system of intimidation, and a harassing cross-examination of witnesses, to make out a case in accordance with the views of those persons in the mother country who so unremittingly seek the destruction of these Colonies.

That the surprise is only equalled by the indignation with which the inhabitants of this colony have heard published, by the voice of a *police-man* in the market-place, two documents purporting to be Orders of His Majesty in Council ; one subverting their dearest rights and privileges as British subjects, and the other robbing them of the miserable wreck of their already wasted fortunes.

That the said Order in Council of the 20th June, constituting a judicial system, as it is stated to be, for improving the administration of justice, must have been framed in mockery of the unfortunate inhabitants whose lives and fortunes it has placed at the mercy of salaried judges, holding office during the pleasure of a saintly cabal who notoriously rule the Colonial Department, and whose creatures appear thrust into office in these colonies as spies and informers, to calumniate and traduce the unfortunate slaveholder.

That the Order in Council of the 2d November is utterly destructive of our rights and property in our slaves ! Vests an individual in the character of a slave protector, with an inquisitorial and despotic power over every free inhabitant, which they have never exercised over their slaves ! Deprives the planter of the means of reaping the produce of his land ; yet compels him to furnish his labourers daily with double the quantity of provisions supplied to the King's troops, and to give them clothing such as their masters are, in many instances, themselves destitute of.

That the inhabitants, convinced of the impracticability of carrying into effect this unjust and ruinous measure, find themselves forced to oppose, by every constitutional means, the execution of these enactments.

That they can yield obedience only on compulsion, protesting solemnly before God and man against this most gross and shameless spoliation, and carrying with them into poverty and privation the consolation that they have not lent themselves to their own destruction.

That

That a committee be appointed to draw up petitions to both Houses of Parliament in the spirit of these Resolutions, to remonstrate with the Governor to suspend the operation of these Orders, and to organize all other measures necessary in the present state of the colony; and that the committee consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number:—Mr. William Muter, Mr. René Augier, Mr. S. Robinson, Mr. Chevallier, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Charles de Brettes, Mr. John Patterson, Mr. Louis Aubert, Mr. Jⁿ P^{re} Noël, Mr. H. Williams.

(signed) *William Muter*, Chairman,
and others.

Sir,

Castries, St. Lucia, 7th January 1831.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th current, enclosing me, by order of his Excellency Colonel Bozon, a commission as Assessor of the Royal Court of this island.

I beg you will communicate to his Excellency, that I feel highly honoured by the confidence which he has been pleased to manifest in me, and at the same time to express to his Excellency my deep regret at being compelled, under present circumstances, to decline to accept this appointment.

I could urge many reasons, the justice and soundness of which I am sure his Excellency would acknowledge, in support of my conduct upon this occasion; but I think it unnecessary to state more than my principal one. I have hitherto in all my conduct professed to act upon principle, and whenever I was called upon by the Governor of this island to afford my aid to the administration of justice, or to contribute my influence in any way whatever to the measures of the colonial government of this island, I invariably did so, when I was convinced of the justice and propriety of such measure.

But in this instance a new slave law has been attempted to be introduced into the colony which contains clauses and regulations that are, in my opinion, an unreasonable and unjust infringement upon the rights of private property; and with the conditions of which, I am thoroughly convinced, from my own practical knowledge upon the subject, that it would be utterly impossible for the inhabitants of this colony at present to comply. Under such circumstances, it would be impossible for me to think of condemning any of my fellow colonists for an infringement of that law.

I therefore beg leave to return you the commission herewith.

In the present state of the colony, I feel myself bound, with all due deference to his Excellency, to declare not only that I cannot co-operate with His Majesty's Government on this occasion, to carry into effect the provisions of the new slave law, but that I conceive myself also imperiously called upon, whether I regard myself as a proprietor of plantations in this island, as a British merchant carrying on an extensive business in it, or as an attorney appointed to watch over extensive claims of others, to oppose, by every constitutional means within my power, the said Order in Council becoming the law of this island, until the grievances of which the inhabitants (in a generally assembly or public meeting held on the 4th instant, under the sanction and authority of his Excellency) have complained, be looked into and redressed; or until time be given them to lay their case before His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament for redress.

As a proprietor, I possess plantations in this island which do not owe a shilling; but the claims and rights of my family require that I should oppose the enactment of a law, whose direct tendency is the utter and almost immediate ruin of those properties which are worked by slaves, by an attempt, an unjust attempt, to emancipate those slaves from bondage without compensation; for I declare it to be my decided opinion, that the Slave Law of 2d February 1830, and the Supplementary Ordinance of 13th May 1830, which now regulates the treatment of slaves in this colony, have pushed the line of distinction between slaves and liberty to the utmost verge in favour of the slave, and that His Majesty's Government cannot in justice expect or demand of me, to make any further concession, until equitable compensation be first agreed on and provided for. Humanity requires no further sacrifice from me, justice forbids it.

As a British merchant carrying on an extensive business in this island, I have necessarily extensive transactions with the principal planters in it, who owe me large

large sums of money, and I, in my turn, owe to my mercantile correspondents in Great Britain. It is evident the claims of my correspondents demand the same line of conduct from me.

As attorney to watch over the interests of my constituents, my duty to follow the line of conduct I have described becomes doubly imperious, and requires of me to call into action all the energies I possess to prevent the total annihilation of their property.

Under such circumstances I am fully persuaded that his Excellency will agree with me in the justice, propriety and absolute necessity of my declining to co-operate with the colonial government on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

To Geo. Washington Busteed, Esq.
Chief Secretary, &c. &c. &c.

(signed) *William Muter.*

To his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Anthony Bozon, administering
the Government, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,

THE undersigned merchants, residing in the town of Castries, beg leave to expose to your Excellency, that they cannot supply the planters of this island with the articles necessary for feeding and clothing the negroes, and for taking off the crops, in consequence of the laws promulgated limiting the hours of labour during the crop, being persuaded of the utter impossibility of the planters being able to make a sufficient quantity of produce to defray or pay for such expenses, however upright or honourable their desires or wishes may be, should this law be put in force; and the undersigned do hereby declare, that they cannot supply any planter who has not the means of paying in money or produce on the delivery of such goods or necessaries, unless your Excellency, on the part of the British Government, will guarantee to them full and perfect payment of all such supplies as planters generally require.

Castries, St. Lucia, 4th Jan. 1832.

(signed) *William Muter,*
and Thirteen others.

Sir,

Castries, 9th January 1832.

I HAVE for many years gratuitously performed the important duty of medical reporter to this government, at a loss of much time and personal comfort, as this duty has necessarily, on some occasions, excited against me feelings the most unfriendly of persons to whom, under other circumstances, I should not have been brought in opposition, for I have conscientiously performed my duty; but it is quite impossible I can submit to subject myself to the consequences of the 104th and 105th clauses of the Order in Council of the 2d November. I have therefore to request you will convey to the officer administering the government my resignation of this office, together with my profession, which embraces the office of Medical Examiner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W. Busteed, Esq. Chief Secretary.

(signed) *R. G. Robinson.*

Castries, St. Lucia, 5th January 1832.

WE, the undersigned medical practitioners of the island of St. Lucia, have observed with regret the attempt made by the clauses 104 and 105 of His Majesty's Order in Council of 2d November 1831, to infringe upon our privileges as members of a liberal profession; and viewing as we do, with the greatest indignation, this unprincipled attempt to subjugate us to such unwarrantable degradation, we feel:

That, consistent with our characters as men and as members of an honourable profession, we cannot continue to practise our profession, or engage to attend any estate, should His Majesty's Order in Council be enforced, by which we are placed under the immediate surveillance of the Protector of Slaves or his assistants.

(signed)

R. G. Robinson,
and Nine others.

A Son Excellence *Mark Antony Bozon*, Lieutenant-colonel administrant le Gouvernement de l'Île St. Lucie, &c. &c. &c.

Castries, 17 Janvier 1832.

Monsieur Le Gouverneur,

LES soussignés, notaires et membres du Barreau de cette colonie, sont obligés par l'Ordre en Conseil du 14 Décembre dernier, qui établit les impositions pour cette année, de payer un surcroît d'impôt pour obtenir la permission d'exercer leur profession.

Les soussignés ne viennent point ici critiquer cet Ordre en Conseil, quoique les obligations qu'il leur impose soient très onéreuses pour eux : ils supplient seulement votre Excellence de considérer la situation difficile et malheureuse de ce pays, et de faire attention que la Cour Royale n'ayant pas tenu ses séances depuis le mois de Juillet 1830, les membres du barreau principalement ont beaucoup souffert de cet état de choses, et n'ont pas pu faire le recouvrement de sommes assez considérables que leurs clients leur doivent.

Dans cette conjoncture les soussignés ont l'honneur de supplier votre Excellence de vouloir bien leur accorder jusqu'au 20 Juin prochain pour verser du trésor les taxes qui les concernent, et qui ont été établies par l'Ordre en Conseil ci-dessus cité du 14 Décembre dernier.

Les soussignés ont l'honneur de demeurer respectueusement,

De votre Excellence les très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs.

(signé) *J. Juge*,
et par Six autres.

To His Excellency *Mark Antony Bozon*, Lieut.-Col. administering the Civil Government of the Island of St. Lucia, &c. &c. &c.

Castries, 17th January 1832.

Sir,

By the Ordinance of the 14th December last, fixing the taxes to be raised this year, the tax hitherto paid by notaries and members of the Bar to obtain permission to exercise their profession, has been raised.

The undersigned disclaim any intention whatever of censuring the said Ordinance, although the obligations which it imposes on them are extremely burthensome; but in addressing your Excellency, they merely request that you will take into consideration the distressed state to which this colony is reduced, and that the Royal Court not having held any sittings since the month of July 1830, the members of the Bar particularly have not been able to recover large sums due to them by their clients.

They therefore have the honour to entreat your Excellency to grant them until the 20th June next for the payment of their professional tax, as established by the above cited Ordinance.

The undersigned have the honour to remain respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servants.

(signed) *J. Juge*,
and Six others.

Enclosure No. 4.

Gentlemen,

Government Office, 6th January 1832.

I HAVE received your letter of the 4th instant, with the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the inhabitants and proprietors held in Castries on that day, and regret to observe they are conducted in language warm and uncourteous.

I cannot, consistently with the duty which I owe to His Majesty, suspend the Orders of the King in Council of the 20th of June and 2d of November 1831.

I trust that the petitions which you state it to be your intentions to forward to His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament will be of a respectful and proper nature.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon*,
Lieut.-Col. administering the Government.

Wm. Muter, Esquire, and the
Members of the Committee.

Enclosure No. 5.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 7th January 1832.

THE result of our interview with your Excellency having unhappily disappointed the hopes formed by the proprietary body of this island, we do again most earnestly entreat your Excellency's serious attention to the situation in which this colony is placed.

The Order in Council of the 20th June, establishing a new judicial system which is to control the fate of the inhabitants in their lives and in their fortunes, has been published without any of the usual legal forms having been observed which are required by the constitution of the colony to give validity to laws intended to govern it. The Order in Council commences by stating, that "from and after the publication of this Order the Royal Court of St. Lucia shall henceforth be held before three judges, and no more." By this clause the Royal Court is not abolished, but is modified; and the constitution of the colony requires that all ordinances, emanating from whatever authority, to become "*executoire*," must be registered in the Royal Court.

The constitution also requires that the judges of the Royal Court shall be installed with certain forms, "taking certain oaths in court," &c. None of these formalities have been fulfilled, yet processes are issued out of the Court as if its new constitution had been effected. The three new judges have not been installed! The twelve old ones have not been dismissed! It is further ordered that the Governor and Council shall prescribe the manner of proceeding in criminal cases in the Royal Court, and the change in its constitution has rendered this absolutely necessary; yet the Court is announced for the 10th instant, and the Council have not been summoned to prescribe the manner of proceeding in criminal cases.

The Court will be illegally constituted, yet is to sit in judgment on 15 wretched criminals accused of capital crimes, chosen from the host which pestilence has spared, and who have been crowding the public gaol for the very many months that have elapsed since the course of public justice was interrupted.

The three judges, when legally installed, are ordered "to establish forms of proceeding in civil cases," and though we have formally protested against the nomination of one of these on the ground of his incapacity, we have to observe the law requires fourteen days publicity to give force of law to their regulations. As yet none of these forms are complied with; we therefore most solemnly protest against the authority of a tribunal so constituted, as well as against the Order in Council which deprives us of the blessing of *trial by jury*. Again, Sir, we must revert to the all-absorbing subject of our situation under the Order in Council of the 2d November. We continue to protest against the uncontrolled powers vested in the Protector as an insupportable grievance, painful to the master, without an equivalent advantage to the slave. Every necessary enactment already exists for this purpose. The regulations respecting punishments are objectionable, inasmuch as the number of lashes being limited to fifteen, none of the reasonable objections against corporal punishment at all are thereby removed; sufficient is left for exasperating the refractory slave, not enough to correct him, for it is not pretended that domestic discipline can be dispensed with. There appears no sufficient reason why a special Court of Requests should be established for the slaves, while there are inferior ordinary Courts possessing jurisdiction only to the extent of 20*l.* supported by the colony, unless indeed we are to trace its origin to the same spirit of distrust which pervades every enactment of this Order, or that its framers were determined to secure a favourable decision in every case which a slave may litigate with a freeman.

The clause which authorizes the Chief Justice to set aside the appraisement is *now* a very dangerous power, for what security have the proprietors that the judgment of the magistrate shall not be biassed by the dread of the consequences of appearing to sanction a *high* rate of valuation: *consideration, fellow-feeling,*

feeling, are suggested as likely to influence the appraisers. Our reproach against the Judge is based on a more universal principle—*his own interests*. For we must again repeat, we have seen our ancient magistrates dismissed without a hearing, for having held a different opinion with a Secretary of State.

Clause 88. To this Clause, and all its regulations, we have the most unqualified objection. To commence with the quantity of provisions as rations. My Lord Goderich states the Jamaica Act has served as their guide; but with all deference to his Lordship's assertion, we are convinced some error must have crept in: 21 pints of flour, as the weekly allowance, is more than equal to 3 lbs. of bread per day; while the quantity of plantains, where they can be had, is not more than sufficient; but 8lbs. for a day's allowance of cocoa or yams is, as has been observed by the London Committee, perfectly absurd! Yams and cocoas (if we rightly understand what is meant by the latter) are as nutritious as potatoes; the regulation authorizing the substitution of other provisions brings no remedy, the quantity being defined, an equivalent is ordered. So much for those who give rations. Now, on the other hand, the alternative is equally injudicious. In the present state of the slave population few families of slaves have any father, or reputed father, to take charge of and cultivate the land allotted to infant slaves, and therefore this task must fall on the mother, and how is the mother of 2, 3, 4 or 5 infant children to cultivate provisions to fill so many mouths, if the scale of rations laid down by the preceding regulations be supposed necessary. Compare this enactment with that of 1830, it needs no further comment. Then, again, the owner's power to enforce domestic discipline is restricted. Yet, if his slave is indolent and does not work his ground, or the season is unfavourable and the crops fail, though the same wind blows and the same rain falls on the lands of the slave and the master, the latter alone is to bear all the burthens. Thus the slave is no longer taught to depend on his own industry and skill to provide himself with some of the comforts and luxuries of life, &c. by which he was to be gradually fitted for the full enjoyment of all the advantages of freedom, and to bear its burdens; he receives by these enactments a bounty for being idle and refractory.

Clause 90. This and the five following clauses, regulating the hours of slave labour, contain the virtual emancipation of the slaves without compensation; and though my Lord Goderich states the objections to be obscure made by the London Committee, and has declined entering on the subject, we do most unequivocally declare, that with less than 12 hours continuous attendance of the labourers the manufacturing process of sugar-boiling cannot be carried on, but that the custom is universal of giving the people so employed, due time to eat their food, the work they have to do never requiring the constant attention of all the persons so employed. The hours of field labour can suffer no difficulty; they are those constantly observed in this island. The regulation that no young slave under 14 years of age should work more than six hours in the 24 is an unnecessary restriction.

Young male slaves under that age are perfectly able to do the work required from them; they are employed as mule or cart boys in crop-time, and out of crop at work in the field, much lighter than that executed in England by the peasant boy of the same age. With respect to the females, his Lordship is perhaps not aware that in this climate they are often mothers of families before the age specified.

Clause 97. The objections to this allowance of clothing is confined to those articles which are unfitted to the climate, and which would subject the master to a ruinous expense, without equivalent benefit to the slave. The discretionary power of the Protector is again brought into operation to the disadvantage of the master. Substitution of other articles, as in the case of food, is sanctioned, but without defining. Is the equivalent in this case to be measured by the utility or the price of the substituted article? Shoes are useless to the slave, but enormously expensive to the master.

Clause 104, 105. By these the most extraordinary power is assumed to be exercised over men of a liberal profession. Medical men are generally supposed to be influenced by feelings of delicacy and honour, and to stand on a footing of unreserved confidence in respect to their suffering fellow-creatures, to whom it is their task to administer consolation and relief in the hour of sickness. That the

the medical practitioners of this colony are so we had reason to believe ; and notwithstanding the illiberal observation with which Lord Goderich dismisses this subject, we have not been surprised at (however much we may have reason to deplore) the unanimous determination of these gentlemen not to expose themselves to the vexations which they would infallibly be subjected to by the operation of these clauses.

These are some of the objections we have to urge against those enactments in this Order which relate more particularly to the treatment of slaves.

The remaining clauses relating to the judicial proceedings under this Order appear to us particularly harsh.

We are plain practical men, and cannot pretend to grapple all the objections that may be justly raised on this head, but we have no doubt able men will be found in the colonies to point out the deformities ; and it is some satisfaction to know, that the opinion of one of the ablest of His Majesty's colonial law officers, who resided in this colony, coincides with ours, and we gratefully avail ourselves of the arms he has furnished for our defence. No axiom in state policy or principle of equity is more universally admitted than, "that private rights must always yield to the public good, and that the State which profits must compensate the individual member." Is not this our case? The British Legislature, for the benefit of the State, established the system of slavery ; she possessed lands, and labourers were wanting. To supply this want, the State set up a trade in slaves, and like every other trader, employed every means to put off her merchandize. To one was offered a gift of lands on the sole condition that he purchased her slaves to cultivate it. To another, that if he purchased her slaves and raised sugar and cotton, and indigo and coffee, or anything that could not grow in England, she would use his merchandize to the exclusion of the same articles manufactured by freemen or slaves in any other part of the world. Could any dealing be more open? and what is now the situation of the two contracting parties? Some members of the State have misgivings of the legality, and some of the morality, of their former dealings, and (to carry on the simile) their conduct is now that of the dishonest dealer, who, after having inveigled his incautious dupe to purchase his smuggled goods, turns informer, and by the aid of the law robs him of his acquisition. But these can never be the sentiments of the Legislature of the British Empire ; that Legislature has engendered and fostered the system that exists. "If sin there be, it is the sin of the Legislature," and it is unworthy of the State to seek to evade paying the redemption : compensation to the present slaveholder is that redemption.

We are as humane, and we are as much shocked, as any class of men in Europe can be by the existence of such a system, and we have shown our willingness to go hand in hand with them to effect this purpose. We have done more. We have already made great sacrifices. Let the State now do her part. She has made laws exclusively for the benefit of the servile class which she has created ; let her bear the burthen ; let her pay the special officers necessary to carry these laws into effect ; she has amended the judicial system of the colony for their especial protection. We deny the necessity : let her pay the stipends of the judges. This is the compensation we have already earned, and we demand the payment : let the State pay the debt due, and then come into the market and treat for fresh concessions ; we fear, with all their affected philanthropy, we shall always be found more ready to sell than the State to purchase.

By the 120th clause of the 2d November, all colonial ordinances or laws repugnant to this Order are repealed ; thus the whole police law, as regards slaves, is destroyed, and nothing is substituted. The colonial Order in Council which regulates the duties of the commissary commandants, is annulled and nothing substituted, and this very Order of the King in Council requires the issuing of four proclamations, and a commission of the Governor to provide regulations, to come into simultaneous operation with the Order itself, and yet nothing of this has been done.

This Order of the King in Council, for explanation of, and in support of which His Majesty's Secretary of State has found it necessary to write a Despatch of 130 pages, has been promulgated for the guidance of His Majesty's

Majesty's subjects in this colony, by being read by a policeman at three different parts of the town of Castries, and by being recorded in the Court of Senechausee, which Court, three days after that registration, *was abolished*.

This, Sir, is all the legal notice this important document has received at the hands of the Chief Justice, whom this Order imperatively commands to prepare rules and regulations for the guidance of the subordinate officers of justice, and for the commissioner of the Slave Court of Requests; yet your Excellency, regardless of our urgent remonstrances, has this day put us under all the baneful effects of this unjust enactment. Recent hurricane; the most unparalleled commercial distress; the most unexampled sacrifices, on the part of the proprietors, to preserve their labourers from starvation; these are trifles light as air in your Excellency's estimation, for they are outweighed by your responsibility. "You have no discretionary power to suspend the execution of the King's Order in Council." This, Sir, is the only reply you have deigned to give to the supplications of the whole proprietary body of a colony, over which you are placed as the representative of the most gracious and humane of Sovereigns.

For the last time we approach your Excellency. Reflect, we beseech you, on the situation of this colony, reduced by the hurricane, of which yourself was a witness, to an entire dependence on a foreign supply for the sustenance of ourselves and dependants, at a moment when there was not an ounce of any kind of produce in the country to exchange for the first necessaries of life.

The mercantile body, as loyal British merchants always will do, (though themselves sorely pressed), stepped forward to relieve the suffering planter, and save the slave from famine and death.

The importations into this island since the 11th August of lumber and provisions, rendered necessary by that visitation, amount in value to a fifth of the produce made last year by the whole colony. The planter had nothing wherewith to pay this unexpected charge; the merchant is just, but unhappily he can no longer be liberal; security of some kind was necessary; hence has arisen the special mortgaging the ensuing crop. The merchant expects to be paid; the planter expects to liquidate his engagements; but, no, their hopes are to be blasted; new changes are to be introduced amongst the servile population; and to what end? to benefit them? far from it; for force on these changes at this moment and the slave must and will perish of famine, and the master will be reduced to beggary. We assert, and are prepared to prove, that this colony cannot, from its own resources, maintain its population for one month. We assert again, that the enforcing these measures will cut off the foreign supply; and what must follow? We leave the subject to your Excellency's most serious consideration. We have done our duty to our constituents; we hope we have respectfully, though perhaps forcibly, stated our case to your Excellency in the way pointed out by His Majesty's Ministers. We have only one other act to perform. We will enter a formal protest against all such parts of these Orders that we conceive illegal, inasmuch as they go to deprive us of our rightful property; and being the act of the Legislature of the State, we conceive we are fully entitled to compensation.

We have to request your Excellency will, under any circumstances, have these documents transmitted to His Majesty's Government.

In the full hope of receiving a favourable reply from your Excellency,

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servants,

(signed) *W^m Muter,*
and Nine others.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Col. Bozon,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 6.

Sir,

Castries, 8th January 1832.

I HAVE the honour to state to your Excellency, that it occupied more time in the committee last night, to complete our remonstrances, than I anticipated when I saw your Excellency yesterday afternoon; and that when I went down, about half-past six o'clock, to communicate this circumstance to your Excellency, I found you had returned to the Morne.

I have now the honour to transmit the remonstrance, herewith, to your Excellency, signed by all the members of the committee, except Mr. De Brett, who was absent from the committee last night, but who approved of its contents.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that I have returned to the Chief Secretary, the Despatch of Lord Goderich of 5th November last.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(signed) *William Muter,*To his Excellency Lieut.-Col. Bozon,
&c. &c. &c.

Chairman of the Committee.

Enclosure No. 7.

Sir,

Government Office, 9th January 1832.

I YESTERDAY received your letter of the 7th instant, containing the remonstrances of the committee of which you are chairman, against certain clauses of the Order of the King in Council of the 2d November last, as well as to some clauses of the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 20th of June; and I beg leave to acquaint you that the same shall be forwarded, with your letter to me of the 4th instant, and the resolutions signed by the committee on that day, to His Majesty's Government, by the first conveyance, for its consideration.

I have well and carefully deliberated on your communication of yesterday. Had the Order of the King in Council of the 2d of November provided any order, authority, or given any discretion for suspending it in any case whatever, I would have done so until the pleasure of His Majesty's Government should be received on your resolutions of the 4th, and your remonstrances of the 7th instant.

Such provision not being made, I cannot, without failing in the duty I owe to my Sovereign and his Government, suspend the Order of the King in Council of the 2d of November last.

I am to request you will be pleased to transmit a duplicate of your letter of the 4th instant, with the resolutions of that day, and various other appended documents, to admit of their transmission to the Secretary of State.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon, Lieut.-Col.*William Muter, Esq.,
Chairman to the Committee.

Administering the Government.

Castries, St. Lucia, 14th January 1832.

WE, the undersigned merchants and professional men, declare, that by an "Ordinance" fixing the taxes to be raised for the year 1832, a tax has been imposed on our industry exorbitant in amount and pernicious in principle; and that the Governor, by prohibiting the merchants, agents of absentees, shopkeepers, physicians, surgeons, the provost-marshal, barristers, notaries and attorneys, from exercising their various professions without his license, has exceeded his legal authority. We do therefore declare, that we shall not take out these licences, or pay these taxes, but that we shall cease to exercise our various professions,

fessions, formally protesting against all these Acts; hereby reserving entire all our rights secured by law, and renouncing no part of them; meaning hereafter to reclaim the full restitution of these rights.

(signed) *Wm. Muter,*
and thirty-six others.

Castries, Saint Lucia, 14 Janvier 1832.

Nous, soussignés négociants et hommes exerçant des professions, déclarons, que par une "Ordonnance" fixant les taxes à lever pour l'année 1832, une taxe a été imposée sur notre industrie, exorbitante en valeur et pernicieuse en principe: et que le Gouverneur en défendant aux négociants, agens des absens, boutiquiers, médecins, chirurgiens, prévôt marechal, avocats, notaires, et fondes de procuration, d'exercer leurs professions diverses sans sa licence, a excédé son autorité légale. Nous déclarons en conséquence que nous ne prendrons pas ces licences, en que nous ne paierons pas les taxes, mais que nous cesserons d'exercer nos professions diverses; protestant formellement contre les actes; réservant pour le présent en entier tous nos droits garantis par la loi, et ne rénonçant à aucun part d'iceux: notre intention étant de réclamer en temps et lieu la pleine restitution de ces droits.

Enclosure No. 8.

His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

St. Lucia, Castries, 16th January 1832.

I HAVE now the honour to transmit to your Excellency, a Declaration and Protest on the part of my fellow-townsmen and colonists, and I trust your Excellency will be pleased to take the same into your immediate and serious consideration, and grant such redress of the grievances complained of as the nature of their case requires.

As British merchants and British subjects, every man in this town and colony feels himself treated with indignity, and insulted, by the act of being required henceforth to carry on the profession or calling we follow under a license from your Excellency, and view this act as a gross act of oppression, to which British subjects can in no case, or under no circumstance, be compelled to submit. They therefore conceive it an unjustifiable encroachment upon their rights and privileges as British subjects.

They consider that the increase of the tax itself on the amount of what was paid last year for the same tax is an act of injustice towards them, because, if the exigencies of the colony required an increased taxation, such increase should have been equally laid upon the whole community; but the increase is confined alone, or almost solely, to the taxes on the commercial body and professional gentlemen, and those who derive their living solely from their own industry. The injustice of this tax is further exhibited in the time at which the tax is to be paid, compared with the period at which the other taxes are payable. Why are those who live by their industry to pay on the 20th January, and the other direct taxes to be paid in May and August by the planters? All the taxes on the planters continue the same this year as last; the taxes on commerce and other branches of industry are increased as follows:

	1831.	1832.
On merchants of 1st class - - - -	1,000	1,200 livres.
2d class - - - -	500	600 —
Agent for one estate, or more, or mercantile house	500	— —
Agent for an estate or mercantile house - -	—	500 —
For every additional estate or mercantile house	—	250 —
On shopkeepers of 1st class - - - -	200	300 —
2d class - - - -	100	200 —
3d class - - - -	100	100 —
Every doctor of medicine, surgeon, apothecary, and retailer of drugs - - - -	500	600 —
If both united - - - -	750	800 —

Provost-

	1831.	1832.
Provost-marshal - - - - -	500	800
Notary and attorney - - - - -	500	600
Every barrister - - - - -	—	600
Notary not a conveyancer - - - - -	—	300

Which taxes are to be paid on or before the 20th January, and every person performing any of the above-mentioned callings without such license, to be fined in three times the amount.

The taxes on	1831.	1832.
Blacksmiths, in quarter of Castries - - - - -	—	400 livres.
in any other quarter - - - - -	—	120
Butchers, in Castries - - - - -	360	400
in any other quarter - - - - -	120	120
Bakers, in Castries - - - - -	200	250
in any other quarter - - - - -	108	108
Tonnage duty on droghers per ton, per annum -	15	20
Ditto on vessels of all descriptions per ton per voyage, except small craft - - - - -	2	5
Ditto on small craft - - - - -	1	2
Duty on the acceptance of securities of vessels not registered in this island - - - - -	10	15
On all vessels above 30 tons - - - - -	—	20
Wharfage duty on vessels not enregistered here per ton per voyage - - - - -	10	20
If registered here, per ton annually - - - - -	1	2

Besides an equalization of the taxes, which the merchants demand in common with their fellow-townsmen, they will require, before they can re-open their stores for the benefit of the planters, some kind of guarantee from your Excellency, for the reimbursement of their supplies, it being quite evident to them that the provisions of the New Slave Law, if persisted in under the present circumstances, give them none.

These being some of the grievances of which the community at large have to complain, I now take the liberty of bringing under your Excellency's notice, those grievances which more immediately attach and apply to myself.

I happen to be the only merchant in Castries who possesses a drogher above 60 tons; and although I pay the heavy tax of 20*l.* per ton per annum on this vessel as a drogher, and that she is registered in the island, I am the only person subject to pay on that vessel, each voyage I send her to a neighbouring island, 5*l.* per ton duty, whilst all other droghers pay only 2*l.* This, in the present depressed times, amounts to a prohibition to send that vessel off the island, and in consequence she now lays in the harbour a useless capital until the droghing season comes round. Whether this circumstance of exclusion from a participation of the common advantages of my fellow-townsmen be the effect of blind ignorance or of design towards me I cannot tell, but the following circumstances may help to elucidate the matter:

On the 30th April 1831, when his Honour, our late First President, Mr. Jeremie, was recalled to Europe on leave of absence for six months, he left me a power of attorney to receive his half salary. This power of attorney was communicated to your Excellency, then acting Governor, and signed by you as such. On the faith of this I gave Mr. Jeremie a letter to my commercial correspondents to receive in England the half salary, or 250*l.* sterling per quarter, as it fell due, and my friend paid the first quarter; but when I applied here I was told by your Excellency, that a despatch had been received which prevented the money being paid to me as Mr. Jeremie's authorized agent. On this I immediately wrote to my correspondents to stop payment of the second quarter to Mr. Jeremie, and demanded an explanation from him. His reply was, that on my application to the Colonial Treasury here, I should forthwith receive the 500*l.* sterling, or first and second quarters of his half salary. I applied

plied immediately at the Colonial Treasury, but have only as yet been able to receive 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, or two-thirds of the first quarter, which was actually paid by my friends to Mr. Jeremie. I am still out of pocket the sum of 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling; and Mr. Jeremie has not yet received his second quarter or the second 250*l.* sterling. Yet I am informed the Colonial accounts to 31st December last are made up, and exhibit a sum of about 200*l.* sterling over paid, as salary to the First President or Chief Justice of this island.

Such concurrent circumstances I fear can scarcely be the effect of blind chance, and therefore I am left to conjecture that design to signalize me out for some purpose or other, is the real cause of such acts of injustice and oppression. Yet in opposition to that conjecture my conscience brings me the consolatory thought that this cannot be, having in no way offended either against the government, or any individual member of it, but, on the contrary, that I have aided and assisted both in every possible way until injustice has shown herself within the colony, and now compels me to stand in opposition to the measures of government, by every constitutional means within my power, in order to maintain the dignity and honour of a British merchant, and to vindicate the uprightness and integrity of my intentions by providing for my commercial engagements, for which purpose I have no hesitation in assuring your Excellency I am quite ready to make a large sacrifice of my real property, but still, justice I must have, let the consequences be what they may, even if I should be compelled to proceed to Great Britain in search of it. In order to obtain this end, it is of the utmost importance to me to have an explanation of these circumstances, that I may know whether to trace the causes of them to foes or to former pretended friends. And I trust your Excellency will afford me such explanation of them as lays within your power. This becomes absolutely necessary to me, also, for the following reasons:

I owe extensively to my commercial correspondents in England, who have hitherto supported me most liberally, to assist the suffering planters; and it now becomes important for me to know, whether His Majesty's Ministers have in any way sanctioned or authorized such a line of conduct towards me. If they have, it is high time that I be acquainted with it, in order that I may not bring also ruin upon my friends in Great Britain along with myself. After sanctioning such an attempted act of injustice towards the planters as is contained in the New Slave Order in Council of 2d November 1831, without accompanying such a step with suitable compensation, and the heavy salaries allowed to Protectors, Sub-Protectors, and other new Judges consequent on that Order in Council, without the mother country contributing to defray such salaries, although His Majesty's Ministers know the distress and poverty to which this colony is now reduced, what am I to conjecture is to be the fate of the commercial part of this community, and of myself in particular, from the various acts of degradation, of injustice and oppression, I have enumerated in this letter of remonstrance.

Connecting the foregoing circumstances with the extraordinary and most ungracious manner in which the late Members of the Royal Court have been dismissed, without distinction, and without thanks for their gratuitous services to His Majesty and to the public, I am almost disposed to trace the origin of all the evils I now complain of, to His Majesty's Ministers themselves, and wait with the utmost anxiety your Excellency's solution of this vital and important surmise. If such a line of conduct towards the planters, merchants, and all other members of this community, be the effect of communications from His Majesty's Ministers, then indeed they must labour under the effect or influence of the grossest misrepresentations of the conduct of some of the members of this community; and I trust your Excellency will enable those who can justify their conduct to do so, and not subject thus indiscriminately the whole community to injustice, oppression and contempt unmerited. This would be but an act of common justice to the community, which, under any circumstance, a British subject has a right to demand at the hands of the British Ministers themselves.

I am not without my fears and apprehensions that I am to trace the cause of our present grievances to the influence of His Majesty's Ministers, from part of a despatch which was lately communicated to me from my Lord Goderich. This despatch was a reply to a deliberate representation made by the three

members of the privy council of this island, against the enormous taxation which this colony was subjected to last year, and to which my Lord Goderich states, that he is surprised that honourable members would deliberately make unfounded assertions, and that such conduct could not but diminish the confidence which His Majesty's Ministers must have in those gentlemen. Every word of what was advanced by these gentlemen, however, proved to be true, and certificates to that effect have been transmitted to his Lordship. I am, therefore, very naturally lost and confounded when I reflect on such extraordinary, unjustifiable and unaccountable conduct. If one or two bad individuals in any community were taken for a criterion of all the rest, what country might not be represented as murderers, parricides and burkers. In what light could England, Ireland and Scotland be shown down to posterity from recent acts of individuals; but would that be a fair criterion of the present state of civilized England, Scotland and Ireland. His Lordship, I am fully persuaded, if to him I am attribute the acts I have herein exposed, must labour under the influence of the grossest falsehood and misrepresentations; but to the slow and certain effects of truth I look confidently and calmly for redress sooner or later, for a lying tongue is but for a moment. The day must come when the light of truth will dispel the mists raised up by falsehood and calumny.

I have now only to beseech your Excellency to grant myself and fellow-townsmen a redress of our grievances with all the speed which the nature of our case demands; and I trust that it may be an efficacious remedy that will be applied, and that the disgrace and degradation under which we now consider ourselves laying may be effectually removed.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(signed) *William Muter.*

Sir,

Castries, 18th January 1832.

HAVING observed the Provost Marshal mixed up in certain resolutions entered into by the merchants and shop-keepers of this town refusing and resisting the paying of their taxes, addressed to his Excellency the Governor, I beg leave to acquaint you, that I have not had, either directly or indirectly, any knowledge of such proceedings, and do therefore protest against the same accordingly.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

G. W. Busted, Esq. Chief Secretary.

(signed) *J. Winkler.*

Enclosure No. 9.

Sir,

Castries, St. Lucia, 18th January 1832.

THE mercantile body of this island, after having expended every shilling of their disposable capital, and stretched their credit to the utmost to furnish the planters with the means to procure food for their negroes, and of repairing the injury done to their buildings, and before one cask of sugar has been manufactured, are called upon to pay public contributions. Finding themselves aggrieved by an act of your predecessor, confirmed by yourself, they adopted a measure conceived necessary for the preservation of their rights, by protesting against that part of the Tax Ordinance which particularly affects them. This protest, together with the just objections of the parties aggrieved, have been transmitted to your Excellency, but appear to have been found unworthy of notice. When, upon a recent occasion, your Excellency was solicited to interpose between the inhabitants of this colony and a ruinous measure of His Majesty's Government, you stated your inability to act, having no discretionary power. The community did you justice, and gave you credit for the kind intention you expressed; and in the present instance it is difficult for them to believe, where the power exists, the will should now be found wanting. The merchants of this colony are driven to despair: they see they must be involved in the common ruin that awaits

awaits their fellow-colonists; but they have a right to expect every possible relief from the Representative of their Sovereign. Here, Sir, you have no responsibility to incur; the Governor and Council have done the act, and they can undo. All we ask is to be put on the same footing as the rest of our fellow-colonists; there is no just reason why our taxation alone should be increased; that the provisions for enforcing this tax should vary from that of others; or that we should be called upon to pay at a period fixed, to frustrate our hope of redress by remonstrance to the Government at home. We are not ignorant of the means resorted to to force through this measure in the Council over which your Predecessor presided, and the protest of the colonial members stands recorded to justify our worst suspicions. We respectfully caution your Excellency not to allow yourself to be guided by the interested counsel of the persons around you. We know the public officers of this Colony are mutually accusing each other of gross misconduct, and the public are witness of the truth of these accusations; ay, in every department of the Government, and such men, Sir, seek in general confusion and disorder to hide their own misconduct. We do entreat your Excellency to put a stop to these ruinous measures; and the public have a right to be heard. We are told the public necessities require heavy taxation, (where are the treasurer's accounts to prove the necessity?) We know that most of the public officers are unpaid; at least they state so as an excuse for not liquidating our claims upon them. The contractors of public works are ruined by default of payment; the payment of supplies furnished for the prisoners in the gaol is more than six months in arrear; and yet we know we have paid into the public chest, during the year 1831, 15,000*l.* sterling. We are neither fools nor madmen; but we will not be plundered. We demand inquiry, with a fair and open exposure of the public finances; and we then pledge ourselves to come forward, to the utmost extent of our means, for the public service. Requesting your Excellency will forward these documents for the information of His Majesty's Government,

We have, &c.

(signed)

Wm. Muter,

and Twelve others.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Col. Bozon,
Acting Governor, &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 10.

Sir,

Castries, 18th January 1832.

I HAVE communicated to the merchants who signed the Remonstrance to your Excellency, the verbal statement made by you to me, that you would redress the grievance complained of; and these gentlemen are most willing to meet your views on receiving your reply, with an assurance that they shall not be called on to take the licenses, or to pay, before the other direct taxes are due in the month of May. Having pledged myself on your promise of redress to open my store, I shall do so to-morrow.

I have the honour, &c.

(signed)

William Muter.

To his Excellency Colonel Bozon,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 11.

Sir,

Government Office, Castries, 19th January 1832.

I RECEIVED your letter late yesterday evening, and in reply beg to acquaint you, that I will, as I verbally told you yesterday afternoon, give the merchants all the relief I possibly can on the subject of their stated/grievances relative to the Tax Ordinance, on a proper and respectful representation being made.

You will be pleased to recollect that I distinctly told you, that previous to such relief being given, the Proclamation of yesterday must be strictly complied with.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Wm. Muter, Esq. Castries.

(signed)

M. A. Bozon, Lieut.-Col.
Administering the Government.

Enclosure No. 12.

Sir,

Castries, 19th January 1832.

I HAVE this moment received the honour of your Excellency's letter of this date in reply to my letter of yesterday, and I have communicated the same to the merchants who signed the Remonstrance, under yesterday's date, on the subject of their grievances.

I understood your Excellency, in the conversation which took place at the Government Office yesterday, to give me clearly to understand, that if the merchants conformed to the Proclamation of yesterday, in so far as to open their stores, that they should not be required to pay their taxes under a license, nor be considered liable to any penalty, if the merchants, and other professional taxes, &c. be not paid on, or before, the period at which the other direct taxes are payable: and that your Excellency would farther take into your serious and favourable consideration our farther request to have the amount of the tax itself reduced.

If I have mistaken your Excellency's meaning, and that your Excellency will not pledge yourself to the two former conditions, I shall then consider myself relieved from my promise to open my store, and at full liberty to act, as I consider myself justified to act, as a British merchant, possessing all the rights and privileges of a British subject in a portion of the British empire.

I have the honour to be, &c.

To his Excellency Colonel Bozon,
Administering the Government of St. Lucia,
&c. &c. &c.

(signed)

William Muter.

Enclosure No. 13.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 19th January 1832.

WE have read the proclamation issued by your Excellency, which we presume is intended as an answer to the just reclamations of a portion of His Majesty's subjects in this Colony, who yield to none in loyalty and attachment to their gracious Sovereign. It is with the deepest feelings of regret, we see your Excellency discard from your Council gentlemen chosen by our Sovereign to aid you in the execution of your duty, and surround yourself with irresponsible persons, mercenaries fed at the public expense, through whose advice you have been induced in a public document to traduce and vilify men who have ever been foremost to support the measures of His Majesty's Government, whilst they could do so without injustice to their fellow-subjects or dishonour to themselves. We have neither "conspired nor combined to impede and oppose the measures of Government." We have only exercised a right possessed by every British subject. We felt ourselves aggrieved, and we have remonstrated. The conditions imposed upon the exercise of our various professions are too onerous, and we decline to submit to them. Are these, Sir, justifiable grounds on which, by public proclamation, your Excellency should have thought proper to denounce us as traitors? We declare solemnly that we are most grossly traduced and vilified; your Excellency accuses us of adopting measures to render inoperative the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 2d November, by affording a pretext for inconsiderate and designing persons to evade its provisions. Would to God the situation of this unfortunate Colony was such that the regulations of the Order might be fairly put to the test. But your Excellency is too well aware of the impossibility: and we trace this base insinuation to its true origin, in
the

the interested counsellors by whom you have surrounded yourself. It is to be lamented your Excellency should have been induced to adopt a language in your proclamation, tending to excite insubordination amongst our slaves. We do full justice to your Excellency, but we cannot fail to discern in the tone of this document the same feeling that dictates to so many of your public officers the necessity of going armed, to protect themselves against enemies existing only in their own overheated imaginations. The inhabitants of this Colony have fairly and openly declared their determination to resist, by every constitutional means, encroachment on their rights and property. We partake of these sentiments, and we do not wish to disguise our determination to act up to them. We have remonstrated with your Excellency against a measure of the local government which unjustly weighs upon us. You have not thought proper to redress our grievances. We shall appeal to a higher tribunal, perfectly regardless of all such threats as your Excellency has been advised to embody in the form of a proclamation.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient servants,
(signed) *Wm. Muter,*
and Twelve others.

To His Excellency
Colonel Bozon, &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 14.

A PROCLAMATION by his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel *Mark Anthony Bozon*, Major 93d Regiment, Senior Officer administering the Government of the Island of St. Lucia, &c. &c.
Saint Lucia.
(L. s.)
Mark Anthony Bozon.

WHEREAS it has appeared to me that some evil-disposed individuals have conspired and combined to impede and oppose the measures of the Executive Government of this Colony, and have induced others, by their influence and example, to co-operate in such measures: And whereas, under the influence of such illegal combination, the several stores and shops of this town have been closed since the morning of Monday the 16th instant, all business suspended, and all classes of the inhabitants exposed to serious and distressing privations by such proceedings: And whereas such measures are not only calculated, but evidently intended, to render inoperative His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2d of November last, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves in this Colony, by affording a pretext to inconsiderate or designing persons of evading His Most Gracious Majesty's humane and benevolent intentions towards the slave population of this Colony, under the plea of inability to obtain supplies of food and clothing for that portion of His Majesty's subjects: And whereas such conduct is calculated to produce excitement among the slave population, and most injurious consequences to the community at large, and to afford a pretext of representing the slave population as undeserving of His Majesty's favour and protection. Now I, *Mark Anthony Bozon*, Senior Officer administering the government of St. Lucia, acting under the power and authority in me vested, do hereby proclaim, That all persons who have heretofore entered into, or may hereafter enter into, such illegal combination, will be held responsible to the laws for high crimes and misdemeanors, and be punished accordingly: And I do hereby order and command all merchants, shopkeepers, and all other persons in this town, and throughout this Colony, concerned in such illegal combination, to re-open their stores and shops, and legally resume their several callings, on or before Monday morning, the 23d instant, under pain of the consequences: And I do hereby order and recommend all His Majesty's loyal subjects within this Colony to govern themselves according to this Proclamation.

Done at the Government Office in Castries, this 18th day of January 1832, and in the second year of His Majesty's reign.

By his Excellency's command,
George Washington Busted. Chief Secretary.

God save the King.

Enclosure No. 15.

Sir,

Castries, 20th January 1832.

WE are informed that letters written to several of our correspondents at Martinique, and given to the Captain of the schooner Jane, cleared for St. Pierre the 18th instant, have been detained at the Secretary's office.

We beg your Excellency's order for them to be returned to us, and are, Sir, with respect,

Your obedient humble servants,

(signed) *D. Ferguson & Co.*

To his Excellency Lieut.-Col. M. A. Bozon,
Administering the Government, &c. &c. &c.
of St. Lucia.

Gentlemen,

Government Office, Castries,
20th January 1832.

IN reply to your letter of this date, I beg to acquaint you, that an apparently treasonable correspondence having been found in the possession of the master of the schooner Jane, on the night of the 18th instant, and to be clandestinely conveyed to Martinique, notwithstanding the strict embargo, and amongst which several other letters which seem to be from your mercantile house in this town, it therefore becomes necessary, previous to their being returned, that they should be examined, to ascertain whether they relate to, or are in connection with, the correspondence above alluded to.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon, Lieut.-Col.*Messrs. D. Ferguson & Co.
Castries.

Administering the Government.

Enclosure No. 16.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 20th January 1832.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, that several masters of vessels now riding at anchor in this harbour, and detained from proceeding on their various voyages, have applied to me, as agent for Lloyd's, to ascertain the cause of the detention of their vessels, and also to know what longer period their vessels are likely so to be detained.

In my capacity of agent for the committee and subscribers to Lloyd's in London, I have now the honour to request your Excellency will inform me of the cause of the detention of these vessels from prosecuting their voyage, and also the period that such detention is likely to continue, in order that I may furnish such persons as apply to me with the necessary information, and also with the necessary documents to justify the masters of vessels so detained to their employers, for this delay of their vessels and their cargoes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *William Muter,*

Agent for the Subscribers to Lloyd's.

To his Excellency Lt.-Colonel Bozon,
Administering the Government of St. Lucia.

Sir,

Government House, 20th January 1832.

IN reply to your letter of this date, requesting to know the cause of the detention of vessels in this port, I beg to acquaint you, that in consequence of a conspiracy against His Majesty's Government having been discovered to exist in this Island, I have considered it necessary to detain all vessels until further

further orders, neither can I see the necessity of opening the ports at present, as the merchants and shopkeepers have shut up their stores, and declined transacting any business.

I regret to say that a committee, of which you are chairman, to use a mild expression, have, by their intemperate language and violent conduct, contributed in a great measure to create excitement, and thereby endanger the public tranquillity.

I have the honour, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon*, Lt.-Col.
Administering the Government.

Wm. Muter, Esq.
Agent for Lloyd's.

Sir,

St. Lucia, Castries, 20th January 1832.

WHEN I, as agent for Lloyd's, addressed your Excellency this morning, for information to guide the masters of vessels in the line of conduct necessary to adopt under the existing embargo, I did so in the performance of a public duty. Your Excellency makes reference to the existence of a conspiracy which, upon your authority, I am bound to believe exists, although I have no other knowledge of the fact; but I cannot see what connection can exist between the circumstance of the merchants and shopkeepers shutting their stores and shops, and declining to transact business, and an embargo laid upon the commercial marine, by which several vessels bound to the neighbouring colonies and droghers laden with supplies arriving from Europe, and destined for the plantations in the island.

Your Excellency's reference to me personally as chairman of a committee, whom you accuse of using intemperate and violent language and conduct, appears to me foreign to the subject of my communication; but I am most happy to have an opportunity of again denying, in the most unequivocal manner, that any act of mine, or that of the committee over which I had the honour to preside, has contributed in the slightest degree to create excitement or endanger the public tranquillity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *William Muter*,
Agent for the Subscribers to Lloyd's.

To his Excellency Lt.-Colonel Bozon,
Administering the Government of St. Lucia.

Enclosure No. 17.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 21st January 1832.

We thank your Excellency for the communication of Lord Goderich's conciliatory despatch of the 10th December, announcing the intention of His Majesty's Government of "submitting to Parliament a fiscal measure, calculated to afford substantial relief to those sugar-growing colonies in which the provisions of the Order in Council of the 2d November shall be in operation." Whilst we are happy to see that His Majesty's Government have discovered that relief is necessary, we regret his Lordship has not been more explicit; as nothing short of *prior* compensation will induce us to give up, voluntarily, any further portion of our property; for since the first introduction in 1826 of measures for meliorating the condition of our slaves, the language now held by Lord Goderich has been employed to lead us on (as we now see) to our destruction.

We have, in our different remonstrances, brought under your Excellency's notice, for the information of His Majesty's Government, our well-grounded objections to the provisions of this Order as an enactment, as well as a faithful picture of the state of distress to which this Colony has been reduced, by circumstances over which we have no control, and which renders obedience to the Order impossible.

The committee, justly appreciating the spirit of moderation displayed in the despatch of His Majesty's Secretary of State, are utterly at a loss to understand the conduct pursued towards this community by your Excellency. With the whole mass of the population in perfect tranquillity, we see your Excellency assume an authority which would be only warranted if the Colony was in a state of open rebellion; displayed ostentatiously before the eyes of an astonished multitude: the military force at your disposal: an embargo laid on the commercial marine; and a proclamation issued on your sole authority, which, if our slaves were not as wary and prudent as they are, would excite them to revolt. We very naturally ask, to what end do all these extraordinary measures tend? To relieve the few public officers whom your Excellency has taken as your advisers, from the little temporary inconvenience of the privation of those luxuries which they alone, of all the community, are able to indulge in at the public expense. This, Sir, is the only apparent reason for all those extraordinary measures! But there are others which lay deeper; and we will bring them under the notice of our Gracious Sovereign. Your Excellency would seem to have renounced the assistance of the councillors appointed for you by your Sovereign, and to have thrown yourself into the hands of men, who, with two or three exceptions, can justly be accused of misconduct, and ignorance of their duties as public officers; and one of them, the Protector of Slaves, has proved himself totally unfit for, and unworthy of, the important office with which he is intrusted; and has, in open court, before the Chief Justice of the Island, used language the most unjustifiable, tending to excite insubordination and disorder amongst our slaves, and for which we pray your Excellency to suspend him from the exercise of his charge until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known. And these are the men to whom you intrust the vital interests of the Colony you ought to govern! These, Sir, are grave charges; but we bring them openly, and we will support them before the tribunals of our country.

We again formally protest against the measures adopted by your Excellency without the advice of your Council, as illegal and arbitrary, tending to excite our slaves to insurrection, and occasion the loss of life and property to His Majesty's subjects.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(signed)

Wm. Muter,
and Eight others.

To his Excellency Lt.-Col. Bozon,
&c. &c.

Enclosure No. 18.

Sir,

Castries, 22d January 1832.

YOUR letter of yesterday from the Committee, acknowledging the receipt of Lord Goderich's communication, I received late in the afternoon; and I beg to recal to your recollection that, in my letter of the 9th instant, I stated my readiness to forward your remonstrances for the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

I beg to assure you that the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of this Island is the object of my most earnest and persevering desire, and I greatly lament the shutting up of the stores and shops, which has excited great ferment and discontent throughout the Island; and although you state that such a measure can only inconvenience a few public officers, yet I know the privations which the public in general, and particularly the middle and lower classes of the inhabitants experience, are very serious.

You cannot be ignorant of a conspiracy to overturn and embarrass the measures of His Majesty's Government, and in consequence I have considered it necessary to take precautions.

Your statement of the grievance you labour under by the Tax Ordinance of this year, was not made known to me until the 18th instant, two days after you had shut up your stores, which was on Monday the 16th instant, and on that day, the 18th, I told you verbally, and I repeated in my letter of the day following,

lowing, that on the re-opening of the stores I would give you *every possible relief in my power*, and which it was, and is still, my intention to do, the moment the commercial transactions of the Island are again in activity by the re-opening of the stores and due obedience to the laws.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon*, Lieut.-Col.
administering the Government.

W. Muter, Esq.
Chairman of the Committee.

Enclosure No. 19.

Sir,

St. Lucia, 22d January 1832.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter to William Muter, esq., of this date, and we regret to find any delay should have taken place in forwarding to your Excellency the remonstrance against the measure of which we complain.

We have to assure your Excellency that we are as deeply anxious as yourself, for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of the Colony, and we are happy to assure your Excellency that it has not, as yet, been interrupted.

The conspiracy "to overturn and embarrass the measures of Government," to which your Excellency alludes, we are entirely ignorant of; but we hope our natural judges will be found capable of frustrating any such unlawful intent, if it does exist.

We do full justice to your Excellency's kind intention "to afford us every possible relief in your power," and it is painful to us to be under the necessity of stating, that the present position of the Government of the Colony affords us no security that you possess the power. We therefore only earnestly entreat your Excellency to grant the prayer of our remonstrance by cancelling, by some public Act, that part of the Tax Ordinance for the year 1832, which affects the mercantile and professional part of this community; and we will immediately resume our different occupations, leaving it to your Excellency and your Privy Council, to decide upon the ulterior measures necessary.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

Wm. Muter,
and Eight others.

His Excellency Lt.-Col. Bozon,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 20.

Government Memorandum.

THE Tax Ordinance for the year 1832 having increased a rate of taxation on the mercantile and professional classes of this community, and at the same time considerably advanced the payment of such taxes, and increased the penalty in default, the Officer administering the Government feels it his duty, in complying with the numerous petitions from the persons so concerned, to direct that the time for payment of the above specified taxes shall be deferred until the meeting of the Privy Council of the Island, summoned for the 30th instant, when the several representations on the subject will be submitted for consideration.

By his Excellency's command,
(signed) *G. W. Busteed*,
Chief Secretary.

Government Office, Castries, }
1 o'clock, P. M. }
23d January 1832.

Enclosure No. 21.

Gouvernement de la Martinique, No. 64.

Monsieur le Gouverneur,

Fort Royal, le 18 Janvier 1832.

J'AI reçu la lettre de votre Excellence qui m'informe que les négocians et marchands de Castries se sont concertés pour ne vendre aucune provision au public, et que par suite de cet état de choses vous envoyez un agent à la Martinique pour y faire des achats de vivres.

Les habitans de Castries se sont portés, sans doute, à cette extrémité par suite de la crainte qu'ils éprouvent d'être volés par les esclaves criminels et autres évadés de la Martinique, que vous avez accueillis dans votre île, nonobstant toutes les lois qui assurent la propriété des esclaves dans un pays où l'esclavage est un ordre de choses légal.

Si des vues philanthropiques doivent être approuvés par tout ami de l'humanité, ce n'est point lorsqu'ils tendent à spolier les habitans d'un bien qu'ils ont légalement acquis : un acte aussi arbitraire et aussi injuste cédera, j'aime à le croire, à la raison et aux droits sacrés de la propriété.

Vous savez, Monsieur le Gouverneur, qu'il n'a dépendu que de moi de recueillir les esclaves fugitifs de St. Lucie, par le renvoi que je vous ai fait de dix individus qui se sont présentés ici pour obtenir la liberté, que vous accordez sans examen dans votre île à tous ceux qui peuvent s'échapper de nos possessions. Je n'ai pas voulu suivre un exemple que je désapprouve comme contraire à l'équité.

Je ne consentirai, donc, Monsieur le Gouverneur, à partager avec vous les provisions que possède la Martinique, et à faire supporter la hausse de prix à ses habitans, qu'autant que j'aurai l'assurance que les esclaves fugitifs me seront rendus ; cette clause est d'autant plus juste que je n'ignore pas qu'une partie de ces vivres est destinée à la nourriture des noirs évadés de notre colonie. Il est bien entendu que l'exportation de ces denrées, si elle a lieu, sera subordonnée à l'ordonnance du douane qui régit celle de la Martinique.

Je renouvelle ici la promesse d'un pardon entier aux esclaves fugitifs ; je ne ferai d'exception que pour ceux qui se trouvent en jugement pour des dettes étrangères à leur evasion.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Gouverneur, l'assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Le Contre-Amiral Gouverneur,

(signé) Dupotet.

Monsieur,

Le 16 Janvier 1832.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que je me suis adressé de Mr. W. Muter, mon commissionnaire depuis douze ans, afin d'avoir les objets nécessaires pour commencer la recolte et les comestibles qu'il faut pour les negres ; il m'a répondu qu'il étoit bien fâché de ne pouvoir pas me les livrer attendu que de concert avec ses confrères, ils avoient décidé qu'ils tiendroient leurs magasins fermés jusqu'à ce qu'on fait droit à leurs justes réclamations. Comme cet état de chose ne sauroit durer sans compromettre l'existence des esclaves, et celle des maitres, je vous prie de mettre ma lettre sous les yeux de son Excellence, afin qu'elle veuille bien prendre des mesures pour faire cesser un malaise qui ruineroit entièrement la colonie si on le laissait continuer.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, avec une parfaite considération,

Vôtre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

(Signature illegible.)

A. M. Busteed, Secrétaire-en-Chef,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Castries, 17th January 1832.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that Mr. Teage reports to me as follows: "I have, for this day and to-morrow, provisions for the prisoners, after which period I shall be placed in a disagreeable situation, the merchants having refused to supply me any longer;" and requests the same may be laid before his Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W. Busted, Esq.
Chief Secretary.(signed) *J. Winkler*, Inspector.

Sir,

Fort Royal, 18th January 1832.

I HAVE had a personal interview with his Excellency Admiral Dupotet, who absolutely refuses to allow me to purchase any kind of provisions in this island. His despatch to your Excellency will explain his reasons for so doing. I shall, however, proceed to St. Pierre, and endeavour to purchase in my own name, provided I can negotiate the bills, and there await your Excellency's further instructions whether I shall proceed to Dominique or return to St. Lucia.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *F. Taggart*.

— No. 12. —

DESPATCH from Lieut.-Colonel *Bozon*, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

St. Lucia, 24th January 1832.

IN consequence of the letters alluded to in my Despatch of this day, found on the person of the master of the schooner *Jane*, endeavouring to force the embargo, I have ordered to be arrested and committed, Mr. Stephen Williams, a principal merchant of this island, a Mr. Charles Glandon, also a merchant, Messrs. Voisson and Flossac, second class merchants, and a Mr. Walker, clerk to a commercial house, all for conspiring against the government of this Colony, by unlawfully exciting and calling upon the inhabitants of Martinique, to aid and co-operate with them in their endeavours to embarrass the authorities, and to oppose the execution of the King's laws, and to vilify and bring His Majesty's Government into disrespect and contempt, to the great damage and injury of the public at large.

They are all in the hands of the law officers, and will be proceeded against according to law.

I have, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon*, Lieut.-Col.
Administering the Government.

— No. 13. —

DESPATCH from Lieut.-Colonel *Bozon*, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

St. Lucia, 27th January 1832.

I BEG leave herewith to forward you copies of a document, and several letters, found on the person of the master of the schooner alluded to in my letter of the 24th instant.

I have, &c.

(signed) *M. A. Bozon*, Lieut.-Col.

QUESTIONS faites au Sieur Glandon, négociant, demeurant en cette Ville de Castries.

PAR son honneur le Chef Justice de la Cour Royale de Sainte Lucie, en présence de son Excellence le Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, au sujet de différentes lettres trouvées sur la personne du Sieur Valmond Godard, entre dix et onze heures du jour d'hier soir, dans le carénage de cette Ville, étant en canot, le dix-huit du courant.

Le dit Sieur Glandon étant averti qu'il n'est pas tenu de faire aucune réponse qui puisse l'incriminer.

Demande.—La lettre No. 1, adressée à “ Monsieur St. Marie, Toraille, St. Pierre, Martinique,” reconnaissez-vous la main où est écrite la lettre actuelle, et ce qui est écrit sur le dos de la lettre?—*Réponse.* Je demanderai d'abord par l'ordre de qui je suis ici? Et son Excellence a répondu, “ Par mes ordres.”

Réponse continuée.—C'est une de mes lettres que j'ai écrites, et que j'ai remise hier matin à M. Valmond Godard, capitaine de ma goëlette la Jane.

D. Reconnaissez-vous la main de l'écriture qui est sur le dos?—*R.* Oui, c'est la même main.

D. (En montrant au Sieur Glandon le papier numerotté 2) Reconnaissez-vous ce papier?—*R.* C'est un papier sans signature.

D. Comment savez-vous que c'est un papier sans signature, n'en ayant vu que la première page?—*R.* Parceque c'est un papier, un vieux brouillon, qui a été enlevé de chez moi, je ne sais comment.

D. Connaissez-vous la main de ce brouillon?—*R.* Oui, je la connais.

D. De qui est ce donc la main?—*R.* C'est la mienne; c'est un vieux brouillon où je jettais quelques idées passagères qui ne devaient servir à rien.

D. Depuis combien est ce que ce papier a été en votre office ou bureau, et depuis quand est ce que ce papier a été enlevé?—*R.* Je n'en sais rien.

D. L'écriture sur le dos de la lettre No. 1 fait mention “ d'une note;” à quelle note est ce que la lettre susdite a-t-elle rapport?—*R.* Ce n'est pas au papier que vous venez de me montrer (c'est à dire le brouillon) que la lettre a rapport.

D. Dans l'écriture sur le dos de la lettre susdite on lit, “ Valmond, que nos envoyons à la hâte, vous soumettra une note.” Les lettres trouvées sur Valmond sont toutes ici; ayez la bonté de dire à quelle note l'écriture a rapport, et de la représenter à son Excellence?—*R.* Ceci est le secret de ma correspondance intime, et je crois être à l'abri de toute investigation à cet égard; m'apercevant que toutes les questions qui me sont faites jusqu'à présent reposent sur un enlèvement de ma correspondance privée, dont je ne saurais me rendre compte, et que je dois trouver illégal, je m'abstiendrai désormais à répondre à aucune question de ce genre.

D. Combien de lettres avez-vous écrit pour être expédiées à la Martinique?—*R.* Douze lettres; les voilà que je reclame, avec le brouillon sorti de mon cabinet sans ma volonté, et qui est aussi une chose privée, et dont je ne dois pas plus de compte que de mes pensées, parce que je crois qu'on n'a pas le droit de les garder, ni d'en faire aucun usage, et qu'elles devaient suivre leur destination.

Fait et clos en la chambre de Conseil Privé de cette dite île, le dix-neuf Janvier mil huit cent trente deux, après lecture faite au dit Sieur Glandon, qui a déclaré que ses réponses aux dites questions étaient véritables, qu'il n'a rien à y ajouter ni diminuer, et a signé avec nous.

Signé à la Minute,
Ch^{tes} Glandon. M. A. Bozon. J. C. Musson.

M. Glandont ayant été rappelé.

D. Avez-vous des objections à ce que les onze lettres par vous écrites soient décachetées et lues par quelque personne à votre choix, soit son Excellence ou quelqu'un parmi les officiers ici présents, et si ces lettres sont d'une nature privée,

privée, elles vous seront remises?—*R.* Je ne consens nullement à ce qu'on ouvre mes lettres; elles sont les secrets de ma vie privée, de mes affaires privées, de mes épanchements envers mes parents et amis, auxquels je peux donner toute la latitude possible sans être passible d'aucune investigation à leur égard: le secret de la correspondance étant inviolable, nul n'étant passible que de ce qu'il fait imprimer et livrer au public; l'intimité d'une correspondance n'étant sous aucun joug.

Signé à la Minute,
Ch^{es} Glandon. *M. A. Bozon.* *J. C. Musson.*

Aujourd'hui, le vingt et un Janvier mil huit cent trente-deux.

Questions additionnelles faites au Sieur Glandon, demeurant en cette Ville de Castries, en présence de son Excellence le Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon.

D. Avez-vous aucune objection à ce que ces lettres soient ouvertes en votre présence, et en la présence de quelque personne ici présente que vous pouvez choisir, bien entendu que si ces lettres sont d'une nature privée, elles vous seront de suite remises?—*R.* Qu'avant hier je m'étais rendu ici pour obéir aux ordres du représentant de Sa Majesté dans cette île, que dans le trouble ou m'avaient jeté les questions qui m'avaient été faites par la commission devant laquelle je comparaisais, j'avais pu y répondre sans m'apercevoir qu'elle était, ou non, légale. Aujourd'hui n'y voyant pas figurer les conseillers. Je proteste solennellement à la face de l'univers contre la violation du secret de ma correspondance qu'on a enlevée de la manière la plus illégale; violation . . .

M. Glandon était informé que toute chose en forme de protestation était "irrelevante" dans ce moment. Qu'il se trouvait ici pour faire réponse d'après les termes de sa "recognizance" ou de sa caution.

La question réitérée.

M. Glandon a protesté comme ci-dessus: ces lettres sont ma chose privée, ma propriété particulière intime, et dont je crois que personne n'a le droit de prendre connaissance.

Ensuite les lettres étaient présentées et ouvertes par le Secrétaire en Chef, et lues par le Gouverneur, devant *M. Glandon*; et, à l'exception de quatre lettres que son Excellence a offertes à *M. Glandon*, et qui ont été scellées en la présence du Sieur Glandon, celles marquées et numérotées N^{os} 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 et 10, ont été retenues.

D. Combien de temps avez-vous été dans cette colonie, et à quelle époque êtes vous venu?—*R.* Je désire ne répondre à aucune question. On a violé le secret de mes lettres: je me contente de renouveler mes protestations, et de prendre le ciel à témoin de cette violation.

D. Etes vous dans la milice de cette île?—*R.* Même réponse, je suis trop ému.

Signé à la Minute,
M. A. Bozon. *Ch^{es} Glandon.* *J. C. Musson.*

QUESTIONS put to Stephen Williams, Esquire, merchant in Castries, in presence of his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, this 20th day of January 1832, regarding certain letters found on the person of *M. V. Godard*, between 10 and 11 at night last evening, the 18th inst.

MR. WILLIAMS was cautioned that he was not required, in any answer or statement which he might make here, to criminate himself in the slightest degree. Certain letters were then produced, five in number, exclusive of an envelope.

1. One to Mr. John Lawless, St. Pierre, Martinique, per Mr. Godard. Pressé.
2. Pressé. Messrs. Roche, Pinel & Glennie, Fort Royal, Martinique.
3. Pressé. Messrs. D. Marravet & Company, St. Pierre, Martinique.
4. Miss Betsey Parker, rue Hospital, St. Pierre, Martinique.
5. Madame

5. Madame V^e Brossard, chez Madame Samson, rue Toraille, St. Pierre, Martinique, bearing the word "Pressé."

The four first are in the hand-writing of Mr. Williams; the fifth has the word "Pressé" on it, which is in his hand-writing.

Q. Have you any objections that these letters should be opened in your presence, and in the presence of any one gentleman present whom you might choose to name, with the understanding that if they are found to be of a private nature they will be immediately restored?—*A.* I most solemnly protest against it, as these letters were written prior to the embargo; that we are not in hostilities with Martinique, neither is this island blockaded; and as a British merchant giving his opinion to his correspondents that is not published, I consider my letters are sacred as my private property, and I protest against any violation of the right of private property.

Q. Will you undertake to say, that in these letters you have not requested any person in Martinique to co-operate with you in not supplying, or in hindering the supply, of provisions in this island?—[Mr. Williams was told he might answer this question or not.]—*A.* I decline answering.

(*By Mr. Chief Secretary.*) *Q.* Have you, as a merchant, had your store open or shut since Monday last for the purpose of transacting business?—*A.* Partly open and partly shut, as we have sold some provisions since Monday last.

Q. Were those sales to planters or were they general?—*A.* To planters and others; both.

(*By the Chief Justice resumed.*) *Q.* Have you refused to sell to any individual whatever since Monday last?—*A.* I have refused to sell dry goods.

Q. Have you refused to sell any other description of dry goods to any individuals whatever since Monday last?—*A.* I have not refused any application for provisions which has been made to me.

Mr. Williams was then ordered to withdraw. On being recalled, his Excellency informed him as follows:

It is determined that these letters shall be examined, in consequence of the nature of your answers; the Secretary will therefore be pleased to open them, and to hand them to me. If it appears to me in my discretion that they are to be considered as private, I will return them to you; if not, I shall feel it my duty, under existing circumstances, to detain them for further consideration.

Mr. Williams having been brought up for re-examination this day, 21st of January 1832,

The letter addressed to Madame V^e Brossard, chez Madame Samson, rue Toraille, St Pierre, Martinique, was opened by the Chief Secretary, and perused by his Excellency, and detained.

Q. What rank do you hold in the militia of this island?—*A.* Captain.

Mr. Williams requested to be allowed a copy of his letters seized.

The Governor informed him that they should take the matter into deliberation.

Questions put to Charles Caffyn, searcher and waiter at the Port of Castries, in presence of his Excellency Colonel Bozon, this 20th day of January 1832.

Mr. Caffyn sworn.

Q. Have you any knowledge of a letter addressed to M. Gaillard de Lanbenque, Chevalier de Saint Louis, à St Pierre?—*A.* I have a knowledge of it, having been handed to me on Monday by Marcelin, a patron of a pirogue.

Q. When did you part with the possession of that letter?—*A.* Between the hours of 10 and 11 of the 18th forenoon, as well as I can recollect.

Q. Had you any knowledge that there was an embargo on vessels in this port on the 18th?—*A.* I had no knowledge when I gave him the letter (that is, to Mr. Godard); but I knew of it afterwards when I went to the Custom-house.

Q. You

Q. You have stated that you delivered the letter to Mr. Godard between 10 and 11, to the best of your recollection; in order that you may not fall into inadvertent error in this statement, it is proper to inform you that Mr. Godard has stated here, that you gave him the letter in question at about two o'clock in the day; will you call to your recollection whether it was so or not?—*A.* I delivered it to Mr. Godard between 10 and 11, to the best of my knowledge, but perfectly aware that it was long before the embargo was laid on.

Q. After the embargo was laid on, did you demand the letter from Mr. Godard?—*A.* I did not, Sir; not being aware of what was going to take place, or I should have done so.

(signed)

C. Caffyn.

Questions asked Mr. Robert Walker, Procurator of the House of Kennedy, Patterson & Company, by his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, on the 21st of January 1832.

Q. Is this letter, marked 16, G. B., and addressed to Mr. Richard Ruff, St. Pierre, Martinique, your writing?—*A.* It is.

Q. This letter having been found in possession of the master of the schooner Jane, under suspicious circumstances, have you any objection to its being opened by any gentleman here present, in your presence, and selected by yourself; it being understood that if its contents are of a private nature, it will be immediately returned to you?—*A.* I protest against it, as it was delivered to the captain of this vessel at least two hours before the embargo was made known, and that our house being a commercial one, and the principal part of our correspondence carried on betwixt this and Martinique, and the gentleman to whom this letter is addressed being our agent there, I consider our correspondence as inviolable.

His Excellency informed Mr. Walker, that the letter would then be opened by the Chief Secretary, and perused by his Excellency; and if its contents were of a private nature, it would be returned immediately.

His Excellency informed Mr. Walker, that he found it necessary to detain the letter.

(*Question by the Chief Secretary.*) Mr. Walker, has the house over which you preside been opened for general business since Monday last?—*A.* I decline answering that question.

(signed)

R Walker.

Questions asked Mr. Robert Hannay by his Excellency Lieut.-Colonel Bozon, on the 21st January 1832.

Q. Is this letter your writing, letter being numbered 13, G. B. and addressed to Mr. Robert Muter, at Miss Betsey Parker's, St. Pierre, Martinique?—*A.* It is.

Q. This letter having been found in the possession of the master of the schooner Jane, under suspicious circumstances, have you any objection to its being opened by any gentleman here present, in your presence, and selected by yourself; it being understood that if its contents be of a private nature, it will immediately be restored to you?—*A.* I object to the letter being opened.

His Excellency informed Mr. Hannay that the letter would then be opened by the Chief Secretary, perused by his Excellency; and if its contents were of a private nature, it would be restored immediately.

(*Question by the Chief Secretary.*) Mr. Hannay, are you a merchant or a shopkeeper of Castries?—*A.* I am neither.

Mr. Hannay adds, that the "Per Jane" in the corner of the letter, proves that it was given to the captain of the Jane before the embargo was laid on.

(signed)

Robert M. Hannay.

Questions asked M. Pierre Mallet by his Excellency Liéut.-Colonel Bozon, on the 21st of January 1832.

Q. Is this letter, marked 17 G. B., and addressed to Mr. H. Dubocage, St. Pierre, Martinique, your writing?—*A.* It is.

Q. This letter having been found in possession of the master of the schooner Jane, under suspicious circumstances, have you any objection to its being opened by any gentleman here present, in your presence, and selected by yourself; it being understood that if its contents are of a private nature, it will be immediately returned to you?

M. Mallet opened the letter himself, observing, the letter was given to the captain of the Jane when the captain was clearing out for Martinique.

His Excellency stated to M. Mallet he should detain the letter.

Demandes faites à Monsieur Vosen, négociant à Castries, en présence de son Excellence le Liéut.-Colonel Bozon, le 21^{ème} jour de Janvier 1832.

D. Connoissez-vous l'écriture de cette lettre (marquée No. 25, B.) adressée à M. Louis Gouge, à St. Pierre, ou à Fort Royal, Martinique?—*R.* Je ne sçais pas.

D. Est ce votre propre écriture?—*R.* Monsieur, je ne sçais pas.

D. Des lettres ayant été trouvées sur la personne du capitaine de la gëolette la Jane, qui tâchait la nuit du dixhuit courant, de sortir de la rade de Castries, en canot, malgré le strict embargo; ces lettres étant adressées à la Martinique, et une partie ayant paru contenir des matières de la nature de haute trahison; parmi ces lettres il s'en est trouvée une de votre maison de commerce; avez-vous aucune objection à ce que cette lettre soit ouverte en votre présence par qui que ce soit des officiers ici assemblés, que vous nommerez vous-même; entendu que si le contenu est d'une nature privée, la lettre vous sera desuite remise?—*R.* Je ne répondrai pas à cette question.

Son Excellence a informé M. Vosen qu'il était alors nécessaire que le Secrétaire en Chef ouvrit la lettre, et que son Excellence lui-même la lirait.

(*Demande par le Secrétaire en Chef.*) Monsieur, avez-vous, comme négociant, ouvert votre magasin pour vendre, depuis Lundi passé?—*R.* Non, Monsieur.
(signé) G. Birrell.

Copies of DOCUMENTS and CORRESPONDENCE found on the person of Valmont Godard on the evening of the 18th January, on leaving the Harbour of Castries, in defiance of the Embargo.

Copy Manifesto in the hand-writing of M. C. Glandon, and acknowledged by him.

1. LES négociants de Sainte Lucie, pour s'opposer plus efficacement aux affreuses Ordonnances que le Gouvernement veut mettre en vigueur, lesquelles feront la ruine de la colonie, et pour refuser plus fortement le paiement des impôts, ont tous fermés leurs magasins depuis Lundi dernier: cette mesure a contrarié le Gouvernement, qui sentant qu'il ne pourra y résister, puis qu'il est à la veille de manquer des vivres pour les prisonniers, &c., a clandestinement cette nuit envoyé, malgré les entraves qu'on y avait mis, un agent à la Martinique, pour y acheter des provisions, et soutenir par là l'espèce de siège auquel il serait bientôt obligé de capituler. Les habitans de Sainte Lucie croient que dans cette circonstance ceux de la Martinique ne leur refuseront pas leur coopération. La lutte qu'ils soutiennent dans ce moment est la lutte générale des colonies, puisque s'ils sont anéantis, toutes les autres ne tarderont pas à l'être: ils prient, donc, Messieurs les négociants de la Martinique de refuser de vendre aucune provision à Monsieur Taggart, agent envoyé par le Gouvernement de Sainte Lucie; de ne pas lui négocier la lettre de change sur l'Angleterre, dont il

il est porteur ; de ne lui donner aucun caboteur pour l'apporter ici avec ses provisions, ni même sa personne, afin de rendre sa mission impossible. En l'entravant de tous leurs moyens, ils aideront en cela à la résistance que font les habitans de Sainte Lucie ; résistance qui intéresse toutes les colonies. Ils espèrent, donc, que les négociants de la Martinique se rendront à leurs désirs, et ne craindront pas de perdre un gain quelconque en y acquiesçant, pour le bien général et pour celui de leurs anciens et malheureux compatriotes.

2. Letter addressed by C. Glandon to M. Clement de Caton, St. Pierre, Martinique.

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832, à neuf heures du soir.

JE vous écrivais ce matin, mon cher oncle, mais au moment où ma gëolette allait partir, elle avait déjà son expédition de la douane et du trésor, il ne lui fallait plus que sa passe du capitaine du port, le Gouverneur a fait mettre embargo sur le départ de tous les bâtimens du port, même des caboteurs pour la côte, ce qui m'empêche de faire partir ma gëolette. Nous fort heureusement qu'une gëolette Halifaxienne vient de mouiller en tête de rade, et malgré qu'on l'ait soumis à l'embargo, il part ce soir, en se laissant driver ; nous en profitons pour envoyer Valmont dans un canot, apporter nos dépêches. Ceci retarde beaucoup. Valmont vous remettra la copie d'une proclamation incendiaire que notre infâme Gouvernement a fait publier ce soir ; vous verrez si l'on peut rien voir de plus infâme.

Cependant à cinq heures il a fait appeler (le Gouvernement) le Président du Comité, et il a cherché à entrer en composition en promettant de prendre nos griefs en considération, si nous voulions ouvrir nos magasins demain ; mais nous sommes comme des rocs, et nous n'ouvrons que sur des certitudes écrites que la Martinique nous seconde, et dans quelques jours nous serons satisfaits. Questionnez Valmont, et il vous en apprendra plus que je ne puis en dire à cette heure dans cette lettre. Adieu, mon cher oncle.

(signé) *Ch^{lre} Glandon.*

Extract of a Letter from M. Glandon to M. Bidot, Négociant, St. Pierre, Martinique.

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832.

3. "LES circonstances alarmantes qui nous accablent ont nécessité de nous une résistance envers notre infâme Gouvernement. Pour la rendre plus efficace, nous avons fermé magasin et boutique. Le Gouvernement, qui est à la veille de manquer de tout pour nourrir la geole, &c. &c. a envoyé cette nuit un agent à la Martinique. M. Taggart a accepté cette mission, et est parti clandestinement. Nous désirons que pour nous seconder, les négociants de St. Pierre ne vendent rien à M. Taggart ; qu'on entrave son opération ; car s'il ne vient pas de vivres, notre Gouverneur sera obligé de capituler. Valmont vous montrera une note à cet effet ; je compte que vous ne prêterez en rien votre office à M. Taggart, et qu'au contraire vous employerez votre influence sur vos amis, pour qu'ils agissent selon nos désirs, en ne vendant rien à ce Monsieur."

(signé) *C. Glandon.*

Extract of a Letter from C. Glandon to M. Vive, Négociant, St. Pierre, Martinique.

4. "JE croyais depuis un mois avoir le plaisir de vous voir, mais des circonstances alarmantes pour notre malheureux pays, et qui se sont succédées avec rapidité, me retiennent encore ici : j'attends pour aller vous voir que les choses y aient une stabilité quelconque, pour que je puisse partir sans crainte. J'ai

envoyé les détails de tout à M. de Caton, avec prière de vous les communiquer. Aujourd'hui nous venons demander la co-operation des négociants de St. Pierre à une mesure que nous avons adoptée ici, et qui nous fera avoir du gouvernement ce que nous demandons. Nous devons compter sur les habitans de la Martinique, car la lutte que nous soutenons est la lutte de toutes les colonies. Le temps ne me permet pas de vous en écrire davantage. Valmond ou M. de Caton vous feront part de la chose, et je compte positivement sur toute l'influence que vous pourrez employer pour que tous les négociants de St. Pierre agissent selon nos désirs en ne vendant rien à M. Taggart, agent de notre gouvernement."

(signé) *Ch^{les} Glandon.*

Extracts of a Letter addressed by C. Glandon to Mademoiselle Adèle Lafargue, rue Hurtault, No. 22, St. Pierre, Martinique.

Je vous ai écrit Samedi dernier. Aujourd'hui j'envoie Valmond à St. Pierre dans ma géolette; je lui ai remis une note pour cela; aidez le de vos conseils, afin qu'il s'active un peu et réussisse le mieux possible.

Valmond vous mettra au fait de tout ce qui se passe ici: je le fais, pour quelque chose qui y a rapport, partir si précipitamment que je n'ai par le temps de vous en rien dire: il vous l'expliquera: faites lui voir Beufond devant vous, et engagez le à faire ce dont Valmond lui parlera; il aidera ainsi à sauver Ste. Lucie.

Vous ne feriez peut-être pas mal de revenir avec Valmond; il n'y a aucune crainte ici. Nous avons toutes garanties pour l'union franche des gens de couleur avec nous.

(signé) *Ch^{les} Glandon.*

Mon cher Oncle,

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832.

J'ai eu le plaisir de vous écrire le 14 et le 15: par cette dernière je vous ai envoyé les résolutions des négociants et marchands de Castries, résolution qui est effective depuis Lundi avec le plus grand soin; tout est famé, et l'on ne trouverait pas pour deux noirs de beurre en ville. Nous avons frappé le grand coup, et nous le tenons. Les cris commencent de tous côtés: les esclaves qui sont descendus au marché de Lundi n'ont trouvé à acheter rien de leur petits besoins, et ils crient contre le Gouvernement, qui oblige les liegués en leur demandant trop d'argent de fermer boutique. Le geolier n'a rien pour nourrir ses prisonniers, et demande au Gouverneur de lui fournir des vivres, ou qu'il sera contraint de les lâcher. On prétend même que notre caméléon de Chef Juge est obligé de manger sans beurre depuis deux jours. Tous les gens là sont aux abois; mais ils nous ont joué une expèce de croc en jambe. Depuis hier ils veulent (le Gouvernement) faire partir un agent pour la Martinique, afin d'y acheter et d'en rapporter des provisions. Nous avons déjoué cela jusqu'à sept heures du soir en empêchant aucun caboteur de se frotter à cet agent, mais sur les neuf heures le Procureur-Général a obtenu par subterfuge la petite géolette du Cap^{ne} Glandon. Nous avons eu cependant le temps d'envoyer Valmond, qui à force de rames a joint cette géolette et a remis une lettre abord pour le Fort Royal, afin de prier les négociants de ce lieu de ne rien vendre à M. Taggart, agent susdit, et d'entraver de tout leur pouvoir, et par tous les moyens, la mission de ce Monsieur. Nous les aurons par famine s'ils ne reçoivent rien; ils n'ont par pour huit jours de vivres, et ils seront obligés de capituler. J'envoie Valmond avec ma géolette pour faire la même prière aux négociants de St. Pierre. Employez toute votre influence auprès de vos amis pour qu'ils ne vendent aucune provision à ce M. Taggart. Nous devons compter sur la co-operation des habitans de la Martinique. La lutte que nous soutenons est la lutte de toutes les colonies, car si nous sommes anéantis, vous ne tarderez pas à l'être. J'espère, donc, que la rénonciation à un gain quelconque n'empêchera pas les négociants et habitans de la Martinique d'acquiescer à ce que nous leur demandons, que M. Taggart ne trouve rien à acheter. Il est porteur d'une traite sur l'Angleterre; qu'on ne la lui négocie pas; si par quelque circonstance

circonstance fortuite il trouvait à acheter, qu'il ne trouve aucun caboteur pour apporter ses objets ici. Nous ferons prévenir tous ceux de l'île qui peuvent être à St. Pierre, qu'aucun de St. Pierre ne le prenne même comme passager pour revenir. Tachez, mon cher Oncle, de donner de la publicité à tout ceci, et faites en sorte que nous soyons servi chez-vous selon nos désirs; nous les tenons si nous réussissons ainsi.

Nous avons eu hier la visite de l'amiral Anglais, qui est venu avec deux frégates, sur le bruit qu'on a répandu à la Barbade que nos esclaves étoient en insurrection, nous offrir du secours: il est reparti de suite sans mouiller. Le fait est que nos gouverneurs sont morts de peur; on parle qu'on va envoyer en campagne une commission pour y publier les lois; je doute fort qu'ils osent, car la crainte fait monter coucher chaque soir au Fort notre Chef Juge, notre Second Juge, et notre illustre Protecteur d'esclaves. S'ils allaient en campagne ils y passeraient de mauvais moments.

Je n'ai pas le temps de vous en dire davantage. Je comptais ne faire partir la galiote que le soir après l'avoir fait remplir; mais pour qu'elle puisse toucher au Fort Royal pour la mesure dont je vous parle, je l'envoie ce matin au $\frac{3}{4}$ chargé à neuf heures. Vous comprenez assez, mon cher Oncle, combien il est important pour nous que nous soyons secondé à la Martinique. Je compte sur vos efforts pour nous y faire parvenir, et dans cette persuasion je vous réitere mon attachement, &c. &c.

(signé) *Ch^{les} Glandon.*

Je vous écris tellement à la hâte que je n'ai pas le temps de relire ma lettre pour voir si je me suis bien expliqué. Dans tous les cas, Valmond pourra suppléer à ce que manquera.

A M.M. Clement de Caton, Négociant,
St. Pierre, Martinique.

Mon cher Foraille,

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832.

Je comptais de jour en jour être à St. Pierre; mais des événements que vous connaissez sans doute, et qui se sont succédés avec rapidité m'empêchent encore de m'absenter de ma maison. Nous avons été étonnés de ne pas vous voir arriver, car c'est dans des moments semblables qu'on doit raler le drapeau. J'ai envoyé tous les détails à M. de Caton, et probablement il vous aura communiqué, ainsi je m'abstiens de ne rien dire. On nous croit à la Barbade en révolution et aux prises, car hier l'Amiral est venu devant notre rade avec deux frégates pour porter du secours s'il en étoit nécessaire, et il a été tout étonné de trouver les choses tranquilles; elles le sont, mais nous ne sommes pas sans crainte.

(signé) *Ch^{les} Glandon.*

A M.M. Sainte Marie Foraille,
St. Pierre, Martinique.

On the outside of the above letter were written in the same hand the following words:

“Valmond, que nous envoyons à la hâte, vous soumettra une note pour que nous obtenions une co-operation des négociants de St. Pierre. Agissez pour cela, et employez toute votre influence pour que nous obtenions ce que nous désirons.”

A Monsieur Laborde, Martinique.

Mon cher Monsieur,

18th Janvier 1832.

NOTRE horizon en est bien obscure; nous sommes à lutter maintenant contre notre infâme Gouvernement, qui veut absolument consommer notre ruine. Toutes les colonies sont intéressées à notre lutte, car si nous laissons ici établir l'ordre de choses qu'on veut y mettre, ce sera un jalon dont on se servira pour toutes les anéantir. La colonie est pour ainsi dire en interdit. Depuis Lundi les magasins sont fermés (ceci par notre propre volonté), et nous aurons le gain de

de notre cause par la famine qui déjà commence à gagner nos oppresseurs, si les négociants de Martinique veulent nous seconder. Il faut pour cela qu'ils refusent de vendre aucune provision à l'envoyé de notre Gouverneur, qui est parti cette nuit clandestinement pour aller en chercher. Les négociants de St. Lucie comptent sur la co-operation de ceux de la Martinique pour cela.

Notre situation est critique, comme vous le voyez ; mais avec de la persévérance nous en viendrons à bout ; c'est dans cet espoir, &c. &c.

(signé) Ch^{les} Glandon.

Mon cher Monsieur Fournier,

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832.

JE viens aussi vous prier de faire tous vos efforts auprès de vos confrères pour obtenir d'eux l'objet d'une petite note que Valmond vous soumettra, et qui est nécessaire au maintien des mesures que nous avons prises pour résister à notre infâme Gouvernement. Vous devez connaître tous les événements qui se passent ici. Valmond pourra vous mettre au fait de ceux que vous pourriez ignorer. Les négociants et habitans de St. Lucie comptent sur la co-operation de ceux de la Martinique, pour les aider par l'adoption des mesures qui ont l'objet de la note que Valmond vous montrera. Employez, donc, toute votre influence pour la faire réussir. En attendant, &c. &c.

(signé) Ch^{les} Glandon.

Monsieur H^{te} Fournier,
Nég^t, St Pierre, Martinique.

Extracts from a Letter from the House of D. Ferguson & Co., Merchants of Castries, to Silas Mareau Esq., St. Pierre, Martinique ; dated 18th January 1832.

“ AMONGST other measures of passive resistance, we have not opened our stores since Saturday the 14th instant, and the shops have followed our example; this is done to resist the payment of taxes, fines, &c. Though the Colonial Minister write out that they are about pressing an effectual remedy to Parliament to relieve the sugar planters, this, we conceive, is all humbug, to make us swallow the bitter pill they are forcing on us. The Government sent off F. Taggart last night to buy provisions at Martinique; he has no money, but a bill drawn by the Governor's order on our Treasurer (our Treasury is bankrupt), and we do not think the Governor has power to draw on the Treasury, London: if it comes back, who will pay? We warn you against taking it; in fact, the merchants of St. Pierre (should Taggart come there) ought to put every impediment in his way, as the struggle we are engaged in is the interest of all the colonies. The vessel he has gone over in is liable to seizure, for she is not cleared out by the Collector. We wait anxiously for more news from Trinidad. Letters from Demerara state they have rejected the Order in Council with disdain; but we have nothing certain.”

Extracts from a Letter from Stephen Williams, a Partner in the House of Duncan Ferguson & Co., Merchants of Castries, addressed to John Lawless, Esq., St. Pierre, Martinique; dated 18th January 1832.

“ AMONGST other measures of *passive resistance* which we have felt ourselves obliged to act on, is that of shutting up, or rather not opening our stores in Castries; and the shops, hucksters, butchers, &c., have followed our example. This has caused some consternation amongst the *government officers*, who fear themselves and the jail will starve; they have in consequence had a private meeting yesterday, and *sworn* to secrecy, and have sent off F. Taggart to Martinique in the night, in the schooner Maria, Glandon master. She is not cleared out by the Collector, but by that P . . . te Chipchase. Taggart brings a bill of 500*l.* sterling, drawn by the Governor, Colonel Bozon, on the Treasury, London,

London, in favour of Mr. Clarke, the Colonial Treasurer. Now we do not think the Governor has the power to draw; and if the bill is protested, the Treasurer here is bankrupt, as you will see by our petition to Lord Goderich in the 'Globe.' We caution you all against it; and in the common defence we are making, the merchants of St. Pierre ought to throw all and every impediment in the way of Taggart's commission; the custom-house the same. We rather think T. is first gone to Fort Royal; but we do not think he will succeed there, unless the Government interfere for them. There is a report that there was a correspondence read in the secret meeting here, betwixt this and the Martinique Government; but surely your Government is not linked with ours to ruin the colonies.

"I could wish you to make known in St. Pierre, Taggart's business, and throw as many impediments in his way as possible. I fear perhaps O'Mullane may cash the bill, as Cavan's agent; if you could get insinuated to them the danger, it may be prevented. I have no time to write O'Shaughnessy this trip, but please send for him and make him acquainted with these letters. Mark, the schooner Maria has no clearance, and is subject to be seized."

Extract from a Letter from the House of Duncan Ferguson & Co., Merchants of Castries, addressed to D. Manavie & Co., St. Pierre, Martinique; dated 18th January 1832.

"If the scantling we requested can be had, please send it by Mr. Godard, of schooner Jane, the bearer of this; but send no bill of lading for us; make it for himself, as our stores are shut up since Saturday last. We can neither sell, buy or receive goods, at least to land them.

"Mr. Taggart is gone over express to buy provisions for our government officers, who have the fear of starving; but we trust none of you merchants will supply him with anything, and we doubt if the Governor's bill will be paid."

Extract from a Letter from the House of Duncan Ferguson & Co., Merchants of Castries, addressed to Messrs. Pinel and Glennie, Fort Royal; dated 18th January 1832.

"You are no doubt aware of the agitated state of this unfortunate colony, and the united but passive resistance we are making to the cruel and ruinous laws the Government are endeavouring to force on us. Amongst other measures, all the stores and shops in Castries are closed. This has alarmed the Governor more than our protests and declarations, and fearing that the *people in office* and the jail may want provisions, they sent off last night a schooner, the Maria, Glandon, master, *not cleared out by the collector of the customs*, with Mr. F. Taggart on board, to purchase a supply for them; but as they have no money in the colonial treasury, the Governor has drawn a bill in favour of our treasurer for 500*l.* sterling.

"We do not think this bill will be accepted by the Treasury at London, and if it comes back there is no money here to repay the persons who may take it in Martinique. We therefore caution you, for your own sake, and also with hope that the merchants and planters of Martinique have a fellow-feeling for our common defence in this colony, and that all of you in Fort Royal, as also the Government, will refuse Taggart any supplies, or cash the bill. In a private conference of all the government officers yesterday, they were sworn to secrecy; some letters to and from the Government of Martinique were read, but we cannot learn their contents. Surely your Government are not linked with ours for the ruin of the colonies!!!

"We think your custom-house officers might even stop the schooner, *as she is not cleared by the collector*, and throw some impediments in Taggart's way. We beg you, in the name of all our fellow-colonists, to use your exertions amongst the merchants of Fort Royal to same purpose; but be secret, and make *no use of this letter* or our name, and you'll oblige St. Lucia, and yours very sincerely.

(signed)

"D. Ferguson & Co."

Copy LETTER, addressed by Messrs. Vosen and Floissac, Merchants in Castries, to M. Louis Gouge, at St. Pierre or at Fort Royal, Martinique, Capitaine du bateau Anglais, Sophia.

À la hâte,

Castries, le 18 Janvier 1832.

Nous avons prise une résolution de fermer tous les magasins et boutiques, afin de faire crever de faim les officiers publics : déjà ils commençaient de mourir d'inennition ; tout le public leur refusait de leur vendre. Ils ont prise hier soir une mesure au Gouvernement afin d'envoyer un bâtiment à St. Pierre pour leur acheter des provisions tant pour eux que pour la geole où il y a 75 prisonniers qui meurent de faim, et dont le geolier a annoncé au Gouvernement qu'il serait forcé de leur mettre en liberté attendu qu'il ne peut trouver de quoi à leur subsister. Je vous engage donc, quand même que l'on voudrait vous affréter pour apporter ces marchandises, de refuser, et même de ne pas donner passage à M. Taggart qui est chargé de l'exécution. Si vous le faites malgré les instructions que vous recevrez, vous êtes perdu à jamais envers les personnes avec qui vous avez des affaires ; toute la colonie sera contre vous. Quant aux Messieurs Taggart et Glandon, dont ce dernier est le propriétaire de la géolette, ils sont assurés de ne pas rester deux heures dans la ville après leurs arrivé ; tant qu'il y a des sentences paréz à être mises en execution contre eux. Vous nous obligerez de faire part de la présente à tous propriétaires de bâtiments qui voudront bien prendre part à notre situation, afin de leur déconseiller de remplir aucun acte illégale contre un peuple opprimé : et au surplus la chose n'est pas même terminée de savoir si l'on permettra aux bâtiments de mettre à terre leurs cargaisons.

Voyez si la chose est pressante ; c'est la géolette de Mr. Glandon qui part exprès afin de mettre contre ordre chez tout les négociants, tant pour le Fort Royal que pour le St. Pierre. Tout les négociants de la place s'empressent d'écrire à leur commettants, afin de voir s'il y a moyen d'empêcher au Gouvernement d'effectuer leurs désirs. I L'occassion presse. Adieu.

(signé)

Vosen & Floissac.

Copy LETTER, written by Robert Walker, Attorney for the House of Kennedy and Pattison, Merchants in Castries, to M. R^d Rueff, St. Pierre, Martinique.

Castries, 18th January 1832.

I WROTE you on Saturday last the state we were in here, and that the stores and boutiques would all shut on Monday, which they did accordingly with only one exception, I believe ; and the consequence is, that the prisoners in the jail and the public offices are at a loss to get provisions. Last night a meeting of the public officers was held, where it was agreed to send a vessel to Martinique for provisions, and the Governor drew bills for 500*l.* sterling on the Lords of the Treasury, which he sent off by Mr. Taggart last evening ; and I write you this to beg that you will use your endeavours to frustrate them in their object : besides, it is thought here that the Lords of the Treasury will not pay them the bills, which I think myself is extremely probable.

It will be conferring a favour on the community here, if you will use your endeavours as above.

(signed)

R. Walker.

Glandon's schooner goes over expressly with letters to other gentlemen for the above purpose.

Copy LETTER from Mr. Robert Hannay, Clerk of William Muter, Esquire, Merchant in Castries, addressed to "Mr. Robert Muter, at Miss Betsy Parker's, S. Pierre, Martinique, per Jane."

Castries, 18th January 1832.

ALL the stores have been shut up since you left this, and as tranquillity may reign but for a short time, until "*Quashy*" gets hungry, I see no harm why we should not be prepared with "defencibles," and I wish you would see the price
of

of a pair *small pistols*, if it does not exceed 12\$ or 15\$ at most, please purchase a pair; small ones will answer as well as large, therefore small and cheap is what we want.

You must know that there is but 24 hours provisions in jail for the prisoners, and no merchant will give Mr. Teague credit at present, and the Governor has sent over Mr. Taggart to purchase provisions. Now, if this gets over before Mr. Taggart, (who sailed last night in Glandon's vessel), you must inform everybody in St. Pierre how we are situated, and raise all the opposition possible to prevent any person selling anything to him, and give the vessel the greatest detention: everybody who owned droghers here, and who were applied to by the Governor to freight their vessel *refused*, except Glandon. . . .

Mr. Taggart will perhaps be "caged" when he returns. People are not pleased with him. . . .

Destroy this letter.

(signed) R. M. H.

Copy Letter from Mr. *Pierre Mallet* to "Mr. *Nardy du Bocage*, St. Pierre, Martinique."

Castries, 18 Janvier 1832.

Les magasins et boutiques de Castries sont fermés depuis Samedi soir. On veut affâmer les tyrans, mais malheureusement ils se sont assemblés hier et ont expédié dans la nuit la géolette *Maria*, de Glandon, avec M. Taggart, qui joue là un fort joli rôle, pour acheter des vivres à St. Pierre, ou au Fort Royal: il est porteur d'une traite 500*l. stg.*, tirée par la Gouverneur sur les Lords de la Trésorerie. Tous ceux qui ont des correspondants à la Martinique leur écrivent de ne rien lui vendre. Il n'y a pas de vivres dans ce moment pour les prisonniers de la géole. Chipchace se comporte en véritable ennemi de la colonie.

Buvat m'a écrit Lundi matin que les négresses n'avaient pas voulu se rendre au jardin, et qu'elles avaient pris la journée quoiqu'il leur eut donne celle du neuf. Il me dit aussi que M. Philip donne un très mauvais exemple, et qu'il ferme sa sucrerie à 6 heures du soir. Revenez donc le plutôt possible, car vos negres vous obéiront, et il donneront l'exemple au quartier. On me demande ma lettre. Je finis en vous priant de me croire tout à vous de cœur.

(signé) *Prs Mallet.*

— No. 14. —

DESPATCH from Lieutenant-Colonel *Carter*, Acting Governor of St. Lucia, to the Right Honourable Viscount *Goderich*, &c. &c. &c.

Government House, St. Lucia,
28th January 1832.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith the Report of the Protector of Slaves, Mr. Surtees, from November 5th up to December 30th, 1831. Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, my predecessor in the administration of the government, has explained in a letter addressed to me with this Report and the accompanying documents, that there was no time on his part for the comment which might, under other circumstances, be required; and on the instant of my assumption of the government temporarily no such comment can of course be expected by your Lordship from myself.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

J. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel. —

Sir,

St. Lucia, 27th January 1832.

As your Excellency has now assumed the government of St. Lucia, I beg leave to hand over to you the letter addressed to me by the present Protector of Slaves, together with the three enclosures, embracing his Report since he has filled that office.

There is plainly no time to comment at the present juncture, as I am under orders for embarkation for Barbadoes.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

M. A. Bozon,
Late administering Governor of St. Lucia.

His Excellency Lieut.-Col. Carter,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Protector of Slaves Office, 26th January 1832.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency herewith a Report of the manner in which the duties of the Protector of Slaves of this colony have been performed since I have filled the office, embracing a period of nearly two months from the 5th of November until the close of last month.

I conceive it to be intended, that my next Report, which will be laid before your Excellency on the Monday next after the 24th of June, should contain a statement of all complaints, actions, prosecutions, manumissions, &c. connected with the department, which shall have been made, or shall have taken place, between the 25th of last December and the 24th of next June; and that it should also contain a transcript of the punishment returns from the 29th of last September up to the 5th of next April.

I presume that the space from the 5th of April to the 25th of June is allowed to enable me to return for amendment, and receive back, any incorrect returns which may be made by the planters.

Under these circumstances, the punishment returns will of course be found blank in my present Report for the last two months of the year; Mr. Binel's report, to which it may be considered as a supplement, will go up to the 5th of November, and will necessarily include the punishment returns up to the 29th of September, received by that gentleman.

The peculiar state of St. Lucia at the present moment causes me to feel anxious to lodge this Report without delay in your Excellency's hands, though unaccompanied by some remarks which it was my intention to append to it, and for which a little further delay would have been required in order to complete my information on several topics, especially on the religious condition of the slave, and the means of education which may be afforded him.

I shall take an early opportunity of requesting your Excellency to be pleased to forward to England a despatch containing those remarks.

Your Excellency has done me the honour of transmitting to me an Extract from a Remonstrance addressed to your Excellency, and signed by several gentlemen professing to form a committee representing the merchants and planters of St. Lucia, and of requesting me to reply to it, as immediately connected with this department. I have the honour of returning that document to your Excellency, together with a few observations thereon, some generally, some locally applicable, which I have been compelled to throw together more hastily than I could have wished. At this your Excellency will not be surprised, for no person can be better aware of the difficulties under which public officers in this colony have lately laboured, and of the extraordinary calls which your Excellency has found it necessary to make on their time.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

S. Villiers Surtees.

EXTRACT from a REMONSTRANCE.

“ AGAIN, Sir, we must revert to the all-absorbing subject of our situation under the Order in Council of the 2d November. We continue to protest against the uncontrolled power vested in the Protector as an insupportable grievance, painful to the master, without an equivalent advantage to the slave. Every necessary enactment already exists for this purpose. The regulations respecting punishments are objectionable, inasmuch as the number of lashes being limited to 15, none of the reasonable objections against corporal punishment at all are thereby removed; sufficient is left for exasperating the refractory slave, not enough to correct him, for it is not pretended that domestic discipline can be dispensed with. There appears no sufficient reason why a special court of request should be established for the slaves, while there are inferior ordinary courts possessing jurisdiction only to the extent of 20*l.*, supported by the colony, unless indeed we are to trace its origin to the same spirit of distrust which pervades every enactment of this Order, or that its framers were determined to secure a favourable decision in every case which a slave may litigate with a free man.

“ The clause which authorizes the Chief Justice to set aside the appraisement is now a very dangerous power; for what security have the proprietors that the judgment of the magistrate shall not be biassed by the dread of the consequences of appearing to sanction a high rate of valuation. *Consideration, fellow-feeling*, are suggested as likely to influence the appraiser. One reproach against the judge is based on a more universal principal, his *own interests*. For we must again repeat, that we have seen our ancient magistrates dismissed without a hearing for holding a different opinion with a Secretary of State.

“ Clause 88. To this clause and all its regulations we have the most unqualified objection. To commence with the quantity of provisions as rations: My Lord Goderich states the Jamaica Act has served as their guide; but with all deference to his Lordship’s assertion, we are convinced some error must have crept in: 21 pints of flour as the weekly allowance is more than equal to three pounds of bread per day, while the quantity of plantains, where they can be had, is not more than sufficient; but eight pounds, for a day’s allowance, of cocoa or yams, is, as has been observed by the London Committee, perfectly absurd. Yams and cocoa (if we rightly understand what is meant by the latter) are as nutritious as potatoes. The regulation authorizing the substitution of other provisions brings no remedy; the quantity being defined, an equivalent is ordered: so much for those who give rations. Now on the other hand the alternative is equally injudicious: in the present state of the slave population few families of slaves have any father, or reputed father, to take charge of and cultivate the land allotted to infant slaves, and therefore this task must fall on the mother; and how is the mother of two, three, four or five infant children, to cultivate provisions to fill so many mouths, if the scale of rations laid down by the preceding regulations be supposed necessary. Compare this enactment with that of 1830, it need no further comment. Then, again, the owner’s power to enforce domestic discipline is restricted; yet if his slave is indolent, and does not work his ground, or the season is unfavourable and the crop fail, though the same wind blows and the same rain falls on the lands of the slave and the master, the latter alone is to bear all the burthens. Then the slave is no longer taught to depend on his own industry and skill to provide himself with some of the comforts and luxuries of life, &c., by which he was gradually fitted for the full enjoyment of all the advantages of freedom, and to bear its burdens: he receives by these enactments a bounty for being idle and refractory.

“ Clause 90. This and the five following clauses, regulating the hour of slave-labour, contain the virtual emancipation of the slaves without compensation; and though my Lord Goderich states the objections to be obscure made by the London Committee, and has declined entering on the subject, we do most unequivocally declare, that with less than 12 hours continuous attendance of the labourers the manufacturing process of sugar-boiling cannot be carried on, but that the custom is universal of giving the people so employed due time to eat their food, the work they have to do never requiring the constant attention of all the persons so employed. The hours of field-labour can suffer no difficulty; they

they are those constantly observed in this island. The regulation that no young slave under 14 years of age should work more than six hours in the 24 is an unnecessary restriction. Young male slaves under that age are perfectly able to do the work required from them; they are employed as mule or cart boys in crop-time, and out of crop at work much lighter than that executed in England by the peasant boy of the same age. With respect to the females, his Lordship is perhaps not aware that in this climate they are often mothers of families before the age specified.

“ Clause 97. The objections to this allowance of clothing is confined to those articles which are unfitted to the climate, and which would subject the master to a ruinous expense, without equivalent benefit to the slave. The discretionary power of the Protector is again brought into operation to the disadvantage of the master. Substitution of other articles, as in the case of food, is sanctioned, but without defining. Is the equivalent in this case to be measured by the utility in the price of the substituted article? Shoes are useless to the slave, but enormously expensive to the master.

“ Clause 104, 105. By these the most extraordinary power is assumed to be exercised over men of a liberal profession. Medical men are generally supposed to be influenced by feelings of delicacy and honour, and to stand on a footing of unreserved confidence in respect to their suffering fellow-creatures, to whom it is their task to administer consolation and relief in the hour of sickness. That the medical practitioners of this colony are so we had reason to believe, and notwithstanding the illiberal observation with which Lord Goderich dismisses this subject, we have not been surprised at (however much we may have reason to deplore) the unanimous determination of these gentlemen not to expose themselves to the vexations which they would infallibly be subjected to by the operation of these clauses. These are some of the objections we have to urge against those enactments in this Order which relate more particularly to the treatment of slaves.

“ The remaining clauses, relating to the judicial proceedings under this Order, appear to us particularly harsh.

“ We are plain practical men, and cannot pretend to grapple all the objections that may be justly raised on this head, but we have no doubt able men will be found in the colonies to point out the deformities; and it is some satisfaction to know, that the opinion of one of the ablest of His Majesty's colonial law officers, who resided in this colony, coincides with ours, and we gratefully avail ourselves of the arms he has furnished for our defence. No axiom in state policy or principle of equity is more universally admitted than “ that private rights must always yield to the public good, and that the State which profits must compensate the individual member.” Is not this our case? The British Legislature, for the benefit of the State, established the system of slavery; she possessed lands, and labourers were wanting. To supply this want the State set up a trade in slaves, and, like every other trader, employed every means to put off her merchandize. To one was offered a gift of lands, on the sole condition that he purchased her slaves to cultivate it. To another, that if he purchased her slaves, and raised sugar and cotton, and indigo and coffee, or anything that would not grow in England, she would use his merchandize to the exclusion of the same articles manufactured by free men or slaves in any other part of the world. Could any dealing be more open? And what is now the situation of the two contracting parties? Some members of the State have misgivings of the legality, and some of the morality, of their former dealings, and (to carry on the simile) their conduct is now that of the dishonest dealer, who after having inveigled his incautious dupe to purchase his smuggled goods, turns informer, and by the aid of the law robs him of his acquisitions. But these can never be the sentiments of the Legislature of the British empire; that Legislature has engendered and fostered the system that exists. “ If sin there be, it is the sin of the Legislature,” and it is unworthy of the State to seek to evade paying the redemption. Compensation to the present slaveholder is that redemption. We are as humane, and we are as much shocked as any class of men in Europe can be by the existence of such a system, and we have shown our willingness to go hand in hand with them to effect this purpose. We have done more, we have already made great sacrifices. Let the State now do her part; she has made slaves exclusively for the benefit of the servile classes which she has created. Let her bear

bear the burthen; let her pay the special officers necessary to carry these laws into effect. She has amended the judicial system of the colony for their especial protection; we deny the necessity, let her pay the stipends of the judges. This is the compensation we have already earned, and we demand the payment; let the State pay the debt due, and then come into the market and treat for fresh concessions. We fear, with all their affected philanthropy, we shall always be found more ready to sell than the State to purchase.

“By the 120th clause of the 2d November, all colonial Ordinances or Laws repugnant to this Order are repealed: thus the whole police law, as regards slaves, is destroyed, and nothing is substituted; the colonial Order in Council, which regulates the duties of the Commissary Commandants, is annulled, and nothing substituted; and this very Order of the King in Council requires the issuing of four proclamations, and a commission of the Governor to provide regulations, to come into simultaneous operation with the Order itself, and yet nothing of this has been done.”

In the Extract from a Remonstrance, &c. &c.

The first paragraph runs thus:

“Again, Sir, we must revert to the all-absorbing subject of our situation under the Order in Council of the 2d of November. We continue to protest against the uncontrolled powers vested in the Protector as an insupportable grievance, painful to the master, without an equivalent advantage to the slave. Every necessary enactment already exists for this purpose.”

Why need the powers vested in the Protector be painful to the master? If that master conducts himself according to the dictates of law and of humanity, will he not be happy in the opportunity of displaying the nature of his conduct; while the advantage to the slave owned by a master of a different stamp is the full measure of those comforts and that kind treatment which the strong arm of the law can wring from the reluctant oppressor.

How far “every necessary enactment already exists for this purpose,” let the records of the Protector’s office for the two last months testify.

The “Extract” proceeds to state that in the 15 lashes allowed by the new law, “sufficient is left for exasperating the refractory slave, not enough to correct him.”

In the former of these objections the Protector must confess he concurs with the planter, and to avoid the exasperation alluded to would, under other circumstances, (with the deepest deference to the authority under which the new Order was framed) have suggested that no corporal punishment should in any case be inflicted but by the order of a magistrate. It is felt hard by the owner that “the power of enforcing domestic discipline is restricted.” May it not be felt hard by the slave that he should receive 15 lashes for such a charge as “insolence,” of which the same manager may be at once the object, the witness, the judge, and the manual punisher?

As to the insufficiency of that number of stripes to correct a slave an appeal may be made to the candour of those who have ever seen that punishment inflicted.

“There appears,” say the remonstrants, “no sufficient reason why a special court of requests should be established for the slaves, while there are inferior ordinary courts possessing jurisdiction only to the extent of 20 *l.*, supported by the colony,” &c. &c.

They should be reminded that an Order in Council relative to judicial matters has recently reached this island, and that the arrangements consequent on it cannot be made public before they are matured. When those arrangements are finally made known, this objection may very probably be abandoned. If not, more than one conclusive argument in favour of such a court can be easily adduced.

It is stated that “the clause which authorizes the Chief Justice to set aside appraisements is now a very dangerous power,” &c.

The reply which naturally offers itself to parts of the above paragraph may, especially in the instance of the present learned judge, be put aside as unnecessary, but it should be remembered that the “dangerous power” possessed by that

that magistrate is only that of causing a fresh valuation to be made, a power too equally possessed under the old Order.

Connected with the same subject, I find also the following remark: "We have seen our ancient magistrates dismissed without a hearing, for having held a different opinion with a Secretary of State."

The Protector knows not to which of the "ancient magistrates" of St. Lucia allusion is made in this instance, and will therefore content himself with inquiring whether the sentence should not rather have ended thus: "a different opinion from a Secretary of State, and from the laws of the land."

Next follows an expression of "the most unqualified objection" to clause 88 (the provision clause) of the New Order.

Whatever may be the effects elsewhere of clause 88, surely it needs no discussion in St. Lucia, an island abounding in unappropriated land of the most fertile character. What number of planters, the Protector would ask, have as yet fed or will now feed their slaves otherwise than by allowing them to cultivate portions of that waste? If the infant slave have no father, or reputed father, to take charge of the land allotted to it, the cultivation must be supplied by its natural guardian, the owner of the estate, who expects to profit by its future services, until instruction, moral and religious, shall have introduced a different state of society among the slave population; and in that instruction let the master co-operate.

Next comes a "most unequivocal declaration, that with less than 12 hours continuous attendance of the labourers, the manufacturing process of sugar-boiling cannot be carried on."

The friends of humanity will congratulate themselves that even within two years their cause in St. Lucia has gained four hours in the 24, and that by the planters' own admission.

But this labour is said to be light, and never to require the constant exertions of all the persons so employed.

If the slave, after having toiled in the boiling-house his nine hours, the utmost duration of labour that a St. Lucian manager ever exacts in the field, have physical force remaining, will he not willingly expend it in working for hire as a free labourer, and ought not such an opportunity to be hailed as of the utmost value in tending to elevate his moral character?

But his hire must be paid.

Much delusion may exist, simply from want of a little calculation, and may be dispelled by a little detail.

The wages given by the tariff of June 1831 to the first class of certificated porters, labourers, &c. in Castries, whether free or slaves, are five colonial livres a day, about 2s. 1d. sterling. Suppose the negro, in the boiling-house, &c. paid at the rate of 2s. 3d. sterling a day, for which he has to work nine hours, he will gain 3d. an hour. Now, on an estate with 300 negroes, (the two largest in this colony, Roseau and Marquis, having not more than from 200 to 300,) 30 negroes would probably be required for three hours a day extra during crop, say 130 days. The wages they would require, according to the preceding rate, would be about 146l. 2s. 6d. sterling. It should be observed, that that rate is nearly double that allowed by the St. Lucia Supplementary Slave Code of 1830 to the negro employed on works of emergency, which is three colonial livres, about 1s. 3d. sterling per diem, clearly not an adequate compensation in St. Lucia. The present calculation is purposely made most liberal, both as to wages and number of negroes, and days on which they may be required, and it should be remembered that they would generally prefer being paid in produce.

That the negro will labour, except under compulsion, has been denied by some. The Custom-house returns prove that from 5th January 1831 to 5th January 1832, the quantity of logwood exported from the port of Castries was 1,092 tons, 500 lbs. This trade in St. Lucia belongs exclusively to the negro, and the labour is performed on his own days and hours. On moonlight nights he frequently works till one or two in the morning in carrying it.

The regulation that no young slaves under 14 years of age should work more than six hours in the twenty-four, can hardly be called an "unnecessary restriction" in a country in which the nature of the employment allotted to each slave is fixed by the manager's decree.

The objection raised to the Protector's power of commuting clothes or provisions, at the united request of the owner and the slave, must surely be abandoned, on a moment's reflection, by those who have raised it. As to shoes, the suffering occasioned to the slave by "jiggers," appears to have been forgotten by the resident planter, though remembered by the distant legislator.

It is stated by the remonstrants, that in clause 104 of the new Order, "the most extraordinary power is assumed to be exercised over men of a liberal profession," &c. &c.

The Protector of St. Lucia is a member of the gaol committee of Castries, and, as such, can, and frequently does, call for the journal which the medical attendant is bound to keep for the purposes of inspection. Now why should a medical man be unwilling to lay open to the same man, as Protector, the same journal of slave disorders which he submits to him, without hesitation, as member of the gaol committee.

The remaining clauses relating to the judicial proceedings under this Order appear to the "committee particularly harsh. They are plain practical men, and do not pretend to grapple all the objections that may be justly raised on this head."

On this passage a plain practical man must be allowed in his turn to observe, that he is at present unconscious of any such peculiar harshness; and that he will, if called upon, endeavour to grapple with such objections, when they are raised.

The discussion of "compensation" will not be entered into here. The question now under consideration is that between the slave and his master, not between his master and the British Parliament.

The remonstrants next object to the "payment of the special officers necessary to carry these laws into effect."

The more ample measure of effectual protection which has, it is hoped, been afforded to the slave by the new laws just promulgated, and the appointment of the Protector recently arrived, have laid no additional burthen on the colonial chest. On the contrary, it has been enriched by a most valuable alteration in the disposal of the fines which may be levied under the new Order, an alteration viewed by none with more sincere pleasure than by the present Protector.

Castries, 26th January 1832.

— No. 15. —

EXTRACT of a Despatch from Lord Viscount *Goderich* to Major-General *Farquharson*, St. Lucia.

Sir,

Colonial Office, 10th March 1832.

I RECEIVED yesterday Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon's Despatches of the 24th January, No. 20, and of the 27th January, describing the occurrences which had ensued upon the receipt in the colony under your government of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2d November last. I have to thank Colonel Bozon for the clear statement of these occurrences with which he has favoured me; and you will convey to him His Majesty's approbation of the vigilance and decision with which he exerted himself to counteract the proceedings which were adopted by some of the inhabitants of the colony in opposition to the execution of His Majesty's Order.

I deeply regret that the colonists should have been betrayed by the excitement of the moment into a course of proceeding at once so disloyal and so dangerous to themselves and every class of the colonial society as that which they pursued. I find in the correspondence which was intercepted in its way to Martinique, letters, by which it is apparent that some individuals at least, in St. Lucia, deliberately contemplated a spirit of insubordination amongst the negroes as a probable result of the combination amongst the white inhabitants to prevent the sale of provisions in the island, and that in their endeavour to

throw difficulties in the way of the execution of the Order in Council, these individuals did not shrink from the fearful hazard of provoking excitement amongst the slaves. The degree of criminality attaching to proceedings of this seditious character in the midst of a population so ignorant, and so easily inflamed, cannot but be seriously aggravated by the endeavour to engage the inhabitants of a foreign island to give aid to the resistance of His Majesty's authority by his own subjects. That some such designs were entertained is unfortunately placed beyond all doubt; and without offering any premature opinion on questions affecting individuals who are under prosecution on this account, it is enough to say at present, that should such guilt be proved against any of His Majesty's subjects, it would be impossible for His Majesty's Government, however much they might be disposed to regard the circumstances of excitement prevailing in the colony as an extenuation of the offence, to overlook the necessity of visiting it with the penalties denounced by the law. They cannot, without sacrificing the principle upon which the safety of every community reposes, consider it otherwise than as an offence, the punishment of which is of the last importance to society.

With respect to the question of taxation, which has been mixed up with the remonstrances against the Order in Council, I must at once avow my conviction that it was nothing more than a pretext for the opposition which was concerted against His Majesty's authority. Mr. Muter, the chairman of the committee appointed by the inhabitants to conduct their cause, was himself, along with two others of the principal planters and merchants, in their capacities of members of the Council of Government, a party to the enactment of the Tax Ordinance of the 14th December 1831, by which the taxes complained of were imposed, and these gentlemen inserted in the Ordinance a declaration, that they passed it "influenced by the conviction, that as a legislative measure it was necessary."

I find also, that when the members of the Bar and public notaries petitioned for an extension of the period for paying their share of the tax, they disclaimed any intention of censuring the Ordinance. That this Ordinance should have been the real motive of such a violent resistance to the Governor, or should have in any material degree contributed to produce it, is altogether incredible. As I have no estimate before me of the amount to which it is calculated that the addition to the rate of the taxes in question will increase the revenue, I am unable to ascertain what may be the precise extent of the grievance complained of; nor have I indeed received (owing probably to the unfortunate death of the officer who administered the government when the Ordinance was passed) any account whatever of the reasons for the augmentation of the taxes in question. But from the tenour of the communications upon the state of the finances of St. Lucia, which I have already referred to you for your Report, I am led to conjecture that there has been during the year last past a trifling deficiency of revenue, which followed upon a somewhat premature reduction of taxation, and that Colonel Mallet and his Council found it necessary to reinstate the revenue by the imposition of the taxes now complained of.

As to the alleged increase of expenditure, I have only to observe, that the expenditure has not been increased under any authority from His Majesty's Government, and as the Governors of His Majesty's colonies have been distinctly apprized that they would be held personally responsible for any expenditure not so authorized, I cannot presume that it has been increased by the officers recently administering the government of St. Lucia, especially as I have received no reports from them of any new expenditure having been incurred. It is true that His Majesty has constituted a new judicature in St. Lucia, and has appointed a Protector of Slaves, measures of which the first was for years loudly demanded by the mercantile interest in this country connected with this and the other colonies included in the new judicial system, and of which the second could not be pretermitted consistently with the good faith with which His Majesty's Government were bound to see to the execution of the laws passed by His Majesty in Council for the protection of the slaves. But I am not aware that these essential measures have been attended by any increase of expenditure. Two judges of subordinate jurisdiction, at 600*l.* per annum, are to be provided for instead of one, but the emoluments of the Chief Judge are reduced from 2,000*l.*, with a house, to 1,200*l.* without one. The Protector's salary is 800*l.* per annum; whilst that of the Governor is further reduced

reduced from 2,500*l.*, (itself a reduced salary) to 2,000*l.*; and the emoluments of the Chief Secretary have been reduced, by abolishing a sinecure office, which he held conjointly with the other, and only 600*l.* continues to be received by him. If any further reductions of expenditure be practicable, without injury to the public interests, His Majesty's Government are prepared to enforce them, and the voluminous details into which I have entered in my recent despatches on the subject of the finances and expenditure of St. Lucia, with the invitation which I have addressed to the planters and merchants who are members of the Colonial Council to suggest every measure of economy which they think practicable, will sufficiently evince that no effort has been spared on my part to economize the expenditure of a colony which, after all, was not peculiarly burthened with taxation, and on the establishment of which, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate, and the high price of the necessaries of life, there were only three officers, the Governor, the Chief Judge, and the Registrar of Slaves, whose emoluments were upwards of 600*l.* per annum. You will not have failed to observe, that the revenue of the colony in 1830 is alleged by the remonstrants to have been 19,250*l.*, instead of 12,531*l.* which appears by the returns for that year to have been its real amount. In truth, no charge of careless or extravagant expenditure could well be brought against His Majesty's Government which could be more destitute of foundation or plausibility than those which are urged by the colonists of St. Lucia in aid of their opposition to the Slave Laws; and after the laborious attention which has been devoted to all the most minute particulars of the representations which have been received at this Department from the colonists on the subject of expenditure, and the ready and even earnest manner in which I have invited them to make the most full and specific communications on all such subjects as often as they see occasion, I cannot but be surprised at finding myself met by this species of complaint.

I have, &c.
Goderich.

P. S.—I am to request that you will convey to the public officers who were summoned to his assistance by Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon, my acknowledgments of the services rendered to His Majesty's Government by their advice and assistance upon this occasion, and that you will return to Mr. V. Surtees my thanks for the communication which he addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Bozon on the 26th January.

— No. 16. —

CIRCULAR addressed by Viscount *Goderich* to the Governor of the Crown Colonies, West Indies.

Sir,

Downing-street, 10 Dec. 1831.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the* 5th ultimo, I have to discharge the grateful office of announcing to you, that His Majesty's Government have resolved to submit to Parliament, as early in the present session as it may be practicable for them to bring forward their financial arrangements for the year 1832, a fiscal measure, which shall be calculated to afford substantial relief to those sugar-growing colonies in which the provisions of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2d ultimo shall be in operation, either by its direct authority, as in the colony under your government, or in the colonies possessing legislative assemblies, by virtue of any colonial statute declaring its provisions to have the force of law.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.

(signed) *Goderich.*

Despatch of
Lord *Goderich.*
Parliamentary
Papers,
Dec. 6, 1831.

— No. 17. —

LETTER from *Joseph Marryat*, Esq. M. P. to the Right Honourable
Viscount *Goderich*.

My Lord,

Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, 23d Feb. 1832.

AGREEABLY to the resolution of the committee of the Crown colonies, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of their observations on your Lordship's circular despatch of the 5th November last, which I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's early attention. The consideration due to the importance of the subject was the cause why the committee did not sooner make the observations to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. Marryat*.

OBSERVATIONS upon the Circular Despatch of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount *Goderich*, dated the 5th November 1831, to the several Governors of the West India Colonies, transmitting the Order in Council of the 2d of the same month.

THE special committee of West India proprietors and merchants entrusted to draw up a remonstrance against the New Slave Code for the Crown colonies, having been favoured with a copy of Lord Viscount *Goderich*'s despatch, dated the 5th November, transmitting the Ordinance to the Governors of the several colonies, feel that it would be a most serious neglect of duty on their part if they were to pass over in silence the very elaborate attempt in this despatch to put the West Indians entirely in the wrong, and to establish as a fact, that the course pursued by the British Government in legislating for the Crown colonies, in a matter of such moment, and involving so many perplexing considerations, has been consistent, equitable, and statesmanlike.

The committee are of opinion, that the tone and character of this despatch will produce much alarm and mischief in the colonies; and they must observe, that it is the first time the King's Minister has taken upon himself the responsibility of declaring, that the ultimate extinction of slavery cannot be averted, while no allusion of any kind is made to compensating the proprietors for their properties.

The committee are well aware that the name of slavery is associated with so many feelings which predispose the mind to an immediate condemnation of the system, without stopping to inquire into the means of getting rid of it, that if, in the present temper of the times, Government seek to strengthen its authority by even the most guarded appeal to popular doctrines respecting abstract rights of society, it is in vain for the West Indians usefully or beneficially to discuss the question, and there is no other alternative left to them than constrained submission. But it cannot be forgotten, that when the resolutions of the House of Commons were first proposed in 1823, the Ministers of the Crown forcibly depicted the vast responsibility which would fall upon them if they were to be influenced in actual legislation by the popular excitement on the great question of negro slavery. The subject, as represented by Mr. Canning himself, was taken out of the hands of persons irresponsible, prejudiced, and supposed to be implacable against the colonies, solely with the view of placing it in the hands of ministers, whose sense of duty would prompt them to consider the real difficulties of the question, and to avoid whatever was chargeable with danger or precipitation.

The words of the resolutions themselves were in strict conformity with this design, and pledged the nation to a fair and equitable consideration of the rights of private property in every stage of the ameliorating measures which might subsequently be proposed.

The committee are of opinion, notwithstanding the loudness of occasional clamour, that the whole of the reasonable part of the British nation sanction this basis of proceeding, and that they will, sooner or later, attach most serious responsibility

responsibility to the Government if it deviate either in argument, in discussion, or in its ordinances issued to the colonies, from the cautious and equitable policy laid down for adoption in 1823.

There can be no doubt, that if the mother country have the deliberate will, she may at once terminate slavery, and may indeed crush her colonies; but it is equally true, and it is the subject of unobtrusive though deep and serious reflection in private society, that precipitate acts of power may produce ruinous consequences which Great Britain did not contemplate, and which she might in vain endeavour to remedy. It is believed by the great majority of the people, that the West Indian interests have been harshly treated, and that the welfare and preservation of our colonies at large are the most important objects of commercial policy in the existing state of our foreign relations. It is also felt to be unwise to hazard the existence of more than a hundred millions of property by despotic acts of power, in attempting to hasten the attainment of great objects which would be accomplished in a much more satisfactory manner by a system of mildness and conciliation; and it is on these great principles that the committee, in solemnly protesting against the colonial policy of His Majesty's Ministers, appeal to Parliament and to the British nation to interpose their controlling authority to prevent mischiefs, which, in all probability, without that interference, will speedily ensue in their colonies.

The committee, in proceeding to state the grounds of their protest against the Order in Council recently transmitted to the Crown colonies, deem it superfluous to observe, that the West Indians are not guilty of the crime of slavery. The British people, in examining into any measures proposed for adoption in the colonies, should never forget the words of Lord Stowell, quoted in a former remonstrance, and which were delivered from the judgment seat in a case of appeal, "that if slavery be a sin, it is a sin in which this country has had its full share of the guilt, and ought to bear its proportion of the redemption." Lord Goderich has not kept this principle sufficiently in view in his despatch, and the committee consider, that by adopting the tone and manner of a censor, while he supposes those against whom he is contending as desirous of upholding slavery, instead of merely defending their properties, he has assumed a position which is not warranted by the circumstances of the case, and which predisposes the reader to be unjustly biassed against the West Indians.

The committee can truly declare, that so far from there being any desire amongst the West Indians to perpetuate the condition of slavery, there is no class of the community more anxious than they are to bring it to a termination, provided it can be done without injury to private property, and with safety and advantage to the negroes. The proprietors merely require that their plantations should be cultivated, giving a fair and reasonable return upon the capital invested; and, if it were practicable, they would much rather have that cultivation conducted by free labourers than by slaves.

When, indeed, it is considered that the West India question has assumed a political shape of doubtful result, that all who are connected with colonial cultivation, in addition to the ordinary details of business, are forced into virulent controversy, and frequently have to bear much unmerited obloquy, it must be obvious that they will not oppose the abolition of slavery, if they are not made to contribute to the cost of that abolition in a greater degree than their fellow-subjects in the mother country by whom the system was reared.

In regard to the general question of property, Lord Goderich states, in his despatch, that property in slaves cannot stand precisely on the same basis as other descriptions of property in this country.

The committee deem it of peculiar importance to explain the exact sentiments of the colonists on this subject; and to point out that whenever the question of property in slaves is discussed there are two distinct relations which should be carefully kept in view:—

First, there is the relation between the slaves and the power which conveyed them from Africa, and which retains them in slavery. In regard to this, the colonists have nothing to do. They interfere not with any of those favourite moral precepts which are occasionally urged by philanthropists in this country, and

and which Lord Goderich seems to have in view in more places than one of his despatch.

But, secondly, there is the relation between the slave proprietors and the mother country, which conferred the title to, and received the price of, that description of property. It is this, and this alone, to which the colonists refer whenever they speak of the rights of private property, and demand compensation for measures which they feel to be injurious, and which are forced upon them by the parent State. In the question of compensation, the slave virtually is no party. That question lies wholly between the proprietor and the Imperial Legislature, who entered into a compact as solemn as the laws of England can establish. Granting that injustice was committed originally, and that now reparation must be made for the wrong, it is surely not for the individuals to suffer who acted in accordance with the law, and under the express encouragement of the parent State, but for the nation at large, which originally committed the wrong, and which constituted the property.

This is simply the position of the West Indians; and it would be indeed a monstrous injustice, unparalleled in the history of any country, to see families and their descendants, who amassed enormous wealth by means of the slave trade, escape uninjured at a period when expiation for their traffic was demanded; while all the loss fell upon the existing proprietors of slaves, who were innocent of the original act of alleged injustice.

The committee, therefore, cannot but repeat the words of their former remonstrance, that it is unworthy of the British Nation and Government to seek the attainment of so momentous an object as the abolition of slavery by indirect or doubtful means; and that it would be more just to the colonists, as well as more honourable to the mother country, to proceed by proposing measures for effecting the emancipation of the slaves, and granting at the same time equitable compensation to the proprietors.

The committee must protest against the principle, that the question of compensation is contingent, and requires not at the present moment to be adverted to in measures affecting the amelioration of the slaves. It can be distinctly proved that the measures of the Government have produced general distrust of West India property; and that as the proceedings become more and more critical, in the same proportion, in time and degree, does the value of property progressively decline.

In the colony of Demerara, for example, in the month of March 1830, at the sale of 140 slaves on a plantation named Essex, in the district of Mahaica, the average price was 130*l.* per head. For a period of four months previous to this sale, the price of sugar was 24*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. In the subsequent part of the year, the Orders in Council of 1830 were issued and promulgated in the colony.

The latest sale which has taken place is at a plantation, named Vigilance, in the same district and within nine miles of the Essex. At this sale the negroes averaged only 960 guilders per head, being little more than 60*l.* sterling at the present rate of exchange, and exhibiting a decline in the value of property of 55 per cent. For four months previous to this last sale the price of sugar was 25*s.* 4*d.*, exhibiting, in place of a decline, a slight advance in price.

As a decline in the value of capital has thus ensued, whilst the price of produce has remained nearly the same, it is proof that the depreciation of West India property is not contingent or prospective, or attributable to circumstances purely mercantile, but that it is owing to proceedings of the British Government.

The committee respectfully, but firmly and distinctly submit, that the assumption, that no loss or deterioration of property has yet ensued, and that the measures of Government have worked harmoniously, is substantially incorrect, and if acted upon, is calculated to produce the most disastrous consequences. They would ask, whence the avowed distrust thrown upon West India property in every mercantile circle, and publicly detailed in the daily papers, and in commercial reports? Whence the utter impossibility to raise money upon West India securities, whilst upon the very same description of property situated in the United States of America loans of British capital can be readily obtained? There is but one answer: it is because the British Government is
distrusted,

distrusted, and is felt in the tacit opinion of capitalists to be unjust towards the colonists.

The committee consider these observations in the present distressed state of trade as meriting the serious attention of Parliament. They have adverted in the first instance to the general question of individual rights and of national interests in order that some of the subsequent observations relative to details may be more correctly appreciated and understood.

The despatch of Lord Goderich is founded upon the assumption that all the proceedings of the Colonial Department are wise, equitable, and innoxious to the planters, and therefore that all opposition to its measures is captious, uncalled for, and wrong.

This claim to infallibility on the part of Government, might seem to render further discussion useless in respect to the slave code recently promulgated for the Crown colonies, but as the despatch professes to reason the question fully and fairly, there cannot be any impropriety on the part of the committee, after the preliminary observations they have made, if they venture, in a spirit of dispassionate inquiry, to examine the arguments of Lord Goderich, which they humbly conceive are not entitled to that implicit acquiescence which his Lordship would seem to claim for them.

It is well known that in the last Session of Parliament earnest application was made for a Committee of the House of Lords, to inquire into the general question of Negro Slavery. It was urged that the subject was complicated and difficult; that to master its details, required local knowledge, not general, but particular and minute, a patient reference to the institutions of our colonies, and of the laws under which their cultivation has been stimulated; an acquaintance with the circumstances of each separate colony, of the feelings of the negroes, their disposition, their comparative civilization, and their capabilities to appreciate measures designed for their benefit; all of which it was alleged could only be learnt by a long residence on the spot. It was also urged, that a deliberate examination should take place into the effects of those proceedings which Government had already instituted, and which were in operation in the colonies. In addition to these reasons for inquiry, it was respectfully contended, that if prejudices existed on the slave question, those prejudices were not confined to the colonists. It was acknowledged that there were parties in the Legislature actuated by hostile views towards our West Indian possessions. Some of those, though really benevolent in intention, were disposed to slight the perplexing difficulties of the question, and to seek rather the attainment of objects abstractedly desirable, than of those which were practically attainable. Others, influenced by less worthy motives, were disposed to make the subject subserve to party politics, and to propagate calumnies against the colonists, destructive of their credit and character. It was supposed, that by a full, open, and deliberate inquiry, before the highest and most dignified tribunal in the nation, truth would be elicited, and that public opinion, throwing its great controlling power into that side which best established its case, would set agitation at rest.

My Lord Goderich has thought proper to object to a Committee of Inquiry on these grounds.

1st. That ignorance of the real state of the question was imputed to the Government in 1824 and 1830; that, notwithstanding, the orders of these years encountered no serious difficulty, and that therefore a task, executed with so much success seven years ago, may be undertaken by the Government at home with still better prospects of a prosperous issue at present.

2d. That in the interval which has elapsed since 1824, many volumes have been published, giving all the information which could be acquired by a Parliamentary investigation.

3d. That Ministers have acted upon those great general principles which are universal in their application, and by which every wise law-giver is directed. They have considered that unrestrained power must and will be abused; that the natural distinctions of colour and origin, coinciding with the artificial distinctions of unlimited authority on the one hand, and absolute subjection on the other, cannot but tend to induce pride, contempt, and ill-usage, and that the law which delegates to the proprietary body all powers, legislative, judicial, magisterial

Parliamentary
Papers,
6 Dec. 1831.
p. 62.

p. 64.

p. 64.

magisterial and domestic, must be abused. With a knowledge of these principles, they cannot suppose themselves unfitted for the task of legislation.

In regard to the first point, the committee beg to observe, that it entirely relates to matters of fact; and upon these facts the Colonial Secretary and the West Indians are completely at issue. It is well known, that many clauses in the first Order in Council had to be repeatedly sent home to be remodelled, and put into an altered form before they could be practically applied. These repeated changes and renewed attempts at legislation kept the colonies in a most excited state, to the great injury of the well-being of the slaves, and in some measure destroyed the beneficial results which otherwise might have taken place from the introduction of the ameliorating measures. The loss to the proprietors can best be illustrated by the fall in the value of property which has been already adverted to. It is well known, that in Demerara the Order of 1830, so far from having been successfully carried into effect, has kept the entire inhabitants in the most excited and dangerous state ever since its promulgation. The first decision on its enactments led to a suspension of the administration of justice, and caused the colonists to send delegates to this country to make known their grievances, and to take such steps to uphold their rights as they might deem necessary. The military duties have been increased to an irksome extent; and amidst the general commotion, the slaves have imagined that their freedom has been decreed by the British Government, and that it is unlawfully withheld from them by their masters.

With regard to the second point, the committee are well aware, that a vast deal of information has been collected during the last seven years, but they beg respectfully to submit, that the question is, not whether information has been procured, but whether or not the Colonial Secretary, in attempting to legislate, has made the proper use of that information. In every controversy which has been keenly conducted, there is always much hardy assertion and vague assumption, and it is only by a strict sifting of the evidence, by bringing the disputants into actual contact, and subjecting them severally to a cross-examination before an impartial tribunal, that truth can be elicited; by such a process the comparative knowledge, the motives, the degree of impartiality, and consequently the authority of the witnesses are properly developed. The committee consider that the public requires these preliminary inquiries before it can be satisfied that the conduct of the Colonial Department has been equitable or statesman-like. At a very great expense paid by the nation, a number of Commissioners have diligently inquired into the state of things in the colonies. It does not appear that any of these Commissioners, who by long study or residence in the colonies, had qualified themselves for their respective duties, have been called forward, or have assisted in framing the Order in Council for the Crown colonies. If the Reports of some of the Commissioners differ from each other, it is the more necessary that there should be a formal examination to reconcile discrepancies, or to expose the errors which a partial consideration of facts may have induced.

With regard to the third point, the Committee protest against the tone which the Colonial Secretary has used on this occasion, and deny the justice of the practical application of the general principle laid down. They conceive that not only many, but the great majority of the proprietors are sincerely disposed to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, to expose cruelty to the penalties of the law and to proper censure, whenever it can be detected.

Evidence indeed has frequently been offered to prove that every possible inducement is at work to stimulate the colonists to improve the condition of their people. It has been stated in illustration, that a plantation on which the negroes were skilful, contented and happy, in whom self respect had been created, and who caused little trouble in superintendence, would produce much more profit than one where the negroes were in a degraded condition, and disposed constantly, from disaffection, to thwart the arrangements of the proprietor. This mode of estimating the disposition of the proprietors to ameliorate the condition of their people, by a regard to pecuniary advantage, may appear repulsive to many persons in this country, but it is, nevertheless, practically correct. The negroes themselves acknowledge every concession from the master with gratitude; and in their own ideas, which certainly ought to be the best test of utility in respect to new laws, those particular measures which have most bettered their condition within the last few years, have spontaneously emanated

nated from the colonists themselves. The committee, therefore, consider the position taken by Lord Goderich to be unsound and impolitic, as evincing harshness towards the colonists.

The practical experience of all persons in the colonies testifies, that so long as slavery exists, the well-disposed slave must prefer being on good terms with his master to any laws which relate to abstract rights, and which he is not as yet prepared to understand.

Mr. Canning was convinced of this great truth, and expressed himself in the House of Commons, March 1824, in these words:—"If the condition of the slave is to be improved, that improvement must be introduced through the medium of his master. The masters are the instruments through whom and by whom you must act upon the slave population; and if by any proceedings of ours we shall unhappily place between the slave and his master the barrier of insurmountable hostility, we shall at once put an end to the best chance of emancipation, or even of amendment. Instead of diffusing gradually over these dark regions a pure and salutary light, we may at once kindle a flame only to be quenched in blood."

The committee might rest their case upon these words of Mr. Canning, which they conceive perspicuously lay down the great basis of proceeding which should be observed in all measures relating to the slave population. It is obvious that the sentiments of this eminent statesman, and those of Lord Goderich, as conveyed in the late Despatch, are directly at issue; and this is an additional reason for having a Parliamentary inquiry.

The next point upon which the committee conceive themselves called upon to animadvert, is that passage in the Despatch where Lord Goderich states that the enactments in the Order in Council are in substance and principle the work of the colonial legislators themselves.

His Lordship states, that though no one legislature ever adopted them all, yet there is not one leading principle which some one or more of the legislatures have not sanctioned. This broad assertion is positively incorrect. In what code is there a clause relative to the presumption of slavery similar to the one numbered 86 in the recent Order in Council? In what code are the clauses relative to punishment, and the restricting the hours of labour, to such a degree as is enacted in clauses 90 and 91, to be found? These were the chief points against which the committee remonstrated in their former paper, and Lord Goderich must incur the sole responsibility for introducing them into the Order in Council, and for all the injuries which may in consequence arise in the colonies. Independently of this direct denial of his Lordship's statement, the committee consider that this plan of selecting the various codes of the chartered colonies, and framing a general slave law for the Crown colonies, is not a fair mode of proceeding, and is not in principle entitled to that commendation which is claimed for it by the Colonial Secretary.

The committee observe that several enactments are quoted which were passed in the colonies of Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice and Mauritius. It is well known that in those places many of the measures were introduced by the force of arbitrary authority, and cannot therefore constitute any just precedent for subsequent adoption. By precedent is implied the spontaneous act of some assembly composed of the colonists themselves and exercising uncontrolled legislative functions, who introduce measures, upon which they fairly deliberate, and which they sincerely consider are for the general good of the colony.

It is evident, therefore, that only the codes of the chartered colonies can be adduced, and a little consideration will show that those cannot serve for framing a general slave code for all the colonies.

The West India colonies, though chiefly raising sugar as their staple production, differ widely from each other in regard to soil, climate, the extent of unoccupied land, the comparative density of their population, and many other most essential physical circumstances. It is quite evident, that the incentives to labour must vary according to those circumstances; being great in some of the colonies, from the comparative difficulty of earning subsistence and necessities; quite feeble in others, from the profusion of sustenance lavished around in every direction. The slave codes, therefore, to prepare the way for voluntary industry, to alter gradually the habits of the negroes, and to make them acquainted

Parliamentary
Papers,
6 Dec. 1831.
p. 65.

p. 65.

Parliamentary
Papers,
6 Dec. 1831.
pp. 65, 66, 67, 68.

acquainted with the duties and obligations of civil society, must be, in many particulars, essentially different in their enactments.

Even if we do not attempt a comprehensive code, but look merely to the passing period, and to the existing state of slavery, the local circumstances in supplying the negroes with food vary most materially. Enactments in this respect which would be applicable to Barbadoes or Antigua, would be quite absurd in Demerara, Trinidad, or the Mauritius.

It has further to be observed, that the basis and structure of the laws vary in the different colonies. The majority have English laws; but some have Spanish, some Dutch, some French; and it is evident, that local institutions have arisen which render it necessary to consult the habits and predilections of the people, if we seek to effect any salutary changes. All statesmen of eminence lay down the maxim that it is better to improve political institutions when defective, so that they may be in harmony with the notions of the people, than totally to destroy them and substitute others in their place quite novel in their application, and framed according to some general standard of government.

Besides the differences in the fundamental structure of the laws, the comparative state of civilization, and of moral instruction, varies in the different colonies. Some of them carried on the slave trade much later than others, and consequently have more Africans, whose general notions of civil government must differ in some respects from those of Creoles. In the laws respecting evidence, for example, it would be scarcely proper to apply, indiscriminately, the same enactments to pagans imported from Africa, and to christian slaves who were, in some degree at least, acquainted with the truths of the gospel and the obligations of an oath. It is not meant that in the lapse of time the enactments must always remain dissimilar, but that some difference should be made in regard to the period of their introduction into the respective colonies. In this point of view, Lord Goderich evidently misunderstands the reasoning of the colonists.

p. 72.

His Lordship states, that when he compares the different slave codes, he finds little trace of that accommodation of the law to existing habits, and to local and accidental peculiarities, which the colonists urge as being indispensably requisite. But is the time and manner of adoption of these laws the same in all the colonies? The superior capabilities for legislation which the colonists have generally urged in their remonstrances to the mother country consist in their knowledge of the actual condition of the people, of their predilections or prejudices, and the whole of that information upon the important point of timing to the existing susceptibility of the negro mind the introduction of extensive innovations, which, though salutary in themselves, frequently require to be postponed for a season in order that the cause and object of their introduction may not be misunderstood.

Under these circumstances the committee consider that the principle adopted by Lord Goderich, in culling out from each slave code that which he conceives will suit his purpose and views of legislation, is pregnant with mischief, and is neither fair towards the proprietors, nor calculated to benefit the negroes in all the colonies.

The next argument of the despatch, in the manner in which it is conveyed, is calculated to awaken much ill-feeling in the colonies. It is stated, that the colonists are inevitably ignorant of much that others know. They live in a contracted circle which is agitated by petty feuds and pecuniary embarrassments, and they must therefore, even in regard to affairs in which they directly participate, surrender the task of legislation to the Government in Europe, who are in the habit of dealing with large practical questions, and who from the superior intellectual intercourse of Europe, must possess that expansion of thought so much required by the law-giver.

The committee beg to observe, that it is not the discovery or the abstract knowledge of great principles relative to civil government which in modern times marks the statesman, but the practical application of those principles to actual circumstances, and to the existing affairs of life. In the question, for example, of the introduction of poor laws into Ireland, the general principles relative to population are well known; but who would attempt, without leaving the precincts of Downing-street, to frame a poor law complete in all its details and penalties, and alike applicable to the habits of the peasantry and to the
general

general usages of society in Ireland? Is the question of slavery so much more easy that it may be treated differently, and that by a knowledge of general principles alone it may be completely mastered at a distance of 4,000 miles from the scene of action? This is simply the question in debate; it relates not to the discovery of principles, but to the best mode of surmounting difficulties, and adapting that which is known to actual circumstances, which must be seen before they can be understood.

Lord Goderich has adverted to the state of public opinion, in impelling legislation, avowing that it cannot be checked, and that it must prove too strong for the colonists. Since the influence of public opinion has thus been noticed, the committee may stand excused, if they remind his Lordship of its decision upon the general legislation of Great Britain. It is affirmed by almost all the organs of public opinion, that laws introduced by Government are generally framed for temporary purposes, the object merely being to procrastinate evils and to get over discussions in both Houses of Parliament for a season. The committee do not pretend to say whether this judgment is just or unjust, but they may observe, that if any practical illustration was called for respecting the disposition to resort to temporary expedients, the proceedings on colonial questions would be adduced from one end of the kingdom to the other as the most striking exemplification of the fact.

p. 88.

The Committee are aware that it is more easy to censure than to point out the proper course of proceeding, but they are constrained to state, in direct opposition to the assumption of Lord Goderich, that they humbly conceive, there is not any approach to comprehensive or general principles in the measures affecting negro amelioration recently promulgated by the Colonial Secretary of State.

It is their sincere opinion, that the negroes will not be benefited by many of the measures prescribed by the new code, and that if the present colonial policy be persevered in, they will, in all probability, revert to a state of society barbarous in all essential points, and productive of no commercial advantage to the mother country.

Emancipated slaves, if supplied with houses and land, will no doubt cultivate that land, as far as their subsistence and the purchase of a few articles of clothing may require; but a colony so occupied would be of no value to the mother country, and the whole capital at present invested in buildings and cultivated land would be lost to the nation, and the ruin of the present proprietors and all dependent on them would be completed. But is this a result which can be coolly contemplated by the Government and the people of this country? As regards the negroes themselves, they would revert into the same state of society as exists in Africa and St. Domingo. It is essential, therefore, to any improvement in their condition, that they should be trained to cultivate, systematically, articles of export, to pay for those artificial wants attendant on a state of civilization; and there is no instance of the negroes doing so as a nation, except under the Government, and with the assistance of the intelligence and capital of Europeans. It was only by slow, and gradually progressive stages, that slaves were converted into useful and industrious free labourers in most of the countries of Europe, where the climate supplied the means of indirect stimulants and necessity to labour in a state of freedom. In the colonies, the difficulties of accomplishing this great result are increased, owing to the low state of the habitual wants, the nature of the climate, and the scantiness of the population with reference to the extent of fertile land.

Besides, it is notorious, that the idea of emancipation generally entertained at present by the slaves is not so much the right of choosing their master, and working for wages, as absolute freedom from labour. It is evident that this state of feeling is the most unfavourable that can be to improvement, and that no man will work cheerfully if his mind is continually haunted with the idea that he should be, by right, in so much better circumstances, as not to work at all. It should therefore be the first great object of the Government to frame some measure which would correct these mistaken notions, and which would so operate upon the slave, that he would be prevented, on hereafter procuring his freedom, from indulging in idle habits, or reverting to the deplorable condition of the savage.

There can be no doubt that the colonists could suggest valuable expedients for accomplishing this end, if the rights of private property were regarded in the same sacred manner as is the case in respect to property in Great Britain. Let the Government, in its acts, give a full guarantee, that, under every change, the existing rights of property are to be preserved, and the colonists no doubt will promptly, cheerfully, and efficaciously propose further measures for forwarding the work of amelioration, and preparing the way for final emancipation, much better than any that have hitherto been proposed in this country. But it cannot for a moment be expected that this zeal will ever be manifested so long as the British Government is distrusted. This distrust is natural and just, when all consideration of compensation is evaded and set aside, and when every admission of the colonists, however it may have been guarded and qualified, is eagerly seized and acted upon to the fullest extent, and in the most unqualified manner, without regard to the injury or risk which may be occasioned to the rights of property. The very despatch of the Colonial Secretary under animadversion is sufficient to check, if not to stifle, any sentiments of cordiality that might arise amongst the colonists to co-operate with the Government.

The Committee deem it important to observe, that almost the whole of the ameliorating measures detailed in the first pages of Lord Goderich's Despatch were willingly carried into effect by the Court of Policy in Demerara, and therefore the implication that the colonists are adverse to improvement is quite unwarranted. Lord Bathurst, in his Despatch of 20th Nov. 1824, to the Governor of Demerara uses these words: "I am to state that His Majesty has been pleased to express his satisfaction with the zeal and assiduity manifested by the Court of Policy, in giving effect to his royal intentions and the wishes of Parliament in favour of the slave population." Had the proceedings under subsequent Administrations continued in the same spirit of conciliation, and in conformity with the resolutions of 1823, in all probability the real amelioration of the negroes would have been further advanced. The colonists really wish to remove every feature of slavery that appears repulsive to the people of England; but it is clear, that as the slaves are entitled to food, clothing, lodging, and medical attendance, from the master, it is only by the fear of punishment that the ill-disposed slave can be induced to work; and, by the new Order in Council, the power of the proprietor and manager is so fettered and restricted, that what is left is only sufficient as a source of struggle and irritation between the ill-disposed slave and his manager, but inadequate to secure the performance of reasonable work. It appears, therefore, to the Committee, that the clauses relating to punishment in the Order in Council recently issued will have to be re-considered; and they are confident, that if colonial proprietors were consulted, they could propose means for regulating and restricting punishments which would remove the objections generally entertained against the present system, and at the same time preserve that authority and control over the slaves which is necessary for the maintenance of order, and the proper cultivation of the plantations.

The Committee might here, with propriety, close their observations, but there are still a few passages in the Despatch which, coming from the high authority of Lord Goderich, might give rise to much misunderstanding in the public mind if they were passed unnoticed. It was respectfully stated to his Lordship, that it was impolitic, at the present time, to issue a new Order in Council containing sweeping changes in respect to property, when it was known that the colonists were driven almost to despair by commercial distresses.

His Lordship has replied in a manner very extraordinary indeed. He states that the great permanent source of that distress is to be found in the institution of slavery, that it is in vain to hope for continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary industry for their support, and that he cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of these distresses, of which, during the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just. Regarding, therefore, the Orders in Council as a measured, but, at the same time, a decided advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, he must, on that account, regard it as tending to the cure of the pecuniary embarrassments which it is said to enhance.

The committee consider that these inferences, on the part of his Lordship, are not well founded.

In the first place, the institution of slavery does not necessarily occasion commercial distress. By means of slavery the United States of America derive almost the whole of their foreign commerce, and they have attained a prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations.

In the second place, a denunciation of the great vicissitudes in West India commerce comes with a bad grace from a British Minister of State, when it is well known that those vicissitudes spring from the policy of the mother country, and from her having, for an indefinite period of time, used her possessions as passive instruments, who might be taxed at pleasure, and forced to bend to every change which policy or caprice, on the part of the mother country, might dictate.

In the third place, it was stated by Lord Althorp, in the House of Commons, that the West Indians were deserving of relief, and that their present distresses were not attributable to themselves, but to the foreign slave trade. It is, indeed, singular that Lord Goderich should keep out of view this great consideration, which is national and not local, or applicable to the colonies alone.

It is quite evident, that if foreign governments hold out every possible assistance to their possessions; if Great Britain, on the contrary, give no such assistance, and not only deny her distant subjects justice, but harass and alienate their local governments, the foreign cultivator will rob the British cultivator of his business; and our dependencies, now retained for the purposes of commerce, will become useless, involving, along with the cultivator, the shipowner and many collateral and important branches of trade in ruin.

The committee stated, in their first remonstrance, that it would be utterly impossible for the British colonists to continue their cultivation if their expenses were increased, while, at the same time, the produce obtained from their plantations was diminished. It is well known that British plantation sugar has to compete with foreign sugar in the general European market; and while this state of things continues, to subject the British colonies to increased charges and disadvantages is virtually to ruin our own possessions, and to encourage the slave trade of foreign colonies, which this country, after great exertions and enormous sums annually lavished to foreign powers, and spent on the coast of Africa, has long endeavoured to have suppressed. It is truly important to consider, in proposing measures of amelioration for the British colonies, that the question is not, whether sugar can be raised under those measures, but whether or not it can be raised so cheaply as foreign sugar, with which it must enter into competition when it is brought to sale. Lord Goderich seems, in his Despatch, quite unconscious of this great distinction. He acknowledges that increased charges will be incurred, but he gives no explanation how these can be borne, except by stating that he claims credit for the utmost anxiety to reduce the public burdens of the colonies. As this passage of the Despatch might occasion much misunderstanding in the public mind, it is expedient to exhibit the expenditure of the crown colonies since 1824, when the first Orders in Council were issued.

In Trinidad, the expenditure, in 1824, was £.37,587
in 1827, - 54,015

In St. Lucia, the expenditure, in 1824, was £.5,380
in 1830, - 16,710

In Demerara, the expenditure, in 1823, was £.42,857
in 1830, - 70,428

This enormous increase does not exhibit the entire of the disadvantages under which the British colonists are placed. While the public burdens have been augmented, the ability to pay has decreased in a still greater ratio. In 1824-25 the Gazette average price of sugar was 38s. per cwt.; it is now only 24s.; virtually leaving no return whatever to the majority of the proprietors, after the necessary expenses of cultivation are defrayed.

It is proper further to exhibit, for the information of the British public, the comparative expenses of government in the Crown colonies and the chartered colonies, where there is a local assembly to control the disbursement of the public money.

Trinidad and Grenada may be selected, the population of each being nearly the same.

In Trinidad the entire expenditure, inclusive of the government salaries and judicial fees of office, in the year 1827, was £.54,015.

In Grenada, for the same year - - - 16,940!

These facts prove how harshly the Crown colonies are treated; and if the resident inhabitants evince every possible opposition to the late Order in Council, all impartial men in this country will acknowledge that that opposition has not proceeded from groundless causes.

Parliamentary
Papers,
6 Dec. 1831.
pp. 74, 75.

My Lord Goderich seems to justify the imposition of new burdens upon West India proprietors under the alleged plea of benefiting the slaves, by a very extraordinary argument. His Lordship states, that whatever property exists, or ever has existed, in the colonies, is the direct fruit of the labour of slaves; and that this labour has never received its due compensation, is matter of absolute certainty. Is his Lordship aware that this is precisely the doctrine in respect to the fruits of labour in England, of many clubs of the operative classes, who are actuated by the most hostile views against the existing gradation of society? Would his Lordship sanction the doctrine, that the value of the estates of our landed proprietors was solely derivable from the labourers who cultivated the land, and that therefore they had a right to participate more largely in its produce, and to be relieved from the extremes of penury under which they suffer. Let the Government beware of authorizing such views of the original creation of property, or of consenting to abandon the recognized principle of justice in dealing with the property of the colonists. Let them remember that the doctrine applied to that property may, and probably will, be acted upon when their own comes in question, and that the case of the West Indians will be quoted as a precedent whenever the right of private property opposes an obstacle to the accomplishment of any popular scheme.

p. 73.

In regard to the encouragement which the destruction or deterioration of the British colonies must give to the foreign slave trade, a point illustrated in detail by one of the Committee in his capacity of agent for the Mauritius, Lord Goderich has expressed himself differently from all other statesmen on this subject. His Lordship expressly states, that he will not attempt to prevent the foreign slave trade, by refusing justice to the slaves in His Majesty's dominions; and he contends, that if neither State nor individuals are to do justice without an absolute certainty as to possible consequences, which are beyond their own control, the great rule of right is at an end, and every one may plead the probable injustice of another in defence of his own deliberate wrong doing.

The committee are surprised that his Lordship should have utterly mistaken the argument which was submitted to his consideration on this subject. If the slave trade were to remain uninfluenced by any measures directed to the British colonies, causing a diminution in the growth of sugar, then his Lordship's reasoning would be applicable; but when the very acts of the British Government tend to increase the slave trade, they are manifestly contrary to the dictates of sound and comprehensive humanity, because they establish an evil immeasurably greater than that which was sought to be suppressed. His Lordship surely cannot be unaware, that when the sympathies of the public are excited upon the great question of slavery, it is the whole African race which is commiserated; and, indeed, instances have occurred in public meetings of the hostility of many individuals against the British West Indies immediately ceasing, when they have been told that the British slave trade was long at an end, and that the prosperity of our colonies was the best check to restrain the cupidity of foreigners from prosecuting that cruel traffic.

The committee cannot pass unnoticed the uncalled for, and indeed the apparently uncourteous manner, in which Lord Goderich is pleased to reply to the communication submitted to his Lordship by the agent for the Mauritius. If the Crown colonies are denied legislative assemblies, it is surely the more necessary that they should have agents in this country, to make known the sentiments of the inhabitants to His Majesty's Government; and the Colonial Secretary, appearing not to recognise such organs of communication, cannot fail to create much ill feeling in the colonies, and to fall into most serious errors.

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The remainder of the despatch is taken up with explanations upon the several amendments which Lord Goderich thought proper to introduce into the original Order, in consequence of the remonstrance and suggestions of the committee.

The committee have to offer their acknowledgements for what has been amended; but at the same time they may be permitted to observe, that a very short reference to the original draft of the new code and the amended one will, when the clauses are placed in juxtaposition, sufficiently dispose of the claim to infallibility on the part of government.

They have observed, with some surprise, that the justification in the despatch of some of the clauses, applies to the Order in its amended form, and not to the even much more objectionable shape in which it was originally framed. This mode of replying to the remonstrants is uncandid, because it induces the reader to suppose that the objections contained in their first paper were invalid, and not applicable to the question. For instance, his Lordship, in replying to one of the objections contained in the remonstrance against the first draft of the Order, observes as follows: "It is said that the clause respecting the service of summonses is 'perfectly inoperative.' No advance towards the discovery of truth is made by such peremptory assertions as this. It is added that no provision is made for defraying the expense. The answer is, that the penalties recovered will constitute a fund for the purpose." On reference to the original draft of the Order, clause 21, it will be seen that no allusion whatever is made to such a fund.

Parliamentary
Papers,
6 Dec. 1831.
p. 80.

Again; in answer to the objections taken to the 87th clause, as it stood in the original draft, it is said with respect to title, "this very Order would make the slave registries good evidence of it." It is true that it is so in the amended draft, but no mention of this very material qualification appears in the original draft.

p. 81.

The committee stated in their first remonstrance, that, from the short time allotted to them, they did not pretend to enumerate all the objections which might be made with propriety. They merely averted to some leading points, quite aware that other serious objections would be urged in the colonies. Had the conference been granted which the committee respectfully and urgently requested, many errors and anomalies, still contained in the Order, might have been avoided. The Order being actually transmitted to the colonies, it would not produce any beneficial result at the present moment to enter again into details exposing the errors which must always occur when minute legislation for the colonies is attempted in Great Britain. That task may be now confided to the colonial authorities; and the committee will merely advert to two points on which they are desirous that their sentiments may be clearly understood.

The first relates to the office of Protector.

The committee must still insist, that by inundating the colonies with foreign stipendiaries, the authority of the master will utterly cease in the eyes of the slave; and they maintain that it is not wise thus to derange the existing relations of society.

These officers will never learn the wants, the usages, and the local customs of their respective districts until they have done great mischief, all of which will fall upon the proprietors. They are invested with the most delicate and difficult functions. They will be required to decide upon questions of legal notice; a difficult question any where, but particularly in the colonies; to take the depositions of Africans, or the descendants of Africans; to fine and commit; to determine what is a misdemeanor; what is adequate or reasonable punishment; what is cruelty; what is wanton punishment; what is proper taskwork; what is to be deemed in law interruption or non-interruption of slavery, during a period of 20 years, so as to raise a legal presumption and a process; and numberless other things, which could hardly with safety be left with assistant barristers in the mother country. Even supposing that the proprietor gets a verdict in appeal, he is equally ruined by the costs: and has not every protector, or assistant protector, the power, under the Order in Council, to ruin him in this way, by instituting repeated actions with impunity? In respect to the solvency of the Protector or Assistant Protector, if he bring vexatious actions against the planter, and his liability in costs, Lord Goderich has replied that he is more likely to be a responsible person than a large majority of those

who are at present in the public service. Does his Lordship mean to say that he will burthen the colonies with salaries sufficiently large to secure the solvency of those officers, or will he get men of fortune to go out, who may be sued with safety, if guilty of misconduct?

The committee must decidedly protest against the intention of making the colonies pay for these officers; and indeed they are convinced that the colonists will never submit to such a burthen. It is now an acknowledged maxim, that in whatever part of the King's dominions taxes are raised for local government, the controlling power, to ensure the proper expenditure of those taxes, must reside in the same place. If taxes are to be raised in the colonies at the pleasure of the Colonial Secretary, the local governments must have the control over the disbursement of that money. If, on the other hand, all control is denied to the colonial authorities, then the Parliament of Great Britain must supply the funds, and will exercise its authority in seeing that those funds are properly expended. According to the new Order in Council, there is no control of any kind whatever; the patronage of the Crown is greatly increased, without coming, as hitherto, under the cognizance of any public body.

The second point is probably the most serious part of the Order, namely, the new doctrine attempted to be introduced of evidence, by altering, under the 86th clause of the Order, the universally recognized principle of law, of presuming title from possession until better evidence is shown on the other side.

The reason assigned in the despatch for this most unprecedented species of legislation seems, if possible, still more untenable than the clause itself; for in enumerating the various things which are therein stated to be defects or omissions in the present state of the law with regard to slaves, the despatch proceeds to assume, as one of them, "the silence or uncertainty of the law as to what should constitute a presumption of freedom or of slavery."

Parliamentary
Papers,
p. 63.

When it is considered that the Roman law, or *Jus Scriptum*, as it is termed throughout Europe, is in force in all the Crown colonies where this Order is intended to operate, and that where the positive or local law is silent on any head this law is resorted to, this gratuitous assumption of Lord Goderich must certainly excite considerable surprise. It should at least have been seen, previously to enacting this clause, whether there is, in fact, this silence or uncertainty of the law in these colonies, so as to justify the introduction of such a clause in the order. On reference to the Roman law on this head, it will be seen that its text is both positive and clear. "Si quis ex servitute in libertatem proclamat, petitoris partes sustinet: si vero ex libertate in servitutem petatur; is partes actoris sustinet, qui servum suum dicit." Dig. lib. 40. tit. 12. 7. sect. 5.*

But it is stated in the despatch, by way of challenge, in opposition to the principle of law that title is to be presumed from possession, "that no man will hazard the assertion, that if he can bring a fellow-creature under his dominion for 24 hours, he has a legal right to prolong that dominion unless a title to freedom can be proved." This is nowhere asserted on the part of the planters; they never thought of entertaining so monstrous a proposition; they merely wish, in common with the other subjects of the British empire, that the hitherto sacred principle of Roman and English, and, indeed, of every law which presumes title from possession, should not be departed from alone in their case, and the principle itself invidiously inverted, and turned against them, to their utter destruction.

In

* By the following extract from the Register of the Resolution of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, enacting that all the laws of Holland, in general, are to be followed by the court of justice in Demerara, as the rule of their judgment (dated 4th October 1774), it will be seen that this law is expressly ordered to be resorted to when there is no positive law on the subject.

"That in civil causes they shall be regulated by the manner of proceeding enacted by the Assembly of Ten; in criminal causes by the criminal ordinance and style of proceeding of the year 1570, so far as the constitution of the colonies will permit it; and that in everything not especially provided for, they shall have recourse to the *jus scriptum*."

In further answer to the Remonstrance of the committee on this 86th clause, the Secretary of State for the Colonies candidly states that he does not understand the objection to it on the *ex post facto* principle. It need, therefore, only be said that every legislator is contemplated to legislate *in futuro*, and that a law affecting to alter the doctrine of evidence, and thereby to shake existing titles, and to convert the peaceful possessor from a defendant under the old law to a plaintiff under the new law, and thus to throw on him the *onus probandi*, may justly be considered as an *ex post facto* law.

When property in slaves was purchased under the sanction and recognition of Parliament, it was understood by the purchaser to be clothed with all the essential attributes of property, and, of course, that one of its first attributes, viz. that of peaceful possession, should presume title. If any Act of Parliament or Order in Council affects to deprive this species of property of this attribute, it ceases in that degree to be property, as it thereby loses in value what has always been considered in law its greatest security, the presumption of title from possession. If, therefore, this new doctrine of distinction in property is to be recognized as law, so as to affect or disturb existing titles under the old law without compensation, it follows that in its nature it is operatively *ex post facto* and retrospective, as the purchaser could not reasonably be expected at the time of investing his capital to have contemplated such a change in his tenure by legislation. Had he conceived it liable to such capricious changes of legislation, it would have materially influenced the price when he made his purchase. All possessors of slaves might then have been told, You hold your property at the pleasure of the King in Council; he may so qualify it to-morrow that he may convert your freehold into a leasehold, and from that next day to a tenancy at will, without compensation! Mr. Canning's resolutions were founded on a basis expressly different: he wished to make slavery work itself out without injury to either party; to make the planter so to ameliorate the condition of the African as would enable him to become a free labourer, or even a proprietor; but he never contemplated indiscriminate haste, or the violation of any right, in this most difficult question. He disturbed no principle of property or possession; he saw that as slavery had been in existence since the creation of the world, it could only be got rid of by the safe operation of time.

The committee, in closing this Protest, must appeal to Parliament to revert to the resolutions of 1823, as the great basis on which all proceedings relative to slavery should rest.

The committee have not adverted to the public rights of the colonies, as this subject will probably be investigated before the competent tribunal.

The right of the Crown to legislate for conquered colonies which have not yet been brought within the pale of the constitution, is of a very vague and anomalous nature, and therefore liable to very great abuse. Little is to be collected from the different cases and opinions of the Crown lawyers on this subject, and that little is not of a very positive nature, or so clear as to authorize any Minister of the Crown to venture upon great changes without the apprehension that he may be exceeding, and that most dangerously, his power. But in whatever manner this question is decided, one result at least is certain, that in the present state of public opinion, it cannot fail to excite much astonishment that a Minister of the Crown, on his own responsibility, should issue arbitrary ordinances affecting the safety of many millions of property, and the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people, without any appeal to Parliament for advice, and, indeed, formally rejecting all the means of inquiry which the parties interested had proposed. If such a mode of government be tolerated, a mode virtually reviving the Star Chamber jurisdiction of past ages, the British people must expect to see their distant possessions step by step forced from their allegiance, and, it is to be feared, on the first war or public commotion, ready to throw themselves into the hands of any foreign nation ready to protect them.

It is in vain that the Secretary of State for the Colonies may affirm that he is a mediator between the planters and their slaves. The planters have no objection to mediation, provided it proceed from a proper legislative body, and that there is a public examination of the facts upon which all legislation should be grounded; but they do decidedly protest against an executive administration, possibly remaining but a few months in office, and therefore of necessity but imperfectly acquainted with the state of the colonies, making laws at pleasure,

and assuming infallibility in respect to their justice and propriety. The debate of many individuals in legislation is the essence of civil liberty and good government, and it should be as strictly observed in all questions relative to the colonists as the British people would insist on, were the question solely applicable to themselves.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Crown Colonies, held this day at the
West India Dock House,

Resolved,

THAT the chairman of this committee be requested to present a copy of these Observations and further Protest against the Order in Council of the 2d of November, to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

20th February 1832.

SLAVE POPULATION.

P A P E R S

Presented to Parliament, by His Majesty's Command,

In Explanation of the Measures adopted by His Majesty's Government for the Melioration of the Condition of the SLAVE POPULATION in His Majesty's Possessions in the *West Indies*, on the Continent of *South America*.

[*In further continuation of the Papers presented in December 1831.*]

1832.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
15 March 1832.
