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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 GIVING EFFECT TO THE ACT

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH COLONIES.

PART I.
J A M A I C A.

1833—1835.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
16 April 1835.

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P A P E R S

RELATING TO THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

SCHEDULE of INSTRUCTIONS addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Officers administering the Government in His Majesty's Possessions in the West Indies, and on the Continent of South America.

(A.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH, addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions, enclosing Copies of proposed Resolutions for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 20 May 1833.

Despatch
(A.)

HEREWITH I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship a copy of the Resolutions moved by me, on the part of His Majesty's Government in the House of Commons, on the 14th instant, for laying the groundwork of a Bill for the extinction of Slavery throughout His Majesty's dominions, the further debate upon which has been adjourned till the 30th instant. I enclose also a general summary of the Heads of the Bill, which, if The House of Commons should acquiesce in the preliminary resolutions, it is my intention to submit to Parliament. The latter paper, however, you will at once perceive to be, as it professes to be, a mere outline of a plan, which in its details and in its provisions will be liable to considerable modification. I enclose it, therefore, chiefly for the purpose of explaining to you the general views entertained by His Majesty's Government of the principles upon which, and the mode in which, the final object of the extinction of slavery may be attained with the least degree of danger to the peace and welfare of the Colonies.

It is not without extreme reluctance, nor without a conviction of the absolute necessity of such a course, that His Majesty's Government have taken upon themselves the responsibility of recommending to the Imperial Parliament the exercise of their indisputable right to interpose the paramount authority of this country in legislating for the internal regulation of the chartered Colonies. Could any expectation have been entertained that the Colonial Legislatures might be induced, in conformity with the anxious hopes expressed by Parliament, and the frequent recommendations from time to time transmitted by my predecessors, to take effectual measures of their own authority, with the view of ensuring the ultimate abolition of slavery, His Majesty's Government would gladly have paused, and even at the hazard of some delay, and of increased difficulty arising from such delay, have left to those bodies the task of conferring upon the negro population a boon, which, coming from their hands, would have been received with increased gratitude, and attended by diminished risk. I willingly admit that within the last few years laws have been passed by the Legislature of Jamaica tending to meliorate the physical condition and improve the comforts of the slave; and I forbear to point out, while I cannot fail to perceive and to regret, the many particulars in which those enactments still fall short of the recommendations of my predecessors and of the regulations of the various Orders in Council which have successively been introduced into the Crown Colonies. But even had† all these instructions been complied with, to the fullest extent, in the spirit as well as in the letter, they never were considered as the final end to be accomplished, but as preparatory steps by which the slave population might gradually be qualified for the enjoyment of entire freedom, and by which the risks might be diminished, necessarily attendant on any extensive change in the relations of society, much as it might have been desired, that by the cordial co-operation of the Colonial Legislatures, full effect should have been given to this preparatory process; the course of events has rendered it no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity, to pursue a different and a more decided line of policy. Even were it possible for

Altered for the Crown Colonies. The feelings which have been exhibited by the Colonists under your Government in regard to the Orders in Council and Local Ordinances which have been successively issued for the melioration of the condition of the slaves, leave me no room to hope that His Majesty's Government could succeed in obtaining any thing more than very partial and equivocal results from their efforts to enforce these laws: Omitted in the Crown Colonies, from * "It is not without" to* "But even."

Crown Colonies.

† But even had they been, &c.

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(A.)
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any Government for any long period to resist the universal expression of public feeling which manifests itself in every part of this kingdom, the safety of the Colonies themselves require, that the uncertainty and insecurity of property consequent on a protracted struggle, the constantly increasing excitement of exaggerated hopes and apprehensions, should be terminated by a decisive exposition of the will of the supreme Legislature, and by an enactment by its authority of measures for the final settlement of the question. It is under a deep conviction of this necessity that His Majesty's Government have felt themselves called upon to appeal to Parliament for its assistance in effecting without loss of time such changes in the condition of the negro population, as may at once remove them from a state of slavery, and place them for a time in an intermediate state, in which they may acquire the habits of free labourers, and prepare themselves for the enjoyment of entire freedom, but during which their present owners should have secured to them the benefit of their continued labour, and thus avoid the dangers which would be inseparable from a sudden transition from absolute slavery to unrestricted freedom.

Into the details of the measure, whether as relating to the terms under which the negro is hereafter to be apprenticed, to the amount and nature of the pecuniary relief to be afforded to the proprietors, to the important object of securing the public tranquillity by an efficient police, or the still more important one of making provision for the freedom of religious opinion, and for the establishment of a system of religious and moral education, I do not feel myself called upon at present to enter. The whole of these details will be subject to discussion and amendment in the Imperial Parliament; and after this country shall have performed its part, much will remain to be done by the local legislatures, which, with reference to the peculiar circumstances of each Colony, and to the local knowledge possessed by them, is best entrusted to their care. It has been the anxious wish of His Majesty's Government to interfere no further in the adjustment of this great question than appeared absolutely necessary to insure the practical and uniform establishment of the great principle which they have in view. His Majesty will at all times be ready to listen to the representations of his subjects in every part of his dominions, and to give his assent to such measures, recommended by the local legislatures as calculated to promote the welfare of the respective Colonies, as shall not be inconsistent with or repugnant to the spirit of the enactments of the Imperial Parliament. The object of my present Despatch is to put you in possession of the general outline of the measures proposed by His Majesty's Government; and even in their present imperfect state, they may serve to show the principles upon which it has been thought right to proceed, and may enable you to make such preparations as you may deem necessary for carrying into effect, in the island of Jamaica, the measures which shall be hereafter sanctioned by Parliament. I need not impress upon your mind the necessity of the utmost vigilance and caution in guarding against the effects of any excitement which may be caused by the announcement of measures so decided in their character, and on a subject of such deep and general interest. You will take such steps as you may deem most expedient for removing any unfounded or exaggerated hopes or apprehensions which you may find to exist as to the object and extent of the contemplated measures. You will use your influence for the purpose of softening any angry feelings which may be produced among the proprietors by the prospect of so great a change; and you will omit no opportunity of impressing upon the minds of the slave population, that they may best deserve and ensure the favour of the mother country by a cheerful and peaceable submission to the existing laws, and by any manifestation of turbulence and disorder, they may forfeit the advantages which His Majesty is anxious to confer upon them. I need not add, that you will feel it to be your duty to repress, by all the means in your power, any disposition, should such unhappily manifest itself, in any class of the population, to insubordination and outrage.

I shall take care to keep you informed of the progress of this measure in Parliament, and shall furnish you from time to time with such instructions as may be necessary for your Lordship's guidance. In the interval of suspense and excitement, which cannot but be expected to intervene, I rely upon your exercise of the decision, prudence and caution which the critical circumstances of the time may render peculiarly necessary.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

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Enclosure in (A.)

RESOLUTIONS for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, proposed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley*,
14 May 1833.

Enclosure in (A.)

1.—THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

2.—That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject nevertheless to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3.—That all persons now slaves be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen; subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4.—That to provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in His Majesty's colonial possessions might sustain by the abolition of slavery, His Majesty be enabled to advance by way of loan, to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding in the whole 15,000,000 *l.*, to be repaid in such manner and at such rate of interest as shall be prescribed by Parliament.

5.—That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the Colonies, and in aiding the local Legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.

(B.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH, addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions, enclosing Copies of the Resolutions for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, agreed to by The House of Commons
12 June 1833.

Sir,

Downing-street, 13 June 1833.

Despatch

(B.)

I HAVE the honour to enclose for your information a copy of a series of Resolutions by which The House of Commons have declared the expediency of adopting immediate and effectual measures for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, subject to the various conditions which are demanded by an equitable regard for the rights of the proprietors, and by a comprehensive view of the interests of the slaves themselves and of society at large both in the West Indies and in this kingdom.

The adoption of these Resolutions of The House of Commons will impose most important duties upon you, and on the other officers administering the government of the British Possessions in which slavery prevails.

No principle was more distinctly avowed by myself and my colleagues in the recent Parliamentary discussions, nor was any recognized with greater unanimity by The House of Commons than that the success of all efforts for the peaceful extinction of negro slavery, must depend upon the cordial co-operation of all classes of the colonists, and especially of the Colonial Legislatures. No labour has been declined, and scarcely any sacrifice has been thought too costly which might propitiate them to the cheerful acceptance of the measures which one branch of the British Legislature has, at the instance of His Majesty's Government, solemnly resolved to adopt. The King, therefore, indulges the earnest and confident hope that his faithful subjects in the Colony under your government will approach this question with the dispassionate seriousness due to the immense interests at stake. That they will deliberately estimate the progress and the present state of public opinion (as bearing on this subject) not in this kingdom only, but throughout the civilized world, and that, adverting to the difficulties with which Parliament have to contend, and to the just and liberal spirit by which their councils have been guided, they will unite with them in the zealous prosecution of this great design to a successful issue.

The measures which the Ministers of the Crown are about to propose to Parliament, in order to carry into effect the Resolutions of The House of Commons, will be framed in such a manner as to pay the utmost possible deference to the constitutional privileges of the Councils and Assemblies throughout the West Indies. To those bodies will be presented the opportunity of securing to themselves, not only the attachment of the slave population, but the respect and gratitude of the

Despatch
(B.)
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people of Great Britain and of the other nations, who have an interest, more or less direct, in the happy result of this momentous experiment. I will not be so unjust to the members of those Legislatures as to doubt that the magnitude of the occasion, and the high nature of the trust reposed in them, will silence any feelings of jealousy which the controversies of past years may perhaps have excited; and that they will apply themselves to an office as arduous and as important as any legislative body was ever called upon to undertake, in a spirit and temper befitting the discharge of such a duty.

From the slaves themselves, His Majesty, the Parliament and the nation of Great Britain are entitled to expect and to demand the most tranquil and orderly submission to such laws as shall be formed for their future government in a state of freedom. I trust that their masters and the magistracy, and more especially the clergy of the Established Church, with the ministers of religion of every other persuasion, will all unite in one common effort to dispel any allusions under which the slaves may be found to labour as to the real nature of the projected change in their condition, and to inculcate upon them, by the firm yet gentle exercise of all legitimate authority and influence, the great duties of industry and subordination to the laws.

I cannot, however, conceal from myself the possibility that these hopes, however reasonable, may be disappointed, and that involuntary error, or other less venial causes may, on the approach of so great a change in the existing relations of society, involve the peace of the Colonies in some danger. In any such calamitous event you will exert the whole weight of your personal influence to allay the irritation, or to dispel the prejudices with which the measures of Parliament may be encountered; you will, if necessary, also bring your official powers into active exercise, by making the most effective use of the force at your command, and by exacting from the magistracy and police the prompt execution of such orders as you may issue for the maintenance of public tranquillity. Any collision between the different classes of society would be pregnant with calamities the most disastrous, nor is there any measure, within the limits of your lawful authority, to which you will not resort, in order to prevent or to suppress any direct and open resistance to the law, whoever may be the persons by whom any such outrage may be designed or perpetrated.

I readily anticipate the anxiety which will prevail in the Colony, under your government, to ascertain what will be the provisions of any Act which may be passed, to give effect to the Resolutions of The House of Commons, and to obviate the many difficulties with which the extinction of slavery must be accompanied. It is, however, obviously impossible for me to predict, with any confidence, what may be the decision of Parliament upon these subordinate, though highly important questions. I must, therefore, confine myself to a very general and imperfect explanation of the ulterior measures which His Majesty's Government design to recommend.

It is proposed that a body should be constituted, armed with judicial powers, for adjusting the claims between the different Colonies, and between the different proprietors within the same Colony, to a participation in the Parliamentary grant. Effectual security will be taken against the accumulation of costs and expenses upon the claimants; and methods will be devised, for enabling claimants resident in the Colonies, to obtain an adjudication without the inconvenience of employing agents in this country.

It is further intended to refer to the same judicial body, the solution of the many intricate questions which must arise from the transfer of settlements, mortgages and other charges from the land and slaves now subject to them, to the money by which a part of the value of those slaves will be represented.

The abolition of slavery will of course involve most extensive changes even in many parts of the colonial code with which that state of society has no necessary or immediate connexion. For example, the qualifications for seats in the Assembly, and for the enjoyments of many other civil franchises, often pre-suppose the existence of a property in slaves; and the same assumption pervades the law of succession and inheritance, and whatever relates to the distribution of intestate's estates and the execution of judgments of the courts of law. To adapt these parts of the colonial code to the altered state of society, is an undertaking which could not be approached with any prospect of success, except by the various Councils and Assemblies. To aid the future deliberations of those bodies you will direct the law officers of your government to engage immediately in the
inquiry,

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inquiry, by what enactments the existing law may be most conveniently adjusted to a state of society in which slavery will be unknown.

The relation in which the employers and the apprenticed labourers will hereafter stand towards each other, will open another field of legislation upon which it will be the duty of the different Councils and Assemblies to enter as speedily as possible after the promulgation of the projected Act of Parliament. This, however, is a topic diverging into so many subordinate questions, that for the present I can advance no further than to indicate the necessity of an early and careful attention to it.

I shall wait with a cheerful hope, not wholly unmixed with anxiety, your report of the disposition with which the Resolutions of The House of Commons may be received in the Colony under your government. The toils, neither few nor inconsiderable, which Parliament have undergone and have yet to bear in maturing this measure; and the sacrifices which the people of Great Britain are willing to incur for insuring its success, onerous as they are in the present state of our national finances, will be abundantly compensated if those labours and that expenditure shall lay the foundation in our Colonies of a social system, absolved for ever from the reproach of slavery, and in which voluntary and effective industry shall take the place of compulsory labour, to the mutual benefit of the owner and the cultivator of the soil. Towards that consummation the earnest hopes of every member of the British Empire are directed, and by their cheerful concurrence in the attempt, the glory of producing it will become due to the colonists themselves, far more than to any other portion of their fellow subjects.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

Despatch
(B.)
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Enclosure in (B.)

RESOLUTIONS for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, agreed to by
The House of Commons, 12 June 1833.

1.—THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

2.—That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject nevertheless to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3.—That all persons now slaves shall be registered as apprenticed labourers, and acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen; subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4.—That towards the compensation of the proprietors, His Majesty be enabled to grant to them a sum not exceeding 20,000,000*l.* sterling, to be appropriated as Parliament shall direct.

5.—That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the Colonies, and in aiding the local Legislatures in providing, upon liberal and comprehensive principles, for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.

Enclosure in (B.)
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(C.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions, notifying that the Resolutions passed The House of Commons had been agreed to by The House of Lords.

Sir,

Downing-street, 26 June 1833.

IT is with great satisfaction that I apprise you that the Resolutions of The House of Commons, which I had the honour to convey to you in my Despatch of the 13th instant, were last night agreed to in the House of Lords without a division, in precisely the same terms in which they had been passed by the other House.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

Despatch
(C.)
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(D.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions, transmitting the Act passed for the Abolition of Slavery (3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 73), and a Proclamation for giving effect to the same.

Despatch
(D.)
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Downing-street, 5 Sept. 1833.

Sir,
IN my circular Despatch of the 26th June last, I had the honour to enclose for your information Copies of the Resolutions adopted by both Houses of Parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery; and I announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill into Parliament for the purpose of giving effect to those Resolutions. That design having been executed, the Bill received His Majesty's assent, and passed into a law on the 28th ult. I now transmit to you copies of this Statute, in sufficient numbers to enable you to place them in the hands of such of the principal inhabitants of the Colony under your government as may be most deeply interested in the subject.

3 & 4 Will. 4. c. 73.

It is a source of great satisfaction to myself and my colleagues, that we have been enabled to accomplish this great measure during the present Session. Amidst all the controversy with which it has inevitably been attended, all parties have been unanimous in the opinion, that a nearly and final settlement of the question was essential to the welfare of the numerous classes of society, whether in this kingdom or in the colonies, whom it more or less directly affected.

It is not my present purpose to vindicate the measure which the ministers of the Crown have thus thought it their duty to propose, and which the Legislature have thought fit to sanction. From the ordinary channels of public intelligence the motives of His Majesty's Government and of Parliament may be collected with sufficient accuracy by those who may desire to learn them; and a revival on this occasion of discussions, which have occupied so many months, would be at once useless and inconvenient.

Neither do I propose to enter upon an explanation of the various provisions of the accompanying Statute. Such a commentary would be superfluous if, as I trust, the Act should be found sufficiently perspicuous to convey its own meaning with all requisite precision.

My present design is to call your attention to the duties which this great change in the law will immediately impose upon yourself; and to explain the measures which His Majesty's Government propose to adopt in order to give complete effect to this Act.

With whatever distinctness a law of this nature may be expressed, it is not to be expected that illiterate persons, or even that men of education, unaccustomed to the perusal of legal documents, should at first acquire an accurate view of the changes which it will introduce in the various relations of society. But on such a subject, popular misconceptions may be of dangerous consequence. It is therefore desirable that the general scope and effect of the law should be made known to the public at large, by an authority in which confidence will be generally reposed.

On so peculiar an occasion as the present, it will be necessary however not merely to dispel possible misapprehensions, but to allay, as far as may be practicable, the excitement which exaggerated hopes and fears may tend to create. At a moment when one of the ancient and fundamental bonds of society, as hitherto constituted, is about to be dissolved, to make room for a system which, though promising great eventual good, involves an immediate change of such extent, it is emphatically necessary that a submissive obedience to the law should be inculcated by the highest authority in the state, and enforced, if necessary, by the most decisive measures.

For these reasons, His Majesty in Council has been pleased to approve the enclosed Proclamation; and I am to instruct you that you lose no time in promulgating it for general information in the most public and authentic manner. In maintaining tranquillity and order within the limits of your government, His Majesty confidently relies upon your activity and zeal. Nor will you fail to exert to the utmost possible extent, both the authority and the legitimate influence which you possess, in securing the co-operation for that end of all public officers and other persons who, from their station, their property or their talents, enjoy a peculiar

peculiar control over public opinion and popular feeling of the Colony of ()

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On referring to the Act, you will perceive that it does not interfere with the appropriate duties of the Colonial Legislatures beyond the strict limits of the necessity by which that interference was dictated. It indicates a series of general rules by which the future relations of the employer, and of those who are to labour in his service, are to be regulated; referring to the general assemblies, where they exist, the office of supplying by local enactments all subordinate but necessary details. In those Colonies which are subject to the legislative authority of His Majesty in Council, the Act has referred to His Majesty, acting with the advice of his Council, the corresponding duty. This part of the measure was not suggested from any distrust of the legislative bodies existing in those settlements, and still less by any doubt of the superior local knowledge which the members of those bodies would have brought to the discharge of such a task. But this course of proceeding was designed to obviate certain objections which might otherwise have been raised to the execution of the Act of Parliament. It was anticipated that some at least of the Assemblies might urge, that the participation of their constituents in the Parliamentary grant had been made to depend upon their compliance with a condition which it was impossible to perform; and that the problem proposed to them of regulating the various relations of the apprenticed labourers, both to their employers and to the state, admitted of no solution. It was further apprehended that the Assemblies might object that, as their supplementary enactments would not avail for securing the promised benefit unless they should be esteemed satisfactory by His Majesty in Council, they would be totally destitute of any criterion by which to determine whether any particular regulations would or would not be accepted as adequate to the occasion. By the promulgation of the proposed Orders in Council, each of these objections will be obviated. His Majesty's Government will perform the duty clearly incumbent on them, of showing that no insuperable difficulty is involved in the performance of the condition which, at their suggestion, Parliament has prescribed. The Assemblies will be supplied with a model, not of course for servile imitation, but sufficiently developing the general principles on which it is expected that the supplementary enactments will be framed.

If this course of proceeding shall remove the objections which I have noticed, it may however perhaps be thought to give birth to another difficulty equally formidable. It may be said that Orders in Council, originating in England, must be framed in ignorance of local circumstances, and will therefore be inapplicable in practice. This objection has been foreseen, and may, I trust, be effectually obviated. Twelve months* will elapse before the introduction of the system of apprenticeship. In that interval, the drafts of the proposed orders will be generally made known throughout the Colonies; and His Majesty's Government will not only admit, but will invite and weigh with all care such observations as they may call forth, and such suggestions as any person may be disposed to make for the improvement of their projected regulations. The Orders in Council will therefore not be promulgated without all the assistance which can be derived from those who are most conversant with the state and circumstances of the Colonies.

*For Mauritius read
Seventeen Months.

The Commission, which His Majesty is authorized by Parliament to establish for distributing the Compensation Fund, will be constituted with all practicable expedition, and you will be placed at the head of the subordinate Commission which is to sit within the Colony under your government. On that subject you will be placed in direct communication with the Commissioners in this country.

The 61st clause of the Act, relating to the subject of religious toleration, will take effect immediately; and it may not be unnecessary that I should explain for your assistance, what are the motives which suggested the peculiar form of that enactment.

I am happy and prompt to acknowledge that religious teachers dissenting from the Established Church have hitherto enjoyed in a very large proportion of the Colonies, the utmost possible freedom in the discharge of the duty which they have undertaken. I have further to admit that the Colonial statute books are, with scarcely any exception, exempt from enactments restrictive of religious liberty. But on the other hand there are Colonies in which parts of the statute law of England on this subject have been adopted, or are considered to be in force. On this question much legal controversy has taken place. It has been

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sometimes made a question whether the English statutes respecting dissenters from the Established Church did or did not apply to the Colonies. At other times, or in other places, it has been maintained that the Acts of Charles II., to the exclusion of those of William and Mary and Queen Anne, are alone incorporated into the colonial code; and again, high legal authorities have declared, that the colonial law recognized the whole series of English Acts on this subject, with the exception of that which was passed in the 52d year of Geo. III. But amidst these disputes I perceive that it is universally admitted that in the absence of positive statute, there is no restraint whatever on the freedom of religious instruction, the common law being absolutely silent on the subject. From these discussions it resulted, that in Colonies which had not adopted any part of the statute law of England respecting religious teaching or toleration, a freedom from restraint prevailed with which it was quite unnecessary for Parliament to interfere. It was to be presumed that this freedom had worked no injurious consequences, because the Assemblies had not sought to restrict it. There was therefore no motive for Parliamentary legislation. On the other hand, circumstances too notorious to demand a more particular notice, and which I therefore gladly pass over with this general allusion, demonstrated that in those Colonies in which the restrictive English statutes had been adopted, they had become instruments of persecution; and to meet the exigencies of society, arising out of the intended abolition of slavery, it was indispensable that Parliament should secure to the teachers of religion and to their disciples, the fullest opportunity of a free intercourse with each other. In those Colonies, therefore, it was thought necessary to superinduce, by Parliamentary authority, the recent English statute of Geo. III. upon those earlier English Acts which have been made the engine of such ill-advised and dangerous proceedings. This explanation will, I trust, enable you to judge to what extent the accompanying Act will affect the law of religious toleration in the Colony under your government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

N. B. The words
in *Italics* apply to
Mauritius.

WHEREAS an Act hath been passed by His Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland assembled, for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves; and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves: And whereas it hath appeared to His Majesty expedient to adopt the most effectual measures for preventing any misapprehensions which might arise among any class of His faithful subjects, in the Colonies aforesaid [*in the Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], respecting the effect of the said Act, and for allaying any excitement which might thereby be produced, His Majesty doth therefore hereby proclaim and make known to all His Majesty's subjects inhabiting the said Colonies [*Colony*], and to all others whom it doth or may concern, that until the first day of August [*February*], which will be in the year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four [*five*], the laws at present in force in such Colonies respectively [*the said Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], for the government of the slaves therein, will remain in full force and effect and unaltered by the said Act of Parliament; and that upon and from the said 1st day of August 1834 [*February 1835*], all persons who shall then be duly registered as slaves in such respective Colonies, [*the said Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], and who shall then be actually within the same, and who shall be of the full age of six years or upwards, will, by force and virtue of the said Act of Parliament, become apprenticed labourers in the service of the persons previously entitled to their services as slaves; and that the apprenticeship of such labourers will terminate on the 1st day of August 1840 [*February 1841*], or on the 1st day of August 1838 [*February 1839*], according to the nature and description of the employment in which such labourers shall be severally engaged as in the said Act set forth, and that such apprenticed labourers will, during such their apprenticeships, be bound by law to labour in the service of their respective employers, on such terms and conditions and for such limited periods of time, as by the said Act of Parliament, or by Acts hereafter to be made, and passed in such Colonies respectively [*any Order or Orders of His Majesty in Council hereafter to be made*], are or shall be prescribed in that behalf: And His Majesty doth further proclaim and make known that, subject to such apprenticeship as aforesaid, all persons who on the said 1st day of August 1834 [*February 1835*], shall be holden in slavery within any of the Colonies aforesaid [*the said Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], will upon and from that day be absolutely and for ever manumitted and set free: And that from the 1st day of August 1834 [*February 1835*], slavery is and will be abolished and unlawful throughout the said Colonies, [*Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*]: And His Majesty doth further declare and make known, that His Majesty hath, in pursuance of the powers in him vested by the said Act of Parliament, constituted and appointed the Commissioners therein mentioned, for awarding to the proprietors of such manumitted slaves the compensation thereby provided for such proprietors. And His Majesty doth strictly charge and admonish all his faithful

faithful subjects within the said Colonies [*Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], that they demean themselves submissively to the laws aforesaid, and especially that all persons now in the state of slavery in the said Colonies [*Colony*], do until the 1st day of August 1834 [*February 1835*], continue peaceably to perform the duties owing by them as such slaves to their respective masters as heretofore: And His Majesty doth hereby make known and declare his settled purpose and resolve, by all the powers and authority in him by law vested, to enforce due obedience to the laws in force, or which shall be so in force as aforesaid, within the said respective Colonies, [*Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies*], and to prevent, and if necessary to repress and punish all contraventions of the said laws: And His Majesty doth further command and require all governors, judges, justices of the peace, and other His Majesty's officers, civil and military, within the said Colonies [*Colony*], that they be, according to their respective offices and trusts, severally concurring in enforcing due obedience to the laws aforesaid: And His Majesty doth further command and enjoin all his faithful subjects of all classes, within the said Colonies [*Colony*], that they be yielding all due obedience to all the lawful commands of such His Majesty's officers in the premises, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

Given at Our Court at Westminster, this 4th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1833, in the Fourth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Despatch
(D.)

(E.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH, addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions having Local Legislatures, enclosing the Draft of a proposed Order in Council for carrying into effect the Act for the Abolition of Slavery.

[My Lord,] (*Sir*,

Downing-street 19 October 1833.

FROM the tenor of your [Lordship's] communications, as well as from information which I receive from other quarters, I am led to indulge the confident hope that the [Legislature of Jamaica is] (*Colonies under your government are*) about to apply [itself] (*themselves*) to the consideration of the great question of the Abolition of Slavery in a spirit of frank and cordial co-operation [corresponding with that in which the Imperial Parliament has confided the execution of the details of that measure to their legislative wisdom]. It is very far from my wish to seek in any degree to fetter the discretion which has been [thus] wisely vested (*by Parliament*) in the various Colonial Assemblies; their local knowledge, their practical experience, their intimate acquaintance each with the peculiarities of their respective laws, and with their adaption to the societies for which they are framed, give them advantages for the prosecution of such an undertaking which cannot be possessed by any colonial minister. But anxious as I am to offer to the Legislatures any assistance in my power towards carrying into effect the intentions of the British Parliament, I have felt myself called upon to draw out in some detail the heads of a plan, by which as it appears to me, that object may be accomplished, and which in its main features may be applicable to the different Colonies affected by the impending change. I have been the more desirous not to shrink from the fulfilment of this task, in order that His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament might not be open to the imputation of having imposed upon the Colonial Legislatures a hopeless or an impracticable duty. This plan has been drawn up as the draft of an Order in Council, and will be transmitted to the various Colonies for their consideration before its provisions are finally adopted in any. You[r Lordship] on the receipt of the present Despatch, will (*either by yourself or through the Lieutenant-Governors*) communicate the substance of the plan by message to the (*respective*) Councils and Houses of Assembly [of Jamaica] (*in the Colonies under your Government*) in such manner as you may deem most fitting, distinctly acquainting those bodies at the same time with the reasons which have induced its transmission, and with the light in which I am desirous that the communication should be [viewed] (*received*).

You[r Lordship] will not fail to observe that the whole of the proposed enactments, with the exception of that which has reference to a police establishment, presuppose, and have reference to, an intermediate state between slavery and freedom, termed by the British Statute "Apprenticeship." The establishment of a District Police may be considered as altogether independent of that state, as highly important with reference to the state of society which must ensue upon ultimate and unconditional freedom, and as meriting in itself the desirous attention of the Colonial Legislature. [I am happy to acknowledge that in this important

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(E.)

This Despatch applies to Jamaica, the alterations in *italics* to the other Legislative Colonies. The words placed between brackets, thus, [My Lord], indicate the parts to be omitted in adapting it otherwise than to Jamaica.

Omit.

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(E.)
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Omit.

branch of the subject, I have mainly followed the course pointed out by the experience, and sanctioned by the approbation of the Legislature of Jamaica, engraving upon their suggestions and applying to their objects the facilities for carrying them into effect, which the liberality of Parliament has afforded, by furnishing the means for the appointment of a stipendiary magistracy. To this part of the proposed plan, therefore, I cannot anticipate any opposition on the part of the Legislature of Jamaica; but I shall be disposed to consider with all due attention any provisions which they may deem better calculated for carrying into effect the objects sought to be attained.]

In reference to the special magistrates to be appointed under the Act, you[r Lordship] will observe that although their peculiar and exclusive duties apply to the relations between master and apprentice, yet you[r Lordship is] (*are*) authorized, should you so think fit by granting a separate commission to each of these gentlemen, to confer upon them also the ordinary jurisdiction of a magistrate, wholly independent of, and surviving the condition of apprenticeship, and thus to distribute throughout the island a class of most valuable public servants at the expense of the Mother Country. This consideration leads me to the general question of apprenticeship, to the remaining provisions of the accompanying plan, and generally to the course which you[r Lordship] will consider yourself authorized to adopt in the event of various lines (*of conduct*) which may be pursued by the Legislatures of [Jamaica] (*the Colonies under your Government*).

I hold it to be unnecessary to trouble your Lordship with any comments upon the proposed enactments relative to the duties, condition, offences and [penalties] (*liabilities*) of the two parties standing towards each other in the relation of master and apprenticed labourer: the suggestions [here] made (*in the accompanying paper*) will sufficiently explain themselves, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat that it is competent to the local legislature to vary them in such manner as they shall deem expedient, consistently with the provisions of the Act of Parliament.

Omit.

But a [possible case arises] (*case may be supposed*) in which the Assembly [may] (*might*) dispense with the system of apprenticeship altogether, or [may] (*might*) in other respects deviate from the conditions prescribed by Parliament, and in such a case you[r Lordship] will naturally be anxious for precise instructions as to the course which it may be your duty to follow. [While I am desirous, as far as it may be in my power, to meet this natural anxiety on your Lordship's part, your Lordship will be aware of the impossibility at this distance of anticipating every possible contingency; and you[r Lordship] may be assured that His Majesty's Government will rely with confidence upon the exercise of your usual discretion and judgment in whatever circumstances of unforeseen doubt or difficulty you may be placed].

I will not anticipate the possibility (*of any*) of the assembly-ies refusing to enter upon the discussion of the question, and leaving the British Act of Parliament to come into unaided operation. Their plain and obvious duty, the paramount interest of society in whose welfare their own is involved, and, I am happy to add, the temper and good sense with which, so far as I can judge, they have received the proceeding of Parliament, forbid me to entertain [so (*such*) alarming] an apprehension. But it is possible that while they may pass Acts, fully in accordance with the spirit and intention of Parliament, they may take a different view of some of the details, and may decline to treat some of the points submitted to their consideration. On these points, therefore, it becomes my duty to give you such instructions as may leave you exposed to the least possible difficulty.

In effecting, throughout extensive dominions of the Crown, so vast a change as that from slavery to freedom, His Majesty's Government, and Parliament agreeing in their views, deemed it indispensable to provide for a transition state, of longer or shorter duration, but of which they fixed the maximum, during which the present master and slave should continue bound to each other by mutual obligations, securing the one a limited portion of labour, and to the other a certain maintenance and protection, and the principal object of these enactments was to make temporary provision for the continued cultivation of the soil and good order of society, until all classes should gradually fall into the relations of a state of freedom. Of the obligations of this intermediate condition some were directly imposed by Parliament, some were by the same authority expressly forbidden to be imposed, others again were left within certain limits to be fixed by the local legislatures. But as these legislatures were expressly authorized to fix the term of this apprenticeship, provided it did not exceed a certain duration, so it is clearly

clearly within their province, should they deem it safe and prudent so to do, to dispense with it altogether, and to pass at once to a state of unrestricted freedom. I do not anticipate the probability, and I should be disposed to doubt the prudence of such a course; but in the event of [such a decision being come to, your Lordship,] (*any of the Assemblies in the Colonies under your Government coming to such a decision, you*) will not on that account hold yourself bound to refuse your assent to the Act (*which such Assembly may pass*) as being repugnant to the Act of the Imperial Parliament. But you will distinctly understand, that you will not be authorized to give your assent to any Act creating an intermediate state of a different description or subjected to restrictions of a different nature from those contemplated by Parliament. The term of apprenticeship may be shortened, the hours of compulsory labour may be fewer, the burthens imposed may be made lighter; but no distinctions must be allowed to be drawn between those at present free and those at present slaves, of a different character from, or to a greater extent than those which have been sanctioned by Parliament. [But if, as is possible, your Lordship should have any doubt how far the proposed Act should come within the scope of these instructions, you will give to the legislature the benefit of the doubt, if at the time at which it should be brought up to you, will allow of your reserving it for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure before the period when it would come into operation. As your Lordship will consider yourself as precluded by your instructions from sanctioning any Act which may prolong the duration of the intermediate state, or impose any heavier burthens upon those who are in that state, so your Lordship will also withhold your assent from any Acts which may be passed perpetuating or continuing after the termination of that period any distinctions or exclusions arising out of a previous servile condition. For example, should a law be passed requiring that hereafter no person should serve on a jury, or should be hereafter enrolled in the militia, who should not be possessed of a certain pecuniary qualification, such a law might be well adapted to the altered circumstances of the Island, and your Lordship might be fully justified in assenting to it. But if a law were passed enacting that all persons who should hereafter become free should in those respects be placed upon a different footing from the rest of the community, except so far as is authorized by the 22d section of the Act of Parliament, your Lordship would refuse your assent to the Act, as perpetuating a distinction founded on the existing state of slavery.]

Despatch
(E.)
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Omit.

[Your Lordship will not withhold] (*You will not however withhold*) your assent from any Act which may be passed, merely on account of its omitting to provide for some of the points specified in the British statute. It may become a question for the consideration of His Majesty's Government and Parliament, how far such an omission may disqualify the [Island of Jamaica] (*particular Colony which has sanctioned the omission*) from claiming her share of the Compensation Fund, how far the grounds for such omission may be good and valid, or how far such a deficiency may be supplied by the positive enactment of the Imperial statute, which in so far as such provisions were concerned would not be suspended, pursuant to the 23d section. But you[r Lordship] may rest assured that with respect to the first point, Parliament will be disposed to place the most fair, candid and liberal construction upon the Acts which may be passed, provided that they bear upon the face of them a real and sincere desire to act up to the spirit and intention of the British Parliament and people.

It will not have escaped your [Lordship's] observation, that [in deference to the anxious wish expressed upon the part of many gentlemen connected with Jamaica, and to the feelings of the Legislature on that particular point,] Parliament (*in accordance with the confidence it has reposed in the Colonial Legislature*) has abstained from imposing any obligations to insert in the Colonial Acts a suspending clause; but you[r Lordship] will I am sure see, and I trust be able to impress upon the Legislature the importance of giving to any Act which they may pass, a period of commencement sufficiently distant to enable a communication to pass between the island and this country before it should actually come into operation. It is possible also that some difficulties may be obviated, and some facilities afforded for amendment, by not including the whole of the provisions to be made in a single Act, but so dividing them as that if His Majesty should be compelled to disallow any particular provision, the remainder of the system might nevertheless come into undisturbed operation. I throw this out,
however,

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(E.)
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however, as a suggestion for your [Lordship's] and the Assembly's consideration, rather than as an instruction for your [Lordship's] guidance.

For Bermuda the
last sentence
omitted.

I have thus endeavoured to point out to you[r Lordship] generally the principles upon which you[r Lordship] will be guided in assenting to, or rejecting any Bills which may be proposed for your approval; and I trust they will be sufficiently precise to guide the exercise of your [Lordship's] discretion. [I trust earnestly that the course which may be pursued by the Assembly may be such as to relieve you[r Lordship] from all embarrassment, to satisfy the anxious desires of the British people, and by removing the cause of dissension and jealousy for so many years, at once to give a more healthy tone to the condition of the[ir] internal society (*of the Colonies*), and to acquire a new title to the good-will and protection of the Mother Country.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

(F.)

CIRCULAR DESPATCH, addressed by Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions not possessing Local Legislatures, enclosing the Draft of a proposed Order in Council for carrying into effect the Act for the Abolition of Slavery.

Despatch
(F.)
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Sir,

Downing-street, 19 October 1833.

IN my Circular Despatch of the 5th September last, I intimated to you, that although the Act for the Abolition of Slavery had, as respects those Colonies which are subject to the legislative authority of His Majesty in Council, referred to His Majesty in Council the duty of supplying, by local enactments, all subordinate details necessary for completing the important measure contemplated by the Act, yet that this course was not suggested from any distrust of the legislative bodies existing in those settlements, but for the purpose of showing that the problem proposed of regulating the relations of the apprenticed labourers to their employers and the State admitted of solution, and that the condition upon the performance of which the right to participate in the Compensation Fund granted by Parliament was made to depend, was not impossible. I further stated, that in the first instance drafts of the proposed Orders in Council would be generally made known throughout the Colonies, and that His Majesty's Government would invite observations and suggestions for the improvement of their projected regulations.

In conformity with the intentions expressed in the Despatch to which I have referred, I have now the honour to transmit to you the draft of an Order in Council for the Colony of British Guiana, copies of which will also be transmitted to the other West India Colonies for their consideration.

I sent to you with a confident hope, encouraged by the recent information which I have received from yourself and from other quarters, that the Legislative Council of the Colony of _____ will apply itself to the consideration of this important subject in a spirit of frank and cordial co-operation.

Upon the receipt of this Despatch you will, without delay, communicate the accompanying draft to the Legislative Council of _____ acquainting that body at the same time with the reasons which have induced its transmission, and with the light in which I am desirous it should be viewed. You will further inform that body, that, appreciating as I do the advantages which they possess for the prosecution of an undertaking of this nature in their local knowledge, their practical experience, their intimate acquaintance with the Negro character, and with the habits and peculiarities which the existing relations of society in the Colony have necessarily engendered. I earnestly hope that the Legislative Council (or Court of Policy) will address themselves promptly and cordially to the preparation of an Ordinance calculated to develop and carry into effect the plan sketched out in the accompanying draft, with such alterations and modifications as may appear to them to be necessary or advisable.

Whilst I impose this arduous duty on the Legislative Council of _____ I cannot but be desirous of giving them as great a latitude of discretion as the Act of the British Parliament will permit. At the same time, I should sincerely regret if, in the exercise of that discretion, the Legislative Council should frame an ordinance which His Majesty would feel himself unable to confirm, and which might fail to entitle the Colony of _____ to their share of the Compensation

pensation Fund. I feel it my duty, therefore, to enter into some explanation upon this point, and to give you such instructions as shall, in a great degree, relieve yourself and the Legislative Council from uncertainty on this subject.

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(F.)
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On effecting throughout extensive dominions of the Crown so vast a change as that from slavery to freedom, His Majesty's Government (and Parliament agreeing in their views) deemed it indispensable to provide for a transition state, of longer or shorter duration, but of which they fixed the maximum, during which the present master and slave should continue bound to each other by mutual obligations, securing to the one a limited portion of labour, and to the other a certain maintenance and protection; and the principal objects of these enactments was to make temporary provision for the continued cultivation of the soil, and good order of society, until all classes should gradually fall into the relations of a state of freedom. Of the obligations of this intermediate condition, some were directly imposed by Parliament, some were by the same authority expressly forbidden to be imposed; others again were left within certain limits, to be fixed by the local legislatures. But as these legislatures were expressly authorized to fix the term of this apprenticeship, provided it did not exceed a certain duration, so it is clearly within their province, should they deem it safe and prudent so to do, to dispense with it altogether, and to pass at once to a state of unrestricted freedom. I do not anticipate the probability, and I should be disposed to doubt the prudence of such a course; but in the event of the Legislative Council coming to such a decision, you will not on that account hold yourself bound to refuse your concurrence in an ordinance framed upon that principle, as being repugnant to the Act of the Imperial Parliament. But you will distinctly understand that you will not be authorized to consent to any ordinance creating an intermediate state of a different description, or subjected to the restrictions of a different nature from those contemplated by Parliament. The term of apprenticeship may be *shortened*; the hours of compulsory labour may be *fewer*; the burthen imposed may be made *lighter*; but no distinctions must be allowed to be drawn between those at present free, and those at present slaves, of a different character from, or to a greater extent than those which have been sanctioned by Parliament. As you will consider yourself precluded by your instructions from sanctioning any ordinance which may prolong the duration of the intermediate state, or impose any heavier burthens upon those who are in that state, so you will likewise withhold your sanction from any ordinance perpetuating or continuing after the termination of that period, any distinctions or exclusions arising out of a previous servile condition.

I must further observe, that it is of great importance that in any ordinance which the local legislature may pass in pursuance of this Despatch, its period of commencement should be made sufficiently distant to enable the decision of His Majesty upon such ordinance to be sent to the Colony before it should actually come into operation. It is possible, also, that some difficulties may be obviated and some facilities afforded for amendment, by not including the whole of the provisions to be made in a single ordinance, but by so dividing them as that if His Majesty should be compelled to disallow any particular provision, the remainder of the system might nevertheless come into undisturbed operation. I throw this out, however, as a suggestion for the consideration of yourself and the Legislative Council, and not as an instruction for your guidance.

Although you will fully understand from this Despatch, that I attach the greatest importance to the active co-operation of the local legislature and to their preparation of such an ordinance as I have pointed out; yet it seems to me not impossible that the Legislative Council might prefer to send me their suggestions on the intended plan, and their proposed modifications of its provisions, in the form of a report, leaving to His Majesty's Government the task of preparing a definitive Order in Council on the subject. If this should appear to the Legislative Council to be the more convenient course of proceeding, I shall not object to their adoption of it. I shall give my most attentive consideration to such a Report as the Legislative Council may transmit to me; and I shall cheerfully undertake the increased labour and responsibility which will thus result to me.

I have only to add, that I trust that the confidence which His Majesty's Government have thus reposed in the Legislative Council of _____ will induce that body to act upon this occasion in unison with the feelings and wishes of the Imperial Parliament and the British people; and I earnestly trust, that the participation of the colonists of _____ in the great work of emancipation,

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(F.)

emancipation. may acquire for them the gratitude of the Negro population, and may give them a new title to the good-will and protection of the Mother Country.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

Enclosure in (E.)
and (F.)

Enclosure in (E.) and (F.)

Downing-street, 19 October 1833.

THE object of the following pages is to bring into one view the various legislative measures which yet remain to be taken, to carry into effect the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 73. Those measures must be taken by the Governors, Councils and General Assemblies, in the Colonies possessing representative legislatures, and may be taken either by His Majesty in Council or by the local legislatures in the Colonies which are subject to His Majesty's legislative authority. Without agitating the question, from which of those two sources the laws to be established in the Crown Colonies would more properly emanate, it may be sufficient for the present purpose to say, that this paper is drawn up on the supposition that orders will be made by the King in Council, for establishing the proposed new code in the various Colonies in which houses of General Assembly do not exist.} With a view to perspicuity, however, the proposed enactments are framed in reference only to British Guiana. They would, of course, require material changes to adapt them to other Colonies.

It may be convenient to notice that the different provisions suggested in the following pages, are exhibited not in the form which they must assume if promulgated as legislative enactments, but in a more popular and compendious style, which, if less precise, will probably be found more perspicuous and intelligible. They are described as chapters, and not as distinct orders; since it may, perhaps, be thought advantageous to exhibit the whole code rather as one law than as detached and separate laws. By this method some tautology and repetition will be avoided. It is to be added that there are various minor and subordinate provisions, which are purposely omitted with a view to brevity, but which would be supplied if this draft were assumed as the basis of actual legislation.

The proposed Order in Council for British Guiana, would be divided into twelve chapters, of which it may be desirable to state the titles at the outset. They would be as follows:—

Cap. I.—On the judicial and ministerial Agency to be employed.

Cap. II.—On the procedure to be observed by the special Magistrates in the exercise of their jurisdiction.

Cap. III.—On the division of apprenticed Labourers into their respective classes.

Cap. IV.—On the maintenance of the apprenticed Labourers.

Cap. V.—On the duties to be performed by the apprenticed Labourers, and the penalties for their non-performance.

Cap. VI.—On the duties to be performed by the Employers towards their apprenticed Labourers, and the penalties for their non-performance.

Cap. VII.—On offences which may be committed by the apprenticed Labourers against the State, and the punishment of such offences.

Cap. VIII.—On the dissolution of the Apprenticeship by contract or purchase.

Cap. IX.—On the removal of prædial apprenticed Labourers from one plantation to another.

Cap. X.—Of the Apprenticeship of Children.

Cap. XI.—On the alienation by sale, inheritance or will, of the services of apprenticed Labourers.

Cap. XII.—On the relation in which the apprenticed Labourers will stand towards the State.

CAP. I.—ON THE JUDICIAL AND MINISTERIAL AGENCY TO BE EMPLOYED.

THE execution of the new law is expressly confided by Parliament to the special justices of the peace mentioned in the fourteenth section. Each of those officers must, of course, have certain limits assigned for the exercise of his jurisdiction, and for that purpose the Colonies must be divided into judicial districts. It must be left to the Governors to make such divisions. The requisite topographical knowledge would be sought in vain in this country.

An effective police establishment is of the very essence of the whole measure. It may, however, be safely said, that in none of the Colonies does such a police at present exist. To devise a scheme of police for a remote country, might seem a hopeless enterprise, but from the assistance to be derived from the Jamaica Police Act of 1831, which was a measure devised by the highest of all the local authorities. In favour of that scheme may therefore be repeated all those arguments which are usually employed to establish the superiority of Colonial to English legislation on colonial affairs. Independently of that consideration, the scheme itself appears to offer every promise of efficiency and economy. It is, in general, developed in the suggestions which follow under the present head.

It is not, however, merely officers of police, but places of imprisonment or safe-custody in the rural districts, which are required, in order to render the new law effectual. Hitherto each

each separate plantation has had its *ergastutum*. Hereafter prisons must be provided under the charge of public officers. To obtain places of residence for the special magistrates, will also be no light difficulty. The want of such abodes, and the impossibility of hiring them, defeated the plan of establishing a system of protectors in the country parts of Guiana. The scheme projected by the Assembly of Jamaica suggests, as will be seen, the means of obviating each of these difficulties; not indeed without a serious expenditure, which in such undertakings as the present is absolutely inevitable, but at a rate of expense much below what would be required on almost any other plan. With these preliminary remarks the following outline may perhaps be sufficiently intelligible.

1.—The Colony of British Guiana shall be divided into not more than eight judicial districts.

2.—The Governor shall by proclamation define, and, as occasion may require, shall alter the limits of such districts.

3.—One special justice shall be appointed to each of the before-mentioned districts.

4.—In each district shall be set apart a tract of land, which, with the buildings to be erected thereon, shall be called the Police Settlement of the District.

5.—Every such police settlement shall be established in the vicinity of as large a body as may be of the population of the district.

6.—The Governor shall appropriate, for the formation of the police settlements, any waste lands of the Crown which may be situated conveniently for that purpose; and in districts where such Crown lands cannot be found, shall, by exchange, or, if necessary, by purchase, procure the lands wanting for the purpose.

7.—At the first formation of any such police settlement, the members thereof, assisted by such hired labourers as may be indispensable, shall be employed in the erection of temporary buildings for their own occupation; such buildings to be hereafter superseded by more permanent buildings to be erected by the means subsequently mentioned.

8.—At each police settlement shall be erected a house of correction.

9.—At each police settlement shall also be established a penal gang, to be composed of such persons as shall be condemned to imprisonment with hard labour.

10.—The members of the police settlement when not engaged in actual service as policemen, and the penal gang aforesaid, under their direction, shall be employed in the erecting or repair of the buildings at each such police settlement.

11.—Every such police settlement shall be placed under the immediate superintendence of the special Justice of the district, who shall reside thereat, or in the immediate vicinity thereof.

12.—Each police settlement shall consist of one serjeant and ten privates, all being able-bodied men, between the ages of 20 and 50 years.

13.—The serjeant and privates of each police settlement shall be appointed by the Governor, and shall be liable to be removed by him for bad conduct or inefficiency.

14.—The serjeants and privates shall be liable to be suspended from office by the special Justice of the district, subject to the Governor's confirmation or disallowance of such suspension.

15.—As often as the special Justice of the district shall so direct, the penal gang before mentioned shall, under the superintendence of the serjeant, or, in his absence, of some other member of the police, be employed in any laborious works upon the provision grounds of the police settlement, either for the support of the prisoners at such settlement, or towards the general maintenance of the establishment.

16.—The special Justice shall, once in each quarter, make to the Governor a report of the effective strength and condition of the police force at each settlement; and of the state of the buildings and provision grounds there, and of the state and conduct of the prisoners confined therein.

17.—The Governor shall from time to time establish all necessary rules for the internal discipline of the said police settlements, for a due separation of prisoners of different sexes; for the classification of prisoners; for their religious instruction; for the maintenance of cleanliness, order and sobriety amongst them; and for the prevention and prompt punishment of any neglect or violation of such rules.

18.—The serjeant and privates of each police settlement shall be annually provided with a uniform, and with such weapons and accoutrements as may best be adapted to the service in which they are to be engaged.

19.—The privates in each settlement shall receive pay, at the rate of _____ per diem; and the serjeant shall be paid at the rate of _____

20.—As vacancies occur, privates shall for good conduct be promoted to be serjeants.

21.—It shall be the duty of the serjeant and the privates to carry into execution such orders as they shall receive from the special Justice for the prevention or repressing of crimes, and for enforcing obedience to the law.

CAP. II.—ON THE PROCEDURE TO BE OBSERVED BY THE SPECIAL MAGISTRATES IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR JURISDICTION.

THE Act of Parliament having determined how the special Magistrates shall be appointed, and having given to them an exclusive cognizance of all matters incident to, and arising out of the relation of apprenticed labourers and their employers, it remains to lay down the necessary rules for the exercise of that jurisdiction. It is only necessary to premise, that in the discharge of such a trust many difficulties will occur which cannot be effectually

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obviated except by foresight in the Legislature, and which such foresight may either surmount entirely, or render insignificant.

1.—Every special Magistrate shall reside within the district to which he is appointed, unless when prevented by sickness or other reasonable cause, to be allowed by the Governor.

2.—Every such Magistrate shall one day in each week, or oftener if need be, at the place of his residence, hold a session for the hearing and deciding upon such cases as may be brought before him.

3.—Every such Magistrate shall once in each fortnight, or oftener if need be, repair to such plantation within his district upon which ten or any greater number of apprenticed labourers shall be employed, there to take cognizance of such cases as may be brought before him.

4.—Every such special Justice shall keep a journal of all the cases brought before him, in which he shall enter, 1st, the date of the complaint; 2dly, the name of the complainant; 3d, the substance of the complaint; 4th, the names of the witnesses adduced on either side; 5th, the substance of the evidence; 6th, his decision on the case; 7th, whether the decision has been carried into effect; 8th, any general remarks which he may think desirable.

5.—All such journals shall be kept in one uniform manner, to be prescribed for that purpose by the Governor.

6.—At the end of each quarter, the special Justice shall transmit to the Governor a duplicate of his journal for the preceding quarter, with an affidavit thereto annexed, to the effect that it has been faithfully kept, and that, with the exception of unintentional errors, it contains a true account of all the proceedings in which the deponent has been engaged as such special Justice, during the quarter to which it refers.

7.—Until the Governor shall have actually received the duplicate journal so verified as aforesaid, he shall not be at liberty to pay the salary of the Justice for that quarter.

8.—On receiving any complaint, it shall be the duty of the special Justice to reduce it to writing, and to cause it to be read by, or to read it over to, the complainant, by whom it shall then be subscribed.

9.—If the complaint shall appear to the Justice immaterial, and not to deserve further inquiry, he may at once dismiss the complaint; but if he shall think inquiry necessary, he shall call upon the complainant to make oath that the complaint is true.

10.—Upon taking any complaint, to the truth of which such oath shall have been so made, the special Justice shall either issue his warrant for the arrest of the party charged, or shall issue a summons for his attendance, as the case may require. The warrant of arrest shall be in the form annexed, marked (A.) and the summons in the form annexed, marked (B.)

11.—The warrant of arrest shall be issued in all cases which impute to the party charged a capital or a transportable offence; in all cases where there is reason to apprehend that the party charged would endeavour to escape; and in all cases where there is reason to apprehend danger to the public peace from delay. In all other cases the Justice is to proceed, in the first instance, by summons.

12.—In cases in which it may be necessary to adduce witnesses in support of, or in answer to any such complaint, the Justice shall issue a summons to every such witness, in the annexed form, marked (C.)

13.—At the time and place appointed by any such warrant or summons for proceeding upon any such complaint, the Justice shall, in the presence of all parties first read over the written complaint, and then take down in writing the answer of the party charged, and then proceed to examine on oath the party complaining and the witnesses, taking down in writing the deposition of each witness, which shall be read over to and signed by him.

14.—The Justice may, from time to time, adjourn any such proceeding for further inquiry, and if necessary, commit the party charged to custody pending such adjournment, or take bail for his appearance. Every such commitment or bail shall be in the annexed forms, marked (D. & E.)

15.—At the close of such proceedings, the Justice shall pronounce his decision thereupon, which decision he shall reduce into writing, and subscribe with his hand.

16.—By any such decision the Justice shall, as law and reason may seem to him to require, either dismiss the complaint, or sanction any compromise between the parties which he may think just, or convict the party charged, or commit him to prison to take his trial for the imputed offence.

17.—If the complaint shall be dismissed, the Justice shall, in such his written decision, state whether it was so dismissed as being unproved, or as being frivolous and vexatious, or as being malicious.

18.—If any such complaint shall be so dismissed as frivolous and vexatious, the Justice may adjudge the complainant, if a labourer, to work in the service of his employer, for any time not exceeding in the whole 15 extra hours in any one week; or if the complainant be the employer, the Justice may adjudge each employer to the payment of a penalty for the use of the labourer, of not less than 20s. and not greater than 5*l*.

19.—If any such complaint shall be so dismissed as malicious, it shall be competent to the Justice, at the instance of the party charged, to adjudge the complainant, if an apprenticed labourer, to imprisonment with hard labour, for any time not exceeding one month; or, if the employer of any such labourer, to a fine not exceeding 40s. for the benefit of the party

party charged, which judgment shall be a bar to any suit, action or prosecution, against such complainant for calumny, defamation, or otherwise, in respect of such his complaint.

20.—If the Justice shall by such his decision, convict the party charged, or shall convict the complainant of preferring a frivolous and vexatious, or a malicious complaint, such conviction shall be severally drawn up according to the forms annexed, marked (F. G. H.)

21.—If such Magistrate shall commit the party charged to take his trial for the imputed offence, such commitment shall be drawn up in the form annexed, marked (I.)

22.—Upon any such conviction as aforesaid, by such special Justice, he shall forthwith issue a warrant for the execution thereof, which warrant shall be in the form annexed, marked (K.)

23.—All summonses, warrants, commitments and other orders so to be issued by any such Justice as aforesaid, shall be executed by the police officers of his district—such Justice being nevertheless authorized, as occasion may require, to address the same to any other person or persons jointly with, or instead of such officers of police, as to him may seem requisite.

24.—Any summons, warrant or order issued by any such special Justice within his own district, may, without any further authority, be carried into execution in any part of the Colony, though beyond such district.

25.—If any person summoned by any such Justice as a witness shall not appear in obedience to such summons, or appearing, shall refuse to be sworn or examined, or to answer any question proposed to him by such Justice in relation to the matters depending before him, it shall be lawful for such Justice to issue his warrant for the arrest of any such defaulter, or to commit him to close custody, there to remain until he shall submit to be so sworn and examined, and to make such answers as aforesaid. Every such warrant of arrest or commitment shall be in the form annexed, marked (L. & M.)

26.—If it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Governor, that the forms of proceeding hereinbefore prescribed are needlessly burdensome upon the Justices of the several districts within the Colony, or of any one or more of such districts; or that they impede or interfere with the prompt and effective execution of the law, the Governor shall be entitled to suspend any part of the preceding rules relating to such procedure, or to adapt the same to the circumstances of the case, so as more effectually to promote the punctual, orderly and effective execution of the law, and for that purpose to issue proclamations, which shall be transmitted for His Majesty's confirmation, and which, until disallowed, shall be in full force.

27.—If any suit or action shall be commenced against any special Justice, in respect of any act, matter or thing by him done by virtue and in pursuance thereof; and if the Court shall give judgment for the defendant, the plaintiff shall by such judgment be condemned to pay treble costs of suit.

28.—If in any such suit or action such Justice shall, at any time before final judgment tender to the plaintiff sufficient amends for the wrong or injury in respect of which the same may be brought and submit to pay the costs of suit up to that time incurred; and if the plaintiff shall refuse to accept such amends and costs of suit, then upon proof made to the Court at the trial of such suit, that such amends have been so tendered and were sufficient, judgment shall be given for the plaintiff in the amount of the sum so tendered, subject nevertheless to the reduction therefrom of the costs of suit of the defendant.

29.—No suit or action shall be brought against any such Justice in respect of any matter or thing by him done under or in pursuance hereof, unless the same shall be commenced within six months after the cause of action occurred.

CAP. III.—ON THE DIVISION OF APPRENTICED LABOURERS INTO THEIR RESPECTIVE CLASSES.

THE fourth section of the Act requires the division of the apprenticed labourers into the three classes of prædial attached, prædial unattached and non-prædial; and this distribution is supposed or assumed in all the subsequent clauses. The question to be solved is, how it shall be ascertained in reference to each individual to which of the three classes he belongs. The following suggestions for that purpose are framed not without a constant reference to the single rule laid down by Parliament respecting it, that no person above the age of twelve shall be included in the class of prædial apprentices, unless for twelve months before the date of the Act he had been habitually employed in prædial labour.

1.—By a day to be appointed for that purpose, the Registrar of Slaves shall deliver to every owner of slaves, a list of the slaves appearing in the registry to belong to him, for which a fee of 2s. only shall be charged.

2.—By a time to be fixed for the purpose, every such owner of slaves shall return such list to the Registrar, distinguishing in reference to each slave therein mentioned to which of the three classes he belongs.

3.—To every such return shall be annexed an affidavit to the effect that the distinctions therein made correspond with the occupations usually pursued for twelve months next preceding the date of the Act, by each of the slaves to whom such returns may refer.

4.—If in any case the Registrar shall see cause to doubt the accuracy of the return, he shall appoint a time and place at which the owner shall attend him to substantiate the accuracy of such return.

5.—At the time and place so to be appointed, the person to whom such notice shall be addressed shall attend such Registrar, and if required shall bring with him any slave respecting whom any such doubt may have arisen.

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6.—The Registrar shall then proceed to examine the person making such return, and the slave respecting whom such doubt has arisen, and any witnesses who may be adduced respecting the truth of such return; and may, if necessary, adjourn such examination from time to time.

7.—The Registrar shall then either confirm or correct any such return as he may see fit, giving notice to the party making such return, and to the slaves respectively, of such his decision.

8.—If either the party making such return, or the slave to whom it may refer, shall be dissatisfied with the decision of the Registrar, such party may on his own behalf, and the Registrar may on the behalf of such slave, apply to the chief or to any other Judge of the superior court in such Colony by petition, setting forth the nature of such decision and the objections thereto.

9.—The Judge to whom any such petition may be preferred shall proceed in a summary way to hear and to decide upon the same, and his decision shall be final and conclusive.

10.—The Judges of the said court shall make all necessary rules for regulating the proceedings upon every such petition in the manner which may be most conducive to method, punctuality and dispatch.

11.—When such proceedings as aforesaid shall have taken place, there shall be affixed to the entry of the name of each prædial attached slave in the registry the letters P. A.; of each prædial unattached slave, the letters P. U.; and of each non-prædial slave, the letters N. P.

12.—During the continuance of the apprenticeship the slave registry so corrected as aforesaid shall be deposited amongst the records of the superior courts of the Colony: and when any question shall arise respecting the class to which any apprenticed labourer belongs, such corrected registry, or a certified extract thereof, shall be taken as conclusive evidence of the fact.

13.—Any person neglecting or omitting to make the return or the affidavit before mentioned, or to attend the Registrar when summoned by him for that purpose, shall incur a penalty of not more than 10*l.* nor less than 20*s.*; and in the event of the wilful absence of any such person, it shall be lawful for the Registrar to proceed and to decide any such question as though such party had attended.

CAP. IV.—ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE APPRENTICED LABOURERS.

UNDER the 11th clause of the Act the rules of law at present regulating the maintenance of slaves are to apply to the case of apprenticed labourers. In Colonies where such rules exist, nothing remains to be done on this subject, except to denounce penalties for disobedience to, or neglect of the law. But in those Colonies where slaves are maintained, not by the supply of provisions, but by the allotment of ground, it will be necessary to regulate the quantity and the situation of such ground, and to determine what portion of time is to be deducted for that purpose from the forty-five hours of weekly labour to which the employer is entitled.

In the Crown Colonies these matters have been regulated partly by the Order in Council of November 1831, and partly by certain supplementary regulations which the Governors were authorized to establish. It is proposed, therefore, to transcribe, in form of a quotation or preamble, the law of Guiana respecting the supplies and provision grounds as modified by the late Governor, and to declare all such rules applicable to the case of apprenticed labourers, transferring only to the special Justice the powers at present exercised by the Protector for ensuring obedience to such laws.

CAP. V.—ON THE DUTIES TO BE PERFORMED BY THE APPRENTICED LABOURERS, AND THE PENALTIES FOR THEIR NON-PERFORMANCE.

THE principal dangers to be apprehended are—1st, indolence; 2d, neglect of work; 3d, the improper performance of work; 4th, injury to the employer's property; 5th, insubordination and disobedience to the lawful commands of the employer. It is against these dangers, therefore, that the penalties of the law must be directed. The rules established by Parliament under this head are merely negatives. They are—1st, that the punishment must not be inflicted by the authority of the employer himself; 2d, that in the case of females the punishment of whipping must not be employed; 3d, that the offences of apprenticed labourers against their employers must be inquired of only by Magistrates holding special commissions; 4th, that the prolongation or renewal of the apprenticeship must not be included in the list of punishments, to which rule, however, a qualification has been added, to the effect, that in the event of labourers absenting themselves from their employer's service, they may be compelled to make satisfaction to the employer for the time so abstracted, during any period not exceeding seven years from the termination of the apprenticeship; 5th, that no extra labour shall be imposed as a punishment for more than fifteen hours in a week; 6th, that no apprenticed labourer shall be required to work on a Sunday, except in certain excepted cases. It is therefore proposed to enact as follows:

1.—For every hour in which any labourer shall absent himself from his employer's service without reasonable cause, he shall be compelled to serve two extra hours, provided that such extra hours shall not exceed fifteen in the whole in any one week.

2.—Any apprenticed labourer absenting himself without reasonable cause for more than seven and a half hours in any one week, shall be adjudged a deserter.

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3.—Any apprenticed labourer absenting himself without reasonable cause for two days during one week, shall be adjudged a vagabond.

4.—Any apprenticed labourer absenting himself without reasonable cause for more than six days in any one week, shall be adjudged a runaway.

5.—The reasonableness of the cause of absence shall, in each case, be decided by the special Justice.

6.—Apprenticed labourers adjudged deserters shall be confined to hard labour for any time not exceeding one week; those adjudged vagabonds, to hard labour for any time not exceeding two weeks, and to any number of stripes, not exceeding fifteen; those adjudged runaways, to hard labour for any time not exceeding one month, and to any number of stripes not exceeding thirty.

7.—Any apprenticed labourer convicted of performing his work indolently, carelessly or negligently, shall, for the first offence, be adjudged to labour in his employer's service for any time, not exceeding fifteen hours in the whole (in any one week); for the second offence, to confinement with hard labour, for any time not exceeding one week; for the third, or any subsequent offence, to confinement with hard labour for any time not exceeding one fortnight, with whipping not exceeding twenty stripes.

8.—Any labourer who by the careless use of fire shall wilfully endanger the property of his employer or any other person, or who shall wantonly injure the property of his employer intrusted to his care, or who shall ill-use the cattle or other live stock of his employer, or who shall by wilful negligence expose his employer's property to any damage or injury, shall for such offence be adjudged, in the discretion of the Justice, either to extra labour in his employer's service for any time not exceeding fifteen hours in the whole in any one week, or to confinement to hard labour for any time not exceeding one month, or to any number of stripes not exceeding thirty lashes, or to any two or more of such punishments. Provided that this enactment shall not exempt any such labourer from his or her liability to such actions or prosecutions as other persons of free condition may be subject and liable to, in respect of any such acts by him or her done or omitted, although no such labourer shall be liable to be so sued or prosecuted, both under this order and under such general law as aforesaid.

9.—Any apprenticed labourer who shall contumaciously disobey the lawful commands of his employer, shall be liable to any one or more of the punishments last aforesaid.

10.—Any three or more apprenticed labourers who shall agree together to make any resistance to the lawful commands of their employers, shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful conspiracy, and shall be adjudged to confinement to hard labour for any period not exceeding six months, with whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes.

11.—Any three or more labourers who shall be engaged in a combined and open resistance to the lawful commands of their employer, shall, on conviction, be adjudged to the punishments last aforesaid, or any one of them.

12.—Any apprenticed labourer who shall be in a state of drunkenness, or who shall be found fighting, or who shall conduct himself in an insolent and insubordinate manner towards his employer or any person in the immediate superintendence of his labour, shall, for every such offence, be liable on conviction to imprisonment with hard labour for any time not exceeding one week, or to whipping not exceeding fifteen stripes.

13.—Provided always, that no woman shall be subject to be punished by whipping for any offence by her committed; but that in all cases aforesaid in which that punishment is authorized, it shall be understood as applying to the case of males only, and that all the offences in respect of which such punishment may be inflicted on any such male offender, shall, when committed by females, be punished by confinement in the stocks, or by distinguishing marks or dresses. The stocks to be employed for that purpose shall all be according to one general model, to be sanctioned by the Governor, and no female shall for any offence by her committed be confined in the stocks after sunset or before sunrise, or for more than eight hours in the whole for any one day, or for more than two days consecutively, or for more than six days in the whole for any one offence.

14.—All the offences aforesaid shall be inquired of by the Magistrates having special commissions, and not by any other Justice of the Peace. But any such special Magistrate may, if he shall see occasion, refer any such case for trial, to the superior court of the Colony.

CAP. VI.—ON THE DUTIES TO BE PERFORMED BY THE EMPLOYERS TOWARDS THEIR APPRENTICED LABOURERS; AND THE PENALTIES FOR THEIR NON-PERFORMANCE.

1.—If the employer of any prædial apprenticed labourer shall, by force or fraud, protract the weekly services of such labourer beyond the period by law allowed for that purpose, he shall forfeit, for the benefit of such labourer, the sum of 1s. in respect of every hour which such service shall be protracted.

2.—It shall be the duty of every such employer to intimate to the labourers in his employment, the commencement and the close of the legal hours of labour; for which purpose a signal shall be given in such manner as shall, in reference to each plantation, have been previously approved by the special Justice of the district; which signal shall always be of such a nature as to be distinctly visible or audible to the several prædial apprenticed labourers in the service of any such person.

3.—No apprenticed labourer shall be bound to undertake any task-work, except with his own free assent to the same, save as hereinafter is excepted.

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4.—Every contract between the employer and the prædial apprenticed labourer, for the performance of any specific work as a task, and in lieu of the prescribed daily labour, or for the performance of any labour in extra hours, shall, by such employer, be reduced into writing and entered in a book to be kept for that purpose on the plantation; which book it shall be the duty of the special Justice to inspect, as often as he shall in manner aforesaid repair to the several plantations within his district.

5.—No contract between the employer and the prædial apprenticed labourer for the performance of any such specific or task work, or for the performance of any labour in extra hours, shall endure or continue in force, or be binding upon the parties entering into the same, or either of them, after the expiration of 14 days from the making thereof, unless the same shall have been made and entered into by such parties, in the presence and with the approbation of such special Justice of the Peace, or unless having been entered into in his absence, the same shall be confirmed and approved by him before the expiration of such 14 days. And every such approbation of any such contract shall, by such special Justice, be attested under his hand in the book so to be kept as aforesaid.

6.—It shall be the duty of the special Magistrate, before approving any such contract, to ascertain that the terms thereof are distinctly understood by the apprenticed labourers entering into the same; and that such labourers have entered into such contract freely and voluntarily, and that the same is not unreasonable or unjust.

7.—In every such contract for task-work, or for extra service extending beyond the period of one fortnight, the nature and amount of the extra labour to be performed, and the amount of the consideration to be given for the same, and the time and manner of paying such consideration, shall be distinctly expressed.

8.—No contract for such extra service as aforesaid shall continue in force for more than one year, from the day of the date thereof.

9.—Upon proof being made, to the satisfaction of such special Justice, of the non-payment of the consideration stipulated for in any such contract as aforesaid, whether for task-work or for extra services, it shall be competent to such Justice, and he is hereby authorized to award execution against such employer for the amount of such consideration; and if the same shall not be paid within one week next after such award, to issue an attachment against the produce, utensils and other chattels upon such plantation, which execution and award shall be respectively in the forms annexed, marked (N. & O.)

10.—Such execution and attachment as aforesaid shall be executed by the serjeant of the police of the district, who shall thereunder seize and sell so much of the produce, utensils and other chattels as may be found upon such plantation, as may be necessary for the payment of such debt, delivering over the surplus, if any, to such employer.

11.—Any apprenticed labourer violating the terms of such contract, as aforesaid, for task-work or for extra service, shall be liable to the same pains and penalties as are before provided in respect of the violation by any such labourer of the duties to be by him performed in the discharge of the services owing by him by law to such his employer.

12.—Every married woman, notwithstanding her coverture, and every child of the age of 12 years and upwards, notwithstanding his infancy, shall be competent to enter into such contracts, as aforesaid, for task-work or for extra service.

13.—If any employer of any apprenticed labourer shall whip, beat, imprison, confine in the stocks, or otherwise maltreat any such apprenticed labourer, or shall, by way of punishment commit any assault upon his person, such employer shall incur a penalty to be imposed by such special Justice as aforesaid, not exceeding 5*l.* with imprisonment for any time not exceeding one month in default of the payment of such fine.

14.—In any such case as last aforesaid, it shall be competent to any such apprenticed labourer, instead of preferring his complaint to such special Justice, to maintain any civil suit or action, as in the case of any other free person, for damages for such assault; and it shall also be competent to such special Justice, if he shall see occasion, to abstain from imposing such penalty, and to commit the offender to take his trial for such offence before any court having jurisdiction in the premises. If any such employer shall be convicted before any court of competent jurisdiction of any cruelty towards his apprenticed labourer, or if any such employer shall be twice convicted of inflicting any corporal punishment, or of making any assault upon the person of any such labourer, then the labourer shall be discharged from his apprenticeship by order of the Court before which such conviction shall be had.

CAP. VII.—ON OFFENCES WHICH MAY BE COMMITTED BY THE APPRENTICED LABOURERS AGAINST THE STATE, AND THE PUNISHMENT OF SUCH OFFENCES.

THE peace and good order of society will be endangered by the apprenticed labourers considered as a distinct class, in one or other of the five following modes: 1st, by riot; 2d, by marronage; 3d, by the desertion of helpless children; 4th, by settling upon lands without any legal title; 5th, by the desertion of the Colonies to which they belong. The following proposed enactments are intended to counteract these various dangers.

1.—If any three or more apprenticed labourers shall unite together in any riot or tumultuous assemblage, any Justice of the Peace who shall be present at the same, shall cause a flag or some other conspicuous signal to be exhibited as a warning to all persons there present, to separate and disperse quietly.

2.—All persons who, at the expiration of ten minutes from the exhibition of such flag or signal, shall continue present at any such riotous assemblage, shall, on conviction, be liable to imprisonment with hard labour, for any time not exceeding twelve months.

3.—No

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

23

Enclosure in (E.)
and (F.)
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3.—No labourer shall reside beyond the limits of the district in which he may be resident on the 1st of August next, unless either by the authority of his employer or with the consent in writing of the special Justice of such district.

4.—Every labourer found beyond the limits of the district to which he belongs, except in his way to and from market, or to or from some place of public worship, and not having with him a written pass for that purpose from his employer, or from the special Justice of the district, shall be liable to be apprehended and detained, and shall, on conviction, be adjudged a vagabond, and punished accordingly.

5.—Any apprenticed labourer who shall for seven days or upwards absent himself from his employer's service without reasonable cause, to be allowed by the special Justice of the district to which he may belong, shall by such special Justice be adjudged a runaway, and shall be sentenced to three months' imprisonment and hard labour, or, if a male, to whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes.

6.—If it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of any special Justice that any apprenticed labourers have, without lawful authority, established themselves in any part of the Colony as a distinct community, habitually abandoning and neglecting to perform the duties imposed upon them by law, such Justice of the Peace shall cause any such community to be dislodged, and, if necessary, shall also cause their habitations to be taken down and removed.

7.—Any labourer convicted of having been a member of any such community shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding six months, and, if a male, to whipping by any number of stripes not exceeding thirty-nine.

8.—All officers and privates of the Colonial Militia shall be aiding in carrying into effect any directions which may be issued by any such special Magistrate as aforesaid for dislodging any such community as aforesaid.

9.—If any apprenticed labourer, being in good health and able to work, and being the father of a child under the age of twelve years, shall not make adequate provision for the subsistence of such child, it shall be lawful for any special Magistrate to adjudge any such labourer to hard labour, and to apply the earnings of such labourer towards the support and maintenance of any such child.

10.—For the purpose last aforesaid, such special Justice may hire out the labour of any such father to any person who may be willing to agree for the same, or to labour on any public works, on the best terms which can be procured.

11.—Such compulsory labour as aforesaid shall not be continued longer than may be necessary to provide for the maintenance of the child of such labourer for one month in advance.

12.—In case any such child, so unprovided for as aforesaid, shall have no father living, then the regulations aforesaid shall apply to the mother of such child, if alive, and competent by her labour to provide for the maintenance of such child.

13.—All the penalties before denounced in case of indolence, neglect of work, or otherwise, in respect of labour performed by the apprenticed labourers in the service of their employers, shall apply to the case of labour undertaken for the maintenance of any such child as aforesaid, by virtue of any such order as aforesaid.

14.—If any labourer shall, without lawful authority, enter into possession of any land belonging to His Majesty, or to any other person, it shall be lawful for any special Justice to dispossess such labourer from such land, and from any buildings thereon erected, and to cause the same, with all crops growing thereupon, to be delivered up to the owner of such land; or in case such owner shall not, within one month after such seizure, appear and prefer his claim to such land, then the special Justice shall order the crops, cattle and other goods seized thereupon to be sold, and the proceeds of such sales to be paid over to the Public Treasurer of the Colony.

15.—The summary process aforesaid shall not be taken in any case where any such apprenticed labourer may have been for two years in the undisturbed possession of any such land.

16.—The special Justice may further adjudge any apprenticed labourer, unlawfully taking possession of such land, to imprisonment with hard labour for any time not exceeding three months, if it should be made to appear to his satisfaction that such possession was taken fraudulently and with knowledge that the party had no lawful claim to such possession.

17.—No apprenticed labourer shall quit the Colony except without a passport from the Governor, which passport shall not be granted except with the written consent of the employer.

18.—Any labourer quitting, or attempting to quit the Colony without such passport, shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding six months.

19.—All persons whose ordinary occupation is on the sea, or on any navigable stream as fishermen or mariners, shall be registered as such at the office of the special Justice of the district; and any apprenticed labourer engaging in such occupation, without being first so registered, shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour, for any time not exceeding three months.

20.—All vessels and boats not registered under the Navigation Acts shall be registered at the office of the special Justice of the district, with whom shall be entered the description of the vessel or boat, the name of the owner and the place at which the same is usually moored.

0.21.

21.—No

Enclosure in (E.)
and (F.)
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21.—No person shall keep a vessel or boat so registered, except by a license from the Governor.

22.—All licensed owners of such boats or vessels shall be bound to moor them, when not actually afloat, at the place or places mentioned in such license.

23.—All unlicensed vessels and boats shall be liable to seizure and confiscation; and all other vessels and boats moored at any place not mentioned in the license shall be liable to detention until the owner thereof shall have paid a fine of not less than 20s. nor more than 5*l.*

24.—All persons removing, or assisting to remove, any apprenticed labourer from the Colony, in any boat or vessel, without a passport from the Governor, shall be liable to a penalty of 50*l.*, or to imprisonment for any time not exceeding one month.

CAP. VIII.—ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE APPRENTICESHIP BY CONTRACT OR APPRAISEMENT.

THE subject of the purchase by slaves of their freedom, whether with or against the assent of the owner, has for many years past occupied much time, and given occasion to a protracted correspondence with the Colonies. The law on this head was consolidated by the Order of November 1831. It is proposed to transfer this law to the case of a discharge from apprenticeships. The abridgment of labour, and the saving of time, are not the only recommendations of this method. It will also have the convenience of following a precedent which was maturely considered, and which has long been subjected to the test of experience. It does not appear that any thing more is necessary than to recite this part of the law respecting the manumission of slaves, and to provide that it should apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present case; the special Justice being to perform the part at present borne in such proceedings by the Protector.

CAP. IX.—ON THE REMOVAL OF PRÆDIAL APPRENTICED LABOURERS FROM ONE PLANTATION TO ANOTHER.

THE 9th section of the Act of Parliament requires, that the supplementary laws shall determine the terms and the manner in which the consent of the Justice to every transfer of labourers from one plantation to another, shall be given, attested and recorded. Under this head, therefore, it does not appear that any thing further is requisite than to annex a form for such consents, and to declare that a book shall be kept by each special Justice, in which he shall record every such consent as may be given by himself.

CAP. X.—ON THE APPRENTICESHIP OF CHILDREN.

THE 13th section contains the rules respecting the apprenticeship of young children; and the 16th requires that the supplementary laws shall determine the manner and form in which such indentures shall be made, registered and preserved. Under this head all that seems wanting is a proper form, with a direction that the indentures, when executed, shall be registered and preserved by the special Justice.

CAP. XI.—ON THE ALIENATION BY SALE, INHERITANCE, OR WILL, OF THE SERVICES OF APPRENTICED LABOURERS.

THIS is the subject of the 10th clause of the Act which requires the enactment of supplementary laws regulating the alienation and descent of this new species of property. The questions to which it gives rise are such as to make it extremely difficult to lay down rules exempt from many strange legal anomalies. That which has hitherto been dealt with as a permanent inheritance, has passed into a tenure of five or seven years. It is no longer a real but a chattel interest, and should therefore apparently pass by the same modes of conveyance, will and descent as other chattels. But such an innovation would disturb all existing titles, and disappoint all present expectations. It appears, therefore, that the single regulation which can be made is, that the ancient rules of law shall continue in force as far as the abridged duration of the property itself will allow.

CAP. XII.—ON THE RELATION IN WHICH THE APPRENTICED LABOURERS WILL STAND TOWARDS THE STATE.

THESE terms refer to the subject noticed in the 22d section of the Act, namely, the exemption or disqualification of the apprenticed labourers from holding civil and military offices. The enactments will accordingly be very few and simple. It should be provided that no apprenticed labourer should serve in the militia, or be compelled or competent to hold any office in His Majesty's service. To this general rule two qualifications should be annexed; the first, that it should not absolve the labourers from the duty of serving in any military or civil capacity to which they might be called by the Governor, in case of invasion, rebellion, or any other great public exigency; the second, that the rule should not be extended by construction to offices held in the service of any corporation or body politic, or in any church or ecclesiastical society. There can be no reason why, in common with all other members of the State, the apprenticed labourers should not contribute, on great emergencies to the public defence, nor why a labourer should be disqualified from any of those employments, sometimes called offices, which carry with them no political character or franchise, such as the situations of beadles, parish clerks, and so on.

J A M A I C A.

— No. 1. —

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Mulgrave* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

King's House, Jamaica, 5 August 1833.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Circular Despatch of the 13th of June, with a copy of the Resolutions of The House of Commons, declaring the expediency of adopting immediate and effectual measures for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies; and as you at the same time state most explicitly, and, in my opinion, most justly, how desirable it would be to procure if possible the cordial co-operation of all classes of the colonists, and especially of the Colonial Legislatures, as tending to insure a safe and satisfactory adjustment of this difficult question, I therefore immediately summoned the Legislature of Jamaica, to meet and proceed to business on the 27th instant, the day to which they had been previously prorogued, as during the suspense that had till then prevailed as to the course to be taken on the subject by the British Parliament, I thought it better that they should not be in session, lest unnecessary disputes should arise out of the speculated intentions of the Government.

It is of course impossible for me as yet to form an accurate opinion as to what may be the conduct of the Assembly when they meet, as I am yet in ignorance in what shape the measure may be sent out. But as two more packets will become due between this and the 27th instant, I am in hopes that by that time I may have received from you the proposition in the form in which you may wish it to be submitted to them, and I think on every account that it is desirable no unnecessary delay should take place after I am in full possession of your views. In the mean time, I am happy to be able to say that the modifications which the measure had received, and particularly the increased amount of compensation, has very much dissipated that dissatisfaction which had arisen, and I trust that amongst the great body of colonists a better spirit is beginning to prevail. Whilst the conduct of the negroes is at present all that could be wished, and they seem inclined to wait with exemplary patience till I am enabled to communicate to them the result of His Majesty's gracious intentions in their favour.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Mulgrave*.

JAMAICA.
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No. 1.

— No. 2. —

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Mulgrave* to the Right Hon.
E. G. Stanley, dated King's House, Jamaica, 13th October 1833.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Legislature of Jamaica met, pursuant to Proclamation, on Tuesday, the 8th instant, and herewith I enclose a Copy of the Speech with which I opened the Session, as well as the Address of both the Council and Assembly, and my replies thereto.

The decision to which I at length came to allow them to meet, notwithstanding the absence of any precise instructions from home upon the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, was not adopted without the most anxious deliberation. The period to which they had last been prorogued was not, however, more than a fortnight earlier than their usual time of meeting, and I was aware, as I told them in my opening Address, that "there was not only an arrear of business from the last Session, but that much new matter must be expected to come before them, and that it was also this year peculiarly desirable that they should not be detained from their homes till the very eve of the holidays."

I was fully aware of the difficulty of the task of alluding in my speech to the impending change in society here as one that was inevitable, which I felt it to be my duty, under present circumstances to do. I am happy to say, that I have been so far successful, that I believe no objection has been taken to one word contained in my speech.

No. 2.

JAMAICA.

Enclosure
in No. 2.

Enclosure in No. 2.

Jamaica, House of Assembly, October 8, 1833.

EXTRACT of the SPEECH delivered by his Excellency the Governor, on the opening
of the Session :

Gentlemen of the Council,

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

That period is at length arrived which I have long anxiously expected, when I can meet you with the certain prospect of being able to lay before you, during the session, every information from home connected with that most important change in the state of society here, towards which the public attention has now for some time been impatiently directed.

So desirous was I that the earliest opportunity should be given for you to exercise your discretion in expressing your opinion upon this subject, that the moment I received decisive intelligence as to the proposed measures of His Majesty's Government, I determined at once to convene the Legislature. Delay, arising from causes over which there was no control, unexpectedly intervened, and subsequent prorogations were the necessary consequence. Knowing, however, that there is not only an arrear of business from the last session, but that much new matter must be expected to come before you, and that it is this year peculiarly desirable that you should not be detained from your homes till the very eve of the holidays, I have been most unwilling again to postpone your meeting; and I have called you together now, in the confidence, that, in a very few days, I must be able to submit to you, in the most official form, every communication from the British Government on this one all-absorbing question.

The crisis at which we are at present assembled, is not only of an importance unparalleled in the annals of the Colony, but the interests it involves are of as vital and comprehensive a nature in relation to the community represented, as perhaps ever arrested the attention of a legislative body. Your task now commences, and I have no doubt, that postponing all minor considerations from a sense of the paramount importance of this great question, you will enter upon it in a true spirit of conciliation, and with that thorough understanding of the actual state of the case, which can alone lead to a satisfactory decision. My active duties with relation to this subject, I considered coeval with the first public announcement of the intended plan of Government, and my attention was at once directed to preserve the public peace under the inevitable excitement thus produced. In furtherance of which object, I have availed myself of all the means at present placed at my disposal to increase the numbers of the garrison; and I have acted upon the authority which I had in anticipation, requested and procured, to render the services of the troops more immediately available by the disposition of detachments in different country posts. I have lately made a personal inspection of all the most populous districts of the Island, and I am happy to assure you that I have no where seen any reason at present to apprehend the slightest disturbance. I have uniformly taken pains myself to explain to the negro population, wherever I have had an opportunity, that whatever good intention His Majesty might have in their behalf, it was by their own good conduct alone that they could ensure its ultimate fulfilment. That, in the meantime, nothing could interfere with their masters' still undoubted right to their services. That, even after the projected change, they could only expect legal protection under a system of moderated work; and that, whatever might be their country or their colour, those who are born to labour must live by industry.

To the general diffusion of such sentiments amongst the negroes, as coming from the executive, I am inclined to attach some importance; and, at the same time, in connexion with that great object of preserving the peace of the country, in the anxious interval which must elapse, before any new system can be matured, I do not doubt that you will feel as strongly as I do, that power, resting upon personal authority which is about to expire, had always better be gradually and voluntarily abandoned, than abruptly extinguished at the period fixed by a legislative enactment. It was with this view, and in the full confidence that such would be your sentiments, that the date of the first change, as originally proposed by the Government, was afterwards postponed. If, therefore, amongst the subordinate managers of properties, there should, in some instances, unfortunately appear a disposition to strain to the utmost in its extreme severity, and to its latest hour, that power of discretionary punishment which is at present in their hands, I feel assured that you would consider such a course as dangerous, not only to the actual tranquillity, but to the subsequent orderly settlement of the community; and that, as representing the general interests of the Colony, and the real owners of the slaves you would, under present circumstances more than ever, discourage any capricious stretch of discipline, not necessary to the enforcement of that legal portion of labour which must be obtained.

The question of the Abolition of Slavery is one, the constant agitation of which is frequently alleged to have paralyzed many of the resources of this fertile Colony. It has long been evident that this state of things could but lead to one termination—its ultimate settlement was therefore on all accounts desirable. The unavoidable crisis has at last been accelerated by the almost unanimous voice of your fellow-subjects in the mother country. However praiseworthy the motives of their interference, you might have had just reason to complain, had the attempt been made to redeem the national character, and to vindicate the cause of humanity at your exclusive expense; but the sympathy of the British people has not been of that spurious self-sparing nature, and liberality of the sacrifice on their part, has been worthy of the magnitude of the object they disinterestedly sought to obtain.

Long before this time, a grant of twenty millions to the present owners of slaves will, as an Act of Parliament, have received the Royal Assent.

It is but justice to you to state, that you have never expressed any desire to perpetuate slavery, provided compensation could, as at present, be secured. To the principle of the change I do not therefore anticipate any objection. Upon its details I shall most gladly avail myself of your judgment and experience. I cordially invite the most unreserved communications with myself upon whatever points you may wish for further information, assuring you, that upon all occasions, you will find the most anxious desire on my part to meet your views, convinced as I am, that whilst you well know a continuance of the present system to be impossible, you will feel that uncertainty is itself an evil, that delay can only increase danger, and suspense can only aggravate loss, and that though the actual operation of the new system may not be immediate, its settlement should on every account now be final.

I am far from underrating the difficulties of this momentous but now inevitable experiment. It is in your power, in a most material degree, to diminish the dangers of the transition, and in the same degree will you justly render the credit of success your own. For myself, I will only say, that amidst all our present anxieties, I entertain a sanguine hope that the time will come, when society being restored to a healthy state under equal laws, and an amalgamation of all classes, this land so favoured by nature, may, in the prolific expansion of hitherto unexplored resources, enjoy a solid, deserved, and therefore permanent prosperity.

Jamaica, ss.

To his Excellency the Right honourable *Constantine Henry* Earl of *Mulgrave*, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Order, one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of this His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council of Jamaica, beg leave to return your Excellency our thanks for your speech at the opening of this session.

We fully appreciate the motives which have induced your Excellency to fix on the present period for convening the Legislature, and we assure your Excellency that any communication which your Excellency may be pleased to submit to us, shall receive our best consideration.

The important crisis at which we are now assembled, and the vital interests involved in it, are of such paramount importance as must command the truest spirit of conciliation.

The measures adopted by your Excellency to preserve the public peace, at a moment of such excitement, demand our grateful acknowledgments, and we attach the greatest importance to the diffusion of those sentiments, as coming from the executive, expressed by your Excellency to the negro population.

In connexion with the object of preserving the peace of the country during a most anxious interval, too much care cannot be taken by the managers of properties to render gradual and thereby safe a change of such magnitude as that proposed by the new system, and we deprecate any unnecessary or capricious stretch of discipline.

We shall most cordially avail ourselves of your Excellency's offer should we require further information in the arrangement of the system about to be established; and we agree with your Excellency in thinking that its settlement should now be final.

We heartily join your Excellency in the hope that the many difficulties of this momentous experiment may be surmounted, and the desired and permanent prosperity of this valuable Colony established.

To which his Excellency was pleased to make the following reply:—

Gentlemen of the Council,

I return you my most sincere thanks for your Address, containing as it does every assurance which at such an anxious crisis I could desire.

I have no doubt, when the great question comes in detail before you, that your treatment of it will be such as might be expected from your patriotic zeal and practical knowledge; and it is through such beneficial co-operation on your parts that I am inclined to hope that our exertions may ultimately be crowned with success.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

May it please your Excellency,

WE thank you for your speech at the opening of the session.

When your Excellency shall be able to lay before the House the information alluded to, connected with a measure upon which the fate of this Colony depends, it will be received with that serious attention which so important a subject demands from us, and our best exertions will be directed, at this momentous crisis, to secure to our constituents all the advantages that can possibly result from the contemplated change in the state of our society, and to endeavour to avert any evils that may arise from an experiment in legislation, of which history furnishes no parallel example.

We thank your Excellency for the able disposition you have made of the forces at your command, and for the precautions you have taken to maintain public tranquillity; we
sincerely

JAMAICA.

sincerely hope your exertions may prove successful, and that, under Divine Providence, this Island may be preserved in peace.

The people of Jamaica have never advocated slavery in the abstract, but as connected with their rights of property, upon the principle of compensation, they are ready to relinquish the system, and will be proud to show that they have feelings as favourable to the improvement of the labouring population as their fellow subjects in the mother country all they desire is to be fairly dealt with.

The House can confidently assure your Excellency, that it will be their endeavour, as it is their duty, to promote the welfare of all classes of society, and it will be a subject of rejoicing (should the period ever arrive) when the present agitated and perilous condition of the Island shall be settled into permanent prosperity.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

I have listened with unmingled satisfaction to the Address just presented, containing, as it does in every sentiment, evidence of a disposition on your part the best calculated to meet fairly the difficulties of the critical situation of the Colony.

The magnitude of the objects at present at stake would be sufficient to absorb the expression of any mere personal gratification, but as my own most anxious wishes are fixed on the final settlement of that great question, which this session awaits your decision, I hail so auspicious a commencement of our labours, as affording the best hope that our united efforts may, by the blessing of Divine Providence, be brought to a successful issue.

—No. 3.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Earl of *Mulgrave*.

No. 3.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 8 January 1834.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch of the 13th October last, informing me of the meeting of the Legislature of Jamaica on the 8th of that month, and enclosing copies of the speech with which your Lordship opened the session, and of the addresses of the Council and Assembly, and of your Lordship's replies.

I have great satisfaction in conveying to your Lordship my opinion, that the course which you adopted in convening the Legislature previously to the arrival of the Act of Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery, was, under the existing circumstances, extremely judicious, and was entirely in accordance with the instructions which you had received on the subject in my Despatch of the 26th June last.

I have also to express to your Lordship my approbation of your Lordship's speech on opening the session. Its conciliatory yet dignified tone was extremely well calculated to introduce favourably to the Legislature the topic which was to be the subject of their future deliberations; and I am happy to perceive, from the addresses of the Council and Assembly to your Lordship, that it was duly appreciated and was met in a corresponding spirit.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley*.

—No. 4.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Mulgrave* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*, dated King's House, Jamaica, 24 November 1833.

No. 4.

I AM happy to be able to inform you, that a Bill for giving effect to the provisions of the British Act for the Abolition of Slavery having been introduced into the House of Assembly, has passed through all its stages, except the last; that it stands for a third reading to-morrow, which is considered will be a mere matter of form; and I hope to be enabled to announce its having finally passed the House in a postscript.

It has of course been my anxious endeavour, in the absence of any positive instructions from you, to induce the members of the House with whom I have had personal communication, to bring forward such a measure as should adhere as strictly as possible to the principles of the British Act, and at the same time, as far as they are at present in a condition to do so, to develop such of the details

details as are left to them, with a view to giving effect to its provisions. I do not think, upon the first point, that you will find the slightest cause of complaint, as the majority so completely entered into my view of the importance, in the first instance, of showing their acquiescence in the principle, that in general they have adopted the very words of the British Act. If, upon the second point, their labours should not appear in all respects efficient, it is not from any indisposition to undertake the task required of them, when there shall have been more time given them for consideration; but from a desire to postpone any minor points upon which there might be difference of opinion amongst themselves, to the great object of tendering to the British Government this substantial proof of co-operation on their part, and which they hope will give them a claim to the favourable consideration of a memorial they intend to forward home, asking to be allowed to make some alterations in the details, upon the expediency or practicability of which, as soon as I am made acquainted with them, I have promised to transmit to you, at the same time my own opinion. Upon the ultimate arrangements they may make for the establishment of a police, they are anxious not to be called upon to make any legislative provision till the answers on these subjects are received from England; but I am sure they will be much encouraged to persevere in the improved disposition they have lately shown by that approbation of the measure now passed, which I think upon the whole you will not be inclined to withhold.

I have been confined to my bed for some days, by a severe attack of the fever of the country; and though I am now recovering, I am strongly enjoined by my medical advisers not to attend much to business for the next few days. This will, I trust, be my apology for any omissions that may appear in my communications by this packet. The Bill, of which I have directed a copy to be enclosed, will, I trust, speak satisfactorily for itself.

You will of course be aware that it still remains to be submitted to the Council; but I have been given to understand that any amendments which may seem to that body desirable, will not be pressed, should there appear any risk of such alterations endangering the safety of the Bill.

25 November.

The House, on its meeting this afternoon, agreed to postpone the third reading of the Bill till to-morrow, on account of the absence of several of the members, who are understood to be engaged in their private business, preparatory to the sailing of the packet for England.

(signed.) M.

—No. 5.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 4 January 1834.

I HAVE received your Lordship's Despatch of the 24th November last, transmitting to me a Bill for giving effect to the provisions of the British Act for the Abolition of Slavery, which had been introduced into the House of Assembly, and had passed through all its stages except the last.

As I have not yet had an opportunity of giving that careful attention to the various provisions of the Bill which the importance of the subject requires, I must abstain from expressing a definite opinion on its details, but I cannot withhold the expression of my satisfaction in perceiving, that in all its main principles the proposed Bill is entirely in accordance with the British Act of Parliament. If, however, upon a closer examination of the Bill, any of its enactments shall be found to be defective or objectionable, I feel assured that the Legislature of Jamaica, in the same spirit in which they have already applied themselves to the consideration of this important measure, will adopt such amendments as shall appear to be necessary.

I consider it due to the Assembly of Jamaica to acknowledge that the laudable promptitude which that body has displayed in legislating upon this momentary occasion, is calculated to have a most favourable effect, by way of example, upon the proceedings of the other Legislatures which are now engaged in the consideration of the same subject, and to contribute in no small degree to the speedy and successful completion of the measure of Negro Emancipation in the rest of His Majesty's West India Colonies.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

No. 5.

JAMAICA.

No. 6.

—No. 6.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Mulgrave* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir, Cardiff Hall, St. Ann's Jamaica, 19 December 1833.

IN reference to a paragraph in your circular Despatch of the 19th of October, I am anxious to enter into some explanation, both as to the date at which I received it, and the reason why I had not previously anticipated instructions of such latitude on that particular point. The passage to which I allude refers to the state of apprenticeship, and is as follows: "As these legislatures were expressly authorized to fix the term of apprenticeship, provided it did not exceed a certain duration, so it is clearly within their province, should they deem it safe and prudent so to do, to dispense with it altogether, and to pass at once to a state of unrestricted freedom." This, followed by an intimation that I "was not therefore to consider myself bound to refuse my assent to such an Act," arrived here on the 24th of November, when the House, having been already seven weeks in session, had brought to its last stage a Bill, as nearly as possible adopting all the provisions of the British Act. I had up to that time been acting in the absence of any positive instructions from you, which had probably been delayed from a misapprehension of the usual period of the session here. I had, therefore, been obliged to construe to the best of my judgment, the restrictions contained in the British Act, and to endeavour most anxiously to meet what I thought were the views of yourself and the British Government on the subject. I was not even aware that these Legislatures were *expressly* authorized to fix the term of this apprenticeship, though I should not have felt obliged to refuse my assent, had this term been merely shortened, but, in the absence of any other clue, I studied the line taken by yourself and others, as reported in the debates, in which I uniformly found that it was considered that, after the passing of the first resolutions, The House of Commons was at any rate bound, while shortening it as they pleased, to leave a *bonâ fide term* of apprenticeship. If The House was thus bound, I thought that, the Act having passed, the obligation would be still stronger against any one Colony being permitted by the local executive, on his own responsibility, to introduce contradictory enactments without giving an opportunity to Parliament for revision, and I was strengthened in this opinion by the terms of the English Act, which is almost entirely composed of regulations for apprenticeship, and one clause of which distinctly states that any colonial enactment which is at variance with its provisions shall be thereby null and void.

I am the more anxious to explain my conduct on this point previous to the receipt of this, your circular Despatch, which only arrived at the close of the Session, because I acted exclusively upon a desire to fulfil as nearly as possible, what I considered to be the objects of the Government, and not from any partiality of my own to the apprenticeship, if not necessary, as no person could more wish that it could be safely abrogated, and few could be more sanguine as to the probable success of such an attempt. Believing, however, at the time, that its entire extinction would be too great a departure from the main principles of the English Act to be confirmed at home, I certainly, in private, persuaded some individuals to postpone for the present any endeavour of that nature.

I have thought it right in my own justification, should the circular Despatch ever be made public, to lay before you the whole state of the case, but I the less regret the course I then took, because I have been convinced by subsequent observation that, under no circumstances, would the abolition of apprenticeship have been carried by the majority of the House of Assembly, and the fruitless agitation of that question would of course have only disappointed the negroes with the result. Some few of the advocates of immediate emancipation in the House of Assembly were, I believe, sincerely convinced that that plan would answer best, but others were induced to adopt that cry with a view either to get further compensation, or to avoid the support of the sick and aged, and their tone was considerably altered when I told them that I imagined the first would not be obtained, and the last would in some shape be enforced.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *Mulgrave*.

—No. 7.—

JAMAICA.

No. 7.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Mulgrave* to the Right Hon. *E. G. Stanley*, dated King's House, Jamaica, 13 December 1833.

THE expected packet not having yet arrived, I avail myself of the opportunity of a merchant brig sailing for Liverpool, to communicate to you the termination of the session, and this I am the rather induced to do, that I am about to start to-morrow on an extended tour round the Island, in which I shall be engaged through the ensuing holidays, and this circumstance must therefore prevent my communicating with you in any detail by that occasion.

I announced to you by the last packet, that the Bill in adoption of the English Act for the Abolition of Slavery, after having been subjected to the ordeal of three different committees, two select and one of the whole House, was then supposed to have been ultimately reported in the shape it would without further delay pass. The Bill was finally read a third time, and passed the same evening *nemine contradicente*. Since then, the business of the session has proceeded to its close without any difficulty. They have passed a separate Vagrant Law, copied from English Acts, and a Police Bill. All the enactments of the former do not appear to me applicable to the existing state of society here, but there is nothing, as it seems to me, objectionable in principle. In the Police Bill every thing is left to the discretion of the executive. But I am necessarily prevented from making at present those remarks with which I may think it desirable to accompany these Acts by the next occasion, because it certainly is of the utmost importance for the tranquillity of the country that I should visit all parts of the Island before the conclusion of the holidays, and therefore, as I shall be constantly on the move, I shall not be able to write on any subject which requires reference to papers. As I start to-morrow, and therefore have much business to wind up in this one day that intervenes between the prorogation and my departure, I have only left myself time to add, that I enclose by this accidental opportunity, a copy of the speech with which I had much satisfaction in closing the session, and congratulating all parties on its most important results. I also enclose a copy of the message before alluded to, which I transmitted to the Council and Assembly, in laying before them the draft of the Order in Council which accompanied your circular Despatch of the 19th October.

Cardiff Hall, St. Ann's, 19 December 1833.

Since my departure from the seat of government, a copy of the Act passed by the Legislature for the Abolition of Slavery having been prepared and duly authenticated, I avail myself of the present opportunity of transmitting it to you, believing it to be of importance that you should be in possession of this enactment as early as possible.

It is not in my power, for the reasons already stated, to enter in detail at this moment on any part of its provisions, and I will therefore only observe, that it differs in some particulars from the Bill as it stood after having been read a second time in the Assembly, (a copy of which I transmitted with my Despatch of the 24th ultimo) several amendments having been made in the Council, which are generally considered to be improvements.

The Act is printed in a separate Appendix.

Enclosure 1, in No. 7.

Copy of a MESSAGE transmitted by the Governor of Jamaica to the Council and Assembly, 3 December 1833.

Enclosure 1, in No. 7.

Mr. Speaker,

I AM commanded by his Excellency the Governor to lay before the House of Assembly a document which he has received from His Majesty's Government by the last packet, in the shape of a draft of a proposed Order in Council, which may hereafter be established for the Crown Colonies, with reference to the projected change in society, incident to the Abolition of Slavery.

His Excellency in taking this opportunity of transmitting this document is actuated principally by the desire he professed at the commencement of the session to put the House in possession of any information he might receive, and not by any wish to direct their immediate attention to its subject matter, as the House have not yet come to a decision on the Bill which had already been submitted to them in the message of the 15th of October. His Excellency also thinks it right on this occasion to apprise the Assembly that it has occurred to His Majesty's Ministers that considerable inconvenience might arise from combining in

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one law all the various subjects which must claim the attention of the House as consequent upon the intended change, and it is therefore not the wish of the Government that the police establishment which forms the principal matter of this communication should be made a part of that Bill which they have already under their consideration, lest this or other extraneous matter, by containing objectionable provisions, thus unnecessarily connected with the main object, might endanger the success of the whole, and oblige His Majesty to withhold his assent from that great measure, the enactment of which, recognizing the principles of the British Act in a spirit of frank co-operation, has been made the condition on which alone compensation is to accompany emancipation. His Excellency is anxious, however, that it should be perfectly understood in what light this communication is made. That great object to the colonial interests of compensation once secured, through a compliance of the Legislature with the terms annexed, His Majesty's Government they may be assured, will be disposed to place the most candid and liberal construction upon any supplemental Acts which may be passed, provided that they bear upon the face of them a real and sincere desire to act up to the spirit and intention of the British Parliament and people, nor do His Majesty's Government wish to fetter in any respect that discretion as to the execution of the details of all these measures, which has been wisely vested in the Colonial Legislature, and for which their local knowledge and practical experience give them peculiar advantages, but from a desire to offer every possible assistance, it has been thought right to draw up in some detail a plan by which it appears to His Majesty's Government that some of the objects in view may be accomplished, and to submit it for the future consideration of the House.

His Excellency having thus explained the views of His Majesty's Government in preparing the document in question, transmits it at this time, that the House may have every opportunity for due deliberation, both as to what extent and in what manner the plan may hereafter be made available for the purposes proposed.

Enclosure 2, in No. 7.

Enclosure 2,
in No. 7.

JAMAICA.—EXTRACT of the Speech of his Excellency the Earl of *Mulgrave*,
on closing the Session of the Legislature 12 December 1833.

Gentlemen of the Council,

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I can now release you from your further attendance here, and in thus closing a session of almost unequalled length, and certainly of unparalleled importance, I look forward with satisfaction to your immediate return to your homes, whereby you will be enabled to diffuse through your several parishes the most accurate information upon those difficult and delicate topics which have here engaged your attention, and upon which it is so desirable to avert misapprehension. You may rely upon my co-operation by every personal exertion in my power to secure the perfect understanding of the real truth.

Under the peculiar circumstances of the season, I have therefore thought it better no longer to protract this session, though there may still be some few measures not completed, which might otherwise have accompanied the settlement of that great question, the consideration of which has engrossed so much of your time, and which you have happily brought to a successful termination; for which I must now offer you my thanks and congratulations. It will be therefore requisite that you should have a future opportunity of re-considering whatever has necessarily now remained undone, and the time when an answer to those communications shall have been received from the Mother Country, will probably be the most convenient for perfecting these objects.

Gentlemen of the Council,

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

Slavery, that greatest curse that can afflict the social system, has now received its death blow. You who collectively were not responsible for its origin, and who individually have, in many instances, mitigated its evils, have recorded your acquiescence in its speedy and final extinction. The influence of your example will be felt far beyond the sphere of your direct control. It has long been evident that the protracted continuation of slavery could only lead to the dissolution of that society, the powers of which were paralysed by its baneful effects. But that transition by which alone a cure could be effected was one of great difficulty, and required some courage to undertake. It has been thought by the British Government, that the dangers of this critical operation might be lessened by an intermediate state of probation; and in conformity with their suggestion you have adopted that plan. But this is a part of the subject which will, of course, be open to your subsequent revision. The extreme duration of this period is already fixed; but should you hereafter in the exercise of your discretion, founded on your observation of the disposition and conduct of the negroes, think that the term of apprenticeship could be either safely diminished, or shortly abrogated, there is no determination which would be hailed with greater satisfaction by the British Government and people, and no one would more rejoice than myself at the last traces being utterly effaced of that state of things, of which I have personally witnessed the inseparable evils. For notwithstanding the existence of humane regulations, and laws of protection, and in spite of the precautions taken by many influential persons (to which I am happy to bear witness) no one who had held my situation during the same period, and who had taken due pains to investigate the real truth, could honestly deny that occasionally cases of flagrant abuse of power have been found to exist. I say this from no desire to record the worst traits of an expiring system, but from an anxiety once again at parting to impress upon your most serious attention the extreme importance of judicious management during that momentous

momentous interval, on which we are now entering. Neither for the present tranquillity of the country, nor the future efficiency of its labour, is it to be desired that the weapon of arbitrary punishment should be exercised with undiminished severity on individual responsibility up to the last moment, when the law shall abruptly arrest the arm that wields it.

Your duty as Legislators concludes for the present; but, as individuals deeply interested in the prosperity of the country, I should hope you would be inclined to suggest as a necessary preparation for the great change, that all serious offences requiring severe punishment should in future be as much as possible submitted to the public decision of a magistrate. It will be my first duty at the same time to endeavour to have it clearly understood that no legal change takes place before the first of August, and that whatever power the masters have hitherto possessed, must till then be obeyed.

I have made such arrangements as I have thought necessary for ensuring the tranquillity of the Island during the approaching holidays, by doubling the number of detachments of regular troops throughout the country. In case of actual disturbance, the militia have been warned to be in immediate readiness, but I have been unwilling, if it can be avoided at such a moment, to deprive the properties of the moral influence of the presence of the free persons engaged upon them.

You can return to your homes with the consciousness of having in this difficult crisis faithfully discharged your duties in accordance with the wishes of your constituents. For myself I will only say, that whenever circumstances shall hereafter cause my personal separation from the Island of Jamaica, the recollection of this day will always proudly survive, and no event in after life can obliterate the gratifying impression, that, as the representative of His Majesty, I have been enabled to give the authority of law to your sanction of the speedy and final extinction of slavery. The part, which through the gracious confidence of my Sovereign, I have been allotted to bear in these proceedings, must always perpetuate my interest in the future fate of the Island, and my most earnest wishes must ever be, that that which has been thus virtuously commenced, may prosper in all its stages; that by the blessing of Providence, from the abandonment of evil good may arise; that from the restoration of a more healthy state of society, may spring the conviction that even common interest demands the reciprocation of mutual benefits between all classes of the subjects of the same empire.

In conclusion, I must express my firm belief that in all your future difficulties your ready recognition of the natural rights of your fellow men will meet its best reward in the revived diffusion of national sympathy, and the cheerfully continued extension of British protection.

I do now in His Majesty's name prorogue this General Assembly to Tuesday the 7th of January next, and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

—No. 8.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Marquess of *Sligo*, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 20 Feb. 1834.

No. 8.

I HAVE received Lord Mulgrave's Despatch of the 13th December, enclosing the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the Island of Jamaica, passed by the Legislature of that Colony; and it affords me sincere gratification now to announce to your Lordship that His Majesty's Government, after the fullest consideration of the principles and details of that Act, have arrived at the conviction that the Legislature of Jamaica has faithfully and effectually enacted the Abolition of Slavery, and has also framed the supplementary enactments requisite during the intermediate state of apprenticeship contemplated by the British Parliament.

His Majesty's Government accordingly feel themselves enabled to recommend His Majesty to signify his assent to this Act, and to declare, in the terms of the 44th section of the British Act, "that adequate and satisfactory provision has been made by law in the Colony of Jamaica for giving effect to the British Act by such further and supplementary enactments as therein mentioned." In adopting this course, His Majesty's Government have not overlooked the existence of various defects in the Act which they are thus prepared to sanction. They are aware also, that by withholding His Majesty's approbation of the Act they would have been furnished with an argument of almost irresistible force in favour of such amendments and alterations as they might propose. His Majesty's Government, however, have carefully and attentively examined these defects, and they feel themselves justified in pronouncing them not to be of such vital importance as to render the Act either inadequate or unsatisfactory, and they have therefore deemed it just towards the Colony of Jamaica that the Act should at once in its present shape be approved, and that the right of the Colony to its share of the compensation should thus at the earliest possible period be rendered indefeasible.

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His Majesty's Government are confident that the Colony of Jamaica will fully appreciate the frank and unreserved line of conduct which is thus pursued towards it, and that although the Legislature will not be compelled by the motives to which I have alluded to acquiesce in the suggestions which will be offered to them for the purpose of remedying the imperfections of the Act, they will nevertheless receive and adopt them in that spirit of confidence and goodwill which I trust will henceforth always be found to exist between the Colony and His Majesty's Government.

I have therefore to desire that your Lordship will take the earliest opportunity, after the receipt of this Despatch, to announce to the Legislature of Jamaica the decision of His Majesty's Government upon this important Act, and your Lordship will at the same time invite their earnest attention to the various amendments and additions which I shall now proceed to indicate.

1st.—The proviso in the fourth clause of the Jamaica Act I believe to have been intended to be identical with the similar proviso in the 4th clause of the British Act; the Legislature of Jamaica have practically altered the meaning of those words: the expression, "the present Act," refers no longer to the English but to the Colonial statute, and the twelve months of prædial labour which are required to justify the classification of a negro among the prædial apprentices would, according to the Jamaica Act, be computed from the 12th December, while the British Act requires that they should be computed from the 28th August.

It would be expedient to remove this discrepancy by altering the date in the Jamaica Act.

2d.—By the 8th clause of the British Act and the 8th clause of the Jamaica Act, it was intended to give to the apprenticed labourer power to purchase his discharge of his apprenticeship "without or in opposition, if necessary, to the consent of the party entitled to his services." The 9th and following clauses of the Jamaica Act, which seem to have been designed to execute that intention, do not effect it to its full extent, for although they provide for the cases where the party entitled to the services of the apprentice is unwilling to consent, they do not provide for the very frequent cases in which the party so entitled is *unable* to consent, either by reason of minority, absence or any other cause. It is obvious that a very slight alteration of these clauses will cure this defect.

3d.—The provision made by the 39th clause of the Jamaica Act, for securing peace and good order on the plantations, although beneficial both to the employer and the apprentice, requires some alteration, in order to bring it within the scope and intention of the British Act. It should be made clear that the constables who are thereby directed to be appointed will only be armed with the authority of the law, and will be responsible for the due exercise of that authority to the special magistrates only, and not to the proprietor of the plantation.

The right to confine for safe custody should, as regards apprentices belonging to the plantation, be limited to cases in which freemen might be taken into custody by the ordinary constables, or to cases in which it is presumable that the apprentice having offended against the law established by this Act will attempt to escape.

4th.—The 44th clause of the Jamaica Act gives too large a jurisdiction to the special magistrates. Although I am disposed to believe that the words "other minor misdemeanors and crimes" would, according to the legal construction of the Act, be held to mean such actions only as if committed by free persons would be misdemeanors or crimes; yet this clause, even thus limited in its operation, might be held to deprive the apprentice in many cases of his right to be tried by a jury.

In order to make this provision unobjectionable, it should be confined to such crimes and misdemeanors only as under any of the Police Acts in force in Jamaica against free persons are cognizable and punishable by a single magistrate.

5th.—Although I conceive that the general expressions of the 49th clause would be construed to enable the special magistrate to inflict penalties on the employer in case of frivolous complaints made by the apprentice, or in case the apprentice should be improperly deprived of the enjoyment of any part of his own time, I think it right that all possible doubt on this subject should be removed by specific enactments. As respects the apprentice's own time, I should recommend the insertion of a clause analogous to sect. 2 of chap 6, of the heads of the proposed Order in Council for British Guiana.

6th.—The

6th.—The 60th clause requires modification. The urgent necessity there spoken of should be limited to extraordinary circumstances, such as fire, tempest, &c. As it now stands, it might operate unfavourably and unjustly towards the apprenticed labourer in the crop time, by obliging him to give his assistance in the field or the boiling house, under circumstances which might have been prevented by previous due caution on the part of the employer.

7th.—It is due to the special magistrates they should be properly indemnified in the discharge of their duties, and for this purpose I would suggest that enactments should be framed analogous to the 27th, 28th and 29th sections of cap. 2 of the heads of the Order in Council for British Guiana.

8th.—The 49th clause enables the special magistrates to impose fines upon the parties entitled to the services of any apprenticed labourer for any wrong or injury which he may sustain from such parties.

The 68th clause directs that these fines shall be applied to the use of the public of the Island. As the Act has provided that the apprentice should compensate by labour the loss which his employer may sustain from indolence, neglect, nonperformance of work or absence, it seems but reasonable that the special magistrate should have the power of compensating out of the fine the apprentice for the injury which he may have sustained from his employer, and I think that a clause should be introduced to that effect.

9th.—The proviso annexed to the 49th clause enacts, that “nothing herein mentioned shall be taken to bar or destroy the right of any apprenticed labourer to proceed in the Supreme or Assize Courts, or the Courts of Quarter Session or Common Pleas, for any wrong or injury done or committed against his or her property or person by any persons whomsoever.”

I believe it to have been the intention of the Legislature of Jamaica that, in cases of cruelty or other injury the penalty of 5*l.* should be thought inadequate, the employer might be proceeded against, either by indictment at the suit of the Crown or by civil action at the suit of the apprentice. I think, however, that it is a plausible construction of the words of the 49th clause, with its proviso, to say that they reserve nothing beyond the remedy which the apprentice can himself enforce; that is, the civil suit, and that they would operate as a bar to an indictment or criminal information.

I do not believe, however, that the courts of law would adopt such a construction, inasmuch as the right to prosecute is, in theory, a prerogative of The King, which cannot be taken away without express words. I think, nevertheless, that the proviso is sufficiently ambiguous to render it advisable that it should be so amended as clearly to secure to the apprenticed labourer the full protection of the law.

I would advert to one other point, rather with a view of calling the attention of the Legislature of Jamaica to the subject than of stating my opinion that the Act, as it stands, is defective. The British Act requires that the apprenticed labourer should receive from his employer such supplies of food, clothing, medicine and medical attendance as the slave might have claimed by law in each respective Colony, and that regulations should be made on these heads where the existing law is either silent or inadequate. I am happy to admit that I do not find the inadequacy of the laws of Jamaica on these subjects made matter of remonstrance by any of my predecessors in commenting upon the several provisions of successive slave laws, nor do I find that complaints of their insufficiency have been made by the slaves in any single case. I am bound, therefore, to consider them “as adequate for their purpose.” But, looking to the very loose terms in which they are couched, especially in respect of medical attendance in case of sickness, I think it right not to pass over this subject without reminding the Legislature that as the *interest* of the master in the recovery of the sick apprentice, more especially towards the close of the period, will be much weaker than it would have been in the corresponding case of the slave, it may derive consideration whether a proportionate strictness of legal obligation may not be desirable.

I have now enumerated to your Lordship the various points in this Act which appear to His Majesty's Government to require alteration or comment, and I feel it to be due to the framers of the Act to convey to your Lordship my opinion that the defects to which I have adverted are not more numerous or more grave than might have reasonably been expected to result from the difficulty of legislating upon a subject of such entire novelty as the proposed system of apprenticeship, and from the shortness of the time which the Legislature, in their anxiety to meet

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the views of Parliament, allowed themselves for the consideration and execution of the important task which they have had to perform. It is possible that some of them may have already engaged the attention of the Legislature, and I do not permit myself to doubt that others which may now for the first time be suggested to them, will receive their dispassionate consideration; and that Jamaica, as it has been the first of the Colonies to follow the course pointed out by the Mother Country, will manifest a laudable desire to remove any well-founded objections which may still be raised against the subordinate details of its enactments.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

—No. 9.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord *Mulgrave* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 9.

Sir,

Kingston, Jamaica, 14 March 1834.

PREVIOUS to leaving the Government of Jamaica, it may be proper that I should report to you the steps that have been taken with a view to the organization of a police force.

You are aware that an Act was passed by the Legislature in the late session, by which it was proposed that tracts of land should be procured by the Government in different parts of the Island for the purpose of establishing townships, in which a force of this description, with their families, should be settled; and the Governor was authorized to assign to each family a portion of land, and to make all necessary regulations for the interior government of the township, as well as the efficiency of the police. The sum of 15,000*l.* was authorized to be expended on this service on the different accounts being audited by the Commissioners of Public Accounts.

The information possessed by the Local Government with respect to the lands in the interior of the Island being very imperfect, I lost no time, after the conclusion of the session, in communicating with the several custodes, as well as other persons who were considered to be well acquainted with particular parts of the country, in the hope of obtaining sufficient information on the subject to be enabled to fix at once on situations for the several townships; the necessary steps would then have been immediately taken to obtain possession of a sufficient quantity of land, to clear it and lay it out for a settlement, an operation which, as in many instances it would probably have been in almost a wild state, covered with wood and difficult of access, must have been expected to occupy a considerable time.

After some weeks employed in references on this subject, so little information had been obtained, that it became quite evident, if no steps were taken to establish a police till the townships should be in readiness for their reception, that no force of that description would be in existence on the 1st of August next, or probably for some months afterwards. Under these circumstances, therefore, and as much anxiety was felt in the country on the subject, I considered it very important that no further time should be lost in commencing the organization of a police, though it was not possible to carry entirely into immediate effect the system contemplated by the Legislature. With this view I determined, as a temporary measure, to endeavour to hire houses in the most eligible situations in the several parishes, in each of which a detachment of police should be stationed; the police of each county, comprising six or seven parishes, being under the general direction of a superintendent. The enclosed paper, being the outline of the plan proposed to be acted upon, and which was communicated to the Commissioners of Accounts, to prevent any misunderstanding as to the mode of payment, will probably afford you all the necessary information on the subject, and I therefore transmit it.

From the answers which I have received to several references on the subject, I do not apprehend that any difficulty will be found in procuring houses to lodge the police in eligible situations; and if, therefore, men of respectable character will enrol themselves on the terms offered, which are as advantageous as could be granted under the police law, I should hope that a force may be established in the course of two or three months sufficient to ensure the tranquillity of the country, and the whole can be afterwards moved into the permanent settlements when

these

these shall have been fixed upon and prepared for their reception. Arms and all other appointments have been ordered from England for the equipment of the police, and may be expected in the course of the summer.

I have appointed all the officers, and fixed the parishes in which, in the first instance, each will be stationed; but the whole force is of course for the general service of the Island, and may be moved to any part, as occasion may require. The superintendent of each county is one of the special magistrates, and he will receive his pay as superintendent, in addition to the salary of the latter situation.

The expense of this force will be very considerable, but it has not been possible to establish it on a more economical scale; and I have only to add, that on the plan being communicated to the Commissioners of Public Accounts, the chairman was directed to convey to me the thanks of the Board for the information afforded them, and their assurance that the funds required for the payments at the periods specified should be forthcoming as they might be required.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Mulgrave.*

MEMORANDUM.

As it is quite in vain to expect that a police could be organized by the 1st of August next, on the system of colonization contemplated by the Act passed for that purpose in the late session, it is proposed to proceed immediately with the formation of a police force sufficient to secure the immediate tranquillity of the country, and that may be afterwards moved into these permanent stations, which will be established as soon as the best situations can be selected, arrangements made for getting possession of the lands, laying them out in lots, and preparing them for the reception of the police and their families.

With this view, it is proposed, if possible, to hire houses in the several parishes to the extent stated in the margin; at each of which one inspector, two serjeants and thirty policemen to be stationed: there will be a superintendent in each county to command the whole police force therein, to whom the several inspectors will report.

The pay of the superintendent to be 250 *l.* a year (currency), that of the inspector 200 *l.* currency a year. The inspectors will be provided with accommodation in the houses occupied by the police, and a residence to be also procured for the superintendent in some convenient situation in the county.

The pay of the police to be as follows:—

Each serjeant to receive a daily pay of 2 *s.* 6 *d.* currency.

Each private policeman, of 1 *s.* currency.

The serjeants and privates to receive also daily rations, consisting of,—

- 1 lb. of meat,*
- 1 lb. of flour, or 1 lb. 5 oz. of bread.
- 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ oz. of coffee.

Each serjeant and private to receive annually as an uniform,—

- 1 shell jacket, with facings,
- 1 pair of cloth trowsers,
- 2 pairs of white trowsers,
- 2 pairs of shoes,
- 1 forage cap.

All other articles of dress they will be expected to provide out of daily pay. The uniform is to be worn on every occasion when employed in any kind of duty.

They will be armed in the following manner:—

Each serjeant 1 pair of pistols, a sword and belt.

Each private policeman, 1 rifle† and sword, 1 cross belt and pouch, 1 waist belt for the sword.

The probable expense of a police force consisting of 770 men, on this system, for three months, may be stated as follows, exclusive of arms and accoutrements:—

3 Superintendents, at 250 <i>l.</i> currency a year	-	-	-	187	10	-
24 Inspectors, at 200 <i>l.</i> currency	-	-	-	1,200	-	-
720 Privates, at 1 <i>s.</i> a day	-	-	-	3,312	-	-
50 Serjeants, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> currency a day	-	-	-	575	-	-
Rations for 770 men, at 8 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> a week	-	-	-	4,045	14	2
Hire of 24 houses at 70 <i>l.</i> currency a year	-	-	-	420	-	-
Medical attendance at 20 <i>s.</i> a head per annum	-	-	-	250	-	-
				£.	9,990	4 2

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County of Surrey.	
Port Royal	- - - 1
St. Andrew's	- - - 1
St. Thomas in the East and	} 2
St. David	
Portland	- - - 1
St. George's	- - - 1
	— 6
County of Middlesex.	
Precinct of St. Catherine	2
St. Mary's	- - - 2
St. Ann's	- - - 2
Vere	- - - 1
Clarendon	- - - 1
Manchester	- - - 2
	— 10
County of Cornwall.	
Trelawney	- - - 2
St. James's	- - - 1
Hanover	- - - 1
Westmorland	- - - 2
St. Elizabeth	- - - 2
	— 8
Total	- - - 26

*The present contract price of the soldier's ration, consisting of the same allowance, is 8 *s.* 1 *d.* a week.

† Rifles are proposed, there being 500 in the Island Arsenal.

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The expense of clothing is not included in the above, as it could not be received before the expiration of the quarter, but this would probably not exceed 4,000*l.* A palliasse, blanket and a pair of Oznaburgh sheets should be also furnished for each serjeant and policeman; but the whole expense, even including clothing and the necessary charge for the transport of arms, &c. from the arsenal to the different stations, and contingencies, such as advertizing, printing, &c. would probably be covered by the 15,000*l.* contemplated by the Legislature as necessary for the first formation of a police.

Proposed mode of Payment.

It would be very desirable that the pay should be issued monthly by the receiver-general to the superintendent of each county for the whole police establishment of the same; and the detailed payments to the serjeants and policemen might be made through the inspectors of each station.

It is proposed that the whole establishment should receive their pay on the 1st of every month for the preceding month.

The following mode is proposed for this purpose:—

The superintendent should send to the receiver-general on the 15th of each month an estimate of the pay that will become due to the officers and men of the police of the county on the last day of the month. On his receiving the same, he will pay to the inspectors of each parish the sums due to the several stations.

The inspectors to keep lists, in which the name of every policeman belonging to their stations is to be inserted, with the amount due to him; and he will require each to sign his name in an opposite column on receiving the same. These lists to be in duplicate,—one to be kept by the inspector for his own security, the other transmitted by him by the 10th of every month to the superintendent, who, on being satisfied of its correctness, will transmit it, together with his own account for the issue received on his estimate, to the clerk of the Commissioners of Accounts. The receipts of the several inspectors to be attached as vouchers to the superintendent's account, and the whole to be submitted for final audit to the Commissioners of Accounts at their first meeting.

The above Memorandum is communicated to the Commissioners of Accounts, by order of his Excellency the Governor, for their information, and with a view to ascertain whether funds can be relied on for the payment of the expenses of a police organized on this system and at the periods suggested, and also whether the proposed mode of rendering accounts will be deemed satisfactory. If funds may be relied on, steps would be immediately taken for the hire of the houses; and it is hoped that the arrangement as regards this part of the plan, might be completed throughout the Island by the 15th of April. An inspector would then be sent to each parish where it may be thought likely that the men could be enlisted, with instructions to enrol them. It would then be necessary to fix a distant day on which the men enlisted must assemble at the stations assigned to them, that some time may be allowed after the probable amount of force has been ascertained, for entering into contracts for their rations, &c. in the manner required by the 10th section of the Act for forming a permanent police. It may however be anticipated that by the middle of June the men would be at their respective posts.

It is proposed that the men should be enlisted for six years, unless sooner discharged, with a view to allow for the full period of five years, as required by the 10th section of the law, after the police settlements on the principle of colonization may have been formed. It will be explained to each man at the time of his enlistment, that in one year from the date of his being provided with land in any permanent police settlement, he will cease to have any right to pay or rations, except when he may be actually employed on police duty, or in any other duties for the advantage of the police.

Kingston, 7th March 1834.

—No. 10.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Stanley* to the Marquess of *Sligo*.

No. 10.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 20 March 1834.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship two Orders which have been passed by His Majesty in Council on the 19th instant; the one confirming an Act passed by the late Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, for the Abolition of Slavery in that Colony; and the other, declaring that adequate and satisfactory provision hath been made by law in the said Island, for giving effect to the British Act of Parliament by such further and supplementary enactments as are therein mentioned.

I have, &c.

(signed)

E. G. Stanley.

Enclosure in No. 10.

JAMAICA.

Enclosure in
No. 10.

SLAVERY ABOLITION ACT.—Copy of ORDER in COUNCIL, declaring that adequate and satisfactory provision has been made by Law, in the Island of *Jamaica*, for giving effect to an Act of Parliament made in the third and fourth year of His present Majesty, for the ABOLITION of SLAVERY in the Colonies.

At the Court at Saint James's, the 19th of March 1834 ;

Present,

The KING's most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the third and fourth year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, " An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves, and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves," it is enacted, That from and after the 1st day of August 1834, all persons who, in conformity with the laws now in force in the said Colonies respectively, shall on or before the 1st day of August 1834, have been duly registered as slaves in any such Colony, and who, on the said 1st day of August 1834, shall be actually within any such Colony, and who shall by such registries appear to be, on the said 1st day of August 1834, of the full age of six years or upwards, shall by force and virtue of the said Act, and without the previous execution of any indenture of apprenticeship, or other deed or instrument for that purpose, become and be apprenticed labourers : And whereas by the said Act it is further enacted, that subject to the obligations imposed by the said Act, or to be imposed as therein mentioned, upon such apprenticed labourers as aforesaid, all and every the persons who on the said 1st day of August 1834 shall be holden in slavery within any such British Colony as aforesaid, shall, upon and from and after the said 1st day of August 1834, become and be, to all intents and purposes, freed and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted ; and that the children thereafter to be born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth ; and that from and after the said 1st day of August 1834, slavery shall be and is thereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British Colonies, Plantations and Possessions abroad : And whereas by the said Act it is provided, that the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury may raise the sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling towards compensating the persons entitled to the services of the slaves to be manumitted and set free by virtue of the said Act, for the loss of such services :

And whereas in the said Act it is recited, that various rules and regulations are or may be necessary for the purposes therein specified, and that such regulations could not without great inconvenience be made except by the respective Governors, Councils and Assemblies, or other Local Legislatures of the said respective Colonies, or by His Majesty with the advice of His Privy Council, in reference to those Colonies to which the legislative authority of His Majesty in Council extends ; and it is therefore by the said Act enacted and declared, that nothing in the said Act contained should extend or be construed to extend to prevent the enactment by the respective Governors, Councils and Assemblies, or by such other Local Legislatures as aforesaid, or by His Majesty with the advice of His Privy Council, of any such Acts of General Assembly, or Ordinances or Orders in Council, as might be requisite for making and establishing such several rules and regulations as aforesaid, or any of them, or for carrying the same or any of them into full and complete effect :

And whereas it is by the said Act further enacted, that no part of the said sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling shall be applied or shall be applicable to the purposes therein aforesaid, for the benefit of any person entitled to the services of any slave in any of the Colonies therein aforesaid, unless an order shall have been first made by His Majesty, with the advice of His Privy Council, declaring that adequate and satisfactory provision hath been made by law, in such Colony, for giving effect to the said Act by such further and supplementary enactments as therein mentioned ; nor unless a copy of such Order in Council, duly certified by one of the clerks in ordinary of His Majesty's Privy Council, shall by the Lord President of the Council have been transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or to the Lord High Treasurer for the time being, for their or his guidance or information ; and every such order shall be published three several times in the London Gazette, and shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks next after the date thereof, if Parliament shall be then in Session, and if not, within six weeks from the then next ensuing Session of Parliament :

And whereas, in order to carry into effect the objects of the said recited Act, an Act hath been passed by the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, intituled, " An Act for the Abolition of Slavery in this Island, in consideration of Compensation, and for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves, and to declare the 52d Geo. 3, c. 155, in force in this Island :"

And whereas, by the said Act of the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, it is enacted, that from and after the 1st day of August 1834, all persons who in conformity with the laws in force in the said Island, shall, on or before the said 1st day of August 1834, have been duly registered as slaves in the said Island, and who, on the said 1st day of August 1834, shall be actually within the said Island, and who shall by such registries appear to be, on the said 1st day of August 1834, of the full age of six years or upwards, shall by force and virtue of the Act now in recital, and without the previous execution

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execution of any indenture of apprenticeship or other deed or instrument for that purpose, become and be apprenticed labourers :

And whereas by the said Act now in recital, the same obligations are imposed on the said apprenticed labourers as are imposed upon them by the said Act of Parliament ; and by the said Act now in recital it is further enacted, that subject to the obligations imposed thereby upon such apprenticed labourers, all and every the persons who, on the said 1st day of August 1834, shall be holden in slavery within the said Island, shall, upon and from and after the said 1st day of August 1834, become and be to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted ; and that the children thereafter to be born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be freed from their birth, and that from and after the said 1st day of August 1834, slavery shall be and is thereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful in the said Island of Jamaica :

And whereas His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of His Council, hath by an Order in Council, bearing even date herewith, been pleased to confirm the said Act of the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica : And whereas the said Act of the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, doth contain divers further and supplementary enactments establishing rules and regulations for the purposes herein-before mentioned, to be specified in the said recited Act of Parliament, and it is considered by His Majesty in Council, that adequate and satisfactory provision hath been made by law, in the Island of Jamaica, for giving effect to the said recited Act of Parliament, by such further and supplementary enactments as therein mentioned, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act :

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to declare, and it is hereby declared, That adequate and satisfactory provision hath been made by law, in the Island of Jamaica, for giving effect to the said recited Act of Parliament, by such further and supplementary enactments as therein are mentioned. And the Right honourable the Marquess of Lansdowne, the President of His Majesty's Privy Council, and the Right honourable Edward G. S. Stanley, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

(signed) C. C. Greville.

—No. 11.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*.

No. 11.

Sir,

King's House, Jamaica, 10 May 1834.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of 20th March last, numbered 6, inclosing two Orders of His Majesty in Council, passed on the 19th of that month ; one confirming an Act passed by the late Governor, Council and Assembly of the Island of Jamaica for the Abolition of Slavery in that Colony ; and the other, declaring that adequate and satisfactory provision hath been made by law in the said Island for giving effect to the British Act of Parliament, by such further and supplementary enactments as are therein mentioned.

I immediately ordered the confirmation of the Jamaica Act for the Abolition of Slavery to be entered on the margin of the record in the Secretary's office, and due publicity given thereto ; and I issued a proclamation, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, embodying the Order declaring that adequate and satisfactory provision had been made by law in this Island for giving effect to the British Act of Parliament by such further and supplementary enactments as are therein mentioned.

This course I pursued from my construction of the 23d and 44th clauses of the Act of the Imperial Parliament, in which I was supported by the opinion of my counsel.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Sligo.

Enclosure in No. 11.

Enclosure in
No. 11.

Jamaica, ss.

A PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency the Most Noble *Howe Peter* Marquess of *Sligo*, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, and Member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Councils in England and Ireland, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

WHEREAS it has pleased His most gracious Majesty to select me to discharge the momentous duties of the government of this Island ; being well aware of the constant solicitude and anxiety, connected with early recollections, of His Majesty for the welfare of this
most

most important appendage to his dominions, being myself connected with it by the ties of property and regard, and my interest being therefore inseparably identified with the prosperity and happiness of all classes of the community, it affords me the highest gratification to be enabled, immediately on my arrival, to announce the satisfaction of His Majesty's Government at the enactments of the Legislature for the effectual Abolition of Slavery, and the supplementary details necessary during the contemplated intermediate state of apprenticeship. By these measures, the right of the Colony to its share of the compensation is now rendered indefeasible.

I do confidently rely that the readiness evinced by His Majesty's Government to give effect to the praiseworthy and judicious measures of the Legislature for the establishment of a social system, absolved for ever from the reproach of slavery, will stimulate the class for whom this great boon is secured, to voluntary and effective industry, and that by their zeal in the discharge of the duties required from them in the probationary state necessary previous to their entire and final enfranchisement, they will evince that gratitude to their masters for the sacrifices made mutually by them and by the British Government which the magnitude of the difficulties attending the consummation of it entitles them to expect. Ferreently entertaining this hope, I cannot, however, refrain from adverting to the calamity and misery to themselves which a different line of conduct, arising as it could only do from a misconception on the part of the labouring population of the intention to improve their future condition, would inevitably entail upon them. Such a misconception, however, I cannot bring myself to consider probable. I trust that it has been averted by the zealous and unceasing efforts made by my respected and noble predecessor to explain to them that such misconduct alone could mar the completion of all that has been designed in their favour.

I cannot, however, too strongly express my anxiety that they may continue to merit the favourable report which he has engaged to make to His most gracious Majesty of their obedience to their masters, and cheerful diligence in their service, assuring them that they will always find in me a friend as solicitous for their welfare as my noble predecessor, and determined to fulfil all those assurances which he has at various times made to them.

In the great change about to take place, nothing can conduce more to its happy consummation than unanimity and good feeling amongst all classes. Complexional distinctions are now at an end, and former causes for dissatisfaction have ceased to exist.

My stake in the Colony, my consequent personal interest in its welfare, and my earnest desire, added to my duty, to gratify my Sovereign's wishes for its prosperity, ensure the entire devotion of the energies of my mind to all such measures as may lead to the happiness and permanent tranquillity of the Island, and for giving the fullest effect to those legislative regulations which entitle the Colony of Jamaica to the unmixed approbation of every member of the British Empire.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Saint Jago de la Vega, this 10th day of April, in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, A.D. 1834.

(signed) *Sligo*.

By His Excellency's command,

W. G. Nunes, Secretary.

—No. 12.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*.

Sir,

King's House, Jamaica, 27 May 1834.

No. 12.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith for your information, four copies of a letter of advice which I have addressed to the negro population, and which I have directed should be read to the people upon the several estates and properties in this Island.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Sligo*.

Enclosure in No. 12.

To the Negro Population of the Island of Jamaica.

My Friends,

OUR good King, who was himself in Jamaica a long time ago, still thinks and talks a great deal of this Island. He has sent me out here to take care of you and to protect your rights; but he has also ordered me to see justice done to your owners, and to punish those who do wrong. Take my advice, for I am your friend; be sober, honest, and work well when you become apprentices; for should you behave ill and refuse to work because you are no longer slaves, you will assuredly render yourselves liable to punishment.

Enclosure in
No. 12.

The people of England are your friends and fellow-subjects; they have shown themselves such by passing a Bill to make you all free. Your masters are also your friends; they have

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proved their kind feeling towards you all by passing in the House of Assembly the same Bill. The way to prove that you are deserving of all this goodness is by labouring diligently during your apprenticeship.

You will on the 1st of August next no longer be slaves; but from that day you will be apprenticed to your former owners for a few years, in order to fit you all for freedom. It will therefore depend entirely upon your own conduct whether your apprenticeship be short or long; for should you run away, you will be brought back by the maroons and police, and have to remain in apprenticeship longer than those who behave well. You will only be required to work four days and a half in each week; the remaining day and a half in each week will be your own time, and you may employ it for your own benefit. Bear in mind that every one is obliged to work. Some work with their hands, others with their heads; but no one can live and be considered respectable without some employment. Your lot is to work with your hands. I pray you, therefore, do your part faithfully; for if you neglect your duty, you will be brought before the magistrates whom the King has sent out to watch you; and they must act fairly and do justice to all, by punishing those who are badly disposed. Do not listen to the advice of bad people; for should any of you refuse to do what the law requires of you, you will bitterly repent it, when, at the end of your appointed time, all your fellow labourers are released from apprenticeship, you find yourselves condemned to hard labour in the workhouse for a lengthened period, as a punishment for your disobedience.

If you follow my advice and conduct yourselves well, nothing can prevent your being your own masters, and to labour only for yourselves and your wives and your children, at the end of four or six years, according to their respective classes.

I have not time to go about to all the properties in the Island, and tell you this myself. I have therefore ordered this letter of advice to be printed, and ordered it to be read to you all, that you may not be deceived, and bring yourselves into trouble by bad advice or mistaken notions.

I trust you will all be obedient and diligent subjects to our good King, so that he may never have cause to be sorry for all the good he has done for you.

Your friend and well-wisher,
(signed) *Sligo*,
Governor of Jamaica.

—No. 13.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice* to the Marquess of *Sligo*.

No. 13.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 15 July 1834.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch of the 27th May last, and to convey to you my approval of the letter of advice which you have addressed to the negro population respecting their duty as apprentices.

I have, &c.

(signed) *T. Spring Rice*.

—No. 14.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Stanley*; dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 28th June 1834.

No. 14.

ON the 26th June I opened the new session; the House of Assembly suspended one of their standing Orders, by which they were enabled on that day to go through the first and second readings on the committee and the report on the Police Bill; as well as to restore to the state they were in previous to the prorogation several Bills which were in a state of advance. Yesterday the Bill was sent over to the Council, passed with some amendment, and received my consent in the evening. It is therefore now a law. I have directed, as usual, a copy of it to be prepared in time for this packet.

Act printed in a separate
Appendix.

— No. 15. —

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No. 15.

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of Sligo to
Mr. Secretary Spring Rice.

Sir,

King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, July 22, 1834.

IN reference to Mr. Stanley's Despatch, under date 20th February last, I have the honour to inform you, that the objections therein made to the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in Jamaica, passed here last year, and marked Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9, have been provided for in an Act passed in the short session just terminated, and intituled, "An Act to amend and explain the Act fourth William Fourth, chap. 41, for Abolition of Slaves in Jamaica, in consideration of Compensation."

For the objection, No. 3, no remedy has been devised, nor do I very well see how a clause could be contrived, which, giving to the magistrates and constables only the powers they would have over free men, would at the same time enable them to compel the due execution of that part of the law in question for which they have been specially appointed; namely, the settlement of differences between apprentices and masters relative to the portion of work which the former are by law bound to do for the latter.

The Act for the Abolition of Slavery having created a new state of society, and having imposed duties on the apprentices quite inconsistent with absolute freedom, it appears impossible that an Act confining the powers of magistrates to their ordinary powers over free men, could be efficient under the new system.

But as no punishments can be inflicted without the authority of a special magistrate on an apprenticed labourer, the only case in which an abuse of the powers now given to the owner in the Act is possible, is by a capricious and arbitrary confinement of such apprentice. Now, the Abolition Act provides, I think, sufficiently against this, because it decrees that in no case shall an apprentice be confined more than 24 hours. If the attendance of a magistrate cannot be procured before the expiration of that time, the man *must be released*, and to prevent an abuse even of this limited power, the Act further provides that though the man must be released, the *complaint must be preferred* the first time a magistrate can be procured; I trust that this power cannot under all these guards be much abused, but at the same time I do not see how the third objection can be removed by any legislative enactment, which will leave to the magistrate authority to compel the apprentice to perform his lawful task.

With respect to the eighth objection, the House of Assembly at once negatived any amendment, and I hope, that on mature consideration, you will have reason to regret this. I must confess, that were I an independent member of the legislature, I should not have consented to remove it. I am confident that where the character of the negro is known, it must be thought that it would not be an expedient alteration. At all events it is not my fault that it was not altered.

I have further to call your attention to the fact, that although there was no legal enactment to compel proprietors of estates to furnish their slaves with medical attendance, a clause has been introduced into this Act to render it necessary that the apprentices should have the same medical assistance, as that which they had enjoyed as slaves.

As this Despatch relates entirely to the law to amend the Abolition Act, it may, perhaps, be proper for me to direct your observation to one clause in it, which is of a novel nature, and that is to allow a compromise to take place before a special magistrate, between the master and apprentice, as to their allowance of clothing. A great number of them, in fact almost all the superior negroes, have for some time past been in the habit of selling the regular estate's clothes the moment that they get them, and buying much nicer ones themselves. Now, in my opinion, nothing is so likely to promote industrious habits among them, as to create artificial wants. Here is an artificial want ready created; I think it very advisable that it should be encouraged by this clause, which I understand will give satisfaction to the negroes, and not injure, but rather benefit the proprietor. Under this consideration, and thinking that the Bill itself in every other point met Mr. Stanley's views, as expressed by him in the Despatch I have alluded to, I gave The King's consent to it at once; I trust that you will approve of my having so done.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Sligo.

The Act printed in a
separate Appendix.

—No. 16.—

JAMAICA.
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No. 16.EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Aberdeen* to the Marquess of *Sligo*, dated Downing-street, 15 January 1835.

I HAVE great satisfaction in announcing to your Lordship, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept the Act for the Amendment of the Slavery Abolition Act, as a satisfactory compliance with the advice conveyed to the local Legislature by Lord Stanley in obedience to His Majesty's commands. I remark, however, that the operation of these amendments is, by the final clause, limited to the 31st December of the present year, although the Act of which it is an amendment will continue in force till the expiration of the apprenticeship. This is a very serious ground of objection, nor can His Majesty's Government consider the Legislature of Jamaica as having fully acquitted themselves of the duty to which they were called, until the amendments shall have been rendered as enduring in point of time as are the original enactments.

—No. 17.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Right hon. *Thomas Spring Rice*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, August 13, 1834.

No. 17.

I HAVE the happiness to inform you, that the reports which I have received from all quarters of the state of the Island have been most satisfactory.

You will have, ere this reaches you, I trust, received my short note, sent *via* New York, communicating to you the tranquil state of this immediate neighbourhood. It was written on the 4th and sent by the Renown schooner; I am now happy to be able to confirm that report, and to add, that in all parts of the Island, with the exception alone of Saint Ann's parish, the transition from slavery to apprenticeship has been effected in the most satisfactory manner. It is a remarkable feature in the progress of that transition, that the 1st of August was devoted in most parts of the Island to devotional exercises. In the sectarian chapels the service was performed several times in the course of the day. In fact, as long as a fresh succession of auditors presented themselves. It has been generally remarked, that hardly a drunken man was seen in the streets on that day; the Saturday was divided between business and pleasure: they were fully aware that the next day's market would be abolished, and in consequence of this, being an holiday besides, the markets on that day have been remarked every where to have been unusually large. Towards evening the streets were crowded with parties of John Cause Men and their usual noisy accompaniments. At night in some of the towns there were fancy balls, in which the authorities of the Island, past and present, were represented. Several individuals in the towns had given dinners to their new apprentices on the previous day, and on very many of the estates steers were killed by the proprietors and given to the negroes, besides their usual holiday allowances of sugar, rum and salt fish; so that within the country and the towns the apprentices had their due share of amusements. On Sunday the places of worship were again unusually crowded, and the day passed over in the most orderly and quiet manner. My reports from all parts of the Island, with the exception of St. Ann's alone, state that on Monday the apprentices turned out to their work with even more than usual readiness, in some places with alacrity and all with good humour.

On Thursday morning the 7th, I received a letter by express from Mr. Walker, the member for St. Ann's, residing at Shaw Park in that parish, to say that the apprentices on his estate and those around him had refused to work without payment, had threatened him with their own law, and shewn the most insubordinate spirit. The post arriving the same morning and bringing me several letters from that neighbourhood all to the same effect, I found that this system had extended over a great part of the east side of the parish, and felt that unless a stop was promptly put to this sort of refractory conduct, it might spread all over the Island and create considerable embarrassment; in order to check it, I determined on sending off Colonel Macleod, the Deputy Adjutant General, with two companies of the 37th, in the Rhadamanthus, to Ocho Rios close to Shaw Park, Mr. Walker's place. They accordingly embarked that night, and proceeded to sea the next morning;

morning; they reached Ocho Rios on the 9th before daylight, and were instantly landed; the effect produced by their sudden apparition was very great, but, strange to say, even with that effect it became necessary to punish a vast number of the negroes, as well by flogging as confinement in the workhouse. When asked to work they uniformly refused. The addresses of the magistrates, however, backed by the presence of the troops, at last restored good order, and Colonel Macleod returned here yesterday in the *Rhadamanthus* with his men. I have, however, directed one company more than usual to be quartered there till further orders. The Maroons from Accompong and Scots Hall, I have directed to remain there also under the orders of Mr. Connor, who is directed to send them home the moment that all is quite right there. From what Colonel Macleod has informed me, I am confident that as soon as the misunderstanding is got rid of they will be quiet, unless forced into rebellion by the conduct of the overseers, and I am sorry to say many of the masters and managing attorneys. My letters by yesterday's post have confirmed this opinion, as there have been several petty disturbances, attended with cases of punishment in St. James's, Westmorland and St. Elizabeth, in almost every instance caused either by the intemperate conduct of the overseers or exaction by the proprietors or managers. The mothers have been refused time to suckle their children, the usual old women as nurses have been withdrawn, the field cooks have been withdrawn, the paths leading from their huts to their provision grounds have been stopped. Many instances of discontent for similar causes have been reported to me from Saint Thomas in the East, but except in those parishes above named, nothing can equal the good temper and tranquillity with which all is going on.

The transactions of the last few days have shewn me, that my opinion as to the necessity of more magistrates, I mean special justices, was well founded. I must endeavour to find out some persons unconnected with apprentice property to nominate as such without salary; if I find them, which is doubtful, they may act for a few weeks, but I fear they will not move about as a special magistrate ought; in fact, as they are not paid for so doing, it is hard to expect that they should, and thus the business will, I fear, not be done; I must, however, do the best I can, till I receive further instructions from you.

No. 18.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice* to the Marquess of *Sligo*.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 3 Oct. 1834.

No. 18.

IT is my gratifying duty to inform your Lordship, that I have laid your Lordship's Despatch of the 13th August before The King, and that I have been honoured by the commands of His Majesty to express his approval of your conduct.

It is most satisfactory to His Majesty to find, that in the important Colony over which your Lordship presides, the momentous change affected in the social system by the Acts lately passed, has taken place in Jamaica without any serious inconvenience, except in the parish of St. Ann, to which I shall hereafter more particularly advert. His Majesty is disposed to attribute this result not only to the prudence and good sense manifested by your Lordship, but to the cordial and zealous co-operation of the various classes of His Majesty's subjects in one common object essential to their future happiness and well-being. Your Lordship is authorized to express His Majesty's approbation to the various persons under your Lordship's command, as well as to such private individuals as have manifested by their conduct a desire to carry into full and effectual operation the measures of Parliament and of the Colonial Legislature. His Majesty trusts, that the wise and considerate spirit which has been shewn on the present occasion may be continued, and may lead to the promotion of good-will and harmony between the proprietors of land and the apprenticed labourers, and may thus secure the prosperity of the Island and the maintenance and extension of productive industry.

It is most painful to His Majesty's feelings to learn, that in the parish of St. Ann there should be found any exception to the gratifying reports received from other parts of the Island; and His Majesty's concern is greatly aggravated by being informed, that the conduct of some proprietors, managing attorneys and overseers, has been cruel and oppressive. That any individual should have been found at once so forgetful of their duties and so blind to their real and permanent interests, cannot but excite His Majesty's disapprobation and astonishment.

I trust

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I trust, however, that the cases to which your Lordship has alluded may be considered but as exceptions to a general rule. But whether those cases are few, as I am most anxious to believe, or whether many, it becomes the duty of your Lordship, as I am convinced it will be consistent with your wishes, to take care that they are not passed over or allowed to remain unpunished. The duty of protecting the apprenticed labourer from any acts of unnecessary violence or cruelty, devolves on the authorities appointed to administer the law. To this important object I feel it right to call your Lordship's immediate and most serious attention; with a perfect reliance on your disposition to direct such proceedings as circumstances may require. Upon this subject I shall expect future communication from your Lordship.

I shall not hesitate at any time to direct or approve of the strongest measures which may be required, in order to repress insubordination and to enforce the labour of the apprentice; but in order to give full effect to such measures when indispensably necessary, it should also be proved to the satisfaction of the apprenticed labourer, that the same law which will be enforced against him, will also be enforced for his protection; that the duties and obligations of all classes must be performed strictly, and that any deviation from those obligations and duties, whether on the one side or on the other, will be impartially made the matter of condemnation and of punishment. It will therefore be your Lordship's care to impress on the minds of all with whom you may communicate, that whilst the labour of the apprentice is secured for the benefit of his employer, so his rights must be respected and his legal claims attended to, with attention to the principles of good faith and justice.

I should be most reluctant to imagine that these remarks and directions could apply to any but a small number of persons in Jamaica. The transition from a state of slavery to one of modified freedom may be in some cases difficult, but your Lordship will not fail to call the attention of those to whom the observation may apply, to the strong and urgent necessity there exists of pursuing such a course during the period of apprenticeship, as may render the further change to unrestricted freedom safe and satisfactory. This cannot be effected without a wise and generous forgetfulness of past distinctions, and without an effort made ungrudgingly and cheerfully on the part of all, not only to act on the letter of the statute for abolishing slavery, but to carry the spirit of that statute into full effect. To ensure the faithful application of these principles, the cordial and earnest co-operation of all classes is required, and from the general tenor of your Lordship's Despatches, that co-operation will, I trust, be given. To the proprietors themselves this is of paramount importance; and they are interested, no less than the apprentices, in guarding against any case of cruelty and oppression. These particular cases cannot remain concealed any more than they ought to remain unpunished, and general conclusions may be unfairly drawn from instances of misconduct which all persons of character and respectability condemn and deplore. On these grounds, on the score of principle and duty, with a view to their permanent interests, in consideration of the character which His Majesty's subjects in Jamaica must feel ambitious to maintain, I trust that your Lordship may command the assistance of the inhabitants of the Island in redressing every well-founded cause of complaint, as well as in overcoming every attempt at insubordination or resistance to the law.

I have, &c.

(signed) *T. Spring Rice.*

—No. 19.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, October 4, 1834.

No. 19.

I HAVE the honour to state for your information, that the only act of violence which has accompanied the transition from slavery to comparative freedom, occurred at Belvidere a few days ago, and that the nature of it turned out on investigation to be nothing more than the ebullition of the moment. I heard of it

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it on my return from my trip round the Island, but I determined on not making it the subject of a Despatch, until I could ascertain the real truth. The result has proved that my anticipations were correct.

As soon as I heard of the affair, I sent Colonel Gregg down to assist the magistrates in the investigation. He is Inspector of Police for the county of Surrey.

It appears that in consequence of the determination of ——— to enforce, by means of withdrawing from the negroes their usual allowances and indulgences, they had become very generally discontented, turned out late to work, and had given cause for the attendance of the special magistrate. Mr. Lyon, the newly appointed special justice was accordingly called in, and found cause to order several of the apprentices to be committed to Morant Bay workhouse, for the purpose of ulterior punishment. Those who, on inquiry, appeared culpable, were placed in the boiling-house, as the most secure room in which they could be detained till sent down to the gaol. It appeared that certainly a very bad and ungrateful spirit existed amongst the negroes, who have always been proverbially well treated, and that the attempt to enforce the additional six hours work in the week, had raised so angry a feeling in their minds, that they entirely forgot all the good treatment they certainly had formerly received. One of the negroes in confinement called out to those outside, who were talking to them through the windows, that if they would burn the trash houses all the prisoners would easily escape. Several to whom this was said refused to commit the crime, and the negroes who were to go to gaol, were brought out by the police to be marched off. Just as they were moving, an old woman, named Christian Mowatt, 70 years of age, and the estates midwife, addressed the other negroes, and called upon them in the most excited manner, not to allow her three children to be sent to the workhouse; that this was the third time they had been sent there since Christmas. She used the most violent language and impassioned gestures, the only apparent effect of which was, that nearly all the negroes followed the police with the prisoners, either for the purpose of rescuing them or accompanying them. I think that they had the intention, if they found a favourable opportunity, of releasing them. While they were marching off, a sudden cry of fire was heard, and one trash-house appeared in flames. From the nature of the trash, being the dry expressed cane laid up for the next year's fuel, a frightful blaze instantaneously followed, and the second trash-house shortly after took fire also. Whether this last was from the flames of the first, or also done intentionally, does not appear. I suspect that it was not intentionally, but it was not clear. The only bad feature in the case was, that not an ordinary field negro would assist to put out the flames; the house servants and one or two of the principal tradesmen did; but neither did the estate constables, nor the drivers. On the contrary, the negroes all ran into the cane pieces to hide, and rather to prevent themselves being caught and forced to render assistance, and kept shouting while the combustion was going on. For a week no intelligence could be obtained as to who the actual culprit was, though all the negroes on the estate were present, having been assembled to hear Mr. Lyon's decision. At last it came out, that Robert Lewis, one of the apprentices of the estate, had done it at the instigation of another, named Blake. It appeared that Blake, one of the prisoners, had intreated Lewis to do so, after having asked several others who refused. I think that two others of the prisoners were concerned, but the magistrates have only committed Lewis and Blake to stand their trials for arson, and Christian Mowatt as an accessory before the fact. They will be tried at the next assizes.

The apprentices who were condemned to corporal punishment have since undergone it, and I am informed that the work of the estate is going on very well ever since. An attempt was made to inculcate Mr. Lyon, as having been the cause of the discontent.

I caused a most rigid examination to be entered into; and I am happy to state that he completely acquitted himself, and behaved with considerable firmness and self-possession.

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—No. 20.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Aberdeen* to the Marquess of *Sligo*, dated Downing-street, 30 December 1834.

No. 20.

I HAVE received your Lordship's Despatch, dated the 4th October last, reporting the disturbances which had taken place among the apprenticed labourers on the Belvidere estate.

It is a subject of just congratulation that your Lordship exerted yourself with so much effect to reduce, within the precise limits of truth, the exaggerated accounts of this occurrence; for although the result of your inquiries is sufficiently painful, it at least dispels the rumours which had been propagated not only in the Colony, but in this country, respecting the character of the movement which had taken place. It now appears to have been an insulated act of misconduct, originating in causes exclusively local, and conducted with an entire absence of all concert amongst the labourers before or during the commission of the outrage.

It is also gratifying to receive so favourable a testimony to the judicious and resolute behaviour of Mr. Lyon, the special magistrate. That class of officers have duties to perform at once so arduous and so unpopular, that I am persuaded that your Lordship will gladly avail yourself of every fitting opportunity to encourage them in any meritorious exertions which they may make in the public service.

If the trials of the men charged with firing the trash-houses should have led to their conviction for the capital offence, your Lordship will have been called upon to discharge the painful office of deciding whether the extreme penalty of the law should be enforced against them; and I am convinced that you will not have shrunk from the performance of your duty on that occasion, however distressing on the one hand may have been the necessity of an inflexible administration of justice, or however unpopular on the other, a mitigation of the rigour of the law, should it have been required by a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case.

—No. 21.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 3 Nov. 1834.

No. 21.

TWO Bills have been introduced into the Assembly; the object of the first of which was, to give the special commission to *all* the local magistrates; and that of the second, to enforce, *for payment*, the requisite additional labour of the apprentices.

The first Bill conferred the power in question *on all* the local magistrates, and was, of course, disallowed in the Council. Another Bill has been subsequently introduced; and I was requested to say whether I would assent to it or not. Its object was, to *authorize* me to appoint to the special commission in each parish a certain number of local magistrates, possessing apprentice property. I replied, that I had already authority to grant it, on my own responsibility, to any one I pleased; and that the Bill was therefore useless. They then asked me if I would appoint any such persons; and I told them that I would not, without special directions from you, as I considered my doing so would be contrary to the instructions I had received. In order to satisfy the gentlemen, I promised to take your opinion distinctly on the point. I have therefore to request that you would be kind enough to give me specific orders on the subject. I have informed them, that I cannot recommend the measure to you. With regard to the increase of labour of the negroes for payment, I have to state, that I feel the impossibility of the crops being taken off in the 45 hours per week, allowed by law; and that my reports from almost all quarters inform me, that the apprentices are most unwilling to work at all for hire. Feeling, with the proposers of the Bill, how advantageous such a measure would be to the sugar growers, I still, however, considered it to be in such direct violation of the Abolition Act, that I could not give my assent to it.

— No. 22. —

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Right honourable *T. Spring Rice*; dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 29 Nov. 1834.

JAMAICA.

No. 22.

THE House of Assembly sent a message to the Council, requesting a conference for the purpose of agreeing on an address to be presented to me by both bodies, asking me, in consequence of the insufficient number of magistrates, to appoint such local magistrates as I thought requisite to the special commission. The Council, feeling the necessity which certainly does exist for the appointment of more special magistrates, acceded to this proposal; and I don't see how they could refuse to do so. An Address, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, was in consequence presented to me yesterday by both bodies, and I made to them the Reply which will also accompany this Despatch.

I cannot hope that your decision will be that I should accede to their wishes. In conscience I cannot do so.

Enclosed herewith I have the honour of sending to you a copy of the evidence taken before Mr. Barclay's committee. There are two other committees sitting, also taking evidence. I will endeavour to procure copies of them, and send them to you.

Enclosure in No. 22.

Jamaica, ss.

The humble Address of the Council and Assembly.

May it please Your Excellency,

WE, the Council and Assembly, being satisfied of the necessity of an increase in number of special Justices in this Island, request your Excellency will be pleased, as early as possible, to invest by special commissions such number of the local magistrates in each parish as your Excellency may deem sufficient to carry the provisions of the Abolition Acts into operation, and to enforce due order and subordination among all classes of His Majesty's subjects in this Island.

Enclosure in
No. 22.

Passed the Council this 26th day of
November 1834.

(signed) *T. J. Bernard*,
Clerk to the Council.

Passed the Assembly this 26th day of
November 1834.

(signed) *Rich^d Barrett*,
Speaker.

Gentlemen of the Council,
Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

IN reply to the Address which I have just had the honour of receiving, I beg to state, that when I accepted the government of this Colony, I was quite aware that in addition to the difficulties of enforcing labour on persons newly released from slavery and its concomitants, I should naturally be much embarrassed in administering a law so much at variance with the received opinions and customs of its inhabitants.

It would be absurd in me not to avow that I have sensibly felt these difficulties, even in the short time which has elapsed since the new system has commenced; but I still hope, that if I meet with the co-operation I have been promised, they will vanish; if, however, that co-operation is withheld, from a misapprehension of my feelings and intentions, it will be impossible for me safely or successfully to administer the government of this Island; and the loss will fall on those from whom I expect the assistance. The evidence which has been produced before the Committee of the House of Assembly, it cannot be denied, is of so very contradictory a nature, that it appears to me to be impossible to come to a safe conclusion as to what the real state of the Island will be at the approaching important season.

That the number of special magistrates originally sent out from home was insufficient for the duties they had to perform, was my impression from the commencement; and in consequence of my representations on that subject, an additional number have been granted. Several of these have been already appointed by me from amongst the residents of this Island, and the rest, I am assured, will be sent out by the first opportunity. All the vacancies which have occurred since my arrival have been filled up by persons already established here, and I have strongly recommended to the Government their confirmation. Some of your local magistrates have been appointed by me to the special commission, and I have procured the unsalaried services of other persons eminently qualified for the duty. Between those now employed, and those whom I have the certainty of having in I trust not many days, at my disposal, there will be fifty persons qualified to act as special magistrates in this Island, and I anxiously hope that His Majesty's Government will, in consequence of my more recent representations, feel themselves justified in making a further increase in the number already appointed. At all events, I will send home by the present opportunity the expression of your joint opinions, which will, I am confident, meet with all the respect to which it is so justly entitled. I shall thereby learn whether I may be permitted to consent to the adoption of a measure which, I will frankly confess, I consider to be in direct opposition to the spirit of the Abolition Act and the intention of His Majesty's Government. It would

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be impossible for me, consistently with the tenor of all my communications with the Colonial Office, to assent to it under present existing circumstances.

The safety of the Island, however, being entrusted to my charge, I am fully aware of the awful responsibility which rests on me. No step will therefore be taken by me without a patient and anxious consideration; but when my mind is made up as to the necessity of any measure, I shall not hesitate to act with vigor and determination.

House of Assembly, 13 November 1834.

MR. BARCLAY, from the committee appointed to inquire into the working of the new system of labour, presented a Report, which was received and read, and is as follows:—

Mr. Speaker,

Your committee, appointed to inquire into the working of the new system of labour, and to report to the House what regulations are necessary to enforce the industry of the manumitted slaves, and what rate of wages would be equitable between the apprentices and their masters for extra time of labour,

Report—

That they have given their best consideration to the petitions referred to them from the parishes of Hanover, Trelawney, St. Elizabeth, and St. Thomas in the East, and that they have taken in solemn form the examinations of persons of the highest respectability and most extensive experience from different parts of the Island, which are hereunto annexed, upon the working of the new system of labour. In a few instances it has been considered as likely to answer; but the preponderating evidence compels your committee to come to the conclusion—

That the new system is not succeeding; that forty and a half hours of labour in the week are inadequate to enable the cultivation of the country to be continued; that the negroes are performing no fair proportion of work, even during that limited number of hours, and that during their own time very few of them will work for such rate of wages as sugar cultivation can afford to pay; that idleness and contempt of authority are daily becoming more apparent and alarming; that the pimento crop, the only article that has come to maturity since the 1st of August, has been, to a great extent, lost to the proprietors, from the impossibility of getting it gathered in; that the coffee crop, now commencing, is likely to share a similar fate; and that the prospect to the proprietors of sugar estates is still more desperate, in the certainty that their canes must rot upon the ground, from the absolute impossibility of manufacturing the juice into sugar during the limited number of hours which the factories can be kept in operation.

The failure of the system is attributed principally to the following causes:—

- 1st. To the domestic authority of the master (which formerly constituted the main controlling power) having been so entirely destroyed, that he cannot now exercise over the negro apprentices even the reasonable extent of authority which a master may in England over his apprentices.
- 2d. To the local magistrates having been, at the same time with the masters, deprived of all power and authority to aid in maintaining the peace of society, and in enforcing the law.
- And lastly, To the altogether inadequate number of the stipendiary magistrates, and the unfitness of many of them to discharge properly the difficult and important duties entrusted to them, from their entire ignorance of the peculiar habits and dispositions of the negroes, or of the fair and reasonable quantity of labour which they are competent and ought to perform.

Other causes of minor importance have likewise been assigned. The conflicting modes of labour adopted by different proprietors; the equally conflicting decisions made by different magistrates; and a secret influence, not susceptible of legal proof, but clearly at work, to subvert the apprenticeship system by the simple but sure mode of exciting a combination among the labourers not to work for wages in their own time, but, as they themselves express it, to go by the law.

Your committee recommend, as the only means of saving the Colony from destruction, and giving some reasonable chance of success to the great experiment of Slave Emancipation:—

- 1st. That a more numerous and competent magistracy, possessing local experience and knowledge, be immediately appointed to preserve order, repress crimes, and enforce industry.
- 2d. That such amendments be made in the law as shall remove all ambiguity in it, by defining more minutely the relative duties and rights of apprentices and masters.
- 3d. That regulations be provided by law to secure, upon fair and equitable terms, between masters and apprentices, such reasonable time of labour for the working of the sugar factories, as shall ensure the safe gathering in of that great staple, upon which the prosperity of the Colony and the welfare of all classes are in a great measure dependent. This regulation your committee deem to be of paramount necessity, in order to guide an ignorant, idle and thoughtless people, hitherto accustomed to labour by coercion, into the way of working for their own benefit; and thus prevent the danger of their sinking into a state of indolence from which it might be impossible hereafter to raise them.

Jamaica, Friday, 31st October 1834.

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EXAMINATIONS on oath taken before a committee of the House of Assembly, appointed to inquire into the working of the new system of labour, and to report to the House what regulations are necessary to enforce the industry of the manumitted slaves, and what rate of wages would be equitable between the apprentices and their masters for extra time of labour.

Mr. Barclay.

Mr. Batty.

Mr. Mais.

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Turner.

Mr. Watt.

Mr. Panton.

Mr. Dallas.

Mr. Shenton.

Mr. Frater.

Mr. Cox.

Examination of Mr. *Townson*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property?—I have been practically concerned for estates and labourers for 30 years.

Will you state to the committee from your experience, whether the system of labour established under the Abolition Act is succeeding or likely to succeed?—I think the system adopted by the Abolition Act would have succeeded to the extent of the labour required, if carried into execution by persons competent to judge of what was proper; but under the present management it is a total failure. Some magistrates understand the law and their duty better than others, and properties under their control are more orderly and correct. But speaking generally, there is a great want of knowledge as to what ought to be done, and a great reluctance to acquire the proper information, which is one cause why the system is not likely to succeed.

Are there any other causes to which you attribute the failure of the system?—Yes. The want of active controlling power; uniformity in the hours of labour. Accustomed formerly to work by the rising and setting of the sun as their guide, the labourer required no other direction; but they are now referred to specified hours for labour, which they cannot yet comprehend; the power of the master is now superseded by the authority of the magistrate. In one case under my charge, in a very populous district in St. Ann's, the magistrate has not visited an estate with 190 people but once since the 1st of August, although frequently required to do so; the consequence of which is, a gradual disorganization of order among the people. Shortly after the 1st August they were civil, well behaved and obedient, but from the want of the necessary control they turn out to work when they like, do what they choose, take what days they like,—in fact, do as they think proper.

Can you state any particulars as to the quantity of labour done now and formerly, during the hours they are at work?—Yes. Formerly seven labourers would strip the trash (dry leaves) from an acre of canes in a day; but on the property in question, it took 25 people one day last week to trash an acre of plant canes about ten months old, without any grass weeding; and as far as my observation goes, the quantity of labour in all field occupation is reduced nearly to the same scale.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—On every occasion within my knowledge, all interested parties have been most anxious to follow the law and adopt its provisions to the fullest extent, both in spirit and practice.

What number of hours out of the 24, would it be necessary to keep a sugar factory at work, to enable the crop of an estate to be taken off?—A continued process in sugar manufacture has always been considered most desirable, from the peculiar nature of the cane juice; but I consider it possible to manufacture the article with 18 hours of labour out of the 24, or even 16, but I doubt whether the sugar would be so good. It will certainly be more costly, from the additional fuel required to heat the furnace. Any intermission during those hours would be decidedly ruinous, as every stoppage affords time for the commencement of acetous fermentation, which is highly detrimental to the granulating process.

Have you found the emancipated slaves disposed voluntarily to hire themselves for a fair rate of hire?—I have offered a fair rate of wages, but the apprentices would not accept it.

What would you consider to be an equitable rate of wages between the apprentices and their masters for extra time of labour?—I formed a scale of wages for labour, taking into consideration what is necessary for the comfort of the labourer as well as what the master can afford to pay in the cultivation of sugar, taking at the average price of 30s. per 100 lbs., and I consider such equitable rate of wages to be one penny per hour for an able labourer, and a halfpenny per hour for young persons, which for an able person working 250 days at 10 hours each day, by the year will be 10*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, and a younger person 5*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*

The question was meant to apply to the extra time of labour under the apprenticeship; what hire should be paid for it?—I consider 2*d.* per hour, under particular circumstances.

EXTRACT from Examination of Mr. *Thomas Glen*.

ARE you in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am; I have six properties under my charge, in Hanover, St. James's and Westmorland.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 1,300.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Not to my expectations.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates

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estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—I have seen no unwillingness, as far as I am acquainted with.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates, in the due performance of their duties under the law?—No.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—Not generally so.

What is now the general character of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—I have not known any instance of direct insubordination from them, unless taking upon themselves to go to the hospital, and refusing to leave it when directed to do so, against the authority of the manager and doctor, and also in the loss of time. They have never in my opinion worked any day for nine hours since the 1st of August. The three first weeks after that day the people under my charge generally behaved well, but after that day they became sullen, and did not work as they formerly had done.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—I have tried them, by a proposition to them to work during crop, but they refused to do so. I asked them if they would keep the factory going during breakfast and dinner hours; they replied, "No, they would go by the law." The people to whom I allude were the people among whom I had longest resided and best known, and who are as well-disposed apprentices as I have ever known, and from whom I consequently had the best expectations.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Not up to the time of my leaving home.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off and the field cultivation be continued, by the labourers upon it working 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week?—No.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation, to enable the crop to be taken off?—Provided the apprentices would work cheerfully and with good-will, at least 18 hours out of the 24, for five days in the week.

Do you, from your own knowledge and experience of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I fear not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I think about two-pence per hour to the able people, and half that sum to the second gang.

Do you think it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—No, I do not think it.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—The question being of great importance, I have only to suggest that the present laws should be strictly enforced, and that the House of Assembly should bring in a Bill to vest the same authority in the local magistrates as the special magistrates have.

EXTRACT from the Examination of Mr. *William Tharp*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Fourteen properties in Trelawney, Hanover, Westmorland and St. Elizabeth.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very indifferently.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—I have never heard of any; quite the contrary.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates, in the due performance of their duty under the law?—No.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour, during the limited time required by law?—No, certainly not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—They appear to be quite dissatisfied and sullen in many instances, and very touchy; so much so, that it is unpleasant for the white people to address them. I speak particularly of the properties under my charge in Trelawney. On my own estate in Westmorland, and the other properties under my charge in Hanover and St. Elizabeth, there appears to be a better feeling, but still not equal to their former general conduct.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Some have promised, some have refused, and others replied to me, by stating that they would wait until they saw what other estates' apprentices would do.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—No.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued, by the labourers working upon it 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week?—Decidedly not.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I should think 16 hours.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced

induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I certainly think not, unless they are bound to continue it regularly by some Act of the Assembly. It is very probable that many may be disposed to work for hire, but they are so fickle a character that they may agree to it one day and refuse the next. And uniformity and continuous labour must be preserved in the manufacture of sugar.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should consider at the rate of three halfpence per hour as the fullest extent that the master could afford to give.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—Certainly not to any profit.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—I should think the encouragement of emigration by all possible means; to check crime and vagabondage by effective laws quickly administered; to enlarge the power of the local magistracy to carry into effect the Abolition Acts (with amendments to secure continuous labour in crop time), in cases where the stipendiaries cannot attend; and to compel the special magistrates to administer the laws impartially.

EXTRACT from the Examination of Mr. *William Carey*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am concerned for thirteen estates in Trelawney, St. James, Hanover and Westmorland.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very indifferently.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—None.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—Certainly I do not.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the little time required by law?—They are not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No, they are not. They appear sulky and discontented generally.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—No, I have not; on the contrary, they have objected in every instance. I have made an offer to them. Some few came to me the other day in Westmorland, and offered to work if I would give them half a dollar a day, but not less. I asked if the whole would work at that sum. They replied, they could not tell.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—None.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued, by the labourers upon it working 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ hours in the week?—Certainly not.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—In some instances 16 hours; but in most instances the sugar crop could not be taken off without 18 hours continuous labour.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I do not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should think at the rate of 1s. 8d. a day for an able negro; I mean a day of nine hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I think not.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—To encourage emigration by every possible means, give power to the local magistrates that the Abolition Law be more strictly enforced.

EXTRACT from the Examination of Mr. *W. M. Kerr*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am in the management of my own property, and another of which I am executor in the parish of St. James.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Indifferently.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—No, quite the reverse. I consider that they have done all in their power to carry the new system into execution.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—Not in the slightest degree.

JAMAICA.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, they are not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No. In many instances they are very insolent, particularly the women.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—I have on my own estate. Within the last two weeks the men have been digging cane-holes at the rate of half a dollar a hundred in their own time. They commenced on Friday, after having performed their proportion of labour for me (say at half-past ten.) The job was completed by five o'clock the same day, and they were willing to engage a similar job at the same rate.

How many of your people engaged at this work?—About 14; but more were willing to engage had I required them.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—No.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued, by the labourers upon it working 40½ hours in the week?—The crop cannot be taken off; and the cultivation of the estate with such limited time of labour must be considerably reduced.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I should say 16 hours might do. Not having tried it, it is impossible to say positively at present.

Do you, from experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I think they will always demand a higher rate of wages than we can afford to give. Could a certain fair rate of wages be fixed by the Legislature, I think it would be more likely to answer. Indeed, I think this absolutely necessary, as otherwise different wages given by different persons will always create dissatisfaction among the apprentices.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should say at the rate of 5*d.* for three hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—No, I do not. Taking in view the little work the apprentices at present do, and the limited time of 40½ hours per week, and the non enforcement of the law on the part of those to whom now it is exclusively left.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—I consider an increased number of magistrates as absolutely necessary, and some power to enforce their orders, so that the law may be fulfilled. At present there is no power on an estate for carrying into effect the magistrate's orders, and they are often disobeyed, which at once creates insubordination.

Examination of Mr. Miller.

ARE YOU concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—About twenty estates in Trelawney, St. James, Hanover and St. Ann's.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 4,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Not as well as I could wish.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?—To the want of a sufficient number of special magistrates, and the power of the manager having been taken from him, and no sufficient authority substituted.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—None.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, I do not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—They are sulky, and do their work with reluctance; there have been many cases of disobedience, particularly among the women.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—No; they have refused to work for hire. I offered a dollar a barrel for the picking of pimento, and very few would do it.

What would that have given them a day?—At least 3*s.* 4*d.*

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—None.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued, by the labourers upon it working 40½ hours in the week?—No.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—At least 18 hours of five days labour during the week.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I do not think so.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—For an able negro 1*s.* 8*d.* for every nine hours; for the second gang negro 10*d.* for nine hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—It is impossible.

EXTRACT from the Examination of Mr. *Robert Fairweather*.

JAMAICA.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Yes, to a pretty large extent in St. Mary's, St. George's, St. Ann's, St. Thomas in the Vale and Clarendon.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—Upwards of 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very badly.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—Decidedly not.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance under the law?—I certainly do not.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, not much more than half, generally.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—There is a kind of passive resistance, and in many instances they are becoming insolent and insubordinate.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Partly so on some properties, and others not.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Yes, on several.

What arrangements have you been able to make to keep the mills going, and for what number of hours out of the 24?—I have made arrangements for keeping the mill about twelve hours of each of the five days, with the people there, and in the boiling house; those in the latter to continue on for six hours more if there is liquor sufficient; and for so doing, those in the mill house, for their extra time, I give 3s. 4d. on each Saturday morning to the able hands, and to the weakly or young hands 1s. 8d., and to the people about the boiling house, say the able hands 3s. 4d. and to the weakly or young ones 1s. 8d., and to those in the boiling house an extra allowance at the rate of 5d. for three hours for any further extra time at night. Still I do not consider this time sufficient, and that we would require, for getting off the crop in proper time, to have, by the changing of spells, at least 18 hours out of the 24 for five days, beginning at four o'clock in the morning for the first spell, and going on for nine hours; the second spell taking it up from that time and working their nine hours also.

Taking the average of the estates under your management, what has been your weekly work by this mode of working, compared with what you formerly made?—As near half as possible.

At that rate, how is your crop to be taken off and the field cultivation continued?—The crop on the ground may be taken off, but the field cultivation cannot be continued in a proper manner.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I have already stated that I consider 18 out of the 24.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they would be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I very much fear they will not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I have already stated at the rate of 5d. for three hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I do not.

Examination of Mr. *Thomas M'Neel*.

ARE you connected in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Yes, to a considerable extent; I have the management of 18 properties, principally in Westmorland and Hanover, and St. Elizabeth.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your charge?—About 3,800.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—So far as it has come within my own observation, very badly latterly.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?—Principally to the want of a sufficient number of special Justices to enforce the law.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—Nothing of the kind has come within my own observation as regards persons intrusted with the management of estates.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duty under the law?—I do not.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—On some properties they are doing what I consider a fair and reasonable portion of work; but on a majority they are not doing at this present time over two-thirds of what I consider they should perform.

What is the general disposition of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—So far as I have

JAMAICA.

I have observed, the negroes do not directly refuse to do what they are told; but they do it in such a reluctant manner as in former days would have been considered tantamount to opposition.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—I have asked them in some instances to do so, but they would not; their reply was, that if other estates would work for hire, they would do so.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Yes; on three estates we have made a few hogsheads, but the crop has not regularly commenced.

Had you any extra time from the negroes in manufacturing that sugar?—Yes, they gave a few hours' labour, but would not take wages for it.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field-cultivation continued, by the labourers upon it working $40\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week?—I do not think it possible to manufacture the produce in the $40\frac{1}{2}$ hours; and it is my opinion, unless we get more labour, that one-half of the canes will rot on the ground.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I consider that not less than 18 hours out of the 24, for six days in the week continuous labour, would enable us to take the crop off.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—From what I have observed, I do not conceive that there is at this moment any disposition on the part of the negroes generally to work in their own time for wages.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should think at the rate of 1s. 8d. in crop time, for ten hours' labour for able persons.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I think it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar, but not to an extent that would remunerate the proprietor.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—Unless the legislature enact a law which will compel the apprentices to work for a fair, reasonable and uniform price, in all cases where necessary during the progress of the crops (for $67\frac{1}{2}$ hours of their own time in each week, which will make, with the nine the master is entitled to by law, 108 hours per week) to pursue the manufacture of the produce, I do not think it will be possible to continue the cultivation of the cane, or manufacture of sugar in this country; and it will, in consequence of the loss of the staple produce, be quite impossible for the proprietor to furnish the apprentices with the clothing and medical attendance as at present by law he is required to do.

Mr. M'Neel came before the committee, and stated, that since he gave his evidence on the 11th instant, he had received a letter from the overseer of Shrewsbury estate, a discreet and respectable manager, stating that he had commenced sugar-making on the 4th instant; that every thing went on well till breakfast-time, when the apprentices went in a body to their breakfast, leaving the mill and boiling-house unattended to. That some of the principal persons on the property interfered to prevent the others from hiring themselves to do any extra work at the factory. On this property we have been giving all the allowances as heretofore, and continue to boil pot daily for young children. We had on this property 47 children under six years of age on the 1st of August. Their nurses are also continued as before.

(signed) *Tho' M'Neel.*

Examination of the Hon. *William Miller.*

You are a member of the Council?—I am.

Are you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—On the 1st of August I was in charge of 48 properties, on which there were upwards of 10,000 negroes, situated in the parishes of St. George, St. Mary, St. Ann, St. James, Hanover and Westmorland.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Badly.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?—The new system, in my opinion, cannot work well, unless there are a few of the local magistrates, with equal authority in each parish, appointed to assist the special; they being well acquainted with the cultivation of the products of the country, and equally so with the peculiarity of the negro character, they would greatly assist the special in guiding them to a decision. It is impossible for a set of men to carry this great object into successful operation who are utterly unacquainted with the customs and feelings of a people, utterly unacquainted with the portion of labour that the apprentices are capable of performing, quite ignorant of the modes of cultivating the different products of the Colony, and equally so of our laws. It is impossible the new system can be carried on under such defective means, as the result of the short trial it has had has clearly shown. The apprentices continue to do little or no work; numerous faults have passed unpunished and even unreprieved; crime has followed. For society long to continue in the state it is obviously rapidly verging to, will be impossible.

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Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—Not to my knowledge. In order to show my own anxiety for the working of the new system, I tender to the committee a circular I wrote to the overseers in charge of the properties under my management. “ July 26, 1834. Sir,—The change which is about to take place in the condition of the labouring population will render the greatest circumspection in your own conduct necessary. You should always bear in mind that they will then be free; and not only subject to the enactments of the Abolition Law, but entitled to the privileges of the British law the same as yourself. Should they commit faults, which from their unacquaintance with the new law may be expected, before you attempt to have them corrected, be first convinced that they have proceeded from wilfulness, and not from misapprehension. I should consider it highly creditable to you to bring the new system into successful operation without an appeal to the special magistrates. A complaint from the apprentices against you in which you were found guilty would give me great concern, and you would incur my most serious displeasure. Continue all allowances the same as heretofore. Should I deem any alteration in this respect necessary, it can be done at the time I serve the apprentices with their annual supply of clothing. I think it not improbable that some difficulty may be experienced in obtaining watchmen; should this be the case, and you cannot arrange it otherwise, you may pay them at a rate not exceeding 1 s. 3 d. per night.”

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duty under the law?—No.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—I have already stated that I do not think that they are.

What is the general disposition of the negroes, are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—I have weekly complaints from a great proportion of the managers under my charge; they are not turbulent; they turn out to their work, and do very little work.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Only in one or two instances, and that for a few hours during the day. In the first instance the apprentices on some properties did agree to work during their own time, and they made a beginning, but afterwards refused to complete it.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since 1st August?—Yes.

What arrangements have you been able to make with the apprentices, and how many consecutive hours out of the 24 have you been able to keep the factory in operation?—On four estates, namely, Tryall, Brimmer Hall, Roslyn and Trinity, one set of hands commence work at four o'clock A. M., and work till twelve in the noon, when they are released by another, who work from that time till eight P. M. The mill is thus kept in operation for 16 hours consecutively; but the apprentices give no extra time of labour.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week?—Certainly not.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—Eighteen hours, provided you reduce the crop one-third.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—My agent, Mr. Stewart, offered wages to keep the mill about to the apprentices on the four estates I have before mentioned, but they refused to give any part of their time for wages. About a month ago I visited a large estate under my management when the mill was about. The apprentices there commence work at a little after six in the morning, and leave off at six in the evening. They insist upon taking three hours for breakfast and dinner. I served them with their annual allowance of cloth, and we were on the best terms. I pointed out to them the propriety of giving the children under six years of age some education, and to enable them to do so, I told them I had instructed the overseer to pay them for any extra time they might work either day or night; but that I was sorry to find that none of them had done so. They came forward and stated most decidedly, that they would not work beyond the hours laid down by the law. I understand that on Mr. Shirley's estates, for which I am concerned, the negroes work for wages on Fridays; but permit me to refer the committee to Mr. Shirley himself for particulars.

Are the estates under your charge as forward in their work, and in equally good cultivation as they formerly were at this season?—Certainly not. In consequence of the negroes not working some time previously to the 1st of August as formerly, the last crop was not finished for a month or six weeks later than usual; in consequence of which the cultivation of the cane fields fell back, and we have never been able to bring it up.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—At the rate of 1 s. 8 d. for nine hours during the day, and 2 s. 1 d. for nine hours during the night for able people.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—Certainly not.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society, and the continued cultivation of the estates?—I refer the committee to my answer to the 4th question.

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Can you inform the committee in what manner the apprentices have behaved in gathering in the late pimento crop?—I consider they have conducted themselves badly; they have done little or no work, in consequence of which a great quantity of the pimento crop has been lost on the properties I am concerned for. I lately visited Cardiff Hall, a large pimento property; there were 140 hands employed in taking in the crop. They ought to have picked from 55 to 60 barrels, as they formerly did, instead of which the first day I was there, they brought in only 24 barrels. I remonstrated with the overseer, and told him to lecture the constables or head people. The second night they only brought in 23, and the third night only 22. I sent for the special magistrate, but as he could not immediately attend, I was obliged to leave the property before he came. Had I not assisted the property with Orange Valley people, a greater quantity of the crop must have been lost.

Examination of Mr. *George Gordon*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I represent altogether 30 properties, including my own in St. James, Hanover, Trelawney and Westmorland.

What number of apprentice labourers are under your charge?—About seven to eight thousand.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—It is succeeding to my satisfaction.

Are the field-labourers in your employ cleaning the canes at the same number per acre as they used formerly to do?—On some estates, making allowance for the difference of time established by law, the negroes are cleaning canes at the same number per acre as they formerly did. On other estates they are not doing it; but in the latter they have improved very much in their work within the last five or six weeks.

Do you find the work of the estates in the same forward state it generally was at this time of the year?—No, I do not; because one-fourth of the time for labour has been obstructed by law, and because there has been some interruption of work on every estate that I know, owing to the temporary excitement of the apprentices' minds in consequence of the great change in their situation, which excitement appears to me to have now subsided; and finally in consequence of a greater than an average portion of rain having fallen this year.

Are you able to continue the same extent of cane land in cultivation, and do you contemplate the possibility of doing so during the apprenticeship system?—No, I do not contemplate doing so during the apprenticeship system, and I shall reduce the number of acres of plant to be put in this fall.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Yes, I have; wherever I have made a proposal to them they have dug cane holes at a certain rate, viz. in Hanover at 2s. 6d. for 100 cane holes, four feet square each; in St. James's, at 5d. for 10 holes, four feet square; in Trelawney I am giving 5d. for eight holes, four feet three inches square, on remarkably strong land.

What extent of land have you had dug in this manner on any one estate?—The greatest extent was nearly six acres up to the 1st November, on Old Retrieve Estate in Hanover, which was done in four weeks. I believe the apprentices have been digging since in their own time.

What proportion of persons on an estate engage themselves in this employment?—Except on one estate, I would say from one-half to two-thirds of the great gang.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st day of August?—No, not to any extent; the most has been two hogsheads on any one estate.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable a crop to be taken off?—On the estates which I am concerned for, I think 16 hours out of the 24 of continuous labour for six days in the week about the works would enable the crop to be taken off.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I think they will.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to them?—I consider the rate of 1d. per hour for extra labour in their own time would be a fair rate of wages to pay the apprentices.

Have you yet made the trial if they will work at that rate?—I have not.

Examination of Mr. *Thomas McCornock*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Yes, for eight properties in St. Thomas in the East.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 2,600.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very indifferently.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?—In the first place I consider the law defective in some important points; the next, the number of special magistrates quite inadequate to perform the duties required of them; also from the proprietors and managers being deprived of all kind of control; in consequence of which a large proportion of the apprentices treat with indifference, and indeed with contempt those to whom they formerly looked up with kindly feelings and respect. Many of the apprentices enjoyed such great advantages

advantages as slaves that the new system does not make that difference in their condition they were led to expect. From these causes, they are extremely discontented, and adopt every means in their power to evade working during the very limited period required by law: insolence and insubordination have often followed the efforts made by the special Justices to enforce the law. Being secure of support from their masters during the apprenticeship, they are relieved from any necessity of being industrious, and therefore many of them will not be induced to labour for hire, however injurious this may be to the properties in which they reside. Another great evil is the different constructions the different magistrates have put on the law, and the opinions promulgated by what was thought good authority.

You say that turbulence and insubordination often follow the efforts of the special magistrates to enforce the law; how, then, do you consider the failure of the system to proceed from the insufficiency in number of the special magistrates?—I have known that the insolence and insubordination alluded to in my previous answer take place, as instanced on Belvidere and Golden Grove estates. Had the system been commenced with a sufficient number of special magistrates, the early deviation from discipline and propriety would have been considerably less.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—I do not, so far as has come under my own observations.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—None whatever, so far as I have known.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No.

What is the general disposition of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—As I have already stated, many of them are discontented and insubordinate.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time, and on what terms?—I have had no occasion to hire them out of crop; but to keep the manufacture of sugar in operation for the necessary length of time, I made this offer to them; to continue all their allowances, which far exceed what the law directs, and every other indulgence they have been accustomed to when slaves; also to support and clothe the free children, to pay for medical attendance upon them, and let their mothers and nurses attend them the same as when they were slaves, and to pay 10*d.* for every six hours of their own time, so as to enable me to keep the mill about 18 hours out of the 24; which offer they refused.

Did you immediately after the 1st August discontinue any of the allowances and indulgences granted under the old system?—None whatever. I proposed to the apprentices to continue to them all the allowances and indulgences as before, on condition of their working 4½ hours additional, to make 45 hours in the week, in which they acquiesced, except on two estates; the negroes said they would only work the 40½ hours, the time required by law, when they were told in that case they would only get what the law allowed them. Still the same indulgences of medical attendance and nurses waiting upon the children as before, are allowed to them.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40½ hours in the week?—It is quite impossible.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—Generally speaking, 18 hours out of the 24 for five days in the week; on some estates less time may be sufficient.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I fear not. I think there will be great difficulty in inducing the greater number of them to work for an equitable rate of wages during their own time.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—If their present allowances are continued, at the rate of 1*s.* per day of nine hours for field labour, and 10*d.* for every six hours of night-work.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I have already said that sugar cultivation cannot be continued by the apprentices working only during the time limited by law.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—The remedy of the evil is enumerated in my answer to the fourth question.

Examination of Mr. Farquharson.

ARE you concerned in the management of land property, and to what extent?—I am; I have charge of an estate in Vere, one in Clarendon, one in St. Andrew, one in Trelawney, three pens in St. Elizabeth, and a small coffee plantation of my own in the same parish.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your charge?—About 1,100.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—So far as I am concerned, I have seen no alteration in their labour from what it was before.

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Are the field labourers in your employ cleaning the canes at the same number per acre as they used formerly to do?—That I cannot answer, not having made inquiry.

Do you find the work of the estate in the same forward state as it generally was at this time of the year?—Yes, I do.

Are you able to continue the same extent of cane land in cultivation, and do you contemplate the possibility of doing so, during the apprenticeship system?—I certainly do, as I have been in the habit of giving every Saturday, in and out of crop, on Wildman's estate.

You do not consider the diminution of the hours of labour to 40½ hours in the week is likely to diminish the production?—Not to any great extent on the properties I am concerned for.

What is the general disposition of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—I have heard of nothing to the contrary, and have only heard of a few instances of apprentices having been carried before the special Justice.

Have you found apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—In one instance they refused, beginning of September last, at Salt Savanna, when I offered 1s. 8d. for their two half Fridays, when they said it was not sufficient. At Papine they have been digging cane holes at 2s. 6d. a day; and the overseer writes me, that they have dug in one day, one hundred and thirty cane holes for that sum. At Dundee, in Trelawney, the negroes in a body requested the overseer to write me to allow them to work ten hours a day, to which I consented, that they might hire themselves to the estate on the Friday, which they do at 2s. 1d. per day, working the extra half hour on that day, to make up the 40½ hours in the week. I have also agreed with them to allow them 2s. 6d. for every hundred cane holes. If they dig upwards of ninety a day in the four days, they will be paid for the overplus in the same ratio. I have also agreed for them to work extra hours during crop, at 5d. for every two hours. On my own property in St. Elizabeth, when I required them, they work for 1s. 8d. a day of nine hours.

Was the land at Papine, to which you have alluded, previously opened by the plough?—I cannot tell, as the overseer does not mention.

What proportion of people on that estate engaged in this labour?—Thirty-two hands digging cane holes at 2s. 6d. each, out of 135.

What number of acres have you had opened upon any one estate by the people in their own time?—We have only just commenced: on Salt Savanna the cane holes are dug with the plough; opened fourteen acres for a full plant in nine days, and then the overseer writes making as good work with the plough as with the gang.

What amount has any one negro earned in any one day, over the ninety cane-holes of tasked work, which you have mentioned in your answer to the ninth question?—I only made the bargain a few days since.

Has sugar been made upon any estate in your charge since 1st August?—None.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by labourers upon it, working 40½ hours in the week?—Certainly not.

What number of hours, out of the 24, do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation, to enable the crop to be taken off?—About 16 hours; from four o'clock in the morning, stopping the mill at seven, and boiling off.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I do, speaking of those under my charge.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labours, for extra labour in their own time?—Five-pence for every two hours.

Do you consider any alteration in the law, or the appointment of more special magistrates necessary, to insure the more successful working of the apprenticeship system?—The sixteenth clause does not state explicitly the allowance to be given. By doing so it would prevent any misunderstanding between the special magistrates, apprentices and employers. The 39th clause does not clearly define whether it is imperative on the proprietor or manager to release an apprentice that has been confined for 24 hours. In some cases the crime committed by an apprentice may be of so serious a nature, that it would not be safe to release the criminal until the attendance of a special magistrate. Sixty-third clause provides for the punishment of offences committed by slaves previous to 1st August, but not for the punishment of free persons. The Act does not provide for the education and religious instruction of the young apprentices, which, in my opinion, is indispensably necessary to insure the safety of the Island, after the expiration of the term of apprenticeship. I do certainly consider the number of special magistrates quite insufficient. In St. Elizabeth, five or six, in my opinion, would not be more than sufficient to perform the duties required in the 54th clause.

EXTRACT of the Examination of Mr. M^r Daniel.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—For two properties, a Coffee Mountain, and a pen in St. Elizabeth, with 87 apprentices.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Not at all well.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—I do not think there has.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—By no means; I have repeatedly offered them hire by the day or by the job, and they invariably refused.

refused. I offered them 1s. 8d. by the day of nine hours, or 40s. a chain for building stone walls, where the stones were abundant, and where they could have made good hire, giving them all the same allowances as formerly.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I have already said I have offered them 1s. 8d. a day, which I consider to be a fair rate of hire.

Examination of Mr. H. Shirley.

ARE you not the proprietor of certain estates in this Island?—Yes, of Hyde Hall and Elingdon, in Trelawney, on which there are between 600 and 700 apprentices.

What experience have you had in plantation management?—That experience only which an almost continued residence on his estates since the month of March last could give a proprietor the opportunity of obtaining, who had directed his whole attention to their management, to the conduct of the white people on them, and to the general behaviour and interests of the negro population on the above mentioned estates.

What is your opinion of the system established under the Abolition Act?—Insufficient in reference to the produce of estates in general.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its defects?—To the insufficiency of time, speaking as a planter.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—Most decidedly so; and in a cheerful and ready way. By my last accounts, the overseers wrote me that the apprentices on both estates were behaving in a most exemplary manner.

In the way your people are now working, how many persons to the acre do you take to clear your canes, and how many to give the bank?—I cannot speak as to the number necessary to give the bank, that fact not having come within my knowledge; but as regards the previous part of the question, I can state that at Elingdon the work per acre lately has not reached five to the acre; and as an instance of this, I will mention the fact that on a Saturday, 19 of the great gang cleaned four acres and a half, having of course worked all day for wages; at Hyde Hall, where the land is of much heavier description, my last reports informed me that eight people had cleared an acre on the average per day; but I think this is the minimum. On that estate I should generally say, that the work done has been at the rate of from eight to twelve per acre.

Do you find the work of the estates in the same forward state as it generally was at this time of the year?—Although I was not at Jamaica in any preceding year, I can certainly state, as far as my knowledge goes, that such is not the case; but this arises from the heavy seasons we have had in Trelawney, and from the inability experienced, during the last crop in hiring job-labour to keep up that number of the negroes considered necessary in Hyde Hall to keep the cane field clean, while the crop is being taken off. At Elingdon, where the soil is lighter, the cane field is much in its usual condition. I should state that at Hyde Hall the number of people in the field has been diminished ever since April last, in consequence of my drawing off hands from the first and second gangs to work the ploughs and attend the teams.

Are you able to continue the same extent of cane land in cultivation, and do you contemplate the possibility of doing so during the apprenticeship system?—As far as continuing the same extent of cane land in cultivation, I am contemplating the same quantity of land in plants as on any previous year, and shall endeavour to stand against the pressure of the times by continuing to do so, to the end of the apprenticeship system, which under the circumstances in which I am placed, I consider possible. I allude to the goodwill of the negroes, and their general readiness to work for wages, when called upon to do so.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for wages, and to what extent?—The people are paid at the following rates for each day's work, the length of which is, as in the old system, turning out at day-light and leaving off after sun-set, with the usual intermission for breakfast and dinner, the great gang, 2s. 6d.; second gang, 1s. 3d.; and the third, 5d.; but it must be remembered that in matters of allowance, I confine myself strictly to the law.

What arrangements do you make as to the legal hours of labour, and the extra time for which you hire the people?—The people work for me according to law, that is for 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week, taking the length of days in the year, one with the other, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and on Friday, which is their own day, they, with very few exceptions, all turn out for wages; this happens but very partially on the Saturday. I should add, that they then realize my expectations of them, which expectations induce me to divide the time as I have done, in order to enable them to earn their money in their own time, which, when I arrived at a knowledge of my own people, I expected they would do.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge, since the 1st of August?—No.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—My experience will not allow me to answer this question, considering the process of grinding and boiling are so intimately combined. I have purchased a very considerable number of mules this year, in order to expedite the operations of the day, and to have labour in the mill by night. In this way I have calculated, and I am informed that 18 hours work out of the 24, is sufficient, but that must be for six days in the week.

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What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I have calculated that extra time at the rate above mentioned, but the overseer of Elingdon informs me that he thinks it may be obtained for less.

Examination of Mr. *William Reeves*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Nine or ten estates, and pens in Trelawney and St. James.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 1,800.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very ill.

To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?—To a deficiency in number of special Justices, and to their not sufficiently enforcing the law.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—On no occasion to my knowledge; quite the contrary.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—On the contrary, I have seen them anxiously looked for and could not be obtained, from the few appointed for the parish.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable proportion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, the deficiency is considerable; they are not performing above two-thirds of the usual quantity of work, which they formerly did during the same time.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No; to the contrary, they evince a disposition to be insolent, and have no longer the same respect they formerly showed to those above them.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—On all occasions when I have offered them reasonable hire, they have refused to accede to it.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st August?—None.

Can the usual crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40½ hours in the week?—Quite impossible.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—To advantage, not less than 18 hours out of the 24, for five days in the week.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be inclined voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—From every knowledge I have, my opinion is that they will not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should suppose at the rate of about 1 s. 8 d. for able people for nine hours, and something less for weaker hands.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—No, by no means.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—An increased number of special Justices in each parish in proportion to the extent and population, and a more strict enforcement of the law, and such regulations as shall enable the sugar factories to be kept in operation continually for the number of hours I have stated; that is, 18 out of the 24.

EXTRACT of the Examination of Mr. *Charles Smith*.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am concerned for six sugar estates, and seven pens and pimento walks in St. Ann's and St. Dorothy, but principally in the former parish.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your charge?—Between three and four thousand.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very badly.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers to enter fairly upon the new system?—None in the least; every person to my knowledge has done every thing in his power to enter fairly upon it.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duty under the law?—Not in the least.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—They are now only doing, where I am concerned, about one-third of what they used to do under the old system.

What is the general disposition of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No, they are not; they are very impertinent when found fault with for not doing more work; and in many cases they have told the overseers that they could not compel them to work, and that they would not do better for them.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—They have

have absolutely refused to work for any consideration. During the recent gathering in of the pimento crop they were frequently offered a dollar a barrel for green pimento, and this they refused in many instances, and particularly on their masters' properties, in consequence of which I am certain that on many properties, one-third of the crop was lost, and in some instances even one half.

You allude to their refusal to work in their own time; what quantity of pimento did they usually pick formerly as a day's work, and what quantity did they pick this season?—On some properties they have only picked half, and on other properties not one-third of the quantity they formerly used to do as a day's work.

At the rate of a dollar per barrel, which you offered for picking pimento, what could an industrious person have earned per day?—Five shillings per day.

Has sugar been made on any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Yes; they have made sugar upon four estates under my management.

What number of hours out of the 24 have you been able to keep the factory in operation?—Nine hours.

Do you consider that time sufficient?—Certainly not. I have offered the apprentices money to grind a certain quantity of liquor. Their answer was, that they would not work for any consideration in their own time. We now make only eight hogsheads of sugar a week where we formerly made 28.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I should say 19 hours out of the 24 for five days in the week.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should say 1s. 8d. would be ample wages for six hours for night work for able persons, provided they would work as they formerly did; but I consider it would be better to pay them by the job, say at the rate of about 15s. for each pan of liquor of 500 gallons.

Do you mean that the 15s. should pay also the people in the boiling-house?—Certainly, up to the time the mill stops. I would then allow the boilers and stokers 5d. each for boiling off any liquor that might be on hand.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the cultivation and manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—Certainly not to the advantage of proprietors.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—To secure the peace of society and keep up the cultivation of estates cannot be accomplished unless the civil magistrates are empowered in a great measure with the same authority as the stipendiary. I would therefore recommend that such authority should be given to the civil magistrates, and that the police in the different parishes should be stationed in the most populous parts, which is not the case in St. Ann's, to be ready to act promptly in case of necessity. I would also recommend that a part of the police should be mounted.

—No. 23.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 9 Dec. 1834.

No. 23.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, dated 3d October 1834, expressing to me His Majesty's most gracious approbation of my conduct and arrangements as connected with the great transition which took place on the 1st of August. May I hope, Sir, that if such course be proper, you will be pleased to express to His Majesty my happiness at having merited His approbation.

The negroes have lost all apprehensions now of the danger of making complaints, and avail themselves most abundantly of that privilege. In fact, the weekly reports of the special Justices give abundant proofs of the numerous complaints preferred by the apprentices against their managers, very many of which are proved and adjudged to be frivolous and not proven.

I am happy, however, at being able in conclusion to state, that in spite of all the obstacles which I have met with, matters are, up to this date, hourly coming into a more healthy state. In proof of this, I have the honour to enclose to you herewith some copies or extracts of letters from persons in whom I can confide, pointing out the great improvement which has taken place during the latter weeks. The masters are becoming more reconciled to the new system, and the apprentices more reasonable. The consequence is, that the negroes are falling by degrees into a steady system, advantageous alike to themselves and the proprietors. I cannot help thinking that the managers will now, when the important season of crop is arrived, feel that their interests are too important to be trifled with; that

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that ruin must follow their want of success; that all chance of recovering their lost power of punishment is passed by; will really co-operate, and each in their own interior adopt their only resource, a humane but energetic system, which will produce the best effects on the minds of the apprentices. In that confidence, I look now with much less apprehension on the result of the present crop, than I did some few weeks ago, although I have no certainty on the subject.

I have not the slightest apprehension of any disturbance at Christmas; but at the same time I think it expedient to send out the usual detachments, which will move on the 17th, and, I trust, return home on the 10th January. I do hope that after this occasion there will no longer be found any necessity for the adoption of this expensive measure.

Enclosure in No. 23.

EXTRACT of a LETTER, dated St. James's, 1 December 1834.

Enclosure in
No. 23.

I HAVE no reason to complain of the working of the apprentices; indeed it is quite the reverse, for they have done the same description of work through the nine hours, as they formerly did in 12. For cash upon the half day, Friday, several at cane-holes have carried off 6s. 8d., 8s. 9d., 10s., 12s. 6d. and 14s. 2d.; the number of diggers formerly stood at 40 to 50; they have of their free will mustered 57, 75 and 82; to encourage industry among their own fellow labourers, three head-men and constables took their hoes and dug each 180 holes upon the half-day, purposely to convince the rest the cultivation of the property should not cease. If it was not tedious to detail, I have it before me, the minutiae of work, where I find that what under slavery took four and three minutes to perform, has taken under the apprenticeship three and two. From the cultivation being just as forward as any previous year, I cannot perceive that we have suffered from the change of the system.

COPY of a LETTER, dated 9 December 1834.

My Lord,

IN the letter I had the honour to receive from your Excellency, dated 30th October, you expressed a hope that I might be able to give a favourable account of the working of the plan which I had proposed to the apprentices on this estate, for a purchase of part of their own time during crop, and which I had taken the liberty of laying before your Lordship.

This plan has now been in operation for more than two weeks, and I am happy to say has been working most satisfactorily, both with regard to the quantity of work done, to the peaceable and quiet behaviour of the labourers, and to their cheerful and contented appearance.

The principal features in the plan I had the honour to submit to your Lordship, remain, though there are some unimportant alterations in the details. The mill is about from four A. M. to six P. M. from Monday to Friday inclusive: In this time we take about 12 hours a week of their own time, from about 40 able people and three children, for which we pay wages at the following rate: Head people, 3s. 4d., ordinary, 2s. 6d., children, 10d. These wages amount to 6l. 10s. per week. We are making at the rate of 12 hogsheads per week. At this rate we shall take off a crop equal to the last, viz. 400 hogsheads, say in 33 weeks. The wages given in that time will amount to 160l. sterling, an expenditure equivalent, as your Lordship knows, to a deficiency of about 10 hogsheads. When we consider, my Lord, that in the majority of cases this outlay will be more than met by the interest on the compensation money, that we may confidently expect an improvement in the quality of the sugar made, from the abolition of night work, and that the quantity lost by plunder will be diminished. When we reflect also upon the number of able labourers who were converted into hospital patients, by exposure to night air under the former system, and consider that this evil is (if not removed) materially reduced by the new regulations; when, my Lord, we give to such considerations the attention they deserve, does it not appear that, provided the change is fairly met, the condition of the proprietor is rather improved than otherwise, as far as relates to the time of the apprenticeship system.

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for troubling your Lordship with any thing more than the account of the working of our new plan, but the remarks that I have ventured to make, seem to arise so naturally out of the subject, that I trust your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken in presenting them to your notice.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Ralph Cocking*, Special Magistrate, St. Mary, dated 10 December 1834.

I AM certain that his Excellency the Governor will be pleased to learn, that most of the estates are making their estimate for this year's crop, and some are beginning the next year's. The estates, generally in excellent order, with some few exceptions, and those, under the old or new system, never will be managed. If the holidays pass off quietly, I will be bound to say that the sugar crop will not fall off many hogsheads in this parish.

EXTRACT

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *E. B. Lyon*, Special Justice,
dated Morant Bay, 3 December 1834.

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I HAVE the honour to enclose my diary for the week ending this day.

Crime has evidently diminished, and my labours have been divested of much of their anxiety. I have great pleasure in observing, that the conduct of the apprentices in making arrangements for crop and money contracts, and honestly performing them, has, in this district, completely falsified the assertions of the alarmists, and prove that with equitable management and inspired confidence, the negro will work for money, and work cheaply too.

I have made arrangements in St. David's on three estates for night work, at a rate much cheaper than I had contemplated possible, and which the proprietor will be able to fix as a standard, which he can afford to pay for a general monetary labour regulation.

More than 12 estates in this district are in their regular crop, and I have not heard a murmur.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *R. J. Langrishe*, Special Magistrate; Lime Savanna,
Clarendon, dated 10 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to enclose my weekly Report; and I am sure your Excellency will be pleased to observe by it the good conduct of the apprentices in this quarter.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from St. Mary's, dated 2 December 1834.

My journey however has been very satisfactory so far; disproving all that we read of in the papers. From the good behaviour and perceptible improvement in the apprentices, especially on this property, their orderly and peaceable conduct entitle them to commendation; doing their work cheerfully, and attending to all that is told them.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Ralph Cocking*, Special Justice, dated
St. Mary, 3 December 1834.

You will be pleased herewith to receive a continuation of my diary; from the few cases in this week's Report, your Excellency will perceive that crime is fast diminishing in this parish, and the apprentices on most of the estates are now turning their minds to labour, as they ought to do.

EXTRACT from the DIARY of Mr. *Charles Brown*, Special Magistrate, Vere, to
8 December 1834.

THIS being the time that crop is commencing in this parish, a number of proprietors and managers are making arrangements with their apprentices for taking off the crop. I am happy to say that all is quiet, and all at their work throughout the parish as usual. A number of applications are daily made to me by apprentices to explain to them the law as to time and allowances, &c. To all I have afforded every information and explanation and advice as to their conduct and duty, and always warn them all to keep out of trouble.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Alexander N. M'Leod*, Special Magistrate,
St. Dorothy's, dated 10 December 1834.

IN the meanwhile I think it my duty to inform your Excellency that the conduct of the negroes in this parish is at present in the highest degree peaceful, orderly and industrious. I have recently, as special magistrate, sanctioned an arrangement between master and apprentices, both on the estate of the Lodge and Colbecks, in this parish, by which the apprentices have engaged to employ a portion of their free time in taking off the crop of 1835, and in working much of the cultivation of the crop of 1836, on terms which will not cost the proprietors one-half of one year's interest of the compensation money. A disposition to work in their free time on terms equally favourable to the proprietors, is not only general but universal among the negroes of this parish; and if such should be the case through the Island generally (and I am strongly inclined to believe it is the case), the success of the apprenticeship system is placed beyond the reach of doubt.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Samuel Pryce*, Special Justice, Trelawney,
dated 9 December 1834.

I HAVE pleasure in stating to your Excellency the apparent peaceable demeanour of the apprentices, and the favourable reports of several managers on my route, and also the total absence of complaints.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *John Daughtrey*, Special Magistrate,
dated Bath, 3 December 1834.

NOTWITHSTANDING any statements to the contrary, come they from whatever quarter they may, I still beg to assure your Excellency that the general peace of this district remains undisturbed. I have now, too, the further satisfaction of being able to report that all the operations of the mill have undergone a marked improvement in the course of the week, and the most desponding begin to admit that the crop may possibly after all be taken off. My Lord, the crop in the district will be taken off, if the managers apply themselves to the work with common energy and common prudence, and in the spirit of the change.

Nothing can be better than the behaviour of the people on some of the River Estates. I may instance particularly Amity Hall, where the proprietor has established an equitable scale of wages for extra time, and proceeds altogether upon a judicious system of encouragement. His people give him not only what extra time he requires, but they give him willing, cheerful labour, and evince an interest in the money part of their bargain strongly at variance with the statement on this point in the Parish Petition.

Indeed, my Lord, nothing can be more contrary to fact, than that the people of this district are indisposed to work in their own time for money for cash, as they annoyingly term it. Now that they have seen the wages paid, their apparent indifference has been every where thrown off, and on some estates there are offers of service beyond what is required.

The truth is, they were told at _____ in an unhappy moment, that they should be made to take off crop without wages, and this impression at once spread throughout the district; so that nothing but the fact of their seeing a system of wages actually introduced, could satisfy them that it would be a reality.

Observing a statement ascribed to Mr. _____ with reference to this district, I must be permitted to say, that if correctly reported, that gentleman has been most grossly imposed upon; for I am very sure that, even to support a favourite course he would not lend his authority to the propagation of falsehood. With respect to Plainain Garden River Estate, where it seems "the people are doing as they like," there is as much order and as steady work at the mill as Mr. _____ himself could desire.

True it was that when the people were at first told laconically by the overseer, that the mill must be kept about till eight o'clock, they said, "no night spell." Having heard of this, and knowing the general good disposition of the people, I went on the estate on the day the mill was put about, and called them together; they assembled in the most orderly manner, and listened to my address with a degree of quiet attention and respect scarcely to be exceeded; in conclusion, they one and all said, my "word was good," and they would do as I desired. They went to their work, and have since carried it on with a steady, persevering, diligent manner.

I regret that my time does not allow of my writing to Mr. _____ on the subject, but I shall feel obliged if your Excellency will put him in possession of my representation of the fact.

COPY of a LETTER from Mr. *Samuel Lloyd*, Special Justice.

My Lord,

Stoney Hill, 1 Dec. 1834.

I HEREWITH have the honour to transmit my Report for that week.

I have much pleasure in acquainting your Excellency that, in obedience to your Lordship's circular of the 14th ult. No. 633, the system of labour by spells of nine hours each spell, was most successfully worked on Golden Spring Sugar Estate the whole of last week, where the return of sugar made was equal to that made at any period previous to the 1st August. The women, always foremost, protested against such mode of labour, the ringleader of whom I felt obliged to punish by sentence of one month's hard labour, but in consideration of the extreme good conduct of the people in general during the week, the whole of whom collectively begged I would release her, promising I should find their conduct to merit such favour, I was induced, without your Excellency's sanction, to do so, which I trust you will approve of.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Frederick White*, Special Magistrate,
Saint George's, dated 9 Dec. 1834.

THE list of punishments of last week are more than on former occasions, but to account for that is my absence from the parish for a month. I am happy to say all is quiet, and not the least likelihood of discontent amongst the negroes; the mills are all at work.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Edmund B. Lyon*, Special Magistrate,
Morant Bay District, Saint Thomas in the East, dated 10 Dec. 1834.

I HAVE the honour to transmit my diary up to this date. The apprentices in this part of the parish have become cheerful and industrious; sugar making is general, and there appears to be not alone a prospect of a heavy crop, but also the strongest probability of its being

being completed in nearly the same time as last year. There are now in my province nineteen mills, and in many places the product had *reduced** the expectations of the managers. The week before the last, on Garland Hall, they potted nine hogsheads, using only a single set of coppers, and boiling sixteen hours per day. No night work. With the same plan on several, they have potted seven and eight hogsheads weekly. These striking facts must convince the most sceptical, that with judicious management there is a certainty, under the present system, of procuring both cheerful and profitable labour from the apprentices.

JAMAICA.

* So in Copy.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Alexander Grant*, Special Magistrate, Hanover,
9 December 1834.

THERE is nothing to be dreaded in the apprenticeship system. If people will only do away with every prejudice, and all parties put their shoulder to the wheel, cheerfully, with a determination to make the system work, every thing would go on well; two-thirds of the estates in this parish have commenced crop.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable *William Miller*, Custos, Trelawney,
dated 9 Decmeber 1834.

It affords me pleasure to observe the favourable reports from St. Thomas in the East and other parishes; the accounts I have received from my own concerns for the last two weeks, are also, I am happy to state, very favourable.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *John Daughtrey*, Special Magistrate, Bath,
Saint Thomas in the East, 10 December 1834.

ABOUT a month ago a petition to the House of Assembly, drawn up, as I am informed, in Spanish Town, was circulated and generally signed in this neighbourhood, affirming, "that labour in the district was nearly at an end, and that the negroes had refused to work for any reasonable wages in their own time."

At that period, my Lord, so far from labour being nearly at an end, practical men acquainted with the district, assured me they saw no material difference in the cleanness and general appearance of the fields from former years; and all parties have since most certainly been prepared to put their mills about at the usual time.

And with reference to the refusal of wages, of all the estates within my circuit, at that particular moment, only three had been ever asked to work in their own time for hire, and of these two had distinctly agreed to do so, and the head people on the third.

But as they were not enough, one of the attornies, the person second perhaps in influence in the district, who has himself signed the said petition and had been the means of many others signing it, has actually rejected the application of the negroes to work in their own time for cash, *which they are becoming generally anxious to do*.

It was curious to find one of the representatives of the parish gravely declaring "the sugar-making had nearly ceased in Saint Thomas in the East," when it was just beginning. The very parties, my Lord, upon whose testimony Mr. _____ made the statement, are already almost boasting of the progress they have made, and are competing and even *betting* with each other about their weekly hogsheads; such is now their confidence after all their gloomy prognostications.

At Golden Grove, they boast of having potted 50 and *60 hogsheads up to the end of the last week; and at Holland now the same altered tone prevails.

On Amity Hall, they are making 12 hogsheads per week with limited hours; and at Hordley, the adjoining and exactly corresponding estate, the same quantity, but with rather more time at the mill.

At Plaintrain Garden River Estate, where "the people were doing as they pleased," the overseer can find no fault with the people. At my recommendation, they are keeping the mill about by spells, from 6 in the morning till 12 at night, without a murmur, and will immediately get off the crop in good time.

Indeed, my Lord, as the mills are all now about, I believe I may safely affirm that there is not a single instance throughout the whole district in which any doubt is now entertained of getting off the crop. Certainly nothing short of great improvidence or real imbecility on the part of the managers can obstruct it.

* The number is, I think, 58; they are making at the rate of 15 per week.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Thomas M^cNiel*, Esq. dated Prospect Estate, Hanover,
9 December 1834.

I HAVE been on this estate for some days to arrange with the apprentices for labour in their own time during the progress of the crop, and I am happy to state that I have prevailed on them to continue their services at the factory as formerly in crop time, and for all sugar manufactured during their own hours I pay at the rate of 25s. per hogshead, for cartmen and mulemen are an additional expense; and I have hired them for the crop, to give them labour at all times required for five or six days in each week, for the sum of 4l. each; 20s. paid at commencement, and remainder by four monthly instalments.

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So far as I am able to judge, I think now that confidence is established as far as respects that estate, and I have at present no cause to fear that the crop will not be taken off in good time, and I dare say some of our neighbours will benefit by the example set by the labourers on this property. We are about to commence crop on several of the estates in Westmorland under my charge, and with the labourers it is my intention to endeavour to make the same arrangements as on this estate.

— No. 24. —

No. 24.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Right Hon. *T. Spring Rice*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, Dec. 13, 1834.

I HAVE put up some extracts of Letters which are very satisfactory in their report of the conduct of the negroes, and although not quite at ease as to the way in which they may return to their work on the 29th of this month, after the holidays, I have no idea of more than what a few examples of punishment will set to rights. The crop was never better in appearance than this year, and therefore if there is any little deficiency in the negroes' work this crop, it will, I hope, be made up by the extra quantity which the ground produces this year. I had a very bad opinion about it a short time ago, but in consequence of the active measures of the specials, and the long-established habits of the negroes as to crop, during the last fortnight, numbers of estates have come into terms, and I think that the negroes have shown that they are easily to be satisfied as to wages.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Custos *Bell*, St. George, dated 8 November 1834.

Enclosure in
No. 24.

MAY I be permitted to say, that in my opinion, the principal cause of punishment is the want of sufficient number of magistrates. If a case of improper conduct could be investigated on the day or day after the offence is committed, the example would deter others from doing wrong; but just now, it is sometimes a week or ten days before Mr. White can be found, and during that period, the apprentices observing no punishment to follow upon misconduct, are often foolish enough to conclude that none can be administered. Thus cases become multiplied; an evil which could be avoided, if justice could be had speedily and summarily.

EXTRACT from Mr. *Charles Brown's* (Special Justice of Vere) DIARY to 16 December 1834.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship this parish is quiet and reasonable. The proprietors and managers are making mutual arrangements for the taking off the crop, with their apprentices. I am also sorry to inform your Lordship that the state of the parish is very sickly, owing to the late unprecedented rains. I am again, I am sorry to say, on my return to my residence this day, from visiting estates, taken ill with fever, and am now confined to bed.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Ralph Cocking*, Special Justice of St. Mary, dated 16 December 1834.

You will please to receive my report. I am glad to inform your Lordship that the apprentices are behaving remarkably well, and I hope will continue so.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Edmund B. Lyon*, Special Justice, dated St. David's, 17 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to transmit my Diary for the week ending this day. I believe every thing in this district is progressing as well as the most sanguine could expect. I have the mill about on 23 estates, and no complaint.

EXTRACT from the DIARY of Major *Donald MacGregor*, Special Justice, Portland.

WITH a few trifling exceptions, every thing is going on very well in this district. His Excellency will, I am sure, be pleased to hear, that I do not apprehend the smallest disturbance during the Christmas holidays.

EXTRACT

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from *E. M. Barrett, Esq.* to *Samuel B. M. Barrett, Esq.*
Attorney for Oxford and Cambridge Estates, Trelawney, dated 6 Dec. 1834.

THE people upon both estates are behaving as well, if not better, than ever. Here they turn out much more regularly than they did under the management of Mr. Day; and at Oxford, Mr. Phillpotts complains that the apprentices fairly bully him to employ them on their own days. They say that you are anxious that they should be hired, but that the overseer begrudges them the money, which you have put in his hands for that purpose. I have but little doubt that during crop you may command as much of the time of the apprentices upon both these estates, either by night or day, as you may think it expedient to pay for.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. F. White, Special Justice, St. George's,*
dated the 18 December 1834.

I AM happy to inform your Excellency all is going on well in this parish. I intend visiting the mountain district in the morning, if the weather will permit me.

The mills are all at work, and in my opinion every thing will go on well. The negroes appear to be well inclined to do what their masters require them.

The Honourable John Bell had 90 of his negroes at work on Saturday last, for 1s. sterling per head. This looks well.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *S. B. M. Barrett, Esq. Trelawney,*
dated 16 December 1834.

I NEVER was half so confident as I am now of the peaceable disposition of the negroes. I never knew them so greedy for money—so industriously anxious to earn it. I enclose you the proofs upon which I ground this opinion, and I could send you many others.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. A. Dillon, Special Justice, St. Anne's,*
dated 15 December 1834.

MANY persons dread there will be much cause of alarm during the Christmas holidays, and that on several estates the apprentices will not return to work. I do not see any thing of the kind; and I trust all will pass over quietly.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. Richard Daley, Special Justice, Westmorland,*
dated 16 December 1834.

THE apprentices on King's Valley have agreed, in my presence, to work in their own hours during crop, at the rate of 1d. per hour; although I assured them that no compulsion could be used in this respect. I had the pleasure of ascertaining from the attorney of Blackbeath Estate, where the negroes were very troublesome, that they were latterly behaving well and industriously. In fact, it appears to me that the conduct of the apprentices is improving rather than otherwise, and that if gentlemen would call on the special magistrates to be present when proposals are made respecting their employment in their hours, they would seldom decline the offer. But without the presence of a magistrate, and his assurance to see them paid, there is considerable distrust on their part.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. R. Standish Haly, Special Justice of Vere,*
dated 17 December 1834.

I AM still impressed with the conviction that there will not be any relaxation on the part of the apprentices, in this parish, to work for their masters out of their own time during crop, where adequate remuneration is offered. I have not yet met with any thing but ready and cheerful acquiescence under any such proposition.

COPY of a LETTER from *John Daughtrey, Special Justice, to the Marquess of Sligo.*

My Lord,

Bath, 17 December 1834.

IT is with the truest satisfaction I am able to report to your Excellency, not only the favourable, but the improving state of this important district.

At Golden Grove, they potted last week either 16 or 17 hogsheads; at Holland Estate, nearly the same quantity; and I have the managers' own testimony, on both estates, "that they never saw the people either work better, or behave better." After all that your Lordship has heard, I deem these facts worth communicating. Further, my Lord, with respect to Golden Grove—and the statement is so gratifying as to require nothing less than the best authority—the attorney himself now informs me that he finds they shall have potted fully as much by Christmas as they made by the same period last year.

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I had before learnt from the overseer, that the mill was put about on the very same day of the month.

This, my Lord, is, I think, pretty conclusive as to which class of reports—mine, or those which have proceeded through other channels—have been correct.

From no estate, since my last return of proceedings, have I received a single complaint of indolent or insufficient work. I think I may therefore fairly infer, that the people are generally working well: that they wear a more cheerful and contented aspect I myself discover; and this alone is no immaterial sign that there is no mischievous scheme in their heads to be developed in the holidays.

On my last visit to Pera, where your Excellency will remember some trouble was given, the people requested to be allowed to assemble that I might tell them the law respecting crop time. Instead of the confusion and turbulence manifested before, they listened with decent attention and marked respect.

When I alluded to their former behaviour, for the purpose of expressing my gratification at the contrast, they one and all said, "We beg massa pardon—we was wrong, massa."

The same proper behaviour was evinced on all the Port Morant Estates, formerly the worst in the district, and on some of which the Bushas said the people never were, and never could be, assembled without clamour and disorder.

At Duckenfield, where the spell-hands have been required to put the mill about, at four o'clock on one morning last week, there being no canes, they were told not to come till sunrise, and as they were spelled at half-past twelve, they were of course expected to go to the field after their usual dinner hour. But none of them turned out. On going down next day, and hearing the facts of the case, I ordered them to turn out and work that afternoon, which, as they had been at the mill from four o'clock, would have been their own time. They submitted at once, apparently satisfied at the justice of the decision, and every one of them went at the proper time to the field.

I notice the circumstance as a proof of the improved spirit of the people; and that, as the system becomes better understood, its efficiency will be increased, and its inconveniences diminished.

The disposition to work for wages, in their own time, is becoming general.

On some of the estates there are always many supernumerary hands, waiting to hire themselves for the half-night's spell, in the event of deficiencies among those to whose turn it falls.

I am glad to find that the attorney who first said the people would not work for wages, when he had never asked them, and then refused to pay wages when the people offered their time, has been at length persuaded to yield the point, and his overseers are authorized to make agreements with the people for such time as they may require.

I have, &c. &c. &c,

(signed)

J. Daughtrey.

—No. 25.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of Sligo to the Right Hon. T. Spring Rice, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, December 25, 1834.

No. 25.

THAT the negroes are fully aware of their own rights, and determined to maintain them, is true; that they, in their present comparatively blessed position, do not do as much work as before, is also true; that they have occasionally shewn a sullen temper, I do not deny. Hard it would be to select 340,000 persons of any nation amongst whom there are not some sullen persons, but the instances are *very few*, and in many cases, to be attributed to the threats that are so much too frequently held out to them, that they shall be deprived of all their comforts, of the ground they have so long enjoyed, of their stock, and in short, as I have good reason to think was the case in one or two instances, that "he (the overseer) would leave them little worth, by the time their apprenticeship was over." These cases are, however, few, and the sulkiness also was rare. The masters and managers are getting more reconciled to the new law, and complaints of their cruelty rarely are brought forward now. The consequence is, that more work is doing; on most estates they have come to terms for wages, and I know one instance, Golden Grove, after all that has been said about it, where actually five or six more hogsheads of sugar have been potted this day than this day twelvemonth. Men used all their lives to coercion, cannot be well acquainted with persuasion deprived of power. The negroes take advantage also of their exemption from punishment. All that however is settling down fast, and I do not at all despair of seeing a great part of them fall into industrious habits. About a month or six weeks ago I had much misgiving in my mind

as to this crop being taken off; but now, though it may fail partially, I do think I can with safety say that the majority will be got off satisfactorily, not to the extent, perhaps, of last year's, but quite enough to prove that the new system is not so desperate as has been imagined. Much injury has unquestionably resulted from the want of a sufficient number of special magistrates; but with those you have given me, and the facilities you have placed at my disposal with regard to the employment of some to act without salary, on the payment of certain contingent expenses, I think that any cause of complaint on that score is abundantly got rid of. It is somewhat a remarkable fact, that in many instances the negroes would not enter into any kind of bargain with their masters, but that the moment that the special magistrate has been present, and guaranteed to them the due performance of their bargain, they have at once assented. In one case last week, four very large estates near here, refused to come into any terms, but they selected one man, and sent him up to speak to me on the subject. I spoke to him for a very long time, and he seemed quite to accede to all my advice. I told him that if the others did not believe him, to bring up three of the head men from each estate on the next day but one after, and that I would talk to them all. None came, and I heard no more from the managers; by which I conclude that my advice had the desired effect. In some instances, no doubt, they have refused to come into terms, although the special magistrate has done his best to bring them to an arrangement; but it is a curious fact, that in almost every case the men have been willing to agree, and the women break out into open exclamation on the subject. It is notorious that they are all over the Island the most troublesome, and I attribute that to the want of proper modes for punishment for females. The power of corporal punishment has been taken away, and there are neither treadmills nor other sufficient places of confinement as yet prepared. This, however, will soon be remedied, as they are making active exertions to prepare such places.

As to the idea of open insurrection, it may have been foretold here by persons whose interest it was to keep the community in a state of confusion and alarm; but I will venture to say that no such idea really came across the mind of any one in this Island for the last three months. The assertions in the newspapers are no proof of the belief existing. However, the fact will have been ascertained before this Despatch goes to you, as it has been agreed upon by all persons, that it is on the occasion of these holidays that it will take place, if at all.

I quite deny Mr. Burge's inference, that the necessary number of special magistrates can be estimated from the general commission. The reasons must be too obvious to render it necessary for me to repeat them. As however I am adverting to that description of officer, I feel it but right to say, that with the number promised to me, there will be quite sufficient, and that the experience gained by those who have heretofore been here, will, I feel confident, render those now arriving, equally efficient from there being precedents established at much cost of time and labour, on the part of those who have been here from the commencement.

The Attorney-General, it is true, gave an opinion that the apprentices were entitled to all their former allowances, but without any public or official order having been given on the subject, they were not enforced after the first week, with the exception of giving the mothers reasonable time to suckle their children; and at the time that those advices reached Jamaica, there had not been a single case brought before the special magistrates for more than a month. It is somewhat strange, however, to say that they are now, I may say almost universally, given to the negroes, at least by all the eminent attorneys, so that the thing is no longer a matter of contest.

In reference to the concluding paragraph of Mr. Burge's letter, wherein he recommends an increase to the military force of this Island, however such a measure would strengthen the power of the governor, I cannot in my conscience say that it is in the least required. Did I feel the possibility of any necessity of the sort, after the readiness with which, I am proud to say, all my suggestions have been met, I should have represented it to you long since. I have considered the matter maturely, with a view to reducing the number, not to increasing them; but I cannot reconcile it to myself to recommend any reduction till one year after the apprenticeship system shall have terminated.

Mr. Burge also adverts to the introduction of European labourers into the Island. The measure is one I am quite as anxious to promote as he, or the legislature can be; but the wish to have an efficient measure passed, has been disappointed by the indisposition of the House of Assembly to agree to the proposals
which

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which were made. Those proposals, and all that took place, forming the subject of a separate Despatch, it is not necessary now to say more on the subject. I trust that the report which I shall be enabled to make, just before the present packet sails, will finally prove the error of Mr. Burge's statements as to this Island, at least as far as the quiet disposition of the negroes and their return to their work will show it to be erroneous.

Enclosure in No. 25.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *James L. Hilton*, Esq., St. Ann's, dated
23 December 1834.

Enclosure in
No. 25,

I AM happy to say for the information of his Excellency, that since Captain Dillon has been in this neighbourhood, a marked alteration has taken place for the better among the negroes. He is indefatigable in visiting the different properties, explaining every thing clearly, and doing justice where required. I augur from his exertions, the Christmas holidays will pass on quietly in this neighbourhood, which was very lately turbulent.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. John Odell*, Special Magistrate, Hanover, dated
23 December 1834.

PERHAPS it might not be amiss for me here to add, for the satisfaction of his Excellency, that from the result of diligent inquiry made, with respect to the general conduct of the apprentices in Hanover, I can have no hesitation in believing that their obedience to the law will continue uninterrupted.

EXTRACT of a LETTER received from *Mr. James W. Turner*, dated Teak Pen,
Clarendon, 23 December 1834.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your communication of the 12th instant, and am obliged for the consideration of his Excellency; but I am not in any way connected with Money Musk Estate, or I should without delay proceed to the property, and I make no doubt a satisfactory arrangement could easily be entered into with the apprentices, as I have found all in my business very reasonable, and easily satisfied.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. Ralph Cocking*, Special Justice, dated St. Mary,
23 December 1834.

HEREWITH I beg leave to transmit my weekly report.
I am happy in again informing your Excellency that the apprentices are generally conducting themselves with very great propriety, and no doubt will continue so.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. Edward D. Philp*, Special Justice, Westmorland,
23 December 1834.

ON two properties, for which Mr. M'Neel is the attorney, the apprentices have agreed to receive 20 s. for every hogshead of sugar manufactured in their own time, to be divided amongst the spell gang.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Mr. Samuel Pryce*, Special Magistrate, Trelawney,
dated 23 December 1834.

WITH reference to my weekly Report, it will doubtless be satisfactory to your Excellency to learn that I consider this district in a tranquil and orderly state, and in which opinion I am borne out by the reports of several managers of this day's date. I however submit to your Excellency's consideration the total absence of uniformity of field work, or any fixed scale of labour. Measures, I submit to your Lordship, which are calculated to do much good by preventing discontent amongst the apprentices.

EXTRACTS of a LETTER from *Mr. Edmund B. Lyon*, Special Magistrate, Morant Bay,
24 December 1834.

ANNEXED I transmit my diary for the week, ending this day, which, embracing the offences of a population of 12,000 apprentices, is an index of the diminution of crime, and the return of industry and cheerfulness; nothing can exceed the general propriety of conduct of the apprentices of this district. I have 25 estates all working upon the same agreement, and without the slightest misunderstanding or sullenness. Garbrand Hall has made, up to Monday last, 50 hogsheads of sugar, with only a single set of coppers.

The

The Petersfield people have been doing very well since I removed the head driver. Last week, with the interruption arising from some injury to a wheel or cylinder, and some deficiency of water, they potted seven hogsheads, and the same the week before, which, both overseer and attorney appear to consider as very good work. I have been most anxious and particular in my inquiries as to the manner in which the apprentices do their work; and I have been generally assured that they are working with cheerfulness and industry, and that the quantity of sugar made is quite as much in proportion on estates where the mill is not about at nights, as on the old system.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Hon. *Thomas M'Cornock*, dated Golden Grove, Port Morant, 24 December 1834.

I AM glad to learn from your Lordship that your accounts by last post from all parts of the country are satisfactory; and it affords me great pleasure to say, that the people here, and throughout the district, are behaving remarkably well. They seem quite satisfied with the arrangements made as to payment, for taking off the crops, which I now think will be finished in proper time. In justice to Mr. Daughtrey, I must say that he has been indefatigable in his exertions to bring about so desirable a state of things. The great struggle at the commencement of crop, agreeable to the combination previously entered into, gave him and others a vast deal of trouble; but I sincerely hope the like will not occur again.

I trust the ensuing holidays will pass over quietly, and that your Lordship will receive by next post the gratifying intelligence that the apprentices have cheerfully resumed their usual occupations throughout the Island.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *John Daughtrey*, Special Magistrate, Bath, 24 December 1834.

I HAVE the pleasure to assure your Excellency, that every thing in this district is proceeding in a very satisfactory manner. Considering the ignorance of the population, it would be difficult to conceive a more peaceable and orderly state of things than prevails here at the present moment.

I have understood that an insinuation appeared respecting something amiss again at Golden Grove. Nothing has occurred there in the slightest degree to warrant such an idea.

As a proof of the excellent work the people are doing there, I may mention that the week before last they potted 17 hogsheads, and last week 18.

The result of their admirable exertions in sugar-making, up to this period, is, that they have actually potted 90 hogsheads, which is five or six more than last year, the mill having on each occasion been put about on precisely the same day, November 5.

This, really, my Lord, I venture to think, a very decisive fact.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Captain *A. Dillon*, Special Justice, St. Anne's, 23 December 1834.

I FEEL much pleasure in reporting that my district is now in a very good state. The apprentices are working very fairly, and no complaints on their parts.

Some alarmists seem to dread the holidays, particularly on New Year's day; but from my immediate observation, I do not think there is any thing to be feared in this quarter, with the exception of a few deluded apprentices who may attempt to strike work on the latter day.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Richard Standish Haly*, Special Magistrate, Clarendon, 24 December 1834.

I AM gratified in being able to state to your Excellency, that upon every estate that has commenced the manufacture of sugar (and many have begun), arrangements are made between master and people, that appear to satisfy both. I have only to regret that instead of a uniform general system of remuneration, almost every particular property make their own stipulations. There is no cure for this evil; let us hope that time and patience may produce from a multitude of systems one particularly suitable and beneficial to the country.

JAMAICA.

—No. 26.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Earl of *Aberdeen* to the Marquess of *Sligo*,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 15 February 1835.

No. 26.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 25 December last, transmitting various extracts of letters reporting to you the peaceable conduct of the apprentice labourers.

It has afforded His Majesty's Government the highest satisfaction to learn from the tenor of these Extracts, as well as of the Despatches received from you up to the latest date in the beginning of January, that the sanguine expectation you have entertained that the state of affairs in the Island would evince a progressive improvement, have to a great extent been realized.

Under the prospects you have held out, you would appear to be fully justified in the conviction you feel, that no augmentation is required of the military force in Jamaica, and your statement that the allowances not absolutely required by law are notwithstanding generally given, and that although the crop may fail partially in consequence of a deficiency of labour, the greater part will be got in satisfactorily and to the extent of that of last year, would appear to sanction the hope you have expressed, that the masters are becoming more reconciled to the change which has taken place, and that the majority of the negro population will gradually fall into habits of cheerful industry.

Independently of the very satisfactory accounts which are to be found in the Extracts you have transmitted, the exertion which your Lordship has imposed upon yourself, with a view to make yourself practically acquainted with the real state of affairs in the Island (a task of no small difficulty under such conflicting interests) would entitle your Lordship's opinion to the greatest weight, and His Majesty's Government have every reason to anticipate the most satisfactory results from a strict adherence to those principles upon which you have conducted the very arduous duties arising from this important measure.

Before I close this Despatch, I would suggest to your Lordship, that the practice which you have adopted in this instance of transmitting Extracts, is liable to some objection, unless they be accompanied by an assurance that they are samples of the general tenor of the reports made to you by the different officers; and on any future occasion in which you may consider it expedient to put me in possession of these reports in corroboration of these views, it would be desirable that you should add, in a summary manner, to the results of the entire intelligence received from all the magistrates throughout the Island, in order to prevent any objections which might be taken to the conclusiveness of the evidence.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Aberdeen.

—No. 27.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secy *Spring Rice*,
dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 27 Dec. 1834.

No. 27.

FEW overseers or proprietors are now fined for improper conduct; and the complaints against the negroes are generally for no greater crime than not turning out punctually. I don't think that there have been, for near a month, any complaints made, with but one exception, against the special magistrates; so that I think I may with truth assert, that a mutual good feeling and intelligence is gradually arising, and will continue, to the benefit of all parties.

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— No. 28. —

JAMAICA.

No. 28.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice*, dated St. Jago de la Vega, 29 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to send, for your information, the Minutes of Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Assembly, and their Report on the present state of the Island, and the working of the new system.

Enclosure in No. 28.

EXTRACT of a REPORT of a Committee of the House of Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, 1834.

Enclosure in
No. 28.

YOUR Committee, appointed to inquire into the causes of the general discontent among the apprentices, their reluctance to work as formerly even during the limited hours prescribed by law, and the almost universal determination on their part not to work for wages during their own time;—

REPORT,

THAT after an examination on oath of many witnesses (which examinations are hereunto annexed) in various situations of life, your Committee have arrived at the conclusion, that an almost general indisposition exists in the minds of the apprentices to labour, and that they are now performing not much more than one half the quantity of labour, during the hours prescribed by law, that they performed during the same period of time previous to the Abolition Act coming into force.

That a reluctance exists to labour for wages during their own time, is proved from the fact, that where fair and equitable terms had been entered into for taking off the sugar crop, they have almost in every instance receded from such arrangement, when called upon to carry the terms of their agreement into effect.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *William Carey, Esq.*;
Thursday, 6th November 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am concerned for thirteen estates in Trelawney, St. James's, Hanover and Westmorland.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very indifferently.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—They are not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No, they are not, they appear sulky and discontented generally.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—No, I have not; on the contrary they have objected in every instance. I have made an offer to them. Some few came to me the other day in Westmorland, and offered to work if I would give them half a dollar a day, but not less. I asked if the whole would work at that sum; they replied, they could not tell.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the first of August?—None.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40½ hours in the week?—Certainly not.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation, to enable the crop to be taken off?—In some instances 16 hours, but in most instances the sugar crop could not be taken off without 18 hours' continuous labour.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I do not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I should think at the rate of 1s. 8d. per day for an able negro. I mean a day of nine hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I think not.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?—To encourage emigration by every possible means; give power to local magistrates that the Abolition law be more strictly enforced.

What rate of wages have you offered to your apprentices in Trelawney?—I have offered 1s. 8d. to them generally, but they refused to work for wages.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the Island, or secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I cannot state, from my own knowledge, that there is any such existing.

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What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—In some instances I consider about one-third less than formerly; and in some cases the apprentices are not doing more than one-half of what they were used to do.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—From my own knowledge I cannot state that they are not paying attention to their grounds; but my overseers inform me that they are not doing so; and I have been very particular in inquiring.

Do you conceive that your apprentices have been guilty of insubordination?—I do not; but they have not willingly and cheerfully performed their work.

Do your apprentices work nine hours each day?—I consider they do not.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I consider from their reluctance to take wages during their own time on sugar estates, I do not think they will work as free labourers when their apprenticeship is out.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *George Gordon, Esq.*;
6 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—I have resided in this island upwards of 26 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what capacity?—I have had the charge of a large number of negroes as attorney, and also as proprietor.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—The apprentices, as far as my observation goes, on the properties I am concerned for in the parishes of St. James, Hanover, Westmorland and Trelawney, are working as cheerfully as ever they did. On some estates, for instance, Williamsfield, they are not doing as much work as they did; but in the greater number of cases they do as much work, hour for hour, as they did previously to the 1st of August.

Have you known in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties, to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I am not aware of any arrangement having been made.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field-labourer for his day-labour, the mechanic for his piece-work?—I have not attempted to make any bargain for day-labour; but I should think 1s. a day, considering the apprentices got the usual allowances as formerly, quite sufficient. I am giving coopers 3s. 4d. a day for finishing a sugar hogshead, 5s. a puncheon, and 3s. 4d. a day for good masons and carpenters.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop as well as you represent them to be working now?—I imagine they will.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce in the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—As far as my experience has gone, they do not. I have been employing tradesmen at the rate mentioned in my former answer, and I have been hiring apprentices to dig cane-holes in their own time at from 40s. to 50s. per acre, cheaper than the current price paid to jobbers.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their leisure time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I never knew negroes to attend to their grounds better than they have been doing since the 1st of August. They employ their extra time on their grounds or improving their houses, eitherwise beneficial to themselves.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—I think it is working much better than could have been expected, and that it is daily improving in its working.

You say that your apprentices have hired themselves for money wages; did you find any difficulty in inducing them to do so?—I found no difficulty in inducing them to work for money wages. On one estate, Gilsborough, in St. James's, they sent to me through the overseer, to request permission to dig a piece of cane-holes at their own time for wages, in preference to letting a jobber dig it.

Then you do not think the epithet "visionary" is correctly used, in connexion with the new system of things?—I do not think it is correctly used.

Have any instances come within your knowledge of any estates, negroes, besides those under your charge, having hired themselves for money wages?—Yes; the apprentices on Latium and Adelphi, in St. James's, Sodhall and Content, in Hanover, have been digging cane-holes for money in their own time.

As you were actively employed in putting down the rebellion, will you inform the Committee whether the negroes upon those estates then in revolt are included in the number of those you have described as working cheerfully?—Many of those gangs of negroes who were in revolt, are included in the number of those described as working cheerfully.

Have you charge of Leyden estate; if so, state in what manner the apprentices conduct themselves, and how many cane-holes they dig generally in their master's time?—I have charge of Leyden estate. The apprentices are conducting themselves to my satisfaction.

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The men are digging 90 cane-holes a day, and the women 80, in their master's time, which was all that was asked of them.

Are your prospects favourable or unfavourable as to the present state of things in relation to the system of apprenticeship, and as regards the profits of the planter, depending much as they do on the conduct and good will of the negroes?—I consider my prospects are favourable in relation to the apprenticeship system, and as regards the profits of the planter, depending as they do on the conduct and good will of the negroes.

Have any acts of insubordination been evinced on any of the estates under your charge; and if so, have you had occasion to call in the special magistrates?—No act of insubordination has been evinced on any estate under my charge that required me to call in a special magistrate; but on Williamsburg and Leyden estates, about the end of September, the negroes were doing so little work that, through the overseers, I applied to the nearest magistrate, Captain Clark. Since his inquiries and decisions on those properties, the apprentices have been doing all I could expect.

Were not some of the apprentices under your charge publicly punished on account of acts of insubordination, by order of the stipendiary magistrate; and did not Captain Clark deem it necessary to enforce his orders by the presence of a military force?—One apprentice under my charge was whipped publicly by order of Captain Clark; but, as far as I know, not for an act of insubordination, but principally for having absconded from a constable while being carried to Captain Clark, the special magistrate, and for having been represented by the overseer as having done too little work in the field, and having apparently influenced others to do as little. Captain Clark carried a part of his troops to Williamsfield before he gave any orders, and before he inquired into the state of the apprentices.

Then under what system or arrangement as to hours of labour, allowances, &c. have you conducted the estates under your management, on which you describe the apprentices as working so cheerfully?—The hours of labour for apprentices under my charge are nine hours per day, with one exception, where, at their own request, on account of a distant mountain, they work 40½ hours in four days. I give apprentices herrings, and every allowance they had as slaves. I ask no women with six children to do any labour. I give the same field cooks and nurses as formerly. I have moved no watchmen from the negro grounds. I pay 10*d.* a night to a watchman for the cattle pen. I ask no one to watch at the works or other buildings. I have become responsible to the medical attendants for practising for the free children, on the parents engaging to repay that expense by labour in crop; and to many children mothers I give the old allowance of oatmeal and sugar, on the promise to work for the payment of them in crop time.

Do you consider the estates can afford to pay such high wages; and if so, have you taken into consideration the cost of labour in producing sugar in the East Indies and foreign colonies, with which our sugar must enter into competition?—I consider estates can afford to pay the wages I have stated; but I have not calculated the cost of labour in producing sugar in the East Indies and foreign colonies.

On what reasons do you ground that belief?—On the ground that the labour of crop is usually performed more willingly than any other; and that after having seen a large mass of labourers fall into the new system so readily, there is reason to expect they will work as cheerfully as they have done at the labour they give the preference to.

Is it not a natural consequence that estates negroes can afford to dig cane-holes 40*s.* or 50*s.* per acre cheaper than what is paid to jobbers, inasmuch as to them it is all profit, whereas the jobbers are supported by the masters, of whose capital they form a portion?—Clearly so.

Do you expect under the new system to keep up the crops on the estates under your management, to their former average, and without additional cost; if so, state on what data you ground those opinions?—I certainly do not.

When you felt a desire that the apprentices under your charge should hire themselves for money wages, did you not yourself personally make known to them that desire, conceiving that such a communication would come with more effect from yourself than from an overseer?—I did, in every instance but one or two.

How many apprentices were punished upon Williamsfield, Hampstead and Leyden respectively, by order of the special magistrates?—To the best of my recollection, five apprentices upon Leyden, five upon Williamsfield and one upon Hampstead, including depredators on cane pieces and negro grounds, have been punished by order of the special magistrate.

State the nature of the complaint against the negroes on the occasions that led to their punishment?—One complaint at Leyden was for cutting canes, four, I believe, for not doing work enough in the field; one at Williamsfield for stealing from the provision grounds and then running away; one for not working sufficiently in the field; three for the same fault and absconding while in charge of the constable on the road to the magistrate. The case at Hampstead was for impertinence to the overseer in the field.

N.B.—I forgot to state yesterday in answer to one question, an instance of insubordination at Windsor Lodge estate, where the overseer took the negro offending, without consulting me, directly to Captain Clark. The case was, an apprentice having left the field contrary to orders to remain out digging cane-holes, a quarter of an hour before the legal four hours and a half were worked out on the Friday. The punishment was 25 lashes at Latium estate. It appears to have had a salutary effect, as the individual has since behaved very well, and has done more cane-holes at his own time than any apprentice on the property.

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EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *George Cragg, Esq.*;
Thursday, 6 November 1834.

STATE your connexion with this island?—I was a merchant at Montego Bay, and for the last ten years proprietor of a sugar estate. I reside on my own estate, the Bogue, in St. James's.

How many apprentices have you under your charge?—About 290.

Is there any discontent, as far as you know, existing in the minds of the apprentices under your charge?—They show a great aversion to work the hours prescribed by law.

At what period did they begin to show that aversion to the performance of their duty?—From the 15th to the 20th August.

Do they notwithstanding that aversion perform satisfactory work?—They do not, either in quantity or in quality.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They do not.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency, to persuade the negroes not to work and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I am not aware of any organized system or secret agency, nor am I aware of a child under six years of age being apprenticed.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I am not aware of any instance. I made some sugar on my estate, the Bogue, the early part of August, and the apprentices worked in their own time for money wages.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—I paid each apprentice 1s. 8d. for nine hours' labour of able people in their own time, the second gang 1s. 3d., and I am willing to continue to pay them the same rate of hire. This was for the manufacture of sugar.

Would you be equally ready to pay the same rate of hire out of crop for field labour?—I should.

When you pay that rate of wages, do you at the same time give herrings, &c.?—Yes, I give them herrings and their usual indulgences whilst they behaved themselves. I have lately stopped their herrings in consequence of insubordination.

Do you think that the same people would now work for the same rate of hire?—I have doubts on that head.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—They do not, as far as my observation has gone.

Are you not aware that paying this rate of wages, in addition to usual allowances, must be a considerable increase on the expenses of carrying on the business of a sugar estate, and must therefore be a call upon your capital not previously existing?—Certainly it will, for this reason, for we had the labour of the slaves during crop time free of hire in their extra time.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—As far as I am acquainted, the master has not had the labour of the apprentice to the extent prescribed by law. The apprentices have frequently absented themselves from their work, and when sentenced by the special magistrates to make good the deficiency, they have not obeyed the sentence.

Do the special magistrates attend upon the estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—If the special magistrate would do his duty impartially, it would be an advantage their attending the different properties within the district as frequently as the law at present directs.

Do you know of any other instances than that mentioned in your answer to the 11th question, where offers have been made to remunerate the apprentices for labour in their own time, and which they have declined accepting?—I know of no instance where the apprentices have been offered hire for their own time and refused.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for his piece-work?—I have already answered the first part of this question, but as to the hire of mechanics, it is a mere matter of agreement.

Do you find the negroes exert themselves more when working for wages in their own time than when working in their master's time?—I have not observed any difference.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *Thomas Glen, Esq.*;
Thursday, 6 November 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am. I have six properties under my charge in Hanover, St. James and Westmorland.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 1,300.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Not to my expectations.

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Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—Not generally so.

What is now the general conduct of the negroes; are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—I have not known any instance of direct insubordination from them, unless taking upon themselves to go to the hospital and refusing to leave it when directed to do so, against the authority of the manager and doctor, and also in the loss of time. They have never, in my opinion, worked any day for nine hours since the 1st of August. The three first weeks after that day, the people under my charge generally behaved well; but after that day they became sullen, and did not work as they formerly had done.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—I have tried them by a proposition for them to work during crop, but they refused to do so. I asked them if they would keep the factory going during breakfast and dinner hours; they replied, No, they would go by the law. The people to whom I allude were the people among whom I had longest resided and best known, and who are as well-disposed apprentices as I have ever known, and from whom I consequently had the best expectations.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Not up to the time of my leaving home.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working forty and a half hours in the week?—No.

What number of hours, out of the 24, do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory be kept in continuous operation, to enable the crop to be taken off?—Provided the apprentices would work cheerfully, and with good will, at least 18 hours in the 24, for five days in the week.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I fear not.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I think about two-pence per hour to the able people, and half that sum for the second gang.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—No, I do not think it.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency, to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—Not to my knowledge.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—I think the apprentices are doing one-third less work.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I do not think they attend to their grounds as formerly.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs; and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—So far as I have observed and am acquainted with, the special magistrates do not attend on the estates according to law; and I am of opinion that their visiting the estates would be more beneficial than their holding their courts in town.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *George M. Lawson, Esq.*;
Thursday, 6 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—I am a native of this island. I left it early in life, and returned in 1789, since which I have remained in it, except for a short time, when I went to America in consequence of bad health.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have been a proprietor of an estate in St. James's since 1810, on which I have resided.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation goes, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—The apprentices appear to me to have worked most sulkily, and have not performed, at any average, two-thirds of their former work, and often not more than one-half.

Have you known in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties, to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—My negroes say they will take off next crop for wages during their own time, but will not specify the sum. This I consider an evasion.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—They do not; and in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay they prefer stealing wood, grass and fruit for sale, to working in their grounds. Some, however, do attend to their grounds.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—If the negroes are not convinced that refusal to work will be punished, the new system will not work well.

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Do you know of any other instances than that mentioned in your answer to the former question, where offers have been made to remunerate the apprentices for labour in their own time, and which they have declined accepting?—Not of my own knowledge. Those with whom I have the pleasure to associate, do not think that the negroes will work for such remuneration as is within the reach of the owners of the estate.

Are you of opinion from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Herbert N. Jarrett, Esq.*; 7 November 1834.

How long have you resided in the island?—I have been in the island seven years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had and continue to have the charge of 700 negroes, as proprietor.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They certainly are not working either as cheerfully or as well as they did previous to the 1st of August.

Have you known, in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I offered my own negroes money wages, at the rate of 2s. 6d., with the usual allowances for nine hours' actual labour, but they all refused.

Do you allow the apprentices their former allowances of fish, &c.?—I do not now, because the trash-house was set on fire, but previously to then they had the same allowances as before the 1st of August.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—About one-third.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their master?—The majority of my apprentices generally attend to their grounds.

By whom was the proposition to work for wages made, directly to your apprentices?—It was made by my overseer, by my direction, to the whole gang in the field. I was myself residing on the estate at the time.

State to the Committee your opinion, generally, as regards the working of the new system?—I think it works very indifferently.

What do you consider the best means to be adopted to remedy its defects; and if not remedied, what is your opinion of the result likely to arise from it?—I consider that the only means that can be adopted to remedy its defects, are, an increased number of stipendiary magistrates, with a larger police, or other force, to carry their orders into effect; if which plan or something like it be not adopted, the estates must be thrown up.

Do you apprehend that your apprentices will not work for wages at any time when called upon to do so by yourself, and addressed in a familiar manner?—It is my opinion they will not.

Are many of the negroes under your charge married?—The majority of them, by the rector of the parish.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *John Stuart Jerdan, Esq.*, Special Magistrate, St. Thomas-in-the-East, St. Mary's.

FROM the experience you have had in that capacity, how is the new system succeeding?—Very indifferently indeed. Upon scarcely any estate or plantation I have visited are the apprentices doing more than two-thirds of the work they used to do in an equal number of hours previous to the 1st of August. In the manufacture of sugar, the falling off is still more apparent, and from the general unwillingness of the apprentices to work in their own time for wages.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Patrick Charles Crichton, Esq.*, of the Parish of St. Mary.

FOR what properties in this island are you concerned, and how many negroes have you under your care?—I have the management of three sugar estates, one in St. Mary, one in St. George, and one in Portland, on which there are about 800 negroes, and I am jointly concerned with others for about 200 more (negroes.)

Have you found the working of the new system satisfactory on those properties generally, compared with the former system, allowing for the amount at present of 40½ hours only by the master?—I at once made up my mind to a considerable diminution in our crops, but have not even found the new system answer so well under all disadvantages. I at first had reason to hope, and I attribute its not answering my expectations chiefly to the following causes; viz. to the general disappointment on the part of the apprentices at not finding their ideas of emancipation realized to the extent they expected; to the very inadequate number of stipendiary magistrates, from whence the want of power on the part of the manager to punish misconduct with sufficient promptitude, which leads the apprentice to think he can act with impunity; and to the great variety of schemes at work in the same neighbourhood,

bourhood, which bewilder the apprentice, and render him suspicious of the best intentions of the master.

Have you or any of them made arrangements with the apprentices tending to insure to the estate the quantity of labour necessary to take off crop?—The whole of my apprentices agreed to give up the 4½ hours on Friday, in consideration of receiving the liberal extra allowances of salt (*i. e.* herrings), of clothing, &c. as formerly, and to have food and clothing, medical attendance, and medicines for their children non-free. Upon Golden Vale in Portland, and Quebec in St. Mary, (the two properties on which, from their strength, I thought such an arrangement likely to answer,) they further agreed, when mill was put about, to be divided into two gangs for the mill and boiling-houses; the first to turn out at 4 o'clock A.M. to work till 1 o'clock P.M., to be then relieved by the second, which was to work until 10 o'clock P.M., the people in the field continuing at work nine hours per day. A sufficient number of apprentices on both these properties likewise volunteered to keep the mill and boiling-houses at work from 10 o'clock P.M. until 4 o'clock A.M., for wages at the rate of 1s. per night, or 5s. per week of five days; and I am of opinion that a certain loss to the estate occurs every time the fires are damped. At first we made about two-thirds of the quantity of produce which we used to make under the old system, although we never had the mill and boiling-houses at work above three entire nights in the week. At the same time the field work fell back, which, in the parishes above mentioned, demands constant attention. I am sorry to add, that latterly they have not done so well.

Will you state what passed at the time of your communicating to the apprentices your wishes to hire them in their own time?—They agreed to my plans upon my strongly representing to them the necessity of their so doing for the good of the estates and for the benefit of their families and of themselves, as they would thus procure the means of educating their children, and of putting by something previous to the end of the apprenticeship system. I especially pointed out to them the great advantage of acquiring a character for industry and good conduct.

You, of course, thought that a communication of such an important nature at a time that the good will of the negro to work for wages was much doubted, would best come from yourself?—I was certainly of that opinion, and thought it a duty incumbent upon me to do so.

Were you prepared to meet with some difficulties on the part of the apprentices, and did you feel the necessity of familiarly explaining to them that it was for their interest and the interest of the estate to do so?—For 18 months back I endeavoured to prepare the negroes under my charge for the great change that took place on the 1st of August last, and by far the greater number of my apprentices, including all the head people and those of best character, came at once into my views.

Have you calculated whether or not the pay you give now is such as the estate can afford during the remainder of the apprenticeship?—I have done so, and trust that I may advantageously continue the rate of wages I have given.

Have you found your apprentices indolent, unruly, or insubordinate since the 1st August?—All my overseers have complained much of their indolence; and in one instance the women were so insubordinate that the special magistrate sent three of them to the workhouse for a fortnight. Neither do the head people meet with that respect to which they were accustomed as slaves.

Have the neighbouring estates entered into a system of money wages; and if not, state as far as you know, the causes of not doing so?—I am not aware of what arrangements my neighbours have made.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *William M. Kerr, Esq.*;
Friday, 7 November 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—I am in the management of my own property, and another of which I am executor, in the parish of St. James.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Indifferently.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, they are not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No; in many instances they are very insolent, particularly the women.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—I have on my own estate within the last two weeks. The men had been digging cane-holes at the rate of half a dollar a hundred in their own time; they commenced on Friday, after having performed their proportion of labour for me (say at half-past ten), the job was completed at five o'clock the same day, and they were willing to engage a similar job at the same rate.

How many of your people engaged at this work?—About 14; but more were willing to engage had I required them.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—No.

Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society, and the continued cultivation of the estates?—I consider an increased number of magistrates as absolutely necessary, and some power to enforce their orders, so that the law may be fulfilled. At present there is no power on an estate for carrying

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carrying into effect the magistrate's orders, and they are often disobeyed, which at once creates insubordination.

Do you think there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I am not aware that there is.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—I should say barely one-half, generally speaking.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I consider not with respect to the young able people; but the elderly people do attend to their grounds.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts as at present they now do?—They do not visit often at present, and it would be far preferable than their holding their courts in town.

Have the negroes in Guilsbro' offered to work for wages; and how have they conducted themselves since the 1st of August?—I am not aware of their having offered to work for wages on Guilsbro'; but I have heard Mr. Gordon say that their behaviour has been satisfactory to him.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Samuel Anderson, Esq.*

How long have you resided in this island?—I am a native of the island, and with the exception of seven or eight years, I have been all my life in it.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have the charge of a few estates, and several small properties; the former I represent by power of attorney from the proprietors; some of the latter I am owner of, on all of which there are many negroes.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—The apprentices in the parish of St. James, where I reside, have been doing little or nothing since the 1st August: they are insolent in the extreme.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free, apprentices?—I have been given to understand that in the district where the late rebellion was, there are continued nightly meetings being held by the negroes, which cannot be held for any good purpose. The estate under my charge in St. James, which is separated from Hanover by Great River, the King's Road runs through; it is therefore a general and regular thoroughfare. At all times of the night negroes in numbers are seen (from dark until day-light) going through, both riding and walking, supposed to be congregating in the neighbourhood. I have not heard of any instance where the mothers have permitted their children to be apprenticed, although they continue to keep them on the masters' properties. On Flower Hill estate, in my charge, there are 44 under six years of age, not one of whom will the parents apprentice.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition?—I have repeatedly offered not only a fair, but a high rate of wages; but the apprentices under my control have refused to work in their own time.

What proportion of labour is now obtained, in comparison with that formerly given, in your opinion?—They do in two days what is only one day's work, since the 1st of August.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I have found them very neglectful of their grounds; living upon what they could steal, particularly the canes.

State to the Commissioners generally your opinion as regards the working of the new system?—Nothing could have been worse.

Are you of opinion from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not think the greater portion of the apprentices will work when entirely free; some few may.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field-labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—I offered 1 s. 8 d. and 2 s. 6 d. per day for field, 3 s. 4 d. for tradespeople. I have very lately agreed to give men 3 s. 4 d. for every 100, and women 3 s. 4 d. for every 80 cane-holes; and strange to say, I got last Friday and Saturday some to do work.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop as well as you represent them to be working now?—It is impossible to say at this time.

You say that your apprentices have hired themselves for money wages; did you find any difficulty in inducing them to do so?—I did find considerable difficulty; and it is only the one solitary instance I named where they have worked.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *William Miller, jun., Esq.*; Friday 7 Nov. 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—About 28 estates in Trelawney, St. James, Hanover and St. Ann's.

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What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 4,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Not so well as I could wish.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—None.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—None.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, I do not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—They are sulky, and do their work with reluctance. There have been many cases of disobedience, particularly amongst the women.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—No, they have refused to work for hire. I offered a dollar a barrel for the picking of piments, and very few would do it.

What would that have given them a day?—At least 3s. 4d.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge, since the 1st August?—None.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the week?—No.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—At least 18 hours of five days' labour during the week.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I do not think so.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—To an able negro 1s. 8d. for every nine hours; for the second gang negro 10d. for nine hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—It is impossible.

How long have you resided in this island?—Seventeen years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—As attorney and trustee.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They are not.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I have offered wages in money, and very few would work for it. I am not aware of their motive for doing so.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—On some properties one-half less, and on others one-third.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—Yes, they look for larger wages than any proprietor can afford. I am not aware of any produce that will bear such wages as they look for, for their labour.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I do not think the apprentices are cultivating their provision grounds as formerly. They are digging in their provisions and carrying them to market for sale. They are not cleaning up their grounds and moulding up the ground provisions after digging them in as they should do; and I am of opinion there will soon be a scarcity of provisions, when they will become a burden to their masters.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not think so.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop, as well as you represent them to be working now?—I cannot say.

You are not aware personally of any bad influence working generally on the minds of the negroes?—No.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *George Marrett, Esq.*;
Saturday, 8 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Twenty-eight years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had the charge of a good many negroes, in the capacity of attorney to absentees.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—No.

Do you know other instances in corroboration of that you mention; if so, please to state where this occurred, and on what occasion?—In corroboration of the above, I have to state, that until a few weeks past the apprentices on several properties under my charge were performing their work quite to my satisfaction; since that period they have performed less work, and that with less cheerfulness. In the year 1833 I fitted up a place of worship on

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an estate where divine service was performed by a clergyman of the Church of England every alternate week. They were pleased with the establishment, and it was generally well attended until a few weeks after the 1st of August, when I received a letter from the clergyman, complaining of his want of a congregation. At the request of the negroes, I established a school on the same property, principally for the instruction of the children, which was voluntarily conducted by the overseer and other white people (book-keepers) employed on the property. This establishment was also very well attended for some time, but to my great regret both establishments are now neglected.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I was present when a gentleman in charge of an estate proposed to the apprentices to pay them wages for extra work, which they declined; the gentleman was the Custos of Trelawney, the Honourable William Miller.

What proportion of labour is now obtained, in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—It varies greatly on different estates. On some they relaxed a few weeks after the commencement of the new system; on others, they continued to work fairly, until a few weeks ago.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—I have not called on apprentices to work for wages.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—The apprentices carry a great quantity of provisions to market for sale. I have received some applications for additional grounds, which induces me to suppose they are disposed to work them.

Do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds, as law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—I consider it impossible for the present number of special magistrates to do so; I think if the parishes were divided into districts, and the magistrates visited the estates frequently, and at stated periods, it would answer a better purpose than holding special courts.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day-labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—Five pence for three hours' labour of the first class, 2½ *d.* for three hours of the second class, and 7½ *d.* for good tradesmen.

How many apprentices have you under your charge?—About 4,000.

Do you consider that your apprentices have been guilty of insubordination?—I have experienced no insolence, nor any instance of insubordination, unless the non-performance of a sufficient portion of labour may be so deemed, which I think not.

Do your apprentices work nine hours each day?—I do not think they do, particularly since the days have become shorter.

Do you allow the apprentices their former allowance of fish, &c.?—On one estate I stopped their former allowance of fish for a time, in consequence of the little work they performed. On a few others the supply of fish has been out for a few weeks, but I have directed a fresh supply to be purchased; but I have always reserved to myself the right of stopping it for ill conduct.

Do you apprehend that your apprentices will not work for wages at any time when called upon to do so by yourself, and addressed in a familiar manner?—As the apprentices were not working to my satisfaction, or with cheerfulness, I did not wish to subject myself to the chance of a refusal to such a proposition; and I fear the expense of taking off the crop will be so great, that I am anxious to expend as little money as possible.

If the parish of Trelawney were divided into districts, how many special magistrates do you consider would perform their duty according to law, namely, to visit each property with 40 apprentices in 14 days?—By leaving out some mountain properties far back in the interior, I think if the parish was divided into three districts, two magistrates to each may perform such visits.

You have, I believe, the management of Swanswick estate in Trelawney, and have been lately employing a jobbing gang there; if so, pray state if the negroes of that estate refused to hire themselves for money wages, and if you were by that refusal obliged to hire jobbers?—I did not apply to them to do so.

In making your calculations as to the rate of wages, have you taken into consideration the cost of producing foreign sugar, with which ours must enter into competition?—No.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *William Tharpe, Esq.*; Saturday, 8 Nov. 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Fourteen properties, in Trelawney, Hanover, Westmorland and St. Elizabeth.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—About 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very indifferently.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, certainly not.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—They appear to be quite dissatisfied and sullen in many instances, and very touchy; so much so, that it is unpleasant for the white people to address

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address them. I speak particularly of the properties under my charge in Trelawney, on my own estate in Westmorland, and the other properties under my charge; in Hanover and St. Elizabeth there appears to be a better feeling, but still not equal to their former general conduct.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Some have promised, some have refused, and others replied to me by stating, that they would wait until they saw what other estates' apprentices would do.

Has sugar been made upon any estate, under your charge, since 1st August?—No.

Can the crop of a sugar estate be taken off, and the field cultivation continued by the labourers upon it working 40 ½ hours in the week?—Decidedly not.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I should think 16 hours.

Do you mean to say that you consider 16 hours' labour for five days in the week sufficient to take off your former average crop?—I do not mean to say that the old average crops can be supported; but I consider sugar can be supported profitably, if the apprentices will work for a fair rate of wages combined with 16 hours' continuous labour in crop time; the Abolition Act being otherwise enforced.

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers, for extra labour in their own time?—I should consider at the rate of three half-pence an hour as the fullest extent that the master could afford to give.

How long have you resided in this island?—Twenty years.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation goes, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—Decidedly not.

Do you think there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency, to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free, apprentices?—I cannot from my own knowledge say that there is any organized system in operation, on the part of the apprentices, to flinch from their duty; and with regard to their children, I think it is only natural that they should wish them to remain as they are.

What proportion of labour is now obtained, in comparison with what was formerly given?—

(A.) Jamaica, ss. 31 Oct. 1834.

MEMORANDUM of Work performed on the *Covey Estate*, Parish of Trelawney, the Property of the Heirs of *John Tharp*, Esq. deceased, previous to and since the 1st of August 1834, taken from Estate's Journal.

Since the 1st of August:

First gang, averaging 51 able hands, took 6 ½ days hoeing off 5 acres of rubbish from land, for making manure, which averages 66 hands to the acre.

First gang, averaging 56 able hands, took 13 ½ days to dig 9 acres of cane-holes, which averages 84 hands to dig each acre.

First gang, averaging 45 able hands, took 5 hands to trash 14 acres of canes, which averages 16 hands per acre.

Before the 1st of August:

First gang, averaging 70 able hands, took 3 days hoeing off 9 acres of land rubbish, for making manure, which averages 23 hands to the acre.

First gang and road gang, averaging 108 able hands, took 2 ½ days to dig into cane-holes 9 acres of land, which averages 30 hands to dig each acre.

First gang, averaging 64 able hands, took 1 ½ day to trash 10 acres of canes, which averages 9 hands to the acre.

The first gang, 58 *field labourers*, lost half an hour daily, since the 18th day of August to the 31st of October, making three whole days each, and a total of - - - - -

The second gang, 24 labourers, lost the same time in the mornings - - - - - 174 days.

The third gang, 35 labourers, lost the same time in the mornings - - - - - 72 "

And grass cutters, 10 labourers, lost the same time in the mornings - - - - - 105 "

And grass cutters, 10 labourers, lost the same time in the mornings - - - - - 30 "

Total - - - - - 381 "

I, William Williamson, do swear that the within statement is correct. So help me God.

(signed) *William Williamson.*

Sworn before me, this 30th day of October 1834.

(signed) *J. W. James, J. P.*

Jamaica, ss.

Covey Estate, 27th October 1834

I, William Williamson, overseer of the above-named sugar plantation, the property of the Heirs of the late John Tharp, Esq., deceased, do hereby declare, That the first class of apprenticed labourers belonging to the said property have only performed, since Monday morning the 13th instant to Friday the 24th instant, being nine labouring days according to law at nine hours per day, to dig into cane-holes scarcely six acres of soil or land; the gang averaging daily 56 able effective hands on hoe, exclusive of constables and cooks, &c.; making the average of only 32 holes per day performed by each labourer. I, William Williamson, further state, that they, the said apprentices, have had allowance of herrings as previous to the 1st of August last past during that period, exclusive of rum and sugar twice each

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each day at the rate of one quart of rum to every eight, and one quart of sugar to every six. And I furthermore affirm, that previous to the 1st day of August last past, the same people averaged seventy holes each per day. So help me God.

(signed) *William Williamson.*

Sworn before me, this 28th day of October 1834.

John Ketty.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—They abound in provisions at present, and I think they pay as much attention to their grounds as formerly. They certainly appear anxious to increase their own comforts in every way.

State to the Committee your opinion as regards the working of the new system?—As it is working at present, the cultivation of sugar, in my opinion, cannot be carried on without a serious loss.

Do the special magistrates attend upon the estates as the law directs; and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts as at present?—I certainly think so, and I consider holding the courts in the town on a specific day every week, attracts large bodies of apprentices together from all quarters, under the cloak of seeking justice, but who, in fact, collect together to concert plans for the annoyance and injury of those in authority over them, besides the loss of time in sending witnesses to attend.

Do you know of any instance where the apprentices are working for wages?—I have heard of a few instances.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Robert Fairweather, Esq.;*
Saturday, 8th November 1834.

ARE you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?—Yes, to a pretty large extent in St. Mary's, St. George's, St. Ann, St. Thomas in the Vale, and Clarendon.

What number of apprenticed labourers are under your management?—Upwards of 3,000.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—Very badly.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?—Decidedly not.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?—I certainly do not.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—No, not much more than half generally.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—There is a kind of passive resistance, and in many instances becoming insolent and insubordinate.

Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?—Partly so on some properties and on others not.

Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since the 1st of August?—Yes, on several.

What arrangements have you been able to make to keep the mills going, and for what number of hours out of the 24?—I have made arrangements for keeping the mill about 12 hours of each of the five days with the people there, and in the boiling-house; those in the latter to continue on for six hours more, if there is liquor sufficient, and for so doing, those in the mill-house, for their extra time, I give 3 s. 4 d. on each Saturday morning to the able hands, and to the weakly or young hands, 1 s. 8 d.; and to the people about the boiling-house, say the able hands, 3 s. 4 d., and the weakly or young ones, 1 s. 8 d.; and to those in the boiling-house an extra allowance, at the rate of 5 d. for three hours for any further extra time at night. Still I do not consider this time sufficient, and that we would require for getting off the crop in proper time to have, by the changing of spells, at least 18 hours out of the 24 for five days, beginning at four o'clock in the morning for first spell, and going on for nine hours; the second spell taking it up from that time, and working nine hours also.

Taking the average of the estates under your management, what has been your weekly work by this mode of working, compared to what you formerly made?—As near half as possible.

At that rate how is your crop to be taken off, and the field cultivation continued?—The crop on the ground may be taken off, but the field cultivation cannot be continued in a proper manner.

What number of hours out of the 24 do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?—I have already stated I consider 18 out of the 24.

Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours' labour for such rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?—I very much fear they will not.

What

What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?—I have already stated at the rate of 5*d.* for three hours.

Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?—I do not.

How long have you resided in the island?—Nearly 33 years.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—By no means, and not doing much more than one-half of the work they were doing before the 1st of August.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—In several, and I fear with a view of extorting a higher rate of wages, that we could not afford, or to make us give up the apprenticeship.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—About one half generally.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—Very much to the contrary, and travel all over the country in an idle state, and rendering themselves unfit for labour in the beginning of the next week.

Are you of opinion from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I am of opinion they will not.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—About 5*d.* for three hours, or at the most 2*d.* for each hour, and mechanics in proportion.

Have any instances come within your knowledge of any estates' negroes, besides those under your charge, having hired themselves for money wages?—I know the negroes on several other properties work extra time for money and some for allowances.

What proportion of sugar is now made on the estates under your charge, to what was made previous to the 1st of August?—About one-half.

Do you make that calculation with reference to the price of labour in foreign colonies with which we have to compete?—No.

As you hire your people for three extra hours every day while your mill is about, do you think that they would be equally ready to work for wages for the number of extra hours you might require, say from three to seven hours in the 24, besides those to which you are by law entitled?—The negroes about the boiling-house I have got to work for wages after dark, but those about the mill-house I have not asked.

Are your prospects favourable or unfavourable as to the future state of things in relation to the system of apprenticeship, and as regards the profits of the planter, depending much as they do on the conduct and good will of the negroes?—Unfavourable.

Is there any discontent, as far as you know, existing in the mind of the apprentices under your charge?—The apprentices show a passive resistance. Still there is an unpleasant doggedness about them, unwillingness to work, and in many instances they are many of them inclined to be insolent.

At what period did they begin to show that aversion to the performance of their duty?—Since the 1st of August last.

Do they, notwithstanding that aversion, perform satisfactory work?—Not at all.

Did you find any difficulty in inducing the negroes to hire themselves for the three hours of their own time, and have you any reason for supposing that having hired themselves for three hours, they would not do so for more?—I have found some difficulty to get the apprentices to hire themselves on some of the properties for the three extra hours of their own time, and on others very little; but generally they have a very great aversion to keep spell at night.

You state that you only make one-half quantity of sugar to what you previously did; state what is the cause of that deficiency?—From the decreased quantity of labour and time, and want of power to enforce it.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *John Douglas, Esq.* ;
8th November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Nineteen years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—From 300 to 400, as overseer.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—Certainly not.

What proportion of labour is now obtained, in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—The same number of negroes that formerly cut canes to make fifteen hogsheads, only will now in the same time cut canes to make seven or eight hogsheads; the same number of wains, wain-men and steers, which formerly carried canes to make fifteen hogsheads, only now carry canes to make seven or eight hogsheads; and the same number of coopers that used to make casks for the fifteen hogsheads, now only make seven or eight. Before the 1st of August, 10 negroes would turn trash on an acre of canes, and since

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since then it invariably takes 20 or upwards; the same proportions stand good in every other description of plantation business.

Were those seven or eight hogsheads made without any cost of money, or extra indulgences?—The persons employed in manufacturing sugar were paid at the rate of 10 s. per hogshead, in addition to all their former allowances, and many of them after they were served with herrings, returned and threw them back into the barrel, and very reluctantly took the money, saying it was not enough; besides which, I allowed them three hands more than usual.

What rate of wages did you agree to give for the performance of the labour alluded to in your previous answer?—At the rate of 3 s. 4 d. each for the mill gang, and 4 s. 2 d. for the boiler-men, in consequence of their having to boil off; and this was for about 16 extra hours.

You found them ready to work for wages, but not content to take what they had previously agreed for?—I did not find them ready to work for wages until I gave them three extra hands, and then they took the money reluctantly.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra hours to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden on their masters?—In our neighbourhood the cultivation of provisions has been abandoned since the 1st of August; they employ their extra time in utter indolence; and from all appearances the period is not far distant when a famine will ensue.

State to the Committee your opinion, generally, as regards the working of the new system?—It is working very badly.

What do you consider the best means to be adopted to remedy its defects, and if not remedied, what is your opinion of the result likely to arise from it?—More stipendiary magistrates appointed to execute the laws, as also a scale of wages for the extra time of the apprentices to compel them to work, or the result will be, the cultivation must shortly be given up, and the proprietors ruined.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, it would answer a better purpose than their holding their special courts as at present they now do?—I consider the special magistrates attending on estates as the law directs would answer best.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—At the most, 1 s. 8 d. for nine hours of night labour; tradesmen in proportion; 1 s. 3 d. day labourer.

Have any instances come within your knowledge of any estates' negroes, besides those under your charge, having hired themselves for money wages?—Some for money, and some for allowances, but very few.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *Rudolph Lewis, Esq.*;
Monday, 10 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Since 1819.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have the charge of 380 negroes, and am the manager of a large coffee plantation (Albion) in the parish of Manchester.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They do not.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I have myself offered 10 d. to work the half a Friday, which they refused to take, and said they would rather have their time.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—We obtain about two-thirds of labour which was formerly given.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—They do; but I am of opinion that they will work for smaller wages on properties not belonging to their masters. I hire some myself on their own time at 1 s. 8 d. per day, but they will not work for that sum for their masters.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—They do not employ their extra time to advantage to increase their comforts. They were industrious from the 1st to about the 20th August last, but since that period they have relaxed to make themselves comfortable; and I think that they have a notion since they have been valued, that their masters have no further claim upon them, being already paid for their heads, and that they will soon be at liberty to change their residence, and would consequently work to no purpose.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the system?—If the laws were in general put into execution by the special magistrates, the system would work much better than I anticipated, and that properties would be cultivated, particularly coffee plantations.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in this island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled

compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts as at present they now do?—The special magistrates do not attend upon the estates as the law directs, it being utterly impossible for one individual to do what the law requires of these gentlemen. I am of opinion that if the parishes were divided into districts, and special magistrates placed in each, that it would be of great advantage to the island at large. The parish of Manchester, I think, ought to be divided into four districts.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I doubt that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship is expired, because they are too indolent to work, and food being so easily obtained.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *William Reeves, Esq.* ;

Tuesday, 11 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Upwards of 46 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—A considerable number, about 1,800 ; as attorney and manager, &c.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—No, very much to the contrary.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition ; if so, to what cause can you attribute it?—I have not at this period had occasion to offer any remuneration for labour which had not been rejected.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—The deficiency of labour generally since the 1st of August may be considered fully one-third, considering the reduction of the hours of labour.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—The payment required for hire by the apprentices is much beyond what the planter can afford to enable him to hold his property.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I am inclined to think the apprentices in the parish where I reside are by no means cultivating their provision grounds so well as before the 1st of August.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—My opinion of the new system is, that it is quite inadequate to the cultivation of sugar, and indeed to the other staples of this country.

What do you consider the best means to be adopted to remedy its defects ; and if not remedied, what is your opinion of the result likely to arise from it?—I know no better means than by strictly enforcing the laws by the special magistrates, which may require to be increased. If some measures are not shortly adopted, the evil will grow to an extent which will bid fair to be ruinous to the planter.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates, as the law directs ; and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—The attention of the special magistrates has of late become pretty regular ; but from the extent of Trelawney, the number of these being increased, would, I conceive, answer every purpose, if they are strictly enjoined to act up to their duty.

Do you know of any other instance than that mentioned in your answer to the eleventh question, where offers have been made to remunerate the apprentices for labour in their own time, and which they have declined accepting?—Yes, several ; but not under my control.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices, even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour, when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—It appears a matter of considerable doubt, whether any considerable portion of the apprentices will continue to work, even for themselves, when their time is out.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour ; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—I think the able apprentice may be paid 1 s. 8 d. for nine extra hours ; the weaker ones less, 10 d. or 1 s. ; the mechanic, 2 s. 6 d.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop, as well as you represent them to be working now?—I have much doubt whether a great portion of the apprentices will not prove unwilling to continue the work in the crop in a better manner.

Will you give an instance of any act of insubordination that has occurred within your knowledge, on any of the properties for which you are concerned?—No violent act of insubordination, beyond the partial evasion of work and insolence, to the respective persons having charge of them.

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EXTRACTS from the Examination of *William Stanford Grignon, Esq.*

How long have you been in the island?—I arrived in this country in 1798, and have continued here ever since, with the exception of a short visit to America.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had the charge of a few negroes, as proprietor, and I have had the charge of several sugar estates and other properties, as attorney and receiver, on which there were a great many negroes.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—Decidedly not. On the 30th July the head people on Salt Spring estate, on which estate I resided for nearly 12 months, came to me and stated, that they wished to have nothing to do with the new law; that they were quite content to go on as they had been doing previously. I told them I could not think of allowing that, as the new law had given them a considerable increase of time, which I could not think of depriving them of; but that if they would keep watch, and assist the estate in other respects, I would still continue to feed and clothe their free children, pay their doctors' bills, and give them all the benefits which they previously had. On the 31st July the negroes came to me, and in the most civil manner told me that they were sorry they could not do what they proposed, as they had been informed if they did so, they would be kept in slavery seven years longer. I told them they were misinformed; but they still refused to come to any terms. On the 4th August they went out to their work, and worked well. On the 5th, as I was passing the field, some of them came out and said, that they understood they were working contrary to law. After a good deal of conversation, I asked them if I had ever deceived them; they answered, they were satisfied master would not tell them a lie, but that master was speaking according to the Jamaica law, and they were entitled to be managed by Lord Mulgrave's law.

Do you know other instances in corroboration of what you mention?—My overseer at Spot Valley, Mr. Creaver, informed me, that the people the first week of August worked well; but afterwards did very little. The negroes have, in many cases, refused to work for wages; and at their ordinary work, they do much less than they did formerly. I notice also that after speaking to them, they work for a few days, and better, but which does not continue. I know no instance of any child having been apprenticed.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition?—I know that both at Spot Valley and Salt Spring, and also Mr. Deffell's estates in Trelawney, Hampstead and Retreat, that I offered the negroes to let them have according to law every Saturday, and every other Friday to give them herrings, take charge of their young children, as heretofore, and in fact every other comfort that they were in the habit of receiving during their state of slavery; and all I required from them in return was, to keep watch as usual at night, which they refused to do.

What proportion of labour is now obtained, in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—It is impossible to state the exact proportion, as some estates do more, and some less. But Salt Spring estate, on which I believe the negroes are behaving as well as any in the parish, I am satisfied we lose at least one-third of their labour; at Spot Valley considerably more. At this estate I will mention one particular instance;—the grass piece, which last year took one week to clean, this year the negroes, equal in number, were four weeks in doing.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder, calculating on the present?—I cannot say that the negroes under my care have required any specific sum of money. I have made them a proposal, but have not yet got their answer. I proposed to give them 5*d.* for every 10 cane-holes, and have proposed to give them 5*d.* for every three hours they shall work in their own time during crop. I have however declared I will not employ them to dig cane holes, or do other work, unless they at the same time agreed to take off the crop; as I should consider it a waste of money to cultivate canes which you are not able to take off.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—As far as I have seen, they do not. Saturday being market-day at Montego Bay, the town is generally crowded with negroes, and I cannot say whether they are selling their provisions, or idling their time away; but I notice a great number of negroes in the town on the latter part of Friday, when I should consider they ought to be attending to their grounds. I understand that they are generally very much neglecting their grounds.

State to the Committee your opinion generally, as regards the working of the new system?—I consider that at present the new system is working very badly; and that unless some measures are adopted to alter and amend the present law, the system will be ruinous to the country.

Do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—Respecting dividing the parishes into districts, I should conceive the same would be beneficial, and that magistrates should attend regularly, provided they performed their duty with impartiality. The holding the special courts in the town, I speak of Montego Bay, has been a perfect nuisance

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Do you know of any other instances than that mentioned in your answer to the 11th question, where offers have been made to remunerate the apprentices for labour in their own time, and which they have declined accepting?—I mentioned in one of my former answers that I had made certain offers to the negroes to work for wages, but had not received their answer. By the post of to-day I have received three letters from my overseers, and with the sanction of the Committee, I beg to read:—

Sir,

Salt Spring Estate, 4 Nov. 1834.

ACCORDING to your wish, I mentioned to the people here about working from five o'clock in the morning to nine in the evening: however I got no answer for some time; at last some one said they would not work for 5*d.* for three hours.

To W. S. Grignon, Esq.

I remain, Sir,
(signed) *F. R. Coy.*

Sir,

Spot Valley, 11 Nov. 1834.

I RECEIVED yours respecting the work you wished to get done in crop time, and I read it to the people. Some of them seemed inclined for to comply with it, but says they must have Saturday; others want 10*d.* per hour, and says that they will not work for less, and says that they will not make any bargain but with the special magistrate; and all of them says that 1*s.* 8*d.* is too small for a day's work. It appears to me they must be settling some plan amongst themselves, and will most likely keep their sentiments back till such time as the mill goes about, and then think they will get what they demand for their own time.

To W. S. Grignon, Esq.

And I remain, &c.
(signed) *Jno. Crerar.*

Dear Sir,

Hampstead, 4 Nov. 1834.

YOU expect to learn from me how the people are behaving. I can only say they are doing as well as any in the neighbourhood. They digged their task of 75 holes, but could only prevail on two to work for money (say the driver and another.) There was one man dug 150 holes in the day and part of a night, but the next day he did not dig a hole. Some of them finished their task by nine or ten o'clock, and I have asked them if they were going to work for money; the answer was "No."

I am, &c.
(signed) *W. Dexter.*

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not think they will; and I am grounded in this opinion from the following circumstance;—there are amongst my own negroes six who became free from having been in England; three of these were employed in agriculture on my pen in Westmorland; they all refused to continue such work, but offered to be employed by me if I would put them to some domestic occupation.

You are concerned for Leyden estate; state how the apprentices conduct themselves upon the estate?—I am jointly concerned for Leyden estate with Mr. George Gordon. He undertakes the planting department, and I the shipping of the produce. I never interfered with the negroes, nor did I know how they behaved, until some few weeks since two of them came to my office, and sent in a complaint to me that Captain Clark had caused them to be flogged; this induced me to inquire what had been the cause of their punishment, and I understood it was for improper conduct in not digging a sufficient quantity of cane-holes; but I refused having any thing further to say to them, and desired that they would go to Mr. Gordon if they had any complaints to make. I met Mr. Gordon afterwards, and mentioned to him that the negroes had been to me, and how I had acted. He said that the Leyden people had been behaving extremely well, but he did not know what had got into them, but that they were then digging a good quantity of cane-holes, I think 80 or 90; and I certainly did understand from the conversation that such improvement of work arose from the conduct pursued by Captain Clark. Captain Clark afterwards told me that he had occasion to punish them, and that instead of going back to the estate or Mr. Gordon, they ran away, and that he had issued a warrant to take them up and place them in confinement.

Did you not understand from Captain Clark they had been behaving very bad, refusing to work?—I did not understand from Captain Clark that they had refused to work, but that they had behaved ill and not worked well. I confine my observations of course to those who were punished by Captain Clark, and who had been to complain to me.

EXAMINATION of *John Harrison*, Esq.; 11 November 1834.

STATE your connexion with this island?—I have been nearly 32 years in this island, during which period I have been principally employed in the cultivation of and management of coffee plantations.

Are you concerned in the management of landed property at present, and to what extent?—I am; I have three properties under my management in Manchester, viz. Oldbury, Waltham and Hope coffee plantations.

What number of apprenticed labourers are attached to those properties?—About 450.

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What are the average crops of those properties?—The last was about 270,000 lbs.; the present, I suppose, will be about 160,000 lbs. of coffee.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how is it succeeding?—But indifferently.

Is there any discontent, as far as you know, existing in the minds of the apprentices under your charge, or otherwise in your parish generally?—They consider themselves imposed upon if the full quantum of time prescribed by law of nine hours per day is exacted from them; and they turn out very late in the morning, consequently have to stay out later in the afternoon.

To what cause or causes do you attribute their discontent, and the indifferent success of the new system?—Speaking of our neighbourhood, I should say its first cause appeared to arise from the want of one uniform system of labour having been adopted throughout the parish or district; some persons having adopted the eight hours' work, others the nine hours' work per day; some giving every other Friday, others every half Friday; and others again having been obliged, from the crops coming in, to suspend giving any portion of the Fridays until the coffee is gathered in, causing thereby a suspicion that they are deprived of their legal time; the shells blowing to turn out and to turn in at so many different periods morning and evening. This might, I think, be remedied by the passing an Act compulsory on coffee plantations, to commence field labour throughout the year at sunrise, and turn in at four o'clock; this would give an average of nine hours' work daily between the longest and shortest day. But its chief and principal cause was soon made manifest, after a little experience, to be the total inadequacy of carrying into effect the provisions of the new Act, by the limited means as yet only provided for this purpose; for praiseworthy as have been the exertions of the special magistrate (Lieutenant Colebrook) of our parish, ever since his functions commenced, it has been found (even with the assistance of another very intelligent and active gentleman appointed lately in the Mile Gully district with a special commission) to be utterly impossible in so extended and mountainous a parish, with bad roads and continued rains at times, for these two gentlemen alone, even with all their acknowledged indefatigable exertions, to visit the different properties, or to answer the various calls that are made daily upon them. The system requires more power to put it into operation, and I conceive it will require not less than six special Justices in Manchester for this purpose; there being three districts therein, viz. Carpenter's Mountains, May Day and Mile Gully.

Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the masters or managers of properties to enter fairly upon the new system?—No, quite the reverse; in our parish the new system was put into operation on some properties, previous to its legal commencement, and on its commencement I can confidently assert that every one seemed determined to render all their assistance to give it a fair trial, and carry it through if possible.

Do you know of the proprietors or managers of properties having directly or indirectly thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties?—Certainly not; I speak of our parish, where the two gentlemen acting as such there, have ever been too much respected to have experienced any such obstacles. On the contrary, I feel assured they will acknowledge they have ever received all the assistance and facilities possible to render their duties as little irksome and disagreeable as their cases would admit of since their residence there.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?—I do not think they are generally.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—No, they do not; they appear sulky and dissatisfied, and without any cause or reason upon the most frivolous pretences desert their work, and leaving the special magistrates of their own parish within a mile or two of them, travel 15 or 20 miles to the adjoining parish of St. Elizabeth, under pretence of making complaints, but in reality to enjoy so many days of idleness, to the detriment and injury of their masters' interest. This is a crying evil that requires a remedy at once.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *Thomas M^cCornock, Esq.*;
Tuesday, 11 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Within three months of 30 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—Yes, both as overseer of a large estate for many years, and also as attorney for several properties in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and have now upwards of 2,600 apprentices under my charge.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—Not at all.

What do you think is the cause of their not doing so?—From the law being very defective in many important points, from the entirely inadequate number of special magistrates; also from the proprietors and managers being deprived of all kind of control; in consequence of which a large proportion of the apprentices treat with indifference and even contempt those to whom they formerly looked up with the most kindly feelings and respect. Many of the apprentices enjoyed such great advantages as slaves that the new system does not make that difference in their condition which they were led to expect. From these causes many of them are extremely discontented, and adopt every means in their power to evade working during the very limited period required by law; turbulence and insubordination have

have often followed the efforts made by the special Justices to enforce the law. Being secure of support from their masters during the apprenticeship, they are relieved from every necessity of being industrious, and therefore many of them will not be induced to labour for hire, however injurious this may be to the properties on which they reside.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I have no doubt whatever, from all I have seen, but there is such a system and secret agency.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I have known instances of the apprentices refusing very liberal terms in their own time. I have offered to continue all their allowances and every thing else as formerly, which far exceed what the law directs; to support, clothe and pay for medical attendance, with free children the same as when they were slaves, and also to pay 10*d.* for every six hours of their own time, so as to enable me to keep the mill about 18 hours out of the 24, and they rejected my offer.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—Since the 1st of August the field labour performed has been, I think, nearly one-third less than formerly on many estates. They have not yet been making sugar in the district where I reside. I fear a great falling off in the labour at the works, and anticipate the greatest difficulty in taking off the ensuing crop, unless some enactment is made to compel the people to work for fair remuneration in a part of their own time, as no sugar crops can possibly be taken off with 45 hours' labour in the week.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—The apprentices have asked much more than fair remuneration for working any part of their own time; indeed more than the proprietors can afford to give out of the proceeds of the estates.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—The time the apprentices have by law is so much more than they require for cultivating their grounds, that a considerable proportion of it is spent in idleness and going about the country.

State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—Unless considerable amendments are made in the law, and the number of special Justices greatly increase, I consider the new system cannot work, and the cultivation of sugar must almost entirely cease, for many proprietors will find it a less evil to abandon their estates than to continue their cultivation with the prospect of certain ruin to themselves.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates, as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—The special Justices *cannot* attend the estates so often as the law directs, for their districts are too large; but it will be much better that there should be a sufficient number, so that they could attend the estates regularly; for holding special courts, as is now often done, must be very injurious to the estates in the time lost by the different parties travelling a distance to attend such courts.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—From what has been experienced since the 1st of August, I am of opinion they will not generally engage in agricultural pursuits after their apprenticeship ceases, so as to keep up the regular cultivation of the estates, and that continued work that is necessary in the manufacture of sugar, unless some strong laws can be enacted to prevent vagrancy and secure industry among all classes of the population.

What do you consider a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—I think 1*s.* currency a sufficient remuneration for one day's labour of nine hours in the field, and 10*d.* for each six hours' labour at the works, in addition to all the allowances and privileges granted to them when they were slaves, which in most cases generally exceed what the law ever required. As the law does not provide for watching the works, &c. neither does it for watching the negro provision grounds. I consider it a mutual advantage that both should be protected as hitherto, and that no money should be paid for watching the works, &c., as few proprietors can afford it; and besides all industrious apprentices have the means of cultivating provisions, and selling them for money, often to a great extent; whereas the law, strictly speaking, only entitles them to a sufficiency of provisions for the support of themselves and families. On the estate I reside upon, the apprentices often sell 50 or 60 pounds worth of provisions in one day, which are carried to the wharf by the estates' wains, and sold to the boats from Kingston. All they have to pay out of the money they receive is, the day's hire to the wain-men.

State the particulars of the disturbance that lately took place in Golden Grove estate?—The special Justice was explaining to the apprentices the propriety and justice of their agreeing to the fair and liberal terms I have offered, which they would not do. He then, as I am told (for I was not present, being in bed with fever), told them that if they would not

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work longer than the law directed, they could be made to work that limited number of hours during any part of the 24; on which they raised a great noise, and after repeated orders to be quiet without effect, the Justice ordered a woman who was most noisy to be put into confinement; on which the people declared they would all go in the dark room, and followed her towards the place of confinement; when near it, they rescued her, and took her away; when they came to the gate near the house they gave three cheers in triumph. That setting the magistrates and the law at defiance, he deemed it his duty to send for some of the police, and as there were only 13 of them, he deemed it necessary to bring a few soldiers, say seven, so as to make a formidable appearance, and prevent further misconduct. Next morning the whole of the people were drawn up by the Justice, and the ringleaders punished; viz. nine men flogged, and two of them, with six women, sent to the house of correction.

In what manner do you arrange your working hours?—They work 45 hours in the week, being 4½ hours of their own time, on condition of getting all the allowances and indulgences both to themselves and their free children, in the same way as when they were slaves.

And you did not endeavour to introduce the system of eight hours for four days, and eight hours and a half for the fifth day?—No.

What did your apprentices ask for by way of wages?—They did not name any sum, but said they would not work at night; they had said they would keep the mill about from four to eight, but on the day they cut canes they declared they would stop the mill at sunset. After a good deal of talking, they did keep it about until eight o'clock, but did not put it about again next morning until five o'clock. I left home next day, and do not know what they have done since.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, upon Oath, of *John Pine, Esq.*;
Thursday, 13 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Nearly 23 years.

In what capacity?—The last six years I have resided on my own properties in St. Andrew's: the former 16 years I was engaged in an extensive medical practice, embracing nearly the whole of the estates in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and part of the parish of St. David's, in conjunction with the various partners in the following succession; Dr. Adam Paul, Richard Dick, N. W. Poole, William Forsyth Grant, George Jackson, Andrew Cooke, William Pine, Dennis Fitz-Gibbon, J. G. Devaney, and William Bell.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—On many estates they are; on others, not.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison to that formerly given?—I do not consider the work of the estates thrown materially back. We, of course, lose one-sixth of the time in the entire day given in lieu of Sunday; but during the nine hours, I think fully as much work is done as under the bygone system; and in this opinion I am borne out by neighbours.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their time to advantage?—They work too much land. In my neighbourhood, it is too profitable an employment; and as long as they have indiscriminate access to any quantity of good land, they never can be expected to work generally for wages.

To what do you attribute the passive resistance and disinclination to work on many estates?—To human nature: The schoolboy will play when the master is away.

Are you of opinion that the crop can be taken off under the present apprenticeship law?—My opinion is, that if Clause be more distinctly defined, so as to give the master or manager power to exact 45 hours weekly, as best suits the season and the estate's locality, confining the hours of work to four A. M. and 10 P. M., and not expecting more than nine hours' compulsory labour consecutively from one individual, that it may.

How would you divide the hours of labour during crop?—I think the nine hours ample time in the short days to cut the canes and bring them to the mill, which should be persevered in for five days in dry weather, now and then paying them off on Friday, when the estate's means will afford it, in showery weather, or give them wages. I consider in the dry sea-shore parishes, 15 hours ample time for the mill and coppers to be at work. I would recommend putting about at six A. M. and stopping at nine P. M.; paying those spell hands that work the extra hours half a day's hire; selecting only your willing and best people to be on this extra pay list; and to be struck off and wear a badge of disgrace for any improper conduct. That estates with more limited means, having a deficiency of water, or with cattle mills, keep about 18 hours, and pay the spell hands for one day's work. Here they may be divided into two spells, each receiving half a day's wages. I believe the free black, brown and white, may be hired to assist in the manufacture of the crop. Many of the free people have not the means at present of finding employment; this might be tried in preference to any appendix to the present Abolition Law, for the purpose of exacting more coercive labour from the apprentices.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates, as the law directs; and do you not consider that if the parishes were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds, as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present?—I think two special magistrates to assist the stipendiaries in the small parishes, and three or four in the larger parishes, would enable them to comply with the law of visiting every estate (if necessary) within 14 days, having upwards of 40 apprentices; and would prevent the constables, prisoners and complainants travelling

travelling about to the respective courts, and losing labour, and otherwise occasioning much inconvenience in the collection and detention of witnesses.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour, when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—As this is a probationary law, we must never lose sight of its ulterior object. It is necessary to commence immediately on all properties, and prevent the apprentices working too much land, unless they pay a high rent for the same. This will ultimately promote their own happiness; the industrious man will give a portion of his time for wages, to enable him to raise the requisite money to pay for that which he will prize of the highest value, viz. the comforts of home, when he returns from the landlord's field; the indolent will only earn a sufficiency of wages to keep him from starving; for few under the free system will trust any but ostensibly good characters with the occupancy of land.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour?—At present I consider 2s. 1d. for head people, 1s. 8d. for able labourers, 1s. 3d. for common labourers, and 10d. for such as are generally in the inferior gang; this rate of wages may decline towards the end of the apprenticeship term, but not much. If land-owners will not allow any of their property to be occupied without first bringing a testimony of good character; and 2dly, paying the rent weekly, either in coin or labour; the valuable negro will not allow himself to be removed, but will consider it the highest disgrace to be discharged from his master's domain, and the abode of his family and ancestors for upwards of a century back.

In answer to the sixth question, you state the apprentices work too much land in your neighbourhood; do you not attribute this to the proximity of the land to the military garrison at Stoney Hill, the camp, and Kingston market, where they meet a ready sale?—There is generally a ready sale, and the markets are contiguous; the land is also well adapted for the cultivation of provisions, and the seasons can always be depended on.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Matthew Farquharson, Esq.*

Thursday, 13 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—I am a native, and have resided for upwards of 23 years, since my return from school, with the exception of two short absences from the island.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had the charge of about 300 negroes for upwards of nine years, as owner and as executor and agent, and of about 650 negroes for three years as Mr. Wildman's attorney; also about 170 negroes as attorney to Mr. Stothert in Trelawney. The latter I have only had the management of since August last.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully, and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—I observe no alteration in the work of the people under my charge since 1st August, and the overseers report most favourably. The new system has made very little alteration with me in the estates of Mr. Wildman, as I have been in the habit of giving every Saturday in and out of the crop since I took charge. With Spring Vale negroes, I allowed only half every other Saturday, besides their own day, the property being much involved, and the negroes' grounds very new. I have not required any negroes to bind their children as free apprentices.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—The only instance of refusal was at Salt Savanna estate. In Vere, where I offered to allow 1s. 8d. for the two half Fridays, the negroes did not consider it sufficient. This was about the beginning of September; I have not been there since. The negroes at Papine are digging cane-holes at 2s. 6d. per day. The overseer writes me, they have dug 130 holes a day at that rate. On Dundee estate, in Trelawney, the people in a body solicited the overseer to request me to allow them to work 10 hours a day, and to hire them on Friday, to which I acceded, and allowed them 2s. 1d. per day, they working 9½ hours: the half hour to make up the half hour lost in the four days. I have also agreed to give them 5d. for every two hours extra time during crop with my own negroes. At Spring Vale I have been hiring them at 1s. 8d. per day. On Dundee, in Trelawney, I have agreed to allow them 2s. 6d. for every 100 cane-holes; if they dig upwards of 90 a day in the four days, they will be paid for the overplus at the same rate. All this they have agreed to. The reason I stated 90 holes a day was, because they work 10 hours a day.

Are you aware whether the plough was used previously on the piece where the 130 holes have been dug?—I cannot say, as the overseer does not mention; but I should think so, as we use the plough.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return, than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—I do not consider the wages agreed upon with the people under my charge exorbitant.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burthen to their masters?—The apprentices attend to their grounds, as well as they did before the 1st of August.

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State to the Committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—So far as I am concerned, the new system is working well.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates, as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—It is impossible that the special magistrates, from the few in number to each parish, can comply with the law. My opinion is, that where punishment is necessary, it would have a more salutary effect, if inflicted on the estate.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop, as well as you represent them to be working now?—I certainly do, speaking of those under my charge.

You say that your apprentices hire themselves for money wages, did you find any difficulty in inducing them to do so?—Not the least; it was at their own request.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Thomas Mason, Esq.*; Saturday, 16 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Nearly 20 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have upwards of 100 of my own, and nearly 300 on properties of absentees, of which I am the attorney.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully as they did previous to the 1st of August?—Certainly not; and I do not consider that they are doing but a little more than half the work they did before the 1st of August.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—I do not consider, as far as my observations have gone, that the apprentices have increased in industry; but, on the contrary, they appear to be idling away the greater portion of their extra time.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—I think 2s. 6d. for tradesmen, 1s. 8d. for able field labourers, and 10d. for the weaker people, is a fair hire for each day of nine hours.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Thomas Larny, Esq.*; Tuesday, 18 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—About 10 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—As overseer of Kildare estate, in the parish of St. George's, for nearly five years, I had charge of about 300, and in my present situation, as overseer of Gibraltar estate, in the same parish, I have for about three years had charge of upwards of 400.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st day of August?—Certainly not.

Do you think there is any organized system in operation, in the neighbourhood where you reside, a secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I certainly do; I see plainly that it is the wish of the apprentices to allow the properties to which they are attached to go to ruin as fast as possible, thinking that they would get their freedom the sooner by their master not being able to support them.

Have you known, in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I have been directed by Mr. Davis, my employer, to offer the same allowances as before to them, if they consented to work the four hours and a half extra weekly. On a calculation, I find it would be about 500*l.* sterling per annum, and which would be paying all those that would work at the rate of 5s. for their half day, or four hours and a half.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison to that formerly given, according to your opinion?—About one half.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burden to their masters?—Not generally since 1st August.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I certainly am not.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—I consider 2*d.* for the field labourer per hour, and good tradesmen 3*d.*

Do you imagine the apprentices will work extra time for you in crop?—I find the apprentices will not work an extra moment for me during crop. I have offered boiler-men 5s. for their shell blow during the five days, but they scornfully refused it.

What proportion of sugar is now made on the estates under your charge, to what was made previous to the 1st of August?—Previous to the 1st of August I made 24 hogsheads weekly, and can only make 10 hogsheads under the present system.

Has any particular case of insubordination occurred on Gibraltar estate since 1st August; if yea, relate the particulars?—Yes, there has. Since the 1st August I had no occasion to put about the mill until the 19th October, and previous to my cutting canes; I told them that my directions from Mr. Davis were to divide them into two spells, the first to commence at 4 in the morning and to work until 12, when the second spell would relieve them and work until

8 P.M., making only 8 hours instead of 9, as they were then working; they all said they would not work a moment before sun-rise or after sun-set for any body, they were as well aware of the law as I was myself. I then told them that I would send for Mr. White, the special magistrate; their answer was, that Mr. White could do nothing with them. For Stewart's people, who were so long absent, and therefore cared nothing about him. Mr. White arrived, and had them all called before him, but instead of hearing what he was saying, they all set up a war-cry, and run away in all directions. The following night the works were discovered on fire about nine o'clock; the book-keepers and police who were then stationed on the estate, by the directions of Mr. White, immediately repaired to the spot, and on finding that the flames could not be extinguished, I blew shell, but not a negro belonging to the estate came to our assistance, except the house people. Some from the adjoining estate, George's Inn, came, and some also from the Bay, and by a great deal of difficulty succeeded in extinguishing the fire. The police were then stationed about the works, and about three o'clock in the morning the fire was discovered in a different part of the works; the police fired at a negro-man coming from the quarter, but who escaped, and the alarm was again given of fire, which caused me to blow shell the second time, but not one of the estate's people ever then came. The following morning I had not one at work, although the mill about and canes cut to make upwards of six hogsheads of sugar, which I lost before they returned at the expiration of seven days, in consequence of which I had to stop the mill until this week, and am happy to say that from the very salutary examples made by Mr. White of insubordination of them, that they are now working well, and likely to continue on the same terms on which I first proposed to them, viz. the two eight hours spells.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Stephen Hannaford*, Esquire.

How long have you been in the island?—Nearly 18 years.

Are you concerned in the management of negroes, and if so, state the case generally?—I have been concerned in the management of negroes the whole of my Jamaica life, and during this period in almost all the varied departments connected with a planter.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour, established under the Abolition Act, how has it succeeded?—Speaking generally, it would, I think, be difficult to devise a more ruinous system than the present. There have been, however, instances where the apprentices under my immediate charge have done a fair proportion of work in the day, but these have always been immediately after some of their body have been punished for neglect of duty.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour, during the limited time required by law?—No; the average of work since the 1st of August, has not been two-thirds even during the limited hours of labour, as required by law.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—They are, with very few exceptions, sullen, obstinate, and very insubordinate.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *John Davy*, Esq.; Tuesday, 18 November 1834.

ARE YOU concerned in the management of property and apprentices, and to what extent?—Yes, with between 1,700 and 1,800 negroes.

How is the apprenticeship system working in Manchester?—Not favourably.

From what cause?—The principal cause, I think, is insufficiency in the number of special magistrates. For some weeks after the 1st of August, the apprentices performed their duties cheerfully and well, and appeared perfectly satisfied with the new arrangements; a great change was then observable. This, in my opinion, mainly arose from the absence of the magistrate, and the consequent impression that punishment would not follow neglect of duty and crime. Since the appointment of a second magistrate, the quantity of labour performed has increased, and the people attached to properties, which are regularly visited, are now becoming more cheerful and contented.

Do you know of any instances of children, under six, having been apprenticed according to law, or do you know of any proposition having been made with a view to the care of those children, in lieu of such apprenticeship?—I know of no instance of children having been apprenticed according to law. On the plantations under my charge, with one exception, the people have agreed to pay a certain sum per annum in labour, or otherwise, for permission to work grounds on the plantations, and in payment of the medical attendance and medicine for their free children, during the time of their apprenticeship.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of the Rev. *Samuel H. Stewart*, A.M. Stipendiary Minister of the Parish of Manchester; November 1834.

You have had occasion to notice the working of the apprenticeship system; and what is your opinion of it?—In the district in which I live, it has not had a fair trial yet. There was no special magistrate there for two months, after the 1st of August and during September; the complaint was universal, that the negroes acted as if freed from all control. Since then a magistrate has been appointed, and judging from the reports of those who have the management of properties, and my own observations, I think the system may be made to work by regular visiting of the special magistrate, and a mild but firm determination of the law.

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Have you, either as a clergyman or a magistrate, found any opposition, on the part of the proprietors, to the law being fully carried into effect?—I have always seen the greatest anxiety evinced, both by words and actions, to give the law its fullest operation in the spirit as well as the letter of the enactments, which confer privileges on the negroes.

Have the negroes shown a willingness to have their children apprenticed under the 18th clause of the Abolition Act, or otherwise?—I have been particularly struck by the universal disinclination they evince, even to speak upon the subject, particularly as when the thing was first spoken of, many seemed pleased with it.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of the Hon. *William Miller*; November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Thirty-five years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I had charge, on the 1st of August last, as attorney for absentees, jointly and otherwise, of 48 estates and other properties, on which there were about 10,000 negroes.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—No, they are not. Negroes are not disposed to apprentice their children, and I am satisfied that no man who knows the negro character ever expected it.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—Little more than one half, generally.

Have you known, in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties, to compensate the apprentices for their extra time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition?—My agent, Mr. Stewart, offered wages to keep the mill about, to the apprentices on several estates in St. Mary, which they agreed to take; but as soon as they cut canes they refused to abide by their agreement. I received a letter last week from the same gentleman, stating that he had persuaded the apprentices on one of the estates to accept of wages, and to give nine hours of their own time for 1 s. 3 d.

Do you know other instances in corroboration of that you mention; and if so, please to state where they occurred, and in what manner?—About a month ago, I visited a large estate in my concern, where the mill was about. The apprentices commenced work a little after six in the morning, and leave off at six in the evening. They insist on taking three hours for breakfast and dinner. I served them with their annual allowances of cloth, and we were on the best terms. I was pointing out to them the propriety of giving their children, under six years of age, some education, and to employ a doctor to attend them when sick; and to enable them to do so, I told them I had instructed the overseer to pay for any extra hours they might work either by day or night, and that I was sorry to find that none of them had done so. After a very few words between themselves, they stated, most decidedly, that they would not work beyond the hours laid down by law. One of the women observed, they were not the only people who were determined to do so.

Do you consider that the apprentices continue to attend to the cultivation of provisions?—I believe so; I never knew provisions more plentiful than this year. The apprentices often carry more to market than they can dispose of, and those provisions must have been cultivated during the old system.

What is your opinion of the working of the new system?—I consider the new system to be working badly; and unless there are a sufficient number of local magistrates in each parish appointed with equal authority to assist the specials, the former being well acquainted with the cultivation of the different products of the country, and equally so with the peculiarity of the negro character, they would greatly assist the special magistrates in guiding them to a decision. How is it possible for a set of men (such as the special magistrates really are) to carry this great object into successful operation? They are utterly unacquainted with the customs and feelings of the apprentices, utterly unacquainted with the portion of labour they are capable of performing, quite ignorant of the different mode of cultivating the soil, and equally so of our laws. It is, in my opinion, impossible that the new system can be successfully carried on under such defective means; and I firmly believe the disorganization of the Colony will soon take place, unless some measures are adopted to enable the enactments to be firmly, promptly and impartially administered, and unless it is made compulsory on the apprentices to perform some portion of night-work for wages during crop, the cultivation of sugar must be abandoned. If crops are reduced one-third, I think they may be manufactured with 18 hours of five days' labour.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts as at present they now do?—It is impossible for the present number of magistrates to do so; if the parishes were divided into districts and the properties visited according to law, it would certainly answer a much better purpose than holding courts.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour, the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—One shilling and eight-pence for able field labourers during the day of nine hours; 2 s. 1 d. for ditto during night (nine hours); 10 d. for second gang during the day; 1 s. 3 d. for ditto during the night; 2 s. 6 d. good tradesmen.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed

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posed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time that they have declined to such propositions; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I have only asked the apprentices to work for wages on a few estates that were making sugar; and for this reason, I could not obtain from them the 40½ hours labour allowed by law; until I could accomplish that I did not consider it prudent to ask them to work for wages; nor do I think a fair portion of labour can be obtained by mild measures. To support this opinion, and in order to show my own anxiety for the working of the new system, I beg to put in the letter I hold in my hand marked (A.) It is the copy of a circular that I addressed to each of my overseers on the 26th July last.

(A.)

“ Sir,

July 26, 1834.

“ The change which is about to take place in the condition of the labouring population, will render the greatest circumspection in your own conduct necessary. You should always bear in mind that they will then be free, and not only subject to the enactments of the Abolition Law, but entitled to the privileges of the British Law the same as yourself. Should they commit faults, which from their unacquaintance with the new law may be expected, before you attempt to have them corrected, be first convinced that they have proceeded from wilfulness, and not from misapprehension.

“ I should consider it highly creditable to you to bring the new system into successful operation without an appeal to the special magistrates. A complaint from the apprentices against you, in which you were found guilty, would give me great concern, and you would incur my most serious displeasure. Continue all allowances the same as heretofore. Should I deem any alteration in this respect necessary, it can be done at the time I serve the apprentices with their annual supply of clothing. I think it not improbable that some difficulty may be experienced in obtaining watchmen. Should this be the case, and you cannot arrange it otherwise, you may pay them at a rate not exceeding 1 s. 3 d. per night.

“ I am, &c.”

Have the apprentices shown a disposition to be insolent to the white people employed on estates?—They have shown a great inclination to be so on most properties in my concern.

Have there been any instances of insubordination on the part of the apprentices upon the properties you are concerned for?—I consider they have been frequently guilty of acts of insubordination in the non-performance of labour during the 40½ hours allowed by law.

Do the apprentices in your concern work at the rate of nine hours daily during 4½ days' labour required from them?—In most places I do not think they work more than eight.

Have you stopped any of the former allowances that the apprentices were accustomed to receive?—I have not stopped a single allowance that they were ever accustomed to receive.

How many special magistrates do you consider are required in Trelawny to visit each property once in 14 days, according to the Abolition Law?—To visit all the properties once in 14 days it would require six; but if every special magistrate was to administer the law as it now stands, in the same manner as Mr. Farrer has done, three would be sufficient.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Alexander C. Logan*, Esquire;
Saturday, 21 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—I have resided here 12 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what capacity?—As overseer and attorney I have had the charge of a large property for many years in the parish of Manchester, on which there are 464 negroes. I have also charge of a small property on which there are 59 negroes.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the first of August?—They are not.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time that they have declined to accede to such a proposition?—I never offered to make any arrangements with those under my charge to work during their own time for hire; but I stated to them that I expected they would labour beyond what the law compelled them to do, in return to their master for the support of the free children who would have medical attendance and other allowances as formerly. Instead of doing it, they were extremely jealous that I should take a minute of their time, though they bring their free children as before to the hospital. There are 71 free children on the property where I reside. They also refuse to apprentice them.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce in the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the land owner?—From conversations I have had with some of them I know they expect a rate of hire which no produce of the country can bear. I know several persons who offered to give 1 s. 8 d. per day, which they refused.

What do you consider the best means to be adopted to remedy the defects of the new system, and if not remedied, what is your opinion of the result?—I think that instead of the allowances formerly given to the negroes being continued, that daily hire should be substituted, and that he will find the more he works the greater will be his gain, and that he suffers when he does not work. If they are not made to do this before 1840, it will then be too late.

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late. Under the present system they are allowed so much time and other indulgences on the properties, that they will become more idle and irregular in their habits. More magistrates ought to be appointed.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not think they will labour regularly, unless compelled so to do.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Frederick M. French, Esq.* ;
Saturday, 22 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Between nine and ten years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—As overseer of Green Valley, in Port Royal, I have had the charge of 195 negroes belonging to the property, and at various times jobbing gangs from different properties.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—Most unquestionably not. While slaves, they were contented and industrious, and, in this neighbourhood, remarkable for their good conduct; but now, with the same allowances as formerly, and additional time allowed them by law, they are lazy, insubordinate and extremely insolent; the most civil question put to any of them is invariably answered impertinently, and generally accompanied with a threat that they will go to the magistrate, who they say is the person who is to manage them.

Have you known in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their extra time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—Yes; I have been myself in the habit of hiring the people on their own days, and paying fair wages, also paying them 10*d.* for every bushel of coffee picked over three, by which means the able hands earned from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and some of them 10*s.* 10*d.* a week, and for which they felt gratified. This year there is near double the quantity of coffee on the trees, and considerably riper than at the same period last year. I have several times begged them to pick coffee in their own time, on the above terms, but could not get one to do so this year, nor to pick near the quantity for the property that they ought to do.

What do you think a fair remuneration for the apprentice for his extra labour, the field labourer for his day labour, the mechanic for piece-work?—One shilling and eight-pence per day for field labourers; 2*s.* 2*d.* for mechanics, or on coffee properties 6*d.* per barrel for coffee, when the climate is such that the fruit ripens between October and March.

EXTRACTS from Examination of Doctor *James Maxwell*; Monday, 24 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Between 18 and 19 years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had charge, as a medical practitioner, of several thousand negroes ever since I came to this island, and have about 60 apprentices under my charge as proprietor of a coffee plantation.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—By no means.

Do you believe there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency, to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—I have no positive evidence to adduce in support of this question; but I am morally certain that an extensive and determined combination has been organized amongst the apprentices, throughout the minutest ramifications of their society, by a more enlightened agency than they are capable of exerting, to act passively by performing no commensurate work within legal hours, and withholding that extra labour which they could bestow with incalculable advantage for wages. By thus giving the least possible quantity of labour with the greatest trouble, they think that their apprenticeship must necessarily and inevitably be dissolved, as their master will never be able to withstand the *vis inertiae* at present operating so ruinously, and consequently that the system must soon be broken up, and they will be absolved from all restraint.

Have you known in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they declined to accede to such proposition?—Upon most of the properties where I practice, arrangements have been submitted peculiarly favourable to the apprentices, but with only partial success. They have very generally refused to accept of their several extra allowances, such as herrings, rice, flour, sugar, medical attendance, and support of their free children, in return for the 4½ additional hours in the week, although, to my certain knowledge, they are now suffering from these privations; and that it must be apparent to every one, that without honest industry increase, so as to enable them to purchase or give an equivalent in labour for necessaries essential to animal existence, that lamentable occurrences must soon take place by great mortality and acts of daring insubordination. The food that the negroes in agricultural districts have voluntarily placed themselves upon, without a particle of salt in it, is incompatible with the long continuance of good health; and this is another proof of a secret agency existing, holding out hopes that the system will soon terminate. That they are already suffering from their masters' stores being shut, and their own limited resources being exhausted, the following circumstances will show:—On Gray's Inn estate, where they positively refused to take the usual most liberal allowances for only 4½ hours extra per week, the refuse of a barrel of herrings was emptied into the

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Dunder gutter. They came and gathered up the salt, washed it from its filth, and used it with their ground provisions. My own people refused allowances for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ additional hours weekly, and had recourse to the same process for procuring salt, which, as slaves, they would have despised to do. I further offered them 1s. 8d. per day to do light work in their own time, which they positively rejected; and when pressed for the reasons for so doing, was answered by an old African, that before he would work for less than half a dollar a day, he would lie down and sleep. About this time last year, my people came and solicited me to allow them to pick coffee in their own time; this year I have not only asked, but have entreated them to do so, as my coffee would drop: they replied, that there was not a sufficiency of it ripe to make a day's wages. To obviate this evasion, I then offered to give them 1s. 8d. per day; but they rejected the offer.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—Little better than one half.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce in the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—The answer to this question is given above.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burthen to their masters?—Their grounds are more generally neglected now than heretofore, and especially with my own people.

Has the conduct of the stipendiary magistrates, as far as may come under your observation, been such as to enforce obedience to the laws and to check acts of insubordination?—The regular visitation of the magistrates who will dispense justice impartially between master and apprentice would prevent a great loss of labour under the present imperfect system, check crimes in the bad, and tend to restore a better feeling amongst our peasantry, when they found that Government was determined to make them labour during the incumbency of the apprenticeship term.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I think that they never will labour industriously and continuously so as to carry on the profitable cultivation of the staple commodities of the country, but that they will retire from the large estates into the interior, where they will be contented merely to satisfy their appetites and wants in a climate where the two grand incentives, hunger and cold, do not exist; and my reasons for thinking so are the following:—Previous to the 1st of August, I was anxious to give a stimulus to their industrious and intellectual energies, by establishing a field of coffee to be cultivated by them on halves during their own time, (namely, that they should receive half the produce,) and to furnish them gratuitously with a schoolmaster; but although the prospectus was founded on the most liberal principles, and convinced them that they might make from 10s. to 11s. a day when the coffee came into full bearing, and very good wages in the interior, from provisions, corn, peas, &c., they would not accept of the proposal. This circumstance disheartened me much.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Michael F. G. Lemasney, Esq.*;
Monday, 24 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Nearly eleven years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—As overseer of Pembroke-hall and Green Glebe for four years, and Kildare nearly four, being an average of 270 negroes.

Are the apprentices working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They do not, most certainly.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—About one-half.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—So far as my observation has gone, they require a much larger sum for their extra hours than the proprietors can possibly afford; they have not, on any estate in the parish in which I reside, given an adequate return.

State to the committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—My opinion is, that the present system will not answer if the laws are not more strictly and impartially administered; in very many instances they have put their managers at defiance. In Kildare estate, under my own management, and in a late occasion, they grossly abused the special Justice.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work even for emolument in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I do not believe they will. I shall instance the Maroons and the poorer class of free people, who I am convinced cannot be had to perform manual labour, be the wages offered what they may.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentices for the extra labour; the field labourer for his day-labour; the mechanic for piece-work?—I consider 1s. 3d. as much, if not more, than an apprentice is entitled to for his eight hours' labour; a good mechanic, 2s. 1d.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop as well as you represent them to be working now?—I do not think they will work at all, unless measures are adopted to oblige them to do so.

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What proportion of sugar is now made in a given time, with the same means that was usually made prior to the 1st of August, on Kildare estate?—Prior to the 1st of August 18 hogsheads have been made; since that period I have not exceeded eight per week.

Has not a particular case of general insubordination lately occurred upon Kildare estate, in St. George's, of which you are overseer; if yea, relate the circumstances?—Yes; having had directions from my employer, A. Davis, esq. to prepare a shipment of sugar, I put the mill to work on Monday the 19th, but with a perfect understanding with the people that they have, according to the opinions of the Attorney General and other barristers, to work the two spells of eight hours each at the works; on the following evening, they one and all positively refused to do so. On my reasoning on the impropriety of their conduct, and telling them that I should be under the necessity of sending for the special magistrate, who was then attending a committee of this honourable House, should they persist; they still continued to work only as the others in the field until Thursday, when, finding the crop of the estate would be sacrificed, I was obliged to stop the mill, to the very great injury of the estate. Mr. White having arrived on Thursday the 17th, explained to them fully the law on the subject; and he also read them the directions of the Governor to himself, ordering that they who were engaged in the manufacture of the produce, should be compelled to work the daily eight hours in two spells, from four in the morning till twelve, and from twelve till eight. Their conduct upon this to the special Justice was the most insulting I ever witnessed; so much so, that he was under the absolute necessity of punishing six of the ring-leaders. I am now of opinion, from the very salutary and firm conduct of Mr. White on the occasion, I shall find them on my return more obedient to my orders, and more attentive to their duties.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Samuel Barrett Moulton Barrett, Esq.*;
November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Upwards of seven years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had the charge of upwards of 1,100 negroes; 387 of this number as attorney to my brother, the remainder as proprietor.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st August?—Such portion of the apprentices as are upon my two sugar properties, Cinnamon-hill and Cornwall estates, have neither worked so cheerfully or so well as they did previous to the 1st August; but the remaining part of the apprentices quite as well and as cheerfully.

What do you think is the cause of their not doing so?—As my conduct to my people continued the same in every respect after the 1st as before the 1st August, I cannot charge myself as in any way causing the difference of which I complain. I cannot speak positively as to any particular reason; but one I should think to have been, that the strong stimulus to exertion, viz. punishment, which, under certain restrictions was inflicted on the authority of the master, was now done away with; and there was nothing substituted in the shape of remuneration for labour which would call forth any extraordinary exertion. I beg leave, however, to state, that my complaint against my apprentices applies only to a period of about two or three weeks, and that both before and since they turned out well and worked well.

Do you think there is any organized system in operation throughout the island, or secret agency to persuade the negroes not to work, and not to bind their children that are free apprentices?—My opinion is, that the period which has passed since the 1st of August is much too short to build a conjecture upon, whether parents will bind their free children or not.

Have you known in any instance, where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties, to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—In one instance, I offered to my people in Cinnamon-hill to pay them a jobber's wages if they would clear a pasture in their own time; but my offer was declined. This occurred at the period I have before spoken of, when my people were not behaving well, and when they were so much in concert with each other, that I thought they were combined for a specific object. I know of no other instance where an equitable arrangement has been proposed and declined.

What proportion of labour is now obtained in comparison with that formerly given, according to your opinion?—As there is a reduction of the time of labour, there must of necessity be a proportionate reduction in the quantity of labour given. Beyond this I am not sensible of any material difference, even upon Cinnamon-hill; and certainly none whatever upon Oxford and Cambridge sugar estates and Retreat-pen.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—Upon Oxford and Cambridge estates the negroes are working in their own time, and at a rate that I think it profitable to the estates to pay them. Upon my own properties I have rarely called for any work beyond the law, and then obtained it at the rate proposed by myself, excepting in the instance I have before named.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burthen to their masters?—I never saw, since I came into this country, the negroes so industrious

trious in their own grounds as they are at present, by which their comforts are increased considerably, and they are become less burthensome to the estate.

State to the committee your opinion generally as regards the working of the new system?—The change produced by the new system has been one of so general and extraordinary a character, besides being so recent, that it would be very difficult, and somewhat premature, to come to any definitive opinion at the present moment. Upon my own properties, with certain exceptions, I should say the new system worked comparatively well; that is, not better than the old plan, but very much better than I expected. General report says that it does not work well elsewhere, but to who attributable, or owing to what particular causes, I cannot positively say.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts, as at present they now do?—The special magistrates are so few in number, that it is physically impossible for them to attend upon estates. If parishes were divided into districts and petit sessions, held at regular times and places, I am of opinion that it would be a preferable plan to paying visits on estates.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field-labourer for his day-labour; the mechanic for his piece-work?—Upon Oxford and Cambridge estates I employ the negroes every other Friday; the first gang at the rate of four bits; second gang, two bits; and to the children's gang 5*d.* At these rates, I have been assured by others, who are more practical men than myself, it is for the interest of the properties to employ them, all extra allowances being withdrawn.

Do you imagine the apprentices will continue to work in crop as well as you represent them to be working now?—I have recently taken off about six acres of plants at Cinnamon-hill. I experienced no inconvenience from any want of disposition on the part of the apprentices to give more than the time marked by law, on receiving a remuneration for their dinner-hour and other time which belongs to them. I am inclined, therefore, to hope, that I shall experience no such extraordinary difficulties, but may be removed by common means.

Do you consider the forty and a half hours a sufficient time in the factory for making the usual crops; if not, state what time will be necessary to do so?—I consider that the nine hours allowed by law for the working of the apprentices quite insufficient for the making of sugar; I have, therefore, been obliged to make an arrangement with my apprentices to obtain their work during the hour of dinner, and for as much time after the usual hour of leaving off as, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my overseer, will enable me to take off the heavy crop which is upon the ground.

Have you made any arrangement with your apprentices for taking off the crop; and if so, what is the nature of that arrangement?—I have not entered into any specific arrangement with my people as to the taking off the crop on the ground; but I should consider that the plan which I recently adopted in taking off a small piece of plants, will be the plan we shall pursue when the crop begins. This arrangement was, that the boiler-men should spell each other at breakfast time; that the dinner-time of two hours, as likewise the extra time which might be required to boil off the sugar which was on hand, should be paid for at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* the nine hours. My overseer gives each apprentice who has been called upon for extra time a ticket, with the name of the person marked on it, and the extra time he has given. These tickets are, when brought up to me immediately paid, as they may be circulated for money upon the property.

What proportion of sugar is now made on the estates under your charge to what was made previous to the 1st of August?—The proportion of sugar made recently on my estates is not very disproportionate with the quantity made previous to the 1st of August. For reasons entirely referring to the great change which was about to take place, I anticipated the operation of the law, and began complying during the last crop with its provisions, so far as I knew them; viz. I gave generally alternate Fridays on both my properties, and every Saturday, with this indulgence, I never made large week's work. I never exceeded 15 hogsheads, generally only 12, which latter number I calculate I shall be enabled to make in the ensuing crop, with the arrangement with the negroes already spoken of.

EXTRACTS from the Examination, on Oath, of the Honourable *John Bell*, Custos of the Parish of St. George, Thursday; 25 November 1834.

How long have you resided on this island?—Upwards of 11 years, and reside on my own estate.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—I have had the charge of upwards of 300 as owner, and manage them myself.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—For some time after the 1st of August they did not perform more than half the work which they formerly did; I then applied to the stipendiary magistrate, who ordered some of them to be punished and to make up the deficiency on Saturday. Since that, they have done as much work as formerly for the number of hours.

Have you made sugar since the 1st August, and if so, what quantity have you made in a given time and with the same means in comparison with what was usually made previously?—I have made upwards of 80 hogsheads of sugar since the 1st August, and have made 8

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hogsheads per week of only five days. But during a similar time before the 1st of August, I would have made 13 or 14 hogsheads.

Have you known, in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such proposition; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—None of my apprentices have refused to work from day-light to dark about the works, for the sum of 1 s. 8 d. for 10 hours over their own time, without their former allowances of sugar, rum and herrings, &c.; and the boiler man, &c. work 18 hours out of the 24 at the same rate.

Do you not attribute the present good conduct of the apprentices on your estate to the prompt punishments inflicted?—In a great measure.

Do you conceive that if the proposal to your apprentices had been made by an overseer instead of yourself as proprietor, that it would have been attended with equal success?—I think it would, if the overseer would have taken the same trouble of calling them up and explaining the matter to them.

Do you think that overseers in general do give or could give themselves that trouble which you did?—I do not know.

Do you think the apprentices will generally work in the field during their own time for such wages as can be afforded?—I think not; nor would any one, placed as they are, work for wages in the field.

What do you mean by people placed as they are?—They have houses rent-free, they are clothed at the expense of the proprietor of the soil; they are attended and provided for when sick at the expense of the proprietor; they have as much land as they choose to cultivate in their own time, consequently they can gain more by cultivating that land than they would do by working in the field for such wages as the proprietor can afford to give.

Then what do you think would be the best mode to induce, or rather to render it necessary to them to work in the field?—If they were not allowed more land than sufficient for their maintenance they would then, in all probability, work for wages.

At what money cost do you calculate that you have manufactured your sugar per hogshead?—At the rate of about 14 s. or 15 s. per hogshead extra for their time.

Will you be so good as to state what passed between yourself and the apprentices when you expressed to them a desire that they should hire themselves at the works?—I called them all up to the house, and told them it was necessary they should work more than nine hours at the works, and that I wished them to speak their minds. Some said they would not work a minute over their time, but the boiler-men and many others said they would work at the works whatever length of time I might require them. When I knew the opinion of each individual, I ordered canes to be cut, and I put at the works those who had told me that they were willing to work in their own time; and I kept the same hands at the works for three weeks, when those in the field told me they did not know what I meant when I called them up to the house, but if I would try them at the works they would work the same as the others.

Do you expect to keep up your former average crops, and if not, what loss do you apprehend?—I expect to fall off one-fourth.

What is your idea as to the obedience to be expected from the negroes to any law enforcing labour in their own time for wages, and in virtue of which they would hire themselves, in case of refusal of work subjected to punishment; and state your idea of the policy of such a law?—I think they would be obedient; but it would be impolitic to enact such a law, for if you wish to induce them to work as free labourers now is the time to make the attempt.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Peter Symms*; Wednesday, 26 November 1834.

WHAT are you on Clifton Mount?—Head driver and constable.

How long have you been head driver?—Fourteen years.

Have the people generally behaved well under your orders?—Formerly they did.

What has been their conduct lately?—Since the 1st of August they do not work to please me; what they formerly did in one week they now only do in three weeks.

Are the apprentices on Clifton estate and Mount Lebanon willing to work for money in their own time?—No. They have offered on both Clifton Mount and Mount Lebanon 10 d. per bushel for picking coffee in their own time, and an able negro can pick from four to five bushels a day. Only a few of Clifton Mount people would consent to do this; all the Mount Lebanon people refused; and I consider there is about 40,000 weight of coffee there now ripening upon the trees, and in the event of heavy weather a great part would be lost.

Has any one taken the trouble to explain to the negroes the nature of their duties under the new law, and that it was for their advantage as well as that of the estate that they should work for wages in their own time?—Busha did take the trouble, and called them all up and read to them the new law on the 1st of August, and he has done so since, but they would not believe what he said, and wished to have their own way. I have taken the greatest pains, assisted by a man named William Smith, who can read, in explaining to them that under the new law they must behave themselves, be sober and obedient, or else when the apprenticeship is up they would not be able to get employment, but be turned off the property and left destitute; but they replied that William Smith and myself had made a bargain with Busha to make them fools. There are a few good ones among them, but if a stoppage is not put to this, they will have to go with the rest, being apprentices themselves.

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EXTRACTS from the Examination of the Reverend *M. Cooper Bolton*, Rector of the Parish of St. George; Thursday, 27 November 1834.

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How do you find the negroes behaving since the 1st of August, compared to their former conduct?—I do not observe much difference, that is, on the properties I officially visit, as regards their moral conduct.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Frederick White*, Special Magistrate, residing in the Parish of St. George; November 1834.

WHAT is your occupation in the island?—Special magistrate, residing in the parish of St. George.

What is your opinion of the general conduct of the negroes; do they appear to work cheerfully during the hours for labour as limited by law, and are they grateful for the boon which has lately been bestowed upon them; state your opinion generally?—My answer to this question would necessarily have reference to the information which I may possess of the manner in which negroes conducted themselves previous to the 1st of August. I arrived in this island, under my appointment of special Justice, on the 17th of April last. Early in May, his Excellency the Governor ordered me over to the parish of St. George, and having been then appointed by his Lordship to a local commission of the peace for the parishes of St. George and St. Mary, I found the magistracy of both those parishes anxious to associate me with them in all cases of difficulty arising from the misconduct of the negroes. Many cases therefore, prior to the 1st of August, did come within my observation, but still I consider my information too limited to enable me to draw any comparison between the conduct of the negroes before the passing of the Abolition Act and the conduct which they have since pursued. I think great allowance ought to be made for those excited feelings which must necessarily result from so sudden and so great a change. I do not hesitate however to say, that it does not appear to me that any negroes work cheerfully during the hours for labour limited by law, nor do I think that they are gratified for the boon which has lately been bestowed upon them, because they do not understand it. Any restriction whatever appears to them, in my opinion, to be contrary to the principles of freedom.

Are you aware of any equitable arrangement having been proposed by the gentlemen in the management of properties for the purpose of remunerating the apprentices for working in their own time, and which proposals have been refused?—Yes. I may say that without any exception offers of this nature have been made as far as my observation extends. By the Abolition Act, children under six years of age are left destitute if not supported by their parents. Those parents depend entirely upon the bounty of their former owners, if they do not choose to work for themselves. This they have refused to do; and every estate within my observation has offered, without availing itself of the terms of the Abolition Act, which would require an apprenticeship of the child until it is 21 years of age, to provide and continue all former allowances of clothing, medical care and nourishment, herrings, extras at Christmas, &c., to those children; and not alone to them, but also to allow whatever had been given extra in these respects to the aged, diseased and infirm (a numerous class), as well as to the individuals who work for the same; and in my humble judgment, the advantages to the negroes in these respects would have been infinitely greater than any thing that could have resulted to the master; for the condition was only that the 45 hours per week should be worked out without any deduction, every Saturday being still continued to the apprentices, whilst the supplies with which they were furnished would render it unnecessary for them to go to market. I know of no case in which this offer has been accepted by the apprentices, and as I have before had the honour of stating, I know of none in which it has not been offered by the masters. No application has ever been made to me by a single mother or father to apprentice a child under the terms of the Abolition Act, nor indeed under any terms whatever.

Has any opposition been offered on the part of the gentlemen in charge of estates to the carrying into effect the provisions of the Abolition Act?—None whatever.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Francis M'Cook*, Esq.; November 1834.

How long have you been in the country?—Twenty-three years.

Are you concerned in the management of negroes; and if so, state the case generally?—I am concerned in the management of negroes on properties in St. Dorothy, St. John's and St. Catherine's.

From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the Abolition Act, how has it succeeded?—Very badly.

Do you consider there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers to enter upon the new system?—I certainly do not.

Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the stipendiary magistrates in the due performance of their duty according to law?—Not in the least; on the contrary every facility has been afforded to the special magistrates by the managers and proprietors to carry the same into effect, and to promote the working of the new system. I am, however, sorry to say, where they have succeeded (as was the case with Mr. Oliver in our parish) they have been removed to other parishes.

Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of

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of labour during the limited time required by law?—No; they do not do more than one half the labour they generally performed previous to the 1st of August.

Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?—There is a passive resistance evinced by the negroes, and a sullen dogged disposition existing among them now that I never observed before; and I find they are becoming more insolent and insubordinate every day.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Hugh Ritchie Wallace, Esq.*

Do you find parents willing to apprentice their children?—No.

Do you find negroes performing the labour required by law as cheerfully as they worked when slaves?—By no means; sulk, discontent and sullen insubordination is their general appearance and conduct.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *Richard E. Breary, Esq.*; Friday, 28 Nov. 1834.

How long have you been in the island; in what capacity are you; and have you any apprentices under your charge?—I have resided in this island constantly for the last eighteen years, during which period I have exercised the profession of a civil engineer, and possess a pen or breeding farm upon which are employed 85 apprentices and children.

Are the people under your care working and behaving as well since as they did prior to the 1st of August last?—Quite to the contrary.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of *John Blair, Esq.*; Friday, 28 November 1834.

How long have you resided in this island?—Twenty-eight years.

Have you had the charge of many negroes, and in what situation?—About 4,200 in 13 estates, and as many pens or coffee plantations.

Are the apprentices now working, as far as your observation has gone, as cheerfully and as well as they did previous to the 1st of August?—They are doing on an average as much in nine hours as they did formerly in seven.

Have you known in any instance where a fair and equitable arrangement has been proposed by persons in charge of properties, to compensate the apprentices for their own time, that they have declined to accede to such propositions; if so, to what cause do you attribute it?—I made the offer to the Worthy Park negroes, where I have been in charge nearly 12 years, and they refused, particularly the women; but I think when the crops come to be in operation, that some arrangements may be effected with them.

When called upon to work for wages, do not the apprentices require a larger sum in return than any produce of the country can bear, leaving a fair return to the landholder?—A larger sum has certainly been demanded, say 5s. per barrel for pimento, and 1s. 3d. per bushel for coffee.

Do the apprentices attend to their grounds, and otherwise employ their extra time to advantage, so as to increase their own comforts, and render them not liable to become a burthen to their masters?—They have not in some places, and in others the contrary.

Do the special magistrates attend upon estates as the law directs, and do you not consider that if the parishes in the island were divided into districts, and the special magistrates compelled to take their rounds as the law directs, that it would answer a better purpose than holding their special courts as at present they now do?—In some parishes they do, in others not; in fact, they are unable of doing. A district of ten square miles is as much as they can attend to; but courts will yet be necessary.

Are you of opinion, from the present reluctance evinced on the part of the apprentices to work, even for emolument, in their own time, that they will engage in regular agricultural labour, when the period of their apprenticeship shall have expired?—I am of opinion the cultivation of estates will cease with the apprenticeship, unless remedied by extensive emigration.

What do you think a fair remuneration to the apprentice for his extra labour; the field labourer for his day labour?—One shilling and eight pence per day for able field people; 1s. 3d. for the second gang; 10d. for the third.

What do you think are the remedies which ought to be applied to secure the working of the new system?—That the special magistrates be increased and armed with a constabulary force independent of the plantation constables, who in all cases are not to be depended upon; or that this duty be performed by the police, which would save expense to the parishes. The local magistrates to be invested with power, but not permitted to act in their own concern.

EXTRACTS from the Examination of the Rev. *Richard Panton*; Friday, 28 Nov. 1834.

STATE the nature of your connexion with the estate called Golden Grove?—I am appointed chaplain to that estate, by the Lord Bishop, and island curate for the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

What are you acquainted with as to the causes of discontent amongst the negroes on that estate?—On Thursday October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, an apprentice attached to that property, came to speak to me, and told me that there were sad doings at Golden Grove. The magistrate and the people had quarrelled, and that the people were making very bad speeches, and he was afraid Mr. Archdeckne's property would be injured; he therefore begged me to come down to the property. I did so, and found the people at their work. I learnt that they had behaved themselves very improperly to the magistrate, and had in a very tumultuous manner rescued a woman whom the magistrate had ordered into confinement; I was also informed by the negroes generally, by the head driver, and by the

the overseer, Mr. Duncan, who had been present, that the magistrate had acted hastily, and after much provocation intemperately. When I arrived on the property, the magistrate was absent; he had sent for the police and soldiers. I left Golden Grove on my way homewards about dusk, and in riding through the negro houses, I found many of the people assembled. They were sulky and silent. I addressed them in the character of their minister on the impropriety of their conduct that day, and explained to them that a rescue was an act of rebellion. It was some time before I could produce any effect on them. They were evidently in a very bad state of mind, and spoke with much violence against the magistrate and Mr. M'Cornock, the attorney. At length it began to rain, and they begged me to go under shelter. I told them that I would not move, till I had got their promise to behave better, and that I did not care for a wetting if I could effect that. They then came close round me, and covered me as I sat on my horse with their cloaks. They were then near enough for me to recognize their faces, and I spoke to them personally. They at length said they had heard what massa said, and they could not see massa sitting there getting wet for their good; they would do what massa told them. I then prevailed on them to take the woman they had rescued, and deliver her to the constables, to be taken to the magistrate; after which I left the property.

Did M'Cornock on any occasion call on you again to quiet the minds of the negroes at a time of excitement and discontent amongst them; and state what passed between the negroes and yourself on your acceding to the wish of M'Cornock?—On the morning after the events mentioned in the last answer, the magistrate flogged eight men (one of whom had never been flogged in his life before) and sent six women and two of the men who were flogged to the workhouse. This punishment, instead of intimidating the people, put them in a state of frenzy. They worked during the day, but in the evening, when I was taking some refreshment in the house with Mr. M'Cornock, the overseer came in, and said he had an extraordinary message to deliver from the people,—that the man who had been flogged for the first time that morning, and his brother, were going to leave the property, and that there was a plan among the rest of the people, which plan was not confined to the property. I asked him what he understood them to mean by the plan. He answered, a rebellion. Mr. M'Cornock then asked me to use my influence to quiet the minds of the people, and requested me to send my own boy for the head men, lest if he sent for them they should not come. He also gave to the overseer and myself authority to arrange with the people a plan for taking off the crop. We succeeded in quieting the minds of the people, and in inducing them to adopt the plan for taking off the crop.

State the nature of the plan for taking off the crop; and if it was carried into effect?—The people agreed to work sixteen hours a day, to be paid for the extra time at the rate of a macarony for every working day of nine hours; and they said, that if at the end of three or four weeks, this time was not found sufficient to take off the crop, they would work more. It is the plan adopted on the neighbouring estate of Amity Hall, the property of Mr. Bond, where it is now in successful operation. This agreement was not adhered to by Mr. M'Cornock.

Are you aware of the terms of that agreement having been infringed by the white people or negroes?—The plan was never tried; for, before they cut canes, I was told by Mr. M'Cornock, that he expected the people to work for no money during that time. I believe he meant that their allowances would be considered by them sufficient remuneration.

Did the negroes then, on Golden Grove, never work by agreement until ten at night, in the mill or boiling-house?—I believe they refused to work, unless they were paid in money; and then Mr. M'Cornock again proposed to them a plan of his own, which they had some time before rejected: to work from four in the morning till ten at night for money, according to which plan, although I believe not formally agreed to, they are now working.

The negroes at Holland have lately given much trouble to those in authority over them; has any occurrence on any neighbouring property caused that discontent; state the nature of that occurrence?—The people at Holland refused to work at all after sunset, and the magistrate punished them. On Saturday last some of them attended in my congregation. On Sunday, in the evening, I asked them why they would not work for wages; they told me they were willing to work from four till eight, *i. e.* sixteen hours a day, for money; but they were told that for that work they would get their usual allowances, but if they worked till ten at night, they would get money. I asked why they would not agree to work till ten; they answered that if we agree to work as late, we shall be cheated, as the people on Golden Grove are. They have agreed to work till ten, and they do not boil off till three and four in the morning, and often work the mill till eleven and after. The reason generally given to me why the apprentices are unwilling to work at night for wages, is, they do not expect to be honestly dealt with.

EXTRACT from the Examination of Lieutenant *St. John*; Tuesday 2 Dec. 1834.

WHAT is your situation in this island?—A lieutenant in His Majesty's royal regiment of artillery, and colonial island engineer, and surveyor of public works.

Have you the superintendence of the parties employed on the public works, and what majority of them are apprentices?—I have, and to the best of my knowledge about two-thirds are apprentices.

Do these apprentices perform the same proportion of work as they did prior to the 1st of August?—Most decidedly not; the difference has been so great, that I have been

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obliged to add 15 per cent. to all estimates; I beg leave to refer to Messrs. Sax & Clarke, contractors for public work in Spanish Town, in support of my answer to this question, both these gentlemen having complained to me, that they could not get their apprentices to do more than one-half of the work they used to do previous to the 1st of August. This complaint was made to me in consequence of my finding fault with the slow progress of the work.

EXTRACT from the Examination of *John Stuart Jerdan*, Esq. Special Magistrate, St. Thomas-in-the-East, St. Mary's.

FROM the experience you have had in that capacity, how is the new system succeeding? —Very indifferently indeed. Upon scarcely any estate or plantation I have visited, are the apprentices doing more than two-thirds of the work they used to do, in an equal number of hours, previous to the 1st of August. In the manufacture of sugar, the falling off is still more apparent, and from the general unwillingness of the apprentices to work in their own time for wages.

—No. 29.—

No. 29. COPY of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Mr. Secretary *Spring Rice*, &c. &c. &c.

King's House, St. Jago de la Vega,
1 January 1835.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the post which this day arrived, has brought the most remarkably satisfactory account of the conduct of the negroes all over the island. I enclose herewith extracts from *all the letters* relating to the subject, which I have this morning received.

I have the honour, &c.

(signed) *Sligo*.

Enclosure in No. 29.

Enclosure
in No. 29.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *James Clinck*, Special Justice, dated Spanish Town, 28 December 1834.

I BEG leave to state, for your Excellency's information, a few facts which I have heard and witnessed in several parishes within the last 14 days.

I was told by Dr. Wright, of Manchester, that a gentleman (I think of the name of Lewis) in his parish had lately bought a property which he is working by free labour (that is by apprentices in their own time) at the rate of 2 s. 6d. per day; and that he heard a few days since that there was upwards of 200 people employed in cutting down large trees and clearing the land for the cultivation of coffee. I was on a property in St. Elizabeth, where the apprentices had offered to pick coffee in their own time at 1 s. 8d. per day, but were refused employment by their master at that rate, although their master has stated publicly that the apprentices were not working, and would not work in their own time.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Thomas Davies*, Special Justice, dated Falmouth, 30 December 1834.

I DO myself the honour of sending my weekly report, and to say that all is quiet here, and people gone to their work at all places I have been able to inquire from.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *William Norcott*, Special Justice, dated St. James's, 30 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the holidays passed off in this town and parish in perfect tranquillity; the apprentices returned to their several duties on Monday.

EXTRACT of a DIARY from Mr. *Henry Laidlaw*, Special Magistrate, dated St. Ann's, 30 December 1834.

THE apprentices in this neighbourhood turned all quietly out in regular time at the conclusion of the holidays, and their conduct during the holidays was very exemplary.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Samuel Pryce*, Special Justice, dated Trelawney, 30 December 1834.

IN forwarding my weekly Report I have much satisfaction in informing your Excellency that the whole of this district is perfectly tranquil and orderly. The apprentices turned out to work very regularly and generally, and the uniform tenor of the *humorous* reports of the managers, of yesterday's date, as to the good conduct of the people on every estate, without any exception, will doubtless be highly gratifying to your Excellency.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *R. S. Cooper*, Special Justice, dated St. Mary,
31 December 1834.

It is with real pleasure I add for your Excellency's information, that the holidays have thus far passed off in this district undisturbed by the occurrence of any serious impropriety; the apprentices of several estates which I made a point of visiting *unofficially*, were in high spirits, and evidently too seriously bent on enjoying their little carnival, to spare even a passing thought on mischief.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Charles Hawkins*, Special Justice, dated Trelawney,
30 December 1834.

EVERY information that I have received since the commencement of the Christmas holidays has been most favourable, and that the apprentices turned out on Monday in due time, as far as has come to my knowledge at present.

EXTRACT from the DIARY of Mr. *W. H. Sowley*, Special Justice, dated St. Ann's,
31 December 1834.

THE apprentices have been behaving very well, and very few or no complaints against them. The holidays have passed off quiet, and every one appears satisfied; nor is there the least reason to apprehend any thing unpleasant after the 1st of January.

All the apprentices turned out to their usual occupations on Monday; a few came late, but every allowance must be made for this.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Alexander Grant*, Special Justice, dated Hanover,
30 December 1834.

IN consequence of the Christmas holidays, my services have not been called for by any person, nor a single complaint made to me since I last had the honour of addressing your Excellency. The apprentices in this district turned out to their work in the most regular manner yesterday morning.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable *William Miller*, Custos of Trelawney,
dated 30 December 1834.

AN improvement in the general conduct of the apprentices has also taken place here lately. Our sugar crops generally will not commence for a month to come; they may be taken off with less difficulty than was at one period anticipated.

The Christmas holidays passed over quietly, and the apprentices have returned to their work as usual.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Captain *A. Dillon*, Special Justice, dated St. Ann's,
30 December 1834.

I HAVE much pleasure in reporting that there was not the least appearance of riot or disorderly conduct in the apprentices of my district during the Christmas; and that they went to work in good time yesterday morning, Monday 29.

There are a few alarmists, who still seem to think there will be a strike not to work on the Monday after New-year's day. I do not apprehend such. I have made most minute inquiries, and find no ground for the idea.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *W. A. Bell*, Special Magistrate, dated St. Elizabeth,
30 December 1834.

I AM sorry to hear that on some properties here the attornies have not given the usual Christmas allowance to the negroes, chiefly it appears on a principle of economy. I am afraid, from the negro character, that I shall have a little trouble; but as yet this parish, from what I hear and see, is much easier to be managed than St. Ann's (my last district), the cases being merely single, no gangs refusing to work, and the people more respectful.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *E. D. Philip*, Special Magistrate, dated Westmorland,
30 December 1834.

ENCLOSED is a copy of my last week's proceedings for your Excellency's information, and am happy to acquaint your Excellency the holidays in my district passed away very quietly, and to the best of my knowledge the whole of the apprentices returned to their work as usual yesterday morning.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Justice *Wm. Ramsay*, dated Savannah-la-Mar,
30 December 1834.

I BEG to state to your Lordship that the peasantry are all at work, and, from every information I can obtain, are working cheerfully and well. They all turned out on the 29th, and appear to be desirous of giving satisfaction to those who treat them kindly, and do not withhold from them those allowances which they have hitherto been accustomed to receive.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable *C. P. Berry*, Custos, Manchester,
30 December 1834.

IN compliance with the wish of your Excellency, that I would inform you how the holidays passed off in this quarter, I have the pleasure of saying (and my information is derived from different parts of the parish) that every thing has gone off very well, and the people returned quietly to their work on Monday.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *James Nolan*, Special Justice, dated Vere,
30 December 1834.

I ARRIVED here early on Monday, and am happy to inform your Lordship that the apprentices in this parish, from what I can learn, are going on as well as possible. I have visited nine properties yesterday; no complaints; and the managers have informed me that for years, after Christmas, they have not been so regular at work or so cheerful as they observed them this year. The mill is also about on Money Musk and other estates. It will be gratifying to your Excellency to learn that the apprentices are working well in their own time, by allowing them the usual supplies, and I am confident, as soon as all the estates go about, that the example will be general.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *R. Cocking*, Special Justice, St. Mary,
30 December 1834.

I FEEL much pleasure in acquainting your Excellency that the conduct of the apprentices during the holidays was praiseworthy to the extreme; no peasantry in the world could have conducted themselves with more propriety.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Lieut.-Colonel *Gregg*, Special Justice, Bath,
30 December 1834.

I AM most happy to inform your Lordship that St. David's, St. Thomas-in-the-East, and Portland are perfectly quiet, and that, under your Lordship's judicious arrangements, the Christmas holidays have passed off quietly. I shall remain in this quarter till after New-year's day holiday, and shall then order Sub-Inspector Kelly to Kingston to recruit, so as to enable him to have a station at Manchioneal, as the distance is very great from Panton's to Friendship Castle. I have called upon the Custos M'Cornock, and he informs me that he has had reports from the extreme of the parish, and that they are of a most satisfactory nature.

I have seen Mr. Daughtrey and Mr. Blake, and they confirm the former statement. Your Lordship may rely on my flying to that place when I hear of the least attempt at resistance.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *E. B. Lyon*, Special Justice, dated Morant Bay,
30 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to transmit my Diary for the week ending this day. Every thing has been quiet and orderly during the holidays, and the apprentices have returned to their labours apparently with cheerfulness.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Samuel Lloyd*, Special Justice, St. Andrew,
30 December 1834.

I HAVE much satisfaction in communicating to your Excellency, that, with the exception of the slight manifestations of discontent at Mount Dakins on Christmas-day, a more orderly demeanour was never before witnessed during the holidays throughout the parish.

In Diary of Mr. Thomas Colebrooke, Special Justice, Manchester, to 30 December 1834, he reports the parish orderly and quiet, and that the apprentices were working.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Edward D. Baynes*, Special Justice, St. John's,
30 December 1834.

I HAVE the honour to forward your Lordship my Diary up to the above date. Your Excellency will perceive that there have been no complaints for the three days it embraces. I am happy to state that the apprentices on the estates I have visited, turned out regularly and peaceably to their work as usual on Monday morning, and that reports have been made to me from Worthy Park, Thetford, Luidas Vale, and other parts of the parish, imparting the same satisfactory intelligence.

EXTRACT from Mr. *James Clinch's* DIARY, to 30 December 1834, Spanish Town.

I AM happy to say that I have not heard of a single instance in the parish of the apprentices refusing to work last Monday.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *J. Daughtrey*, Special Magistrate, Bath,
30 December 1834.

THE negroes of this district have fully realized the best hopes of their friends in their behaviour during the holidays. It has not only been irreproachable, but admirable. I may venture to assert, that in no part of our own three kingdoms could you find a population of the

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the same density in which a similar season would have passed over with equal cheerfulness and equal decorum. They have really been what our own poor are seldom able to be, both "merry and wise."

My Lord, the Bushers themselves have evidently been struck with surprise to see the people whom, heretofore, they have been too apt first to deprecate and then to despise, conducting themselves throughout the entire period of festivity in so rational, sensible and inoffensive a manner. I will do these gentlemen, however, the justice to say, that they have on this occasion been candid and unreserved in the testimony they have borne to the behaviour of the people.

Every where they have assured us that it has not only been blameless, but marked by a degree of propriety and self-restraint *never witnessed before*. No mean evidence this, I think, that the partial change which has taken place in their civil condition is now at least acting favourably.

And may not your Excellency fairly indulge the hope, that with the advantage of wholesome instruction, and a firm but impartial administration of the existing law, they will at no distant day acquire the virtue, and become fitted for duties of the entire freedom which awaits them at the expiration of the apprenticeship?

Having spoken of their behaviour during the holidays, I must not omit to add, that the turn-out on Monday morning was, in proportion, good and unexampled. Instead of coming late, or repairing in numbers to hospitals, as was the case in former years, all were found in their places when the lists were called. Throughout these large river estates I have yet heard of but a single absentee, and his case was expected to be accounted for.

Such a report as this, from the most valuable district in the island, must be gratifying to your Excellency, and I transmit it with feelings far beyond those of mere official satisfaction.

The fine behaviour of the people having deprived me of the usual materials for a regular diary, I gladly, in this instance, omit the weekly return of complaints and decisions.

It will be scarcely deemed irrelevant to notice, that besides the usual Divine Service at Bath on Christmas-day, the church at Golden Grove was opened for the same purpose on Friday, and an overflowing congregation of negroes attended.

On Saturday, I was "at home," by a general understanding, and had numerous visitors, all respectful and all cheerful.

I make it a point to tell them how much your Excellency desires their welfare, and how pleased you are when I can give a good account of them. Few things seem to gratify them more than to hear me say so.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Major *D. MacGregor*, Special Justice, Portland,
29 December 1834.

As I anticipated (in my late reports) the Christmas holidays have passed over in the most orderly manner. Not the slightest complaint on the part of the master, apprentice or any other person came before me, although often more than 2,000 persons were in one day assembled in Port Antonio during these holidays. Not even a guard necessary.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *F. White*, Special Justice, St. George's,
dated 30 December 1834.

I HAVE great pleasure in further stating to your Excellency the Christmas week passed off quietly, and to judge by the appearances of the different faces of the negroes, I may with truth say, all in this parish will make themselves happy, now they know the line of duty they are to pursue.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable *John Manderson*, Custos, St. James's,
30 December 1834.

IT will be gratifying to his Excellency to hear that the holidays in this district have passed off in perfect order and tranquillity, and that reports from various parts of the country concur in the expression that the negroes have without hesitation resumed their duty.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Rev. *S. H. Stewart*, Special Justice, Manchester,
30 December 1834.

I BEG to add that the Christmas has passed over here most satisfactorily, and without the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction. The church overflowed, and the usual negro amusements were carried on with undiminished spirit.

The allowances were distributed by proprietors, with very few exceptions, as plentifully as ever. One gentleman, a large attorney, Mr. John Davy, adopted what appeared to me a most judicious plan: he withheld the Christmas allowance from every person who had been sentenced to any punishment by the special magistrates.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Richard Daly*, Special Justice, Savannah-la-Mar,
30 December 1834.

I HOWEVER beg leave to state that I have of late gone through various parts of the country, and up to the present period I am most happy to bear testimony to the most orderly, correct and obedient conduct on the part of the apprentices since the commencement of the holidays.

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EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Henry Blake*, Special Magistrate, Bath,
30 December 1834.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship, that as far as have been seen, no people *could possibly* conduct themselves *better* than the apprentices have done all over the district; and yesterday morning (except in one or two instances) they were all at work at the proper hour.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *W. H. Sowley*, Special Justice, St. Ann's Bay,
30 December 1834.

I HOPE I may be permitted here to say, that I have never seen apprentices in any parish conduct themselves with greater propriety at this season of the year, than I have witnessed here.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable Dr. *Robertson*, Custos, St. Elizabeth,
30 December 1834.

I BEG to mention, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that general tranquillity has prevailed through the extensive district under my command during the Christmas holidays, and that the apprentices turned out on all the properties under my control on Monday morning with the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the Honourable *Thomas M^cCormack*, Custos,
St. Thomas-in-the-East, 30 December 1834.

I HAVE the satisfaction of stating, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that the Christmas holidays passed over quietly throughout this parish. I never saw the apprentices behave better, and they all returned cheerfully to their work on Monday morning.

The guard at the magazine and arsenal at Morant Bay was dismissed yesterday, and His Majesty's sloop, *Fly*, will leave Port Morant to-morrow morning.

EXTRACTS from a LETTER of Captain *William Oldrey*, Special Magistrate,
St. Elizabeth's, 30 December 1834.

Dundee Estate, 160 apprentices, Trelawney.

Coppers hung and plumber's work done in the apprentices' own time, and I can hire as many labourers as I require for the estate from the neighbouring estates, *in their own time*.

New Ground Estate, Clarendon.

The apprentices are quite willing, and are working cheerfully for wages at alternate daily spells; by this system 16 hours' labour at the works is secured to the estate.

Amity Hall, 258 apprentices, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

By working on the above system the manager states that he can make 400 tons of sugar during the crop, and they are making more sugar than their neighbours in six days on the double spell system.

Salt Savannah, 323 apprentices, Vere.

I am confident we shall get on, not only as well, but better than last year; the people have done better since you were here, and no grumbling, although *without fish*.

I am happy to report that the apprentices in St. Elizabeth have conducted themselves extremely well throughout the Christmas holidays. They have passed off in a religious, rational, peaceable, sober and orderly manner.

The apprentices turned out extremely well on Monday morning, and are, with but few exceptions, going on well.

—No. 30.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Secretary of State, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 12 January 1835.

No. 30.

THE holidays have passed off in a manner quite to excite astonishment. In my last communications to Mr. Rice by the Nightingale, I informed him that the apprentices had returned to their work at the appointed time, most good-humouredly. Since then another post has arrived, and the reports which I thereby received have confirmed these most satisfactory statements. The 1st, 2d and 3d of January were also holidays in most parts of the island, and the negroes returned to their work on the 5th, with even more exactitude than formerly had been remarked to have been the case. I have seen several gentlemen, and received letters from some, all of whom express their confidence that no combined scheme of resistance has ever been in their minds; nor do they labour under the slightest apprehension of any thing of the sort for the future. On some estates I am told that much jealousy had been caused by only the best men having been selected to work extra time for hire; and have no doubt but that wherever they are paid each Saturday ready money for their labour, there will be found no difficulty

difficulty in persuading as many of the apprentices to work for hire as may be required. Each post brings me in fresh accounts of arrangements made, as the crop commences in the different parts of the island, between the proprietors and apprentices for extra work, and I have no doubt but that unless something unforeseen occurs, a full average crop will be taken off this year.

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—No. 31.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 29 January 1835.

THE delay in the sailing of the *Mutine* packet, which has been rendered necessary under the Post-office regulations, in consequence of the non-arrival of the *Carthage* Mail, enables me to state further for your information, that all the reports which have reached me from the special magistrates and others in all parts of the island by this morning's post, are of the most satisfactory nature. I enclose to you copies of parts of some of the letters from the magistrates, few only having written by this post. The great absence of complaint in comparison with what used to appear in their weekly reports, having afforded me the best proof of the success of the new system, and superseded the necessity of any particular notice from them of the state of the country during the last week. The punishments are becoming much lighter, and more frequently for petty thefts than for any offence which has relation to the change in the condition of the negroes. There are still some instances of absolute refusals to work. I regret to say that in one parish there has been, as reported to me by the special Justice, some grounds of complaint against the managers or proprietors, for not acting up to their engagements. I trust, however, that this will be remedied by the exertions of the magistrates of that parish; and as it is the only instance of the sort which has been reported to me, I do not think that it is of a nature to excite any uneasiness. Unless something quite unforeseen at present occurs, I have little doubt but that a full average crop will be taken off this year.

No. 31.

Enclosure in No. 31.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Simeon Farrar*, Esq. Special Magistrate, dated Haughton Grove, St. James, 26 January 1835.

THE principal part of the estates in this district have commenced the taking off the crop, and I am happy to be enabled to inform your Excellency, that upon the whole they are working quite as well as I could possibly have expected, considering the great change which has taken place in the condition. On some of the estates the apprentices are working in their own time for wages, and on others by spells, according to your Lordship's Circular 633, November 14th. I have endeavoured to explain to the people on the several properties in this district the precise nature of their duty during crop, and I have much pleasure in saying that I have seen nothing of a refractory spirit (with one or two exceptions) since my arrival here. I am of opinion that the apprentices, when they are fully convinced of what is required from them, will conform to the laws; should, however, any thing transpire of sufficient importance to trouble your Excellency with, I shall not fail immediately to report it.

Enclosure in
No. 31.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Thomas Davies*, Esq. Special Magistrate, dated Falmouth, 26 January 1835.

I BEG to say the mills on the respective estates are now going about, and I have no complaints, but things are going on cheerful.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *Henry Laidlaw*, Esq. Special Magistrate, dated Moneague, St. Ann, 27 January.

It has been a pleasant part of my duty to bring under the notice of your Excellency the recent marked improvement which has taken place in the conduct of the apprentices in this district.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *John Daughtrey*, Esq. Special Magistrate, dated Bath, St. Thomas-in-the-East, January 28, 1835.

IN removing from this district, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me that I leave it in a state of the most perfect peace and order, improving in industry, and lessening in crime.

JAMAICA.

Prejudice itself is silenced by the generally excellent behaviour of the people. The ships in Port Morant, eight in number, are rapidly taking in their cargoes, and some are almost on the eve of sailing with a view to second voyages.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *W. Marlon, Esq.*, Special Magistrate, dated Ramble, St. Mary's, 28 January 1835.

THE mills on different properties have gone about; and the apprentices are doing their duty. Your Lordship would be pleased to see the labourers on the Ramble, and the cheerfulness with which they work; kindness, and not coercion, induces them to labour.

—No. 32.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Earl of *Aberdeen*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 8 February 1835.

No. 32.

THERE are many allowances which are given besides those you have alluded to, and which could be withdrawn with perfect justice, though not without some degree of suffering to the negroes; I allude to clothing and food, salt fish, medicines and medical attendance for the children, who, being under six years of age, are not bound to give any labour to the estate. In all cases these children live with their parents, and in a certain degree at the expense of the estate, inasmuch as they are fed from the provision grounds of the estate. I found fault with the conduct of those persons who discontinue these allowances at once, without any cause, and still more those who attempted to deprive them of their field nurses and cooks, of cohabitation with their reputed families, and of their usual bye-paths, for the purposes of annoyance, and not in justice either to themselves or their employers. Instances of such conduct did take place at first, but I am happy to say they were few in number, and that the steady demeanor of the specials, combined with the certain punishment which follow them, to say nothing of a sense of their own interest, which ought originally, exclusive of humanity, to have prevented such conduct, has quite put an end to them, and produced, in combination with other circumstances, the happy state in which the island is at this moment. In reference to Mr. Lyon, the special magistrate, as his name is introduced in so deservedly high terms, I may venture to add, without multiplying more than is necessary my Despatches, that he is a very great acquisition to the special magistracy. He possesses the unlimited confidence of the gentry, though a man of colour; and that he is not disputed by the negroes, may be gathered from the fact, that he himself, by his own influence, made arrangements with the apprentices on thirteen estates to take off the crops, in their own time, by spell, for the proprietors, on terms which they were glad to adopt, and after the apprentices had refused to enter into any arrangement with them previous to his interference.

—No. 33.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to Lord *Aberdeen*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, February 10, 1835.

No. 33.

THE Flamer being now on the eve of sailing, I think it expedient to inform you, that nothing can be more satisfactory than the state of this island at the present moment, under the peculiar circumstances in which it is placed.

I have the honour to inclose to you Extracts from the reports of the special magistrates for the last week. Unfortunately, they have in very few instances sent me their usual remarks, or I should have been able to have afforded you more detailed information.

The cause has been, that the complaints were in most parishes very few in number, and that their reports being nothing but a repetition of "all going on well," they did not think fit to write; at least it is to that cause that I attribute my not having heard from all. I have, however, issued orders that they shall not act similarly in future.

From all that I have been able to collect, I think that the crop will be, if not more, at all events a full average one, and can with certainty assure you, that the apprentices are improving daily in their industrious habits, and their desire for the acquisition of money. There are some few exceptions, but those arise, in my opinion, from distrust of their masters, and not feeling certain of being paid for their

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their extra labour each week. On all the estates where hard labour has gone on for two or three weeks, and that on the Saturday night they receive their payment, any extent of work may be performed.

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Enclosure in No. 33.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *R. J. Langrishe*, Esq., Special Justice, dated Oliphant's, Clarendon, 4 February 1835.

I HAVE been prevented from visiting the Mountain District, in consequence of having been called upon to visit several sugar estates in the low lands, where the apprentices showed generally a disposition to avoid labour. I am happy to say, satisfaction is now almost universally given in my district.

Enclosure in
No. 33.

EXTRACT from a LETTER received from *Samuel Pryce*, Esq., Special Justice, dated Trelawney, 3 February 1835.

CROPS have commenced on several estates since I had last the honour of addressing your Excellency; and it affords me much pleasure to report to your Lordship that the district is peaceable, and that the apprentices generally are going on as well as could reasonably be expected.

EXTRACT from a LETTER received from *T. M. Oliver*, Esq., Special Justice, dated Savannah-la-Mar, 3 February 1835.

I HAVE the honour, in accordance with your Excellency's commands, to state for your information, that there is no cause of complaint as to the apprentices in this district; and the working of the negroes in my last visit round, was satisfactory; as the managers in no one instance seemed dissatisfied, as the apprentices are doing good, and a fair proportion of work.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *W. Oldrey*, Esq., Special Magistrate, dated St. Elizabeth, 3 February 1835.

I BEG to apologize for this hasty epistle; yet I cannot conclude without assuring your Excellency, that the apprentices are in this parish doing extremely well; better by far than their masters expected.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *Mr. Philp*, Special Magistrate, dated Westmorland, 3 February 1835.

On my explaining the nature of the law to three estates' people, they complained of not having had their usual Christmas allowances, the same as all the adjoining properties, which in my opinion is the principal cause of so much discontent amongst them; the three estates are now working the two spells, and I feel every confidence in their continuing to do so by proper management. Your Excellency will please observe I have not found it necessary to punish any individual on either of those estates since they commenced the two spells.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from the Hon. *Thomas M'Cornock*, dated St. Thomas-in-the-East, 4 February 1835.

I AM glad to say every thing is going on well in this district, and if not improperly interfered with by the agents of those who wish the apprenticeship system done away with, I am certain the people will behave to our satisfaction.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *R. S. Haly*, Esq., Special Magistrate, dated Clarendon, 4 February 1835.

I EXPECT by the next post to be able to send your Lordship a list of the estates upon which working agreements have been made; and I hope it will include every property of this district requiring additional labour. It is very satisfactory to know the apprentices have not yet in any instance refused to labour for hire; and also to have received the assurance of some managers that their people are not only working better than they expected, but that more sugar is made than under the old system; and I sincerely believe with good management this might be the case upon the whole of them.

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JAMAICA.

—No. 34.—

No. 34.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Earl of *Aberdeen*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 26 February 1835.

THE Island post having this morning arrived, and the packet being ordered to sail to-morrow, I avail myself of the oppoortunity to inform you that the accounts from all parts of the island, excepting St. James's, are most satisfactory. In Trelawney there were some slight symptoms of insubordination, but they were at once repressed and punished by the firmness of Mr. Hawkins, the special justice, and the police.

In St. James's there certainly appears to me to be a great falling off in the quantity of sugar made, but it is the only quarter from which such a report has reached me.

Enclosure in No. 34.

Enclosure in
No. 34.

My Lord,

Morant Bay, 18 Feb. 1835.

HEREWITH I have the honour to transmit my Diary for the week ending this day.

I have observed in the public papers a statement, malignant and untrue, respecting the conduct of the Belvidere apprentices, which, lest it might receive one moment's credence by your Lordship, I conceive it now my duty to declare, has not the slightest foundation; an attempt at rescue, or a disturbance of any kind did not occur. Mr. Cuthbert and the overseer both assure me of their perfect satisfaction of the conduct of the apprentices at present; and as facts speak much louder and with more distinctness than mere assertions, I have only to refer your Lordship to their performance. The last three weeks they have made twelve hogsheads of sugar weekly, which by a reference to the books, appears to be equal to the maximum made at this time last year, and the quality is much superior to last year's.

The greater part of this week I have travelled in company with Captain Eveleigh.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) *Edmund B. Lyon,*
Special Justice

—No. 35.—

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Marquess of *Sligo* to the Earl of *Aberdeen*, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, 6 March 1835.

No. 35.

AS the packet sails this evening for St. Thomas's, I feel it right to state for your information, that nothing can be going on better than every thing in this island.

The crops on the north side have, it is true, been much interrupted by the heavy rains, which have compelled the managers to stop the mills in full work for a week or ten days at a time; but as far as the work of the negroes is concerned, it is now found that, except on Saturdays, as much work as is required can be had for wages.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

P A P E R S

In explanation of the Measures adopted by His Majesty's Government, for giving effect to the Act for the ABOLITION of SLAVERY throughout the BRITISH COLONIES.

(Presented to Parliament, by His Majesty's Command.)

PART I.—JAMAICA.

1833—1835.

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