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SLAVE TRADE. No. 2 (1875).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SLAVERY IN CUBA AND PUERTO RICO,

AND THE

STATE

OF THE

SLAVE POPULATION AND CHINESE COOLIES

IN THOSE

ISLANDS.

Presented to the House of Lords by Command of Her Majesty.
1875.

LONDON:

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Correspondence respecting Slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico,
and the State of the Slave Population and of the Chinese
Coolies in those Islands.

No. 1.

Viscount Enfield to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1873.*
I AM directed by Earl Granville to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Govern-
ment have caused inquiries to be made in regard to the representation contained in
your despatch of the 16th of September last, concerning the reported renewal
of the Slave Trade to Cuba from the West Coast of Africa, but that they have not
been able to obtain any confirmation whatever of the landing of slaves which you
suppose to have taken place in Cuba.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1873.*
WITH reference to my despatch of the 13th ultimo, I transmit, for your
information, a copy of a despatch from the Commodore on the West African
station, by which it appears that, after having made personal inquiries, he is of
opinion that no resumption of the traffic in slaves from the West Coast of Africa
had taken place, as supposed by Mr. Dunlop.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Commodore Commerell to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.) *"Rattlesnake," off the River Opobo, December 22, 1872.*
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st
October, 1872, with inclosures, from the Foreign Office, forwarding an extract
from Mr. Graham Dunlop's despatch of the 16th September, in reference to the
landing of slaves in Cuba from the West Coast of Africa, and I request you will
acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, on the 21st February,
1872, I had the honour to receive a similar inclosure to the above in their Lordships'
letter of the 14th December, 1871, when I at once made every inquiry in my power
in regard to the embarkation of slaves on this coast for Cuba.

This year, I have taken the opportunity to proceed up the River Congo
ten miles beyond Boma, and I heard nothing of any shipments, or anything to
suppose they were contemplated. The slave barracoons are either in ruins or used
for produce. I am aware there are many slaves on the coast for domestic purposes,

and I am afraid many cruelties are perpetrated on them by traders of all nations, and I consider if a market can be obtained there is nothing to prevent a cargo being shipped. On the other hand, I consider it is merely a question of money. If the exported slave will fetch more in a foreign market than his value in raising produce in the home market, no doubt a time will come when attempts may be made to run cargoes. At present, as no such market exists, and the slave is valuable, no traffic will be attempted.

Reports of a vague and contradictory character, only sometimes becoming circumstantial, cannot give sufficient information to enable officers on the coast to verify the statements, but their Lordships may rest assured that Commanding Officers under my orders will be kept on the alert to detect any resumption of the export slave trade.

No. 3.

Commissary Judge Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received February 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, January 1, 1873.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that there has not been any case brought for adjudication before the Mixed Commission Court at this place during the last six months.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

No. 4.

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

My Lord,

Madrid, March 28, 1873.

SEÑOR CASTELAR has informed me that on 24th instant, the Minister of the Colonies addressed a communication to the Captain-General of Cuba (in reply to a consultation concerning the situation of the slaves registered after the expiration of the proper term), declaring that, according to the principles which prompted the drawing up of paragraph 2, of Article 30 of the Regulations of 5th August, 1872, and in accordance with the opinion of the full Council of State, the Government of the Republic has decided that the persons to whom the consultation refers should be declared to be free; and that, in case of demand for indemnification, steps should be taken for settling the questions of the right thereto.

It is stated that the number of slaves to be thus liberated amounts to about 10,000.

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

No. 5.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 8, 1873.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch from Mr. Layard, reporting that the Spanish Government have decided upon the liberation of about 10,000 slaves in Cuba.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 6.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(Extract.)

Havana, May 28, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Enfield's despatch of the 8th April, with copy of Mr. Layard's despatch of the 28th March, reporting that the Spanish Government have decided upon the liberation of about 10,000 slaves in Cuba.

This decision has reference to the "emancipados," whose condition and prospects were reported upon in my despatches dated 28th July and 24th October, 1871.*

Hitherto the "emancipados" have been under the sole patronage of the Government.

They are now to be turned over to the tutelage of a Committee, or Board of Management of Freedmen ("Junta de Libertos"), which will intervene in their contracts, and will control and dispose of them precisely as the Government formerly did.

The meaning of the so-called "liberation" is neither more nor less than that the Government gets rid of them; and it may be that, by handing them over to a Board of Management, there is some chance of correction of the many abuses to which this very unfortunate class has been subjected.

I doubt it very much indeed.

No. 7.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 25, 1873.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 28th of March, I transmit to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Acting Commissioner Crawford on the subject of the liberation of emancipated slaves in Cuba.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 8.

Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received July 16.)

My Lord,

Madrid, July 4, 1873.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, inclosing copy of a despatch from Acting Consul Crawford on the subject of the liberation of the emancipated slaves in Cuba, I have to inform your Lordship that Señor Suñer y Capdesilla, Minister of Ultramar, stated in the Cortes, on the 28th ultimo, that he purposed presenting to the Chamber a Project of Law for the immediate liberation of the three or four hundred thousand slaves now in that island, adding that it was not possible that he, who had voted the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico, should now, as a Minister, renounce his former opinion. Furthermore that, as a Federal, he was, so far as it lay in his power, determined that the inhabitants of Cuba shall not only enjoy the liberties which the Republic had bestowed on the Spaniards of the Peninsula, but that he hoped ere long to see that island take its place as one of the independent Cantons of the Spanish Federal Republic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

No. 9.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received July 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, July 1, 1873.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that there has not been any case brought before the Slave Trade Mixed Commission Court at this place during the last six months.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

* See Class A, presented 1872, Nos. 42 and 45.

† No. 6.

No. 10.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, August 29, 1873.

IT appears that M. Betancourt, one of the Deputies from Puerto Rico, stated in the Spanish Cortes, on the 23rd of July, that a landing of negro slaves had been effected during May last at Punta Holandés, near Cape Antonio, in this island, giving as a proof an Edict published in the "Havana Gazette" summoning the keepers of the lighthouse at Cape Antonio to appear in Court at Pinar del Rio to answer the charges against them for abetting it.

As this statement might lead to the belief that a cargo of Africans was really imported here last May, which would be tantamount to a renewal of the Slave Trade with Africa, I hasten to acquaint your Lordship that there has not been any landing whatever of slaves from the coast of Africa to my knowledge for several years back; and that the summons in the "Havana Gazette" of the 10th June last, of which I inclose a translation, refers to the landing of Bozals which occurred at Punta Holandés in 1866, the Government having seized 278 of the negroes, as was duly reported at the time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Summons published in the Havana "Gazette" of June 10, 1873, with reference to the Landing and Capture of a Cargo of Negroes at Punta Holandés.

(Translation.)

Don Juan de Molo, Barrister, and Acting Judge of the Court of First Instance of Pinar del Rio.

BY this, my second Edict, I cite, call, and summon Don Miguel Vil y Noguerras, and Don Fernando Cardosa, who was keeper of the lighthouse at Cape San Antonio, to appear within nine days before this Court to answer the charge against them in the cause in consequence of a landing and capture of Bozal negroes at Punta del Holandés, being assured of a fair and impartial hearing; otherwise they will be declared contumacious, and liable to the penalty of the law.

Pinar del Rio, June 28, 1873.

(Signed) JUAN DE MELO.
By order of his Honour,
(Signed) PABLO GARCIA.

No. 11.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Havana, September 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship a statement of the number of Chinese coolies that have been imported here up to this date, specifying, in separate Tables, the number imported in each year, and the number and tonnage of the vessels of different countries employed in this trade, with the number of coolies and the per-centage of deaths during the voyage, giving a total of 342 vessels, measuring 249,065 tons, from which 121,810 Chinese were landed here.

Of the 138,156 coolies shipped in China, there died during the voyage 16,346, making the per-centage of deaths on the total number 11.83, or not quite 12 per cent.

—Since the passing of the Chinese Passenger Act, and other regulations, which preclude British and American ships from being engaged by the speculators here, the trade has been chiefly carried on by French and Spanish vessels. Several of the other nationalities which appear in the list are, however, mere substitutes, their

flags covering British or American ships that have been transferred in China for the purpose of evading our restrictions.

The trade is almost entirely confined to Macao, where it seems there is every facility for crimping and fraud.

There is no doubt that the coolies are cheated in every possible way, and that they are completely deceived regarding the nature of their contract and the treatment that awaits them here.

Numbers of Chinese who have fulfilled their contracts have been sent off to work on the new line of defence which the Government is constructing between Bagà, on the Bay of Nuevitas, and Santa Cruz, called "la segunda trocha."

It would almost seem as if the Spanish officials were doing their best to stir up discontent and rebellion among the coolies, and to foment insurrection in the island.

If the importation of Chinese is to continue, and there appears every probability that it will, I would suggest that, as Macao is the chief port of embarkation, the Portuguese Government should be urged to insist upon the following clauses being added to the contracts of all coolies who are shipped from that place, viz. :—

1st. Salary to be paid in gold or its fair equivalent.

2nd. At the expiry of this contract, a copy of which must be delivered to the Portuguese Consul at Havana, he shall be entirely free to remain in the Island of Cuba and to exercise any lawful calling he pleases, in the same manner as any other white foreigner.

I have talked over this suggestion with the Portuguese Consul-General here, and he heartily concurs in it.

It would be necessary, however, to provide against the possibility of improper "regulations" which might be framed for the purpose of circumventing such a stipulation in the Chinese contracts, to induce the Spanish Government to agree to it, and to repeal all the rules and regulations affecting the Chinese in Cuba, substituting in their room a fixed law, requiring no explanation or subsequent ("reglamento") regulations, which would protect all parties.

With reference to those Chinese who claim British protection, as coming from Hong Kong, it is a very difficult matter to judge of their right to such protection, or to be registered as British subjects. With half-a-dozen exceptions, all those I have seen have no papers to prove it, and the simple declaration of the coolie that he is a native of Hong Kong is not to be relied on, for these people have in general very little regard for the truth. Of course in a question of this kind one feels inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt; but I have always been opposed to raise any dispute with the local authorities here by obtaining "cedulas," or papers for Chinese whose right to British protection was questionable.

I do not see in what way protection can be afforded the Chinese coolies by foreign consuls as the law now stands.

As I have before stated, the Spanish Government should repeal all enactments regarding Chinese up to date, and should frame a concise and just law, not subject to local or other regulations, which would put these emigrants upon a proper and equitable footing, secure the rights of master and man, and provide against vagrancy or future trouble to the State.

The authority given by the late Captain General Valmaseda to Mr. Strauss, to act as a semi-official agent here for the Chinese who had fulfilled their contracts, in order to assist them in getting out their protection papers and passports, has been withdrawn at the instance of the "Board of Colonization," so that these poor people are without any recognized agent or protector except the the "Board."

It must not be forgotten that the question of labour must always be one of paramount importance here, and that considering the heterogeneous mixture of races in Cuba, it will require great tact and firmness in adopting laws which will at once protect individual rights and secure order and industry in the island.

The wealth of Cuba depends upon its agriculture, and field labour is always fatiguing and arduous; so that regulations, which might elsewhere appear arbitrary and harsh, must be allowed to carry with them somewhat of compulsion here, in order to keep up the cultivation, but they need not on that account be devoid of justice between man and man.

Without any reliable data on the subject, it is supposed that there are at present about 100,000 Chinese coolies in Cuba.

Inclosure in No. 11.

STATEMENT of the Number of Chinese Coolies imported into Cuba yearly since 1847.

Year.	Vessels.		Chinese.		
	Number.	Tonnage.	Shipped.	Died at Sea.	Landed.
1847	2	979	612	41	571
1853	15	8,849	6,150	843	4,307
1854	4	2,375	1,750	39	1,711
1855	6	6,544	3,130	145	2,985
1856	15	10,677	6,152	1,182	2,970
1857	28	18,940	10,101	1,554	8,547
1858	33	32,842	16,411	3,027	13,384
1859	16	13,828	8,539	1,332	7,207
1860	17	15,104	7,227	1,008	6,219
1861	16	15,919	7,212	290	6,922
1862	1	759	400	56	344
1863	3	2,077	1,045	94	951
1864	7	5,513	2,664	532	2,132
1865	20	12,769	6,810	407	6,403
1866	43	24,187	14,169	1,126	13,043
1867	42	26,449	15,661	1,247	14,414
1868	21	15,265	8,400	732	7,668
1869	19	13,692	7,340	1,475	5,865
1870	3	2,305	1,312	63	1,249
1871	5	2,820	1,827	178	1,649
1872	20	12,886	8,914	766	8,148
1873	6	4,786	3,330	209	3,121
Total	342	249,065	138,156	16,346	121,810

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD, *Acting Consul-General.*
British Consulate-General, Havana,
September 1, 1873.

STATEMENT of the Chinese Coolies imported into the Island of Cuba up to the 1st of September, 1873.

Flag.	Vessels.		Chinese.			Per-centage of Deaths.
	Number.	Tonnage.	Embarked.	Landed.	Died at Sea.	
British.. .. .	35	27,815	13,697	11,457	2,240	16·31
United States	34	40,576	18,206	16,419	1,787	9·80
Austrian	3	1,377	936	864	72	7·70
Belgian	3	2,482	1,199	1,182	17	1·42
Chilian.. .. .	4	1,702	926	743	183	19·76
Danish.. .. .	1	1,022	470	291	179	38·
Dutch	19	14,906	8,113	7,132	981	12·09
French.. .. .	104	64,664	38,540	33,795	4,745	12·31
German	8	4,207	2,176	1,932	244	11·21
Italian	5	5,586	2,832	2,505	327	11·20
Norwegian	5	2,296	1,366	1,104	262	19·18
Peruvian	6	4,979	2,609	1,999	610	23·38
Portuguese	21	15,847	8,228	7,266	962	11·70
Russian	12	9,857	5,471	5,093	378	6·90
Spanish	78	47,604	31,356	28,085	3,271	10·43
San Salvador	4	4,145	2,031	1,943	88	4·33
Total	342	249,065	138,156	121,810	16,346	11·83

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD, *Acting Consul-General.*
British Consulate-General, Havana,
September 1, 1873.

No. 12.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Havana, September 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship a translation of a Project of Law, or Bill, drawn up and proposed to the Spanish Government by the planters here for the emancipation of the negro slaves in the Island of Cuba.

It is proposed to abolish at once the institution of slavery without indemnity to the owners, in place of which they ask for a patronage of ten years over their negroes, during which the negroes are to be treated as "emancipados," and are to receive a monthly stipend of two dollars for those between the ages of 12 and 18, three dollars for women, and four dollars for men between the ages of 18 and 60.

All children born since the 17th of September, 1868, and all negroes who have attained or may attain the age of 60 years, are declared free, according to the Law of 4th July, 1870.

The patronage is to be transferable, and in cases where there are children under 12 years of age they must be included in the transfer.

The patronage is to cease at the expiry of ten years, by mutual agreement of master and man (which means when the master wishes to give the negro his freedom), by justifiable renunciation of the patron, or through proved abuse, or failure of the patron to comply with his obligations, which are to feed, clothe, and pay his negro, and to furnish him with medical attendance.

At the expiry of the ten years the negroes are to be placed under the patronage of the State (which means that they are to become neither more nor less than "emancipados"), to be turned over under contract to new or the same masters, and to be rendered bondmen for life.

The planters have added the condition that this Law is not to take effect, and is not to be published in the "Havana Gazette," before six months after the insurrection now going on in the island has been officially declared to have terminated.

This Additional Article is sufficient to throw discredit upon the whole scheme; for it is very problematical whether the insurrection will ever end. At any rate, it will be in the interest of the slaveholders to keep it alive as long as possible.

The only part of the scheme that really deserves attention is the proposal to substitute a patronage, or term of apprenticeship, for an indemnity.

I think that upon that basis, a feasible plan of emancipation might be framed to suit the Spanish Government and the slave-owners.

Ten years is much too long a period, and the rate of wages is too small. The final emancipation of the negroes should be fixed at a certain date, after which all "patronage" should cease.

It would be certainly for the interest of all parties to have this question settled as soon as possible.

Inclosure in No. 12.

Scheme proposed by the Planters for the Emancipation of the Negro Slaves in Cuba.

(Translation.)

THE Bill which the Island of Cuba presents to the Cortes of the Republic for the definitive emancipation of the slaves responds to two unavoidable necessities, viz.: to the necessity of suppressing for ever an institution which inherited from the past has now become untenable in the face of the rights of human personality claimed by modern civilization; and to the necessity of attending to the preservation of the wealth of the island, respecting as far as possible the rights acquired by the proprietors under the shade of a legality which they have not created. In this way the moral well-being of the Province is reconciled with its material interests, which it is the prescribed duty of every good Government to provide for.

The first of these two necessities is attained by the scheme proposed, in such absolute terms, that, in the first Article, slavery in the Island of Cuba is declared to be for ever abolished, without grace or delay of any kind; because circumstances have made us the last to resolve this grave question, we have to be, and we are, the most liberal in the manner of resolving it.

The second necessity is satisfied in the scheme, by exchanging the right of dominion which the laws have hitherto conceded to the slave-owners, for the right of patronage which the present law gives to them over those who are by it emancipated from all slavery, placing them on the footing of free Colonists. The transformation is not only advantageous for the wealth of the island, which, consisting exclusively of agricultural products, would necessarily disappear with the loss of the labourers who sustain it; but it is also beneficial for the freed men themselves, who, let loose suddenly and without the requisite preparation, to live as their own masters, would reproduce in the Island of Cuba the scenes of vagrancy, disorder, and misery that have afflicted every country where this question has been resolved without necessary precautions.

This exchange of rights also removes a grave difficulty which any other solution that might be adopted would offer. The 21st Article of the Law of the 4th July, 1870, contains a solemn offer, from which the nation cannot fall back, viz., the offer of indemnifying the slave-owners for definite emancipation.

Even if this offer did not exist, the indemnity to the proprietors is an act of justice which all nations have recognized, except the Republic of the United States, for reasons of which no one is ignorant. Treating, therefore, of indemnity for nearly 300,000 slaves, the sum required to meet it would, owing to its magnitude, create a serious difficulty. This difficulty disappears from the moment that these proprietors accept, as sole indemnity, the right of patronage over the freed men for the space of ten years, during which they would not fail to recompense the labour of the freed men according to the quota established by this Law.

Immediate emancipation (the freed men passing to the condition of colonists under the same rules established for free labourers, which rules are now adopted by almost all the Spanish-American Republics), is, without dispute, of all equitable and studied solutions the most liberal that can be adopted, and is that which the Island of Cuba now proposes, as the only answer to the unjust charges that have been made everywhere against the proprietors of that island.

But these proprietors would fail in a sacred duty—would go against their consciences—would contract a serious responsibility with the nation, if, persuaded as they are that the carrying out of this Law during the armed insurrection that exists in two departments of the island might produce serious disturbances and even endanger the integrity of its territory, they did not adopt the indispensable precautions for preventing such great evils as far as possible.

To think that the Emancipation Act, under any form whatsoever, can be carried out in the Island of Cuba without producing great excitement among the coloured classes, is to disown the most natural feelings of man, and to forget the lessons of experience. It is, therefore, indispensable to be prepared to repress the outbreaks of joy, and may be the desire of revenge, when that law is promulgated in the event of these outbursts and desires endangering, as it is to be feared, the public tranquillity, and even the personal safety of the whites. The only way of preparing for such an eventuality is to have ready the necessary force to check it at the outset wherever the first symptoms of danger may be discovered. This force does not exist while the war lasts, because all the disposable troops of the Government are engaged in it; therefore, to carry out the Law of Emancipation, to make the social transformation, to change the whole economy of the island before the conclusion of the war, and before the forces which may be required in any eventuality are disposable, would be to seriously endanger the tranquillity of the island, and the security of its inhabitants.

To think that emancipation can be carried out, even in the prudent manner proposed in this scheme, without the production of the island suffering notoriously, at least during the first years, is to forget what has happened without a single exception in every country where a similar change has been made in the system of labour. If, therefore, in the present critical and precarious condition of the island, a diminution of its products, the importance of which cannot be calculated, is brought about, there is every reason to fear, if, indeed, it may not positively be affirmed, that the contributors (tax-payers) will see themselves in the absolute impossibility of furnishing the Government with the necessary resources to carry on the war, the more so as even now, without such cause, there is so much difficulty in paying its expenses.

To drain the resources of the Government for the maintenance of the war is the unalterable design of the Insurgents (Secessionists) since the unfortunate day of the rebellion. To this end have been directed all their acts here and all their

efforts abroad, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, persuaded as they are that they can never triumph by force of arms.

The Emancipation Act established before the conclusion of the war would powerfully aid their design, and it is at present impossible to foresee whether it would not enable them to accomplish it.

For this reason the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba have considered it a duty of conscience to add an article to their scheme by which the law is not to be published in the Havana "Gazette" for its observance until six months after the war has been officially declared to be over. This measure of prudence, or forethought, and even of necessity, may contribute and will contribute without doubt to influence many of the elements here and abroad, which at present materially or morally assist towards the maintenance of the armed insurrection, to take a decided stand for the immediate conclusion of this absurd war, as the means of arriving as soon as possible at the carrying out of the instantaneous emancipation in which Spaniards as well as foreigners are interested.

The said additional Article is besides in harmony with recent and repeated declarations of the Government of the Republic, announcing their intention to apply themselves chiefly to the termination of the war, as the means of carrying out as soon as possible the emancipation of the slaves. Upon this same criterion is based the additional Article which serves as complement to this scheme, and without which the law, far from bringing to the island the benefits that are expected from it, may be the determinate cause of its ruin, and perhaps of its definitive loss to the nation.

Bill (Project of Law) for the Definitive Emancipation of the Slaves in the Island of Cuba.

Article 1. The institution of slavery in the Island of Cuba is declared to be forever abolished, without other indemnity than the right of patronage which is conceded to the owners in exchange for the right of ownership which they have hitherto had over the slaves who remained subject to the service by the Law of 4th July, 1870. These slaves pass, therefore, to the condition of colonists (agricultural labourers) under the regulations established by the following Articles:—

Art. 2. The "emancipated" by the foregoing Article shall remain under the patronage of those who were their owners at the date this law goes into operation; which patronage shall continue for the space of ten years, and shall meanwhile be transferable by all recognized legal means, and may be renounced for justifiable reasons.

Art. 3. By the patronage treated of in the foregoing Articles the patron acquires the right of profiting by the labour of the "emancipated," and all the other rights which the laws concede to tutors.

Art. 4. The patron is obliged to feed and clothe his wards, to take care of them during illness, and to pay them monthly the sum fixed by this law. It will also be his duty to feed, clothe, and to assist them when sick, the children of the colonists who may be born during the period of patronage.

Art. 5. The patronage of the ("colonos") labourers cannot be transferred without including that of children under twelve years of age, be they legitimate or not.

Art. 6. The monthly quota mentioned above shall be as follows: For emancipados from twelve to eighteen years of age, two dollars a month, to be paid to their parents or god-parents; for those from eighteen to sixty years, four dollars a month to men and three dollars to women, to be paid to them on the last day of every month.

Art. 7. The patronage will cease:—

1stly. At the expiry of the ten years.

2ndly. By mutual agreement of patron and ward, without extraneous interference.

3rdly. By renunciation of the patron under just motives.

4thly. Through proved abuses on the part of the patron, or failure in the fulfilment of his obligations as laid down in the 4th Article.

Art. 8. After the patronage of the owner has ceased through renunciation of the patron, or through his fault, the labourers ("colonos") shall remain under the patronage of the State according to the Regulation alluded to in Article 9. Should the patronage cease by agreement between patron and ward, the labourer ("colono")

shall enter into the general conditions of those who are subject to the regulations for free labour.

Art. 9. The Law of the 4th July, 1870, will remain in force as regards the children of slave mothers born since 17th September, 1868, and as regards those negroes who have reached, or may reach, the age of sixty years.

Art. 10. The slaves upon whom would have fallen the tax for the indemnity referred to in the 16th Article of the Law of 4th July, 1870, being released from bondage by this Law, said Article is cancelled, as well as the second of the same Law as regards the indemnity it provides for. The indemnity ordered by the 3rd Article of the Law of 4th July, 1870, will be provided for by the Board for the protection of freed-men.

Art. 11. The Board for the protection of freed men will draw up the Regulations which are to determine the obligations and mutual rights of the emancipated and their patrons, taking for principal basis the Regulation of 7th July, 1860, for the introduction of Chinese labourers, and the subsequent Resolutions on the same subject.

Additional Article.

The present Law shall not be published in the Havana "Gazette" for its observance and fulfilment until six months have elapsed after the date of the official declaration that the armed insurrection now actually existing in the Island of Cuba has terminated.

No. 13.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Havana, September 6, 1873.

IN transmitting herewith to your Lordship a translation of an extract of the Bye-Laws of an Association styled "The Great Cattle and Colonization Company," which is in embryo here, I have the honour of doing so merely to show that the idea is still entertained of obtaining negro labourers from Africa.

The principal object of this Association is to contract Africans for service in this island, on the same principle as Chinese coolies are contracted, for a term of eight years, during which they are to receive 8 dollars a month, one-half to be paid to the ("colono") labourer, and the other half to be paid into the Government Treasury, to be retained there as a deposit, which is to be handed to the negro at the expiry of his contract.

The working hours are to be from 5 A.M. to 5 P.M., deducting two hours for rest and breakfast.

Foreign Consuls, representing the country to which the labourer may belong, are to have the right of attending the meetings of the Association as honorary members, and are to preside over a Committee which is to decide all matters of dispute between the labourer and his employer.

This clause is useless, for there is no Consul to represent Congos, Lucumis, and the other negro tribes which are held in most repute by the Cuban planter.

It is hardly to be supposed that such an Association will ever be set afloat.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Extract of the Rules of the Association styled "Great Cattle and Colonizing Company," for the Promotion of Agriculture, &c., in the Island of Cuba.

(Translation.)

THIS Association has for its object amongst others the introduction of free labourers from Africa.

Both the free labourers from Africa, and from any other country, as well as European colonists and cattle will be conveyed in steam-ships, after Carbonell's system, which offers the utmost safety combined with hygiene.

The labourers will be contracted for eight years on a salary of 8 dollars a month.

Each labourer will be supplied by the Company at the time of embarkation

with three shirts and three pair breeches of coarse linen, three pair of shoes, a straw hat, and a blanket, which outfit will be furnished him yearly by his patron, besides food and medical assistance during the term of his contract, in the same manner as the regulations now in force prescribe for Chinese coolies.

Of the monthly salary above mentioned the labourer will receive only 4 dollars, the other 4 dollars being religiously paid by his master into the Government Treasury in order to create a fund of 384 dollars which will be paid to the labourer by the Treasury at the expiry of his eight years' contract, so as to enable him to establish himself or to return to his native land. In the latter case, the Company engages to convey him there in its steamers at a low rate. The hours of labour shall be from 5 A.M. to 5 P.M., with two hours for rest and breakfast.

The chief object of the Company being the introduction of free labourers from Africa, the East Indies, &c., for eight years, and, the Company requiring that all its operations should be based upon equity and justice, it has no objection to admit every foreign Consul, recognized by the Spanish Government, as an honorary member of the Association, in order that, if he chooses, he can be present at all the general meetings, so as to acquaint himself with the condition and the agreements of the subjects or citizens of his (Government) country, and that he may make such observations as he considers just and proper. The Consuls here referred to are those of Great Britain, France, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Turkey, and the United States of North America.

The complaints which may arise between master and man on account of failure in complying with their contract will be submitted to a Commission composed of five members, presided by the Consul of the country to which the labourer belongs, so that they may be decided according to law and equity. Their finding or sentence will be laid before the Superior Political Authority for his decision as to the best possible arrangement between the parties. His decision will be final.

Note.—This scheme has already been laid before the Spanish Government.
(Signed) JUAN CARBONELL Y MARTI.

Havana, August 4, 1873.

No. 14.

Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1873.

WITH reference to your despatch of July 4, I transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Havana, inclosing a copy of a Project of Law proposed to the Spanish Government by the planters for the emancipation of negro slaves in Cuba.*

I am, &c.
(For Earl Granville),
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 15.

Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 3, 1873.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch and inclosure from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Havana, containing his observations on a scheme which has been suggested for importing African labourers into Cuba.†

I have only to remark that this scheme, if carried into effect, would, in my opinion, be tantamount to a renewal of the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa, as it would be impossible to procure labourers except by purchasing them as slaves from the native Chiefs on the coast.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 16.

Earl Granville to Mr. Macdonell.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 3, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of February 14, I transmit to you copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Havana, on the subject of the alleged landing of African slaves in Cuba.*

I am, &c.
(For Earl Granville),
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 17.

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

My Lord,

Madrid, October 10, 1873.

SEÑOR CASTELAR informs me that Señor Soler y Plá, the Minister of the Colonies, will leave Spain about the 20th of this month for Cuba. The chief object of Señor Soler y Plá's mission is to come to an understanding, if possible, with the slaveholders as to the details of the Law for the abolition of slavery in that island, which Señor Castelar states to me will be introduced into the Cortes immediately after they reassemble. His Excellency observed to me that he was determined to carry through this measure, acting not only upon his own convictions, but upon his desire to fulfil the promises which he had made to Her Majesty's Government. It was, however, absolutely necessary, he said, to ascertain the views of the Cuban slaveholders, who formed a most powerful party in the island, and to come to terms with them as to the compensation they expected.

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

No. 18.

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

My Lord,

Madrid, October 25, 1873.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 2nd instant, transmitting to me a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Havana, inclosing a copy of a Project of Law proposed to the Spanish Government by the planters for the emancipation of negro slaves in Cuba, I have the honour to state that this Project of Law has been published in some of the Spanish newspapers, and that the "Abolicionista," the organ of the Spanish Anti-Slavery Society, condemns and rejects it as strongly, and on the same grounds, as Mr. Crawford. Señor Castelar was formerly, if he is not still, the leading member of that society, and, unless power has altered his views upon the question of slavery as upon some other questions, I cannot believe that he would give one moment's consideration to such proposals as those made by the Cuban slaveholders.

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

No. 19.

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

My Lord,

Madrid, October 25, 1873.

A REPORT having appeared in some of the Madrid papers that it was the intention of the Spanish Government to sell the slaves belonging to the estates confiscated from the Cuban insurgents, I spoke to day to Señor Castelar on the subject. His Excellency said that he could not believe that so monstrous a proceeding, and one so opposed to the views and policy of himself and of his colleagues, could be

* No. 11.

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contemplated by the authorities in Cuba, especially without consulting the Government; but in order that there might be no doubt whatever in the matter, he would at once telegraph to the Captain-General for explanations as to the origin of the report.

Should any attempt be made by the authorities in Cuba to evade the ostensible orders of the Madrid Government, and to sell, either directly or indirectly, the slaves on confiscated estates, Her Majesty's Consul-General will no doubt at once inform Her Majesty's Government of the fact.

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

No. 20.

Viscount Enfield to Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 7, 1873.*
WITH reference to your despatch of the 6th of September, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, stating that the Minister of the Colonies would proceed to Cuba about the 20th ultimo, in order to come to an understanding with the slave-holders, with a view towards the abolition of slavery in the island.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 21.

Viscount Enfield to Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 11, 1873.*
WITH reference to your despatch of the 6th of September, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Mr. Layard regarding the Project of Law proposed to the Spanish Government by the planters for the emancipation of negro slaves in Cuba.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 22.

Viscount Enfield to Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 11, 1873.*
I AM directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid on the subject of a rumour that the Spanish Government intended to sell the slaves belonging to the estates confiscated from the Cuban insurgents.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 23.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord, *Havana, October 11, 1873.*
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hammond's despatch of the 30th of August, inclosing a copy of Reports recently received from the West Coast of Africa, which go to prove that no slaves have been exported thence for the last three years.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 24.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Havana, November 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hammond's despatch of the 20th August, inclosing a copy of a Report addressed to the Colonial Office by the Acting Administrator of the Gambia, reporting that he had discovered that a traffic in slaves was being carried on from the River Jeba.

I have taken every step in my power to ascertain the truth of this information, so far as it relates to the import of slaves into Cuba; and I beg to observe that no case of landing of "Bozal" negroes, or negro slaves, from the Coast of Africa, has come either to my knowledge or to the knowledge of any of the British Vice-Consuls in the island during the last four years.

As I have already reported more than once, it is hardly possible, in view of the altered state of public opinion and of the political situation of affairs in Cuba, that any attempt whatever will be made to renew the African Slave Trade.

Whilst the slave-owners will do their utmost to prolong slavery in this island, they know very well that anything like an authenticated case of a fresh importation of slaves from Africa would assuredly prove fatal to their interests, as it would raise such an outcry as would oblige the Spanish Government to solve the question of emancipation at once.

As long as the planters can obtain Chinese labourers on the terms of their present contracts, and under the present coercive system, they have no need of resorting to the Coast of Africa for a supply of hands.

No. 25.

Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford to Earl Granville.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, November 4, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th of September, in which I transmitted a translation of a Project of Emancipation proposed by the Cuban planters, I have now the honour of reporting to your Lordship that, at a general meeting of slave-holders, which was specially convened here, for the purpose of finally discussing the said project, and sanctioning its transmission to the Spanish Government, it met with such determined opposition from the planter-delegates of Cienfuegos, Santa Clara, and other places in the interior, that serious altercations ensued, and the meeting broke up without any resolution having been come to.

The project has been therefore withdrawn for the present, but the Madrid Cabinet was made acquainted with its purport some months ago.

The planters from the interior opposed the project on the general plea that all discussion upon the emancipation question was unnecessary, and to be deprecated, inasmuch as it was already decided by Moret's Emancipation Act of 4th July, 1870; with the provisions of which they were quite satisfied. That Law, as your Lordship is aware, virtually prolongs slavery in Cuba for at least twenty years.

The more prudent portion of the planters, who feel that negro emancipation in this island is coming much sooner in spite of all opposition, are evidently anxious to come to a fair compromise on the subject, so as to prevent any sudden or violent action on the part of the Home Government; and, if the Minister for the Colonies, who is now on his way here, for the purpose, it is said, of studying the requirements of this island, is animated with a sincere desire of settling the very difficult question of emancipation on prudent terms, and evinces firmness on the part of the Government as regards the abolition of slavery, he will find a strong party ready to co-operate with him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

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No. 26.

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

My Lord,

Madrid, November 18, 1873.

THE Spanish Abolition Society has published a long letter to Señor Castelar, in which they point out the scandalous violation in Cuba of the laws and regulations for the protection of slaves, the fact of the illegal transfer to that island and the sale there of slaves from Puerto Rico who were free under the law, and other shameful abuses, they appeal to Señor Castelar, as one of the former Vice-Presidents of the Society, as the most eloquent denunciator of slavery in the Cortes, and as the advocate for years of its immediate abolition; they allege that since the establishment of the Republic, and since he (Señor Castelar) has had the direction of affairs, nothing has been done towards that object, the law for abolition in Puerto Rico having been the work of the last radical Ministry of the Monarchy, but that, on the contrary, by a recent Decree of the Captain-General of Cuba, dated the 3rd of September last, the immediate sale is ordered by public auction of all goods, effects, and properties ("bienes, valores, y propiedades"), appropriated by the Finance Department in the island in consequence of the insurrection, which include slaves, whose sale by the State is a violation of the law. They protest against this Decree, and demand its immediate abrogation. I inclose a copy of this document, of which I have not considered it necessary to add a translation.

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

No. 27.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 12, 1873.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at the Havana, upon the subject of the abolition of slavery in Cuba.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 28.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.)

Madrid, December 15, 1873.

GENERAL JOVELLAR'S address to the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba, on taking possession of Captain-Generalship, has been much criticised by the anti-slavery party in Madrid, and has made an unfavourable impression upon them. It is considered to be a declaration for the maintenance of slavery under some form or another, or, at any rate, as showing an intention of deferring abolition for an indefinite period. It is pointed out that General Jovellar is himself part proprietor of considerable estates in Cuba and a slave-holder.

No. 29.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received December 26.)

My Lord,

Madrid, December 20, 1873.

THE "Discussion," a paper known to represent the opinions of Señor Castelar, states that the law for the abolition of slavery in Cuba, to be submitted by the Government to the Cortes, will be to the following effect:—

"The basis of the Project will be that all slaves in Cuba, whether in the hands of private persons, or held by the Government on account of the seizure of the

* No. 25.

property of rebels, will be free on the publication of the Law of Emancipation in the Madrid 'Gazette.'

"Moreover, the-freed men will be obliged to engage themselves for five years, three with their old master, and two either with him or with a private person, or with the State.

"The freed-man will have right, no matter with whom he may engage, to wages not less than the minimum received by the free workmen of the island.

"Every contract must necessarily be made with the intervention of the Protector of freed-men.

"From the day of the publication of the Abolition Law in the Madrid 'Gazette' the freed-man will enter upon the full enjoyment of civil rights, and he will enjoy political rights eight years after the promulgation of the Abolition Law.

"The regulations for the application of the Law of Emancipation will be drawn up at Madrid, and will form part thereof, and will come into force at the same time as the Law itself."

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

No. 30.

Viscount Enfield to Acting Commissary-Judge Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 8, 1874.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister in Madrid, stating that General Jovellar's Inaugural Address does not satisfy the Anti-Slavery party in that capital.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 31.

Mr. Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received January 27, 1874.)

My Lord,

Havana, December 27, 1873.

WITH reference to Lord Enfield's despatch of the 11th ultimo, inclosing a copy of Mr. Layard's despatch of the 25th October on the subject of a rumour that the Spanish Government intended to sell the slaves belonging to the estates confiscated from the Cuban insurgents, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that a decree was published here some time ago authorizing the sale of confiscated property, but it was annulled soon afterwards, and I am not aware that any such sales have actually taken place.

I shall watch the proceedings of the authorities here in this matter as far as possible, and should I discover any attempt to evade the ostensible orders of the Madrid Government, by the sale of slaves on confiscated estates, I shall not fail to report it at once to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

No. 32.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 7, 1874.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th October last, I transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Havana, regarding the rumour that the Spanish Government intended to sell the slaves from estates confiscated from the Cuban insurgents.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* No. 28.

† No. 31.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Madrid January 29, 1874.

"EL ABOLICIONISTA," the organ of the Spanish Abolition Society, thus describes the views of the members of Marshal Serrano's Government on the question of slavery:—

"The present Cabinet cannot be considered by abolitionists as absolutely adverse to the cause of abolition. Its President is General Serrano, who in 1866 did not hesitate to plead for abolition as a means of avoiding grave international difficulties, the correctness of which view time has proved. Señor Sagasta and Garcia Ruiz are influential members of it, both of whom took part in founding the Spanish Abolition Society and held high parts in its Managing Committee. The Finance Minister is Señor Echegaray, who in 1868, at Price's Circus, was the eloquent defender of immediate abolition. Señor Morquera has the credit of being the statesman who a year ago read from the tribune of the Congress the Bill for the immediate abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico. Señor Balaguer was one of the Barcelona Abolitionist Committee; and as for Señor Martos, no one can wrest from him the glory of having in December 1872 stood up for liberty in the Colonies, and having uttered the memorable cry, 'The Puerto Rican slaves are already free.'"

Such being the case, the antecedents of the present Ministry, or rather of the present Ministers, are not of a nature to discourage the sincere friends of abolition. Even Señor Garcia Ruiz, on whom the line taken by the "Puebla," which is his property, might cast some suspicion, has in his favour the explicit declaration which he made in his speech of January 1873 in answer to those who denied him the title of abolitionist. The then deputy claimed to differ from Señor Labra and his friends only as to the manner of carrying out their plans.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the State of the Slave Population and Chinese Coolies in those Islands.

*Presented to the House of Lords by Command of
Her Majesty. 1875.*

LONDON :

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