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EDITORIAL NOTICE.

WE beg to express our regret to our readers at the omission this month of our usual Summary of News. The letter, containing the copy for the printer, appears to have miscarried, and we learnt of the circumstance too late to remedy the mischief. The same envelope contained a leader on the Slave-trade Papers, comprising a summary of their contents. This is also necessarily deferred.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

MR. JAMES REDPATH, well-known in the United States, as a devoted abolitionist, is publishing in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* a series of letters upon the subject of "Slavery and Slave-Life in Brazil." They are very interesting, and will be welcomed by our readers as valuable contributions to Anti-Slavery literature. We concur in Mr. Redpath's views of the inherent cruelty of the system of Slavery, and of the utter inadequacy of legislation to modify it, or to remove any of the disabilities under which the slaves labour, owing to the facilities with which laws ostensibly for their benefit can be evaded by the owners. We shall continue the republication of these letters as they are issued.

No. 1.

IS SLAVERY OF A "MILDER TYPE IN BRAZIL ?

How long can Slavery endure in the new world? It still exists in Brazil, in Cuba, and Porto Rico. Somebody, not long ago, predicted that if the experiment of free-labour in the Southern States should continue to be completely successful, negro Slavery would be swept from the Western Hemisphere in less than a dozen years. While some

will regard this prediction as too sanguine, it expresses, without doubt, if not in the letter at least in the spirit, the opinion of the majority of educated Americans.

Another opinion very generally held, and often expressed, is, that Slavery in Brazil is a milder type of bondage than the system which existed in our Southern States. I have never seen a denial or even a doubt expressed in regard to this universally accredited opinion. And yet a little reflection will cause any one, familiar with the essential nature of Slavery, to pause and investigate before giving new currency to this belief. It will lead him to seek for the sources of the opinion, and to ascertain the causes that modify or rather that nullify the inherent tendencies of Slavery—as manifested everywhere, in all ages and among all races of men—if, indeed, in Brazil these universal traits are not conspicuously discernible. One would naturally think that if Brazilian Slavery is Slavery—that is, if it gives the master absolute power over his negro slave—then Brazilian nature would not be human nature if the tenure of some millions of slaves did not yield a plentiful crop of cruelties, and hardships, and crimes.

And yet, the circumstances may so greatly modify men's power and control their passions—even when that power is nominally absolute—no careful observer of American Slavery, or indeed of society anywhere, can deny. Thus, Slavery in Louisiana was far harsher than Slavery in Maryland; and Legree could not have done the deeds in Delaware which he might have perpetrated with impunity in South Carolina.

In examining the nature of Slavery in Brazil, therefore, we ought first to discover its relation to the population, race, and territory among and in which it exists.

THE POPULATION OF BRAZIL.

First in importance is the population; because a vast numerical majority of slaves, by throwing around the negro the mantle of an ever present dread, might have a tendency, other circumstances

favouring, to make the master afraid to exercise his terrible authority with cruelty. Not necessarily so, because St. Domingo Slavery was frightfully cruel, although, when the revolution broke out in the island, the whites did not number 40,000 in a population of half a million. But taken into consideration with the nature of the country—which if, as in Brazil, large and impenetrable, affording easy and frequent opportunities of escape, must tend to modify despotic power; and in connection, also, with the characteristics of race, which if, as is the case with the Brazilians, free from the prejudices of colour, must somewhat soften the desire to render the institution perpetual—then the element of population becomes the most important one in seeking to arrive at a correct knowledge of the subject.

There is no authentic census of Brazil in existence. The Government estimates are confessedly official guesses only. Humbolt, in 1825, reckoned the entire population of Brazil at about 4,000,000, of whom 920,000 were whites, 1,960,000 were negroes, and 1,120,000 were of mixed blood, or native Indians. Thus the proportion of the coloured races to the white was about three to one. An English Parliamentary Report estimated the population on the 1st of January to be—whites, 1,000,000; free coloured races, 500,000; slaves, 3,500,000—four to one. Christie, the last author who has written on Brazil, late Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary there, reports that the total population is about 7,000,000, and that the number of slaves is variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 4,000,000. He states that this is the calculation of a laborious and well-informed writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of July 1862, and takes 3,000,000 as a mean number and moderate estimate.

It is safe to say, therefore, that at least every other person in Brazil is a slave.

NO PREJUDICE OF COLOUR.

Next comes the question of race antipathies. The result of our investigation has shown us that, to use the language of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, "there is no country where the white and black races mingle, in which the field is so fair for the negro. It is true that Slavery exists there; but it is equally true that it is a personal relation—that is, between master and slave, not between white man and black. 'Though in Brazil a slave is indeed a slave, yet a negro is not, in the American sense, a negro.' This is the language of a well-informed English author. In Brazil there is no social distinction between the black race and the white, resulting in the general proscription of the African. The races have fused—the result is equality. There exists a certain pride of purity of blood; but black blood is no bar whatever to advancement. The races intermarry—they associate without faction or jealousy. The negroes and the mulattoes hold offices of all grades in the army and navy."

"One result of this social fusion," says this same careful authority, "has been to make Slavery more secure from insurrections than in other countries. As involuntary servitude is wholly a condition of life, not of race, there are as many negroes as whites who are slaveholders,

and therefore they are as much interested in its perpetuation as our own chivalry in the palmiest days of the C. S. A. As good as the whites at the ballot-box, they are as bad as the whites in the slave quarters."

NUMEROUS CANADAS—BUT—

The vast extent of the country, its immense and impenetrable forests, the ease with which life is supported in the tropics by fruits and the chase—all conspire to render it tolerably safe and by no means difficult for fugitive slaves to maintain themselves in the depths of woods which everywhere invite them to seek their shelter. A paragraph in the last budget of news from Brazil will shew that these arboral Canadas have already sheltered great numbers of negroes:

"The flight of slaves to the neutral district of Amapa, South of the Oyapok (preserved neutral by virtue of a Convention between France and Brazil), continues, and it is calculated that 6000 or 7000 refugees live independently there, like the Maroons in former times in Jamaica."

This relates to a special district, but everywhere there are smaller colonies of these people.

So far, so good. But there hangs a doubt still. Despite the superior slave population, despite the fraternal character of the whites, despite the frequent opportunities of escape, human nature remains to be offset against them; human nature, which is everywhere unfit to be trusted with despotic power over unprotected and defenceless wards, for whom no tie of kindred or of a like social condition, is a partial guarantee of good treatment.

This doubt can only be resolved by a careful examination of all the evidence to be found in the books of travellers in Brazil; for here and there, in the newspapers of the day, an occasional paragraph gives one the hint that all is not gold that glitters in the Empire.

For example, read the two paragraphs that follow, both from trustworthy sources:

This—

"A deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* of London waited on Señor Andrada in March last. The Señor has been Secretary of the Brazilian Legation for some years, and was then charged with the superintendence of the Brazilian Consulate. He told the deputation that the Emperor himself, and all his ministers, and all the Brazilian people, believe that it is a duty to humanity to abolish Slavery. 'I can assure you,' he said, 'that not only the Emperor, but his government, his advisers, and every Brazilian possessing the feelings of humanity, think that it is not only the duty, but that it will be for the interest of the country, to abolish Slavery.' And still again, 'The government and people of Brazil think it is their duty and their interest, as soon as they possibly can, entirely to abolish Slavery.'"—*Boston Daily Advertiser*.

With this—

"In Bahia, on the 23rd of November, a slave girl, of twenty-four years of age, was brought before the chief of police in consequence of horrible ill-usage by her master. She is described as being more like a corpse than a living being.

She bore iron shackles on her ankles, fastened to a belt secured by a letter padlock, which, she says she has carried for ten years. Her sides and head were covered with old and recent cicatrices, made, according to the declarations, with red-hot iron, and her teeth torn out with a dows-key. She was again remitted to the hospital, and a prosecution commenced against her owner. The Brazilian law frees Slaves who have been grossly maltreated by their owners."

—This and other like testimony induced us to investigate the character of Slavery in Brazil.

A special examination of almost every important book of travel and of reference on Brazil that has been published in France, England, and America, during the last two centuries—a careful study of every passage that relates to Slavery, directly or indirectly, in the volumes of the great public libraries of Boston—have led us to believe, in the first place, that Slavery in the Southern Empire has undergone little or no change for two generations past; that nothing of any importance has been done to ameliorate its acknowledged and inevitable evils; and, in the next place, that whether we regard its influence on the white man or the negro, the planter or the poor white, its social or its moral aspects, it is entitled to no pre-eminence whatever in point of humanity, over the system which the war for the Union trod out of existence. If it is milder than the old South Carolina or Louisiana Slavery, it is not milder than the Missouri or the North Carolina system.

FIFTY YEARS AGO.

[1817]. Henry Koster has enabled us know Slavery as it was in Brazil, half a century ago, more perfectly than any more modern writer has enabled us to know Slavery as it is to-day. Koster was a friend of Southey, to whom he dedicates his book. He is described by his cotemporary reviewers as a "thorough-bred planter;" he relates, without any feeling of contrition, that he bought, worked, and punished slaves; but his fairness in treating all subjects that fell under his notice entitles his accounts to credit. He treats of negroes incidentally in his first volume, here and there, as incidents came under his observation; but in his second volume he devotes a long chapter specially to Slavery in Brazil. His statements have the stamp of a perfect candour, and are confirmed, in parts, by almost every author that I have consulted, even by such writers as Gardner, who was a partisan of a class. Those traits which other authors do not notice, have been developed in Southern Slavery, and are described by Mr. Christie as distinguishing the Brazilian system of to-day.

We will, therefore, give a somewhat extended synopsis of Mr. Koster's testimony.

LEGREE IN BRAZIL.

Mr. Koster describes how a plantation tenanted by Brazilian slaves was brought into subjection by a Portuguese driver. More than one steward, or driver, had been killed by these negroes, and for a time they remained without any person to quiet them; but still they did not leave the place. When things had gone on in this manner for some time, a native of Portugal presented himself to the proprietor of the estate

and offered to take charge of it if he would allow him a salary of 250*l.* annually, which was an enormous stipend; and if he would also sign an agreement by which he should not become responsible for any slaves who might be killed in reducing the remainder to obedience. The contract was made, and the Portuguese, with a guide and two friends—all amply provided with firearms and ammunition—set out for the estate, and took up their lodgings in the principal house. In the morning, on discovering the intentions of these new comers, several of the negroes assembled at a little distance in front of the house. The new steward came to the door unarmed, and, as if nothing had happened, called to one of the ringleaders of the negroes by name. The man advanced from the group, but refused to come nearer. Without a word, the steward seized a loaded musket, which he had concealed near by, and shot down the negro. He called another of the men, who gave no answer. The concealed friends of the driver then advanced, and the whole party fired into the group of slaves. "Such," says the author, "was the effect of this summary manner of proceeding, that in one or two days all was quiet and went on smoothly—a few only of the slaves absconding."

STORIES OF RUNAWAY SLAVES.

Mr. Koster relates two incidents of runaway slaves, both of which illustrate, not the character of Slavery only, but the greater social freedom at that time enjoyed by the free coloured people of Brazil over the same class of persons in the United States. Indeed, in this respect the position of the coloured people of Brazil is pre-eminently preferable to those of the United States. But this is a matter, not of laws, but of race.

A mulatto slave ran away from his master, and in the course of years became a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen, which he was arranging with his herdsmen to despatch to different parts for sale. A stranger, travelling alone, came up to him and said that he wished to have a private conversation. After a little time they retired. The owner of the estate said to the stranger, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us while my people were present." The stranger was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made his visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for any thing that his slave chose to give him. As he was in his old slave's power, who might have killed him at once, he did not think of reclaiming him. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and sent a man to drive them to market for him.

The next picture is not so pleasant.

A negro and his wife had escaped from Slavery, and their master had not received any tidings of them for sixteen or seventeen years. He supposed that both of them were dead. But one day there arrived at his door in Recife a number of *capitans-de-campo* with several persons in custody. The master soon recognised his negro and negress, and he was told that the five

young persons who were with them were their children, and his slaves. "These poor creatures had been brought up until this period of their lives with the idea that they were free, and thus a young man of sixteen, and his sister of fourteen years of age, were, at this season of joy and gladness, to commence a life of misery." The master seized them, imprisoned them, and sold them all to Maranham.

Maranham is to the Pernambuco what Louisiana was to the Virginian negro—their terror. "Nothing," says our author, "nothing tends so much to keep a slave in awe as the threat of sending him to Maranham or Para."

FEUDALISM AND PLANTATION MANNERS.

Koster, from his own experience, testified that great planters exercised feudal powers. He had great power, not over his own slaves only, but over free persons of lower rank. He incidentally gives one illustration of the effects of this irresponsible authority. One evening a young man of colour was preparing to carry home his marketing, when one of these "lords of the plantation" rode up. When he came near the mulatto he struck him with his cane, and cried out, "Why don't you take off your hat when a white man appears?"

Thus far the incident might have happened in any Southern State; but not the conclusion of it. The mulatto drew his knife and sheathed it in the groin of his assailant. With his bloody knife in his hand, he ran off, threatening any one who should attempt to capture him. To his credit be it recorded that the planter improved the few minutes that elapsed before he died, in requesting that the murderer should not be pursued, and admitting that he had provoked his fate. In a few weeks the mulatto returned, and was neither molested by the law nor by the relatives of his victim. They manage these things differently down South.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 30th April.

ECCLIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE WEST INDIES.

Mr. R. MILLS moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the several Acts granting and regulating the appropriation of 20,300*l.* from the Consolidated Fund for the ecclesiastical establishments in the West Indies, excepting so far as to continue their allowances to the present recipients until their promotion, resignation, or decease. He did not propose to interfere with any present holders of grants, but to discontinue them for the future, and he hoped that the Bill would meet with the concurrence of the House.

Mr. ADDERLEY said he would not oppose the introduction of the Bill, though he considered that a precipitate repeal of the Acts alluded to must involve great hardship as well as breach of faith. Something more than the saving of existing rights would be necessary to prevent the mischief that might otherwise ensue. Both the late and the present Government had had it in contemplation to reduce this charge, but the steps taken must be carried into effect with a

discretion which could properly be exercised by the Executive only.

Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

Monday, 6th April.

MARTIAL LAW.

Mr. HEADLEM asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the attention of the Government had been directed to the presentment of the grand jury in the case of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Braud, "That martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment;" and whether the Government proposed in any manner to act upon the recommendation of the grand jury.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: My noble friend the then Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Carnarvon), very shortly after the commencement of the session, issued a circular on this important subject to the governors of the colonies, and the best answer I can make to this question is to lay on the table the circular in question.

Tuesday, 14th May.

PETITIONS.

Mr. GILPIN presented a petition from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, which stated that the petitioners had received various communications from Jamaica showing the distress caused by the acts of the military during the existence of martial law in October and November 1865; the Royal Commissioners had reported that numerous persons had suffered the loss of property who were wholly guiltless of having taken any part in the rebellion; that over one thousand houses had been burned and destroyed; and that the petitioners prayed the Government would accord justice in these cases, and that the House would consider how far the compensation due to the sufferers might be properly paid out of the Consolidated Fund.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Sir F. BUXTON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty if his attention had been drawn to the opinions expressed by Commander Latham (Slave-Trade Papers, A, 1867, No. 79), Commander Purvis (No. 84), Captain Beddingfield (No. 90), and by Consul and Political Agent Seward (Slave-Trade Papers B, No. 216,) in favour of an alteration in the cruising ground of her Majesty's ships, with a view to the more effective prevention of the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa; whether it was proposed to make any such change; and if the returns of slavers captured in 1866 would before long be laid upon the table.

Mr. CORRY replied that the recommendations of Commander Purvis and Commander Latham were generally approved by Commodore Hill, the commander on the station, and had been already carried into effect as far as circumstances would admit. Mr. Seward recommended that the Government should occupy an island as a coal depôt and place for captured slaves; but Commander Hill reported that the island in question required a strong garrison to protect it from warlike Arabs; that it was a mere rock, and that the water on it was bad and unfit for use. It was, therefore, not the intention of the Government to act on that recommendation.

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says, in a note to a revised edition of his Charge, just published:

"A man must be dead to all sentiments of humanity—must have banished mercy from the catalogue of human virtues—who can read the history of the Irish rebellion at the close of the last century, the history of the slave insurrection in Demerara in 1823, and of the punishments then inflicted under martial-law, as detailed in Mr. Martin's history of the colonies, under the head of British Guiana, or the account of the executions and scourgings after the recent outbreak in Jamaica, as shown by the report of the Royal Commissioners, without shuddering to think what human nature is capable of, when, stimulated by the fierce passions engendered by recent conflict, or by the sense of present, or recollection of past fear, vengeance is let loose, in the shape of martial-law, to be exercised by a dominant class on an inferior and despised race."

THE EARL OF CARNARVON AND THE JAMAICA OUTBREAK.

SUBJOINED is the text of the despatches—referred to in another column—from the Earl of Carnarvon to Governor Sir J. P. Grant, on the subject of an investigation into the proceedings of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, instituted by a Special Commission under Mr. Eyre's reign of terror, when the Legislature and certain parties in the island of Jamaica went mad.

"Downing-street, July 30, 1866.

"Sir,—By Mr. Secretary Cardwell's despatch, Vo. 173, of 18th June, your predecessor was instructed to institute a careful investigation of those cases in which grave offences had been laid to the charge of civilians during the suppression of the recent disturbances in Jamaica, in order that such further proceedings might be taken as were requisite and just. I have no doubt that this most serious and painful duty will occupy your immediate attention. But it is not the less my duty to express to you the great importance which her Majesty's Government attach to a close and complete investigation of those cases which appear to you to call for it, and their anxiety that all classes in the island should know that in these, as in all other cases, they may rely on a strict and equal administration of justice, without fear or favour, at the hands of the law and the representative of the Crown. I have to instruct you to furnish me at the earliest day with a report of the proceedings which you have taken.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "CARNARVON.

"Governor Sir J. P. Grant, K.C.B., &c."

"Downing-street, August 1, 1866.

"Sir,—Your predecessor forwarded, in his despatch to Mr. Secretary Cardwell, No. 73, of the 24th of March, a return of the sentences inflicted by the Special Commission of Oyer and Ter-

miner, held at Kingston between 24th January and 9th March last, on persons implicated in the disturbances in Jamaica, or arrested on charges of sedition and treason. I find, on examination of this return, that many of the sentences thus inflicted are of great severity. Thirteen men and two women are sentenced to penal servitude for life, and seven men and four women to penal servitude for twenty years, the charge being felonious riot. I have no wish to express any doubt of the justice or propriety of sentences thus inflicted by a legally-constituted tribunal; but it appears to me that, as the investigation of the Royal Commission has enabled the Government to appreciate more clearly than was possible at the time the nature of the recent disturbances, and the guilt of those implicated in them, it would be desirable that the proceedings of the Commission specially appointed to try those persons should now be revised; and I wish you, therefore, to call for the judges' notes, and, after consultation with the presiding judge under that Commission, to report your opinion whether, in any of the cases, there are grounds for remitting any portion of the sentences.—I have, &c.,

(Signed)

"CARNARVON

"Governor Sir J. P. Grant, K.C.B., &c."

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

WE resume from our last, Mr. Redpath's letters on the above subject.

NO. II.

INDIANS AND NEGROES.

As in our own country—prejudice and sentimentalism apart—in Brazil, also, the negro is the superior of the Indian; the black is everywhere a most decided character, both for better and worse. The Indians are without energy—devoid of great good or great evil—they are not to be depended on. "I never saw an Indian mechanic," says Mr. Koster, "in any of the towns. There is no instance of a wealthy Indian. Rich mulattoes and negroes are by no means rare."

A MERE MATTER OF COLOUR.

Although it has no special reference to Slavery, I cannot refrain from quoting a note respecting colour, as, both in the West Indies and in the South, I have heard the same fact commented on, but never explained. Children of the same parents, where one is darker than the other, are seldom if ever of the same tint. A mulatto woman once said to an author, "The children of mulattoes are like whelps—they are of all colours." Some difference is always noticeable, and this is so glaring, in many instances, as to lead to doubt, at first, of its authenticity. But it is too general to be attributed to marital infidelity. The offspring of white and black persons leans, in most instances, more to one colour than to the other, when, perhaps, a second child will take a contrary tint. How is this fact accounted for by physiologists?

LIFE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Notwithstanding the vastness of the country, fugitives are not so successful in escaping as might be supposed. The Africans are readily detected by their accent, and the rewards of capturing runaways insure their capture.

Creole negroes and mulattoes often escape and are never afterward heard of by their masters; but even these are sometimes brought back.

Some of these fugitives conceal themselves in the wood, instead of attempting to live in distant villages as free persons. They construct their *mocambos* or huts in the most unfrequented spots, and they live on fruits and the spoils of the chase. These persons sometimes assemble to the number of ten or twelve, and then their dislodgment is difficult, for their acquaintance with the woods around gives them the advantage over any party which may be sent to attack them. Sometimes a whole neighbourhood is disturbed by one of these communities, who rob the provision grounds, steal calves, lambs and poultry, and stories are told of the Gabam negroes stealing children. Those who once escape, even if recaptured, seldom remain; they run off again and again until they secure their freedom.

Instances of great hardship, quite equal to the worst in our Fugitive Slave law times, are recorded of recaptured coloured Brazilians.

THE BENEFICENT LAWS OF SLAVERY POWERLESS.

Passing from the incidents of Slavery to the character and methods of the system itself, Mr. Koster is an invaluable guide. He abounds in facts and illustrations. We can give the most meagre synopsis, and of the essential features only.

Indian Slavery is abolished; Africans and their descendants only are held as slaves, but no line is drawn at which the near approach to the colour and blood of the whites entitles the child, whose mother is a slave, to freedom. For, as with us, the child follows the condition of its mother. Persons apparently perfectly white are still held as slaves.

Sundays and holidays are the slave's own time, and there are thirty-five holidays in the year.

"The slave can oblige his master to manumit him, on tendering to him the sum for which he was first purchased, or the price for which he might be sold, if that price is higher than what the slave was worth at the time he was first bought." This statement will be found in almost every Encyclopædia and in every eulogistic account of Slavery in Brazil. But Mr. Koster, by his honesty, tears the mask from this hypocritical pretext. He says that an incident that came under his notice would have made him doubtful of the foundation upon which this custom was placed, if he had not known how easily the laws relating to many other important points were evaded through the influence of wealth and power. He never saw a copy of the law or regulation establishing this privilege, but he never met with any one who doubted its existence. Yet the main fact to be sought for with reference to this feature of Brazilian law, Mr. Koster states with great frankness: this, namely, that it is practically a dead letter. The best thing to be said of it is, that it has been, or it is, a custom; but one, albeit, which the slaveholder may honour or disobey, as he sees fit. In point of fact, slave masters do refuse to liberate their slaves on offer of the prescribed sum, and "no appeal is made by the sufferer, owing to the state of law which renders it almost

impossible for the slave to gain a hearing," and because, also, "if he was to appeal and fail, he would be punished, and his life might be rendered more miserable than it was before." Mr. Koster relates an incident showing the working of this law:

"The owner of a slave plantation, with whose sons I was well acquainted, possessed a slave who had the management of the sugar-boiling during crop time, and who was accounted by all who knew him and understood the business, to be a most excellent workman. This man accumulated a sum of money, which he offered to his master for his freedom, but it was not accepted; and although the slave made great interest with persons of consideration in the country, he could not accomplish his end. His master loaded him with irons, and he was made to work in this state. He did not obtain his liberty till after his masters' death, when his widow received his money and manumitted him. His trade of sugar-boiler renders him large profits yearly, and this injured man now lives in ease and comfort."

In Mr. Koster's district public opinion, the influence of the clergy, and the fear of losing the slave by flight, commonly induced the masters to sell him when he applied for his freedom, with the offer of C. O. D.!

A slave mother who gives birth to ten children and rears them ought to be free, "for, so the law ordains; but this regulation is generally evaded, and, beside, the number of children is too great for many women to be benefited by it." Our author mentions an incident which came under his personal knowledge, in which a mother complied with this patriarchal proviso; but her master refused to emancipate her, nevertheless.

Some slaves are manumitted at the death of their masters; some during his or her life-time; others—infants at the breast—are freed at the baptismal font, by the payment of 5*l.* by their sponsors or their fathers.

The comforts of slaves in different stations are widely disproportionate, depending wholly on the whim or will of their masters.

PLANTATION RELIGION AND MORALITY.

As all children follow the condition of their mothers, so "all slaves follow the religion of their masters." "The slaves are not asked whether they will be baptized or not. Their entrance into the Catholic Church is treated as a thing of course." The baptized native Africans come to pride themselves on their besprinklement; the most opprobrious epithet to their comrades is—*Pagano!* (pagan). The negroes of Brazil show the same religious fervour that is characteristic of our Southern Freedmen. They, too, have their religious brotherhoods, and money hidden away to purchase their freedom will often be brought out for the decoration of a saint. Du Terte, in his *Histoire des Antilles*, thus speaks of the religious character of these negroes:

"But the negroes are certainly touched of God! May they preserve to the death the religion that they embraced! May they practice the virtues and do the deeds it inculcates! And I can truly say of them that they show more Christianity in their condition than many Frenchmen."

Marriage is encouraged by the slaveholders,

for (says the honest Koster) it is from these lawful connections that they can expect to increase the number of their creoles! Slaves cannot marry without their masters' consent. In towns there is more licentiousness among both black and white than in the country. Female slaves are often beaten by their masters and mistresses (*oftener by the latter*) if they do not increase the coloured population. On estates where there are a majority of men, the female slaves are more liable to misconduct. When the numbers are equal, their behaviour is as correct as any other body of persons.

The picture which the author draws of the old slave marts is a sickening one; and as it is not necessary for our purpose here, we omit any further reference to it.

Mechanics and other city slaves, by prudence, can generally save enough to buy their freedom in ten years.

MERCILESS MANUMISSIONS.

We hear of manumissions to-day that can hardly be called philanthropic; and it was the same half a century ago.

"Miserable objects," says the author, "are at times to be seen in Recife, asking alms in various quarters of the town, aged and diseased. Some of these persons have been slaves; and when, from infirmity, they have been rendered useless, their masters have manumitted them; and thus being turned away to beg in their old age, or in a crippled state, their only resource is to beg in the public streets."

CHURCH SLAVES.

The slaves which belong to the Benedictine Monks and Carmelite Friars are treated with more regard to their rights as human beings than the negroes on the great "secular" plantations. "The slaves," says Koster, "treat their masters with great familiarity. They only pay respect to the Abbot, whom they regard as the representative of the saint." They have a notion that they belong, not to the monks, but to the saints, whose proper representative is the Abbot. The conduct of the younger members of the communities of regular clergy is well known not to be by any means correct. The vows of celibacy are not strictly adhered to. This circumstance decreases the respect with which these men might otherwise be treated upon their own estates, and increases much the licentiousness of the women. "I have seen upon these plantations," adds our author, "many light-coloured mulatto slaves!" These monks do other things which show a rather worldly character. They do not permit their coloured men to marry free women. "They do not wish that a slave should be useless in the way of increasing the stock on the plantation." But they do not object to a free man marrying one of their slaves, for thereby "a stranger is contributing to the increase of their stock."

At the time of Mr. Koster's visit to this estate, it was managed by a mulatto slave, who had been permitted to buy his wife and children, but could not purchase himself. He owned two African slaves; he offered them for his own freedom, but the monks told him they could not manage the estate without him, and

they refused his offers. Otherwise they treated him with the greatest consideration.

On no other estates—absolutely none—"is the complete system of rendering unnecessary a constant supply of new labourers made the primary object." This somewhat obscure phrase means that it was deemed more profitable to import than to raise slaves; that the lives and comfort of the negroes were wantonly sacrificed to the interests of the estates. Subsequent testimony will show that this policy was kept up until within a few years past. All the cruelties which have been charged on American Slavery were evidently perpetrated in Brazil at that date; and now, for anything that there appears to the contrary, excepting bold and unsupported assertions by eulogists and parasites of the existing empire, "corporal punishments are resorted to," says Koster, * * * "iron collars, chains, and other punishments of the like description, are likewise made use of."

PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES.

At the Mata, on one estate, fifty-five slaves were "consumed" in less than fifteen years. One incident of Brazil's "mild form of Slavery" will suffice to vindicate our own defamed and defunct system; defamed in having been regarded as more cruel than the Imperial style:

"A planter with whom I was acquainted was once seen by a person who happened to call upon him, occupied with three of his companions in flogging four negroes. The men were tied, at a short distance from each other, to four posts; and, as the operation continued, there was much laughing and joking, for, as they lashed their mangled victims, they cried out, 'Here is to the health of (such and such a person)!' The author speaks of a slave who severed his head from his body, owing to the cruelty of his master; and he adds, 'I could mention many anecdotes of this description, indicative of individual blackness of heart, such as have been related of all nations who have had to do with slaves.'"

NEGRO SLAVE-MASTERS.

As, in our South, negroes made the hardest slave-drivers, Irishmen next, and Yankees after the haters of Saxon oppression; so in Brazil, the blacks were the most tyrannical, and, after them, the Europeans, and then the free negroes. Manumitted Africans who became possessed of slaves generally treated them in a severe and unfeeling manner—nothing softened, but rather rendered more violent by a remembrance of their own sufferings.

ALLOWANCE OF THE SLAVES.

In the rural districts, Mr. Koster says that the food allowed to the slaves would not have been sufficient if the days of intended rest did not supply them with an addition to the stock which the master afforded. That is to say, while apparently giving the slave his holidays the master really compelled him to work for his own benefit instead of the negro's. For clothing, the slave receives a shirt and drawers of the cotton-cloth of the country, a piece of baize, a mat and hat; "but," he adds, "these things are not received as often as a due consideration for their comfort would demand."

SLAVES OF THE SMALL PROPRIETORS.

In the South, the most happily-circumstanced slaves were those owned by the small farmers of North Carolina and East Tennessee, where their masters worked with them, and they formed, in reality, a part of the household and family. It is so—or was so—in Brazil as well, Mr. Koster says of this class:

“There are a considerable number of white persons, and of coloured, who possess two or three slaves, and share with them the daily labour, even of the field. These slaves are, generally speaking, creoles who have been reared in the family, or Africans who have been purchased very young for a trifling sum of money. They are frequently considered as part of the family, and share with the master the food for which both are working. These slaves appear on gala-days well dressed, and they have a certain air of independence, which shows that they think themselves to be something more in the world than mere drudges. The difference of the feeling of one of these men toward his master and that of the generality of the slaves who are owned by great proprietors, is very striking. The former will not suffer, in his presence, a word to be spoken against his master; while the latter cares not if he heard every injurious epithet made use of. The slaves of small proprietors are not so liable to imbibe many of the faults to which those of wealthy men are subject, and they possess more pride—a greater wish to act honourably—a greater dread of being upbraided for a fault. Upon large estates the assemblage of many persons tends to deprivation, and the wide distance which there is between the slave and master tends to produce a greater feeling of inferiority. But among the small proprietors, the difference in rank is infinitely less owing, among other causes, to the assistance which they receive from each other, in their daily occupation.”

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE.

Mr. Koster thus sums up his minute descriptions of the life of the negroes and the system of slavery in Brazil:

“I have represented Slavery in what I conceive to be the state in which it usually exists upon the plantations; but any comforts which the human beings who are so circumstanced enjoy, and any respite from severe labour, are so entirely at the will of the ‘master,’ that the instances in which the fate of the slave is hard almost beyond endurance, are too dreadfully frequent. Some planters follow the system of performing certain kinds of work during the early part of the night, beside making the negroes labour for the full usual time during the day—for instance, the whole of the labour of making mandioc flour, preparing with their feet the clay for making bricks and earthenware, also building mud walls; besides removing bricks, firewood, and so forth, from one place to another. This extra work is called ‘quingingoo.’ I even knew of one instance in which the field labour was continued until twelve o’clock at night, by the light of large fires, which had been kindled on several parts of the ground. For this manner of proceeding there was no reason, excepting that it was the master’s pleasure so to act; for the season was favourable and not too far advanced

to have continued the work in the usual manner, and yet have accomplished the planting of the field in proper time. Of cruelty I could say much; but I have gone far enough, and must not enter into further details upon this part of my subject. The relation of such misdeeds does more harm than good. They serve as examples for those who have unprincipled minds and unfeeling hearts, and who may consider them as paths in which they may tread, rather than as precipices which ought to be avoided.”

And yet we have seen, although the author professes to be silent as to the enormities of Slavery, that the era of mildness had hardly begun fifty years ago. The frightful condition of their slave shambles was indicated by their shameless treatment of the negroes on the great estates. The guarantees of law were mere phantom barriers around the bondsman, which seemed to protect him, but vanished instantly under the tigerly glare of the slave-master. We will come nearer to our own day, step by step, to discover when and where this rigour ceased and the reign of “gentleness” began.

JAMAICA BAPTIST ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR GRANT.

THE *Jamaica Morning Journal* contains the subjoined record of the presentation of an Address to Governor Grant:—

At a meeting held in the Baptist Chapel, Four Paths, Clarendon, on the 25th day of April, 1867, it was resolved that the following Address be presented to his Excellency the Governor, and that the Rev. J. M. Phillippo be appointed a deputation to present it to his Excellency, in the most acceptable manner:

To his Excellency Sir JOHN PETER GRANT, Governor of the Island of Jamaica and its Dependencies, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty’s Forces, &c., &c.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the Pastor and Delegates of the South-West Middlesex Association of Baptist Churches, comprising twenty-nine churches, containing six thousand members and catechumens, in the parishes of Manchester, Clarendon, Vere, St. John’s, and St. Dorothy, at a meeting of the Association, held at Ebenezer Chapel, Four Paths, on the 25th day of April, 1867, beg to tender to your Excellency our sincere congratulations on the honour bestowed on your Excellency by our gracious and beloved Sovereign in selecting you, at this critical juncture of our island’s history, to be the head of our Government.

We sincerely hope and believe, from your Excellency’s reported ability and impartiality, accompanied with the blessing of God, that future prosperity is in store for our distracted and depressed island.

We desire to assure your Excellency of our increasing devotion and loyalty to the person and throne of our beloved Sovereign, and would

be in preparation in the Attorney-General's office. A despatch from New Orleans, dated the 25th August, announced the arrival at the mouth of the river of a vessel from Havana, with 23 coolies on board, and stated that other shipments of small numbers had arrived, and some were at work on the plantations.

An order has been issued in Texas forbidding distinction by railroads and chartered companies which are common carriers, between passengers on account of colour, race, or previous condition. The captain of a steamer, plying between Charleston and Beaufort, S. C., was recently tried before a military court, and fined 250 dollars for refusing a first-class ticket and passage to a young woman, on account of colour.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE LIFE IN BRAZIL.

MR. REDPATH continues as follows, his letters on the above-mentioned subject :

THE SLAVE MART.

[1824.]—SPIX and MARTIUS describe the slave mart. They state that the greater part of the negroes who were then brought to Rio de Janeiro came from Cabinder and Benguela. On their arrival they were quartered in houses hired for the purpose in Vallongo Street, near the sea. There may be seen children from six years of age and upward, and adults of both sexes, of all ages. A mulatto or old negro, who has acquired experience in long service, has the superintendence of the food and other necessities for the new comers. The chief article of subsistence is mandioca or maize flour (*fuba*), boiled in water (*mingua*), and, more rarely, salt meats from Rio Grande de Sul. The preparation of this simple food, which they eat out of hollow gourds, or dishes made of the calabash, is left as much as possible with themselves. Negroes and negresses, who conduct themselves well, are rewarded with snuff and tobacco. They pass the nights on straw mats, with blankets to cover them. Whoever wants to buy slaves repairs to the Vallongo to make his choice, where every inspector draws up the slaves, quite naked, for his examination. The purchaser endeavours to convince him of the bodily strength and health of the negroes, partly by feeling their bodies, and partly by causing them to execute rapid motions, particularly by striking out their arm with the fist doubled. What is most apprehended in these purchases are hidden corporal defects, and especially the very frequent disposition to blindness. When the choice is made, the purchase money is fixed, which, for a healthy negro, ranges from 350 to 500 florins, the seller generally making himself answerable for any corporal defects that may be discovered within a fortnight. The new proprietor is now absolute master of the labour of his slave and of the produce of it. But if, the author says, he is guilty of inhuman treatment of him, he is liable, as for other offences, to be punished by the police or the tribunals. The

latter take care, by means expressly adapted for the purpose, to restore runaway slaves to their right owners, and punish the fugitives if they renew the attempt by putting an iron ring round their necks. If the master will not punish his slaves himself, it is done, after payment of a certain sum, by the police in the Calabouza.

[1824.]—Maria Graham published a "Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there." In her account of landing, she says that her friend and herself had not gone fifty paces into Recife when they were absolutely sickened by the sight of a slave market. It was thinly stocked, owing to transient causes; yet about fifty young creatures, boys and girls, with all the appearance of disease and famine consequent upon scanty food and long confinement in unwholesome places, were sitting and lying about among the filthiest animals in the street.

Two mornings after, looking from the balcony of her house, she saw a white woman beating a young negress and twisting her arms cruelly, while the poor creature screamed in agony, until some English gentleman interfered. Near her house there were two or three dépôts of slaves, all young. In one she saw an infant of about two years old for sale. Provisions were at that time so scarce that no bit of animal food ever seasoned the paste of mandioc flour, which is the sustenance of slaves; and even of these poor children, by their projecting bones and hollow cheeks, show that they seldom get a sufficiency. Money, at that time, in consequence of local troubles, was so scarce that a purchaser was not easily found, and thereby a new pang was added to their condition of Slavery, the unavailing wish of finding a master.

WHITES AND BLACKS AS WORKMEN.

The author was told by an old planter that the creole negroes and mulattoes were far superior in industry to the white Portuguese and Brazilians, who were, for the most part, indolent and ignorant. The negroes and mulattoes, he said, had strong motives to exertion of every kind, and succeed in what they undertake accordingly. They are the best artificers and artists. The orchestra of the opera-house is composed of at least one-third of mulattoes. All decorative paintings, carving, and inlaying is done by them. In short, they excel in all ingenious mechanical arts.

LEGREE PLAYING LINCOLN.

Mrs. Graham saw instances of negroes being freed by their owners; but they were too old for labour, and were turned out to starve. She mentions an aged couple who, when no longer valuable on their master's estate, were liberated and permitted to draw rations; but their pride of independence caused them to refuse it, and they supported themselves by making baskets and fowling.

TWO WAYS OF BLESSING SLAVES.

She witnessed a ceremony or custom somewhat akin to that described by Stewart.

"After breakfast," she writes, "I attended the weekly muster of all the negroes of the fazenda: clean shirts and trowsers were given the men, and shifts and skirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as she or he came

in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P., saying either 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised,' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised.' This is the custom of old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave."

The practical manner in which this patriarchal owner blessed his slaves peeps out in the course of Mrs. Graham's subsequent narrative:

"In the afternoon I attended Mr. P. to see the negroes receive their daily allowance of food. It consisted of farina, kidney beans, and dried beef—a fixed measure of each to every person. One man asked for two portions, on account of the absence of his neighbour, whose wife had desired it might be sent to her to make ready for him by the time he returned. Some inquiries which Mr. P. made about this person induced me to ask his history. It seems he is a mulatto boatman, the most trusty person on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, beside doing his duty to his master. In his youth—and he is not now old—he had become attached to a creole negress, born, like him, on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that her children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; *but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose*, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, they have no children; and, therefore, on their death, their property, now considerable, will revert to the master. Had they children, as the woman is free, they might inherit the mother's property."

According to this authoress, moonlight dances are favourite amusements of the Brazilian negroes. Their instruments of music are rude contrivances of hollow gourds and a single brass wire—drums—simple guitars and the like; yet they have not an unpleasing effect.

KIND AND THOUGHTFUL MASTERS.

In her account of her second voyage to Brazil and her residence there, Mrs. Graham, in describing a great plantation, has a paragraph which seems to have been clipped from Anti-Slavery Notes of the South:

"The owners of estates prefer having either free blacks or negroes let out by their masters to send into the woods, on account of the numerous accidents that happen in felling the trees, particularly in steep situations. The death of an estate negro is the loss of his value; of a hired negro, only that of a small fine; and of a free black, it is often the saving even of his wages, if he has no son to claim them."

We have seen it stated in a recent Southern letter that the poor whites were sometimes engaged by slaveholders to do dangerous work rather than risk their own negroes!

NEGROES AS FREE LABOURERS.

Mr. Graham found that the little patches of round, given to the negroes to work for them-

selves exclusively, bore twice as much as the land of their masters, on which they spent far more time. This is another proof of the superiority of free over slave-labour.

WILL YOU WALK INTO MY PARLOUR?

In speaking of the Foundling Hospital at Rio de Janeiro, he says that within a little more than nine years 10,000 children had been received. "These were placed out at nurse, and many were never accounted for. Not, perhaps, that they all died—but *the temptation of retaining a mulatto child as a slave*, and, most likely, secure care of its life." Until a recent date they had died in a proportion frightful, as compared to their numbers. This was the statement of the Emperor. Mr. Christie accounts for, it as we shall see, and as Mrs. Graham hints in the words we have italicised.

BURIAL OF SLAVES.

Mr. Daniel P. Kidder, an American Missionary, in 1845, published two volumes of "Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil." and yet, from title-pages to the Appendix, there is no distinct allowance to the existence of Slavery in either of them. The slave-trade is incidentally alluded to, but never Slavery, except by inference, in a description of funeral ceremonies, where he tells how the slaves are buried.

"How different," he says, "from the funeral ceremony, with its boasted sumptuousness and magnificence, is that of the poor slave. Neither torches nor coffin are borne in his lonely procession. His body is placed in a hammock, the ends of which are fastened to a long pole, which is carried on the shoulders of two of his comrades. These may be seen early in the morning marching slowly, one after another, towards the Misericordia. The cemetery connected with that institution consists of a small piece of ground, surrounded by a high wall, on which the figure of a death's head is emblazoned in different places.

"Within this enclosure, a hole is daily dug, in the form of a pit, seven feet square. In this are placed promiscuously the bodies of those who die in the hospital overnight, and of the slaves and poor persons who are brought here to receive gratuitous interment. Thus, in the space of a year, the whole surface is dug over, and in successive years the same process continues to be repeated. In connection with this subject, I will allude to another species of funeral, which illustrates the continuance of heathen customs among the Africans in Brazil. Great numbers of slaves are brought together at the Emperor's country-seat, where they are permitted to follow the customs they prefer.

"Soon after removing to Eugenio Velhi, our attention was called from the rear of the house, one Sabbath day, by loud and protracted cries in the street. On looking out of the window, a negro was seen bearing on his head a wooden tray, on which was the corpse of a child, covered with a white cloth, decorated with flowers, a bunch of them being fastened to its hand. Behind him, in a promiscuous throng, were about twenty negresses and a number of children, adorned most of them with flaunting stripes of red, white and yellow. They were all chanting some Ethiopian dirge, to which they kept time by a slow trot; the bearer of the deceased child

pausing, once in one or two rods, and whirling round on his toes like a dancer.

"Among the foremost, the mother was distinguished by her excessive gesticulation, although it could hardly be determined by her action whether emotions of grief or joy were predominant. Thus they passed on to the churchyard, where the corpse was delivered up to the vigario and his sexton. The procession then returned, chanting and dancing, if possible, more wildly than when they came."

Thus, Mr. Kidder has done what Shakspeare failed to do; he has told us how the Brazilian Hamlet is buried, although he left him out of the play.

A SOUTH-SIDE WITNESS.

[1846.]—The "Travels in the Interior of Brazil," by George Gardner, F.L.S., is a book often quoted. He paints Slavery in rose colours. The accounts that he heard *when he landed, tended to confirm his early impressions that the condition of the Brazilian slave was the most wretched that could be conceived.* But a few years' residence very materially altered those impressions. His experience among the slaveholders was very great, he affirms; and but very few wanton acts of cruelty came under his notice. Intoxication is seldom observed among the black population. In the large towns the necessity for punishment is of frequent occurrence. The master has it in his own power to chastise his slave *at his own discretion.* Some, however, prefer sending the culprit to the Calabouza, where, on the payment of a small sum, punishment is given by the police. It is only for very serious crimes that the slave is given up entirely to the public tribunals, as then his services are lost to the owner, *either altogether, or at least for a long period.*

On most of the plantations the slaves are well attended to, and appear to be very happy. Mr. Gardner conversed with slaves in all parts of the country, and met very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. He sometimes resided for short periods on plantations which had from 300 to 400 slaves, but would never have known from his own observation that they were bondmen. He saw a set of contented and well-conditioned labourers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening, but not broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks. The condition of the domestic slave is perhaps even better than that of the others; his labour is but light, and he is certainly better fed and clothed. Almost universally, he found the Brazilian ladies kind both to their male and female domestic slaves.

Still, the author admits that, owing to the nature and position of the negro, there were frequent necessities for the punishment of evil-disposed ones, and that *a general rise of the black population is much dreaded in Brazil, and would have happened long ago but for the hostile prejudices existing among the different races of Africans.* The mulattoes and other mixed bloods desire a republican form of government. It is to be remarked, he says, that the worst of criminals spring from this class, who inherit in some degree

the superior intellect of the white, while they retain much of the cunning and ferocity of the black. They are mostly free, and bear no goodwill toward the whites, who form the smaller part of the population.

The character and capacity of the negroes introduced into Brazil vary very much in the different nations that they represent. Those from the Northern parts are by far the finest races. The slaves of Bahia are more difficult to manage than those of any other part of Brazil, and more frequent attempts at revolt have taken place there than elsewhere. The cause of this is obvious. Nearly the whole of the slave population of that place is from the Gold Coast. Both the men and the women are not only taller and more handsomely formed than those from Mozambique, Benguela, and the other parts of Africa, but have a much greater share of mental energy, arising, perhaps, from their near relationship to the Moor and Arab. Among them there are many who both read and write Arabic. They are more united among themselves than the other nations, and hence are less liable to have their secrets divulged when they aim at a revolt.

GOVERNOR GRANT ON JAMAICA FINANCE.

THE financial measures of Governor Grant have not found favour with certain parties in Jamaica; and doubtless the extra taxation he has found it necessary to impose weighs heavily upon the community. But at any rate, the new Governor has not laid himself open to the charge of taxing one particular class for the benefit of another. All are alike, and in proportion rendered liable to contribute to the public expenditure, and we understand that the masses of the people pay without grumbling. Not so certain other classes, who have hitherto been to some extent favoured, and hence the strong opposition to Governor Grant's financial policy. We append his reply to the remonstrances it has occasioned. His defence appears to us unimpeachable.

MINUTE.

The two accompanying Memorials have been received by me, one from certain inhabitants of Trelawny, and the other from certain inhabitants of St. Ann. Both have been forwarded to the Secretary of State; but as both relate to legislative measures which have either passed this Council, or are now in progress through it, I thought right to lay them before the Council. With them I beg leave to lay upon the Council table this paper, and some accounts and statements relating to the questions treated in the Memorials.

I have given these Memorials my most respectful and careful attention. It was quite unnecessary for the memorialists of St. Ann's to give an assurance that they are not actuated by any factious spirit of opposition to the present Government. The memorialists remonstrate against certain measures of which they disapprove; but there is no trace of a factious spirit

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ligence about Dr. Livingstone has been received, I shall say once for all what appears to me to be the state of the case.

All the evidence to the effect that Dr. Livingstone was murdered by the Mazite comes through one channel, namely, the Johanna men, with Moussa at their head. Two or three different accounts have been given by these men, and no one account is reconcilable with the others. I will not occupy space or time by going into details, but any one may satisfy himself on this point.

Reports have been received through other channels, not corroborating, but absolutely contradicting the account given by the Johanna men. Arab traders have come from the immediate vicinity of the spot where the murder is alleged to have occurred, and yet have not heard of an event which could not have failed to cause a good deal of excitement through an extended region. A message has been sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar by a chief inland that Livingstone had passed his territories alive and well at a point beyond the scene of the supposed murder.

What has become of the Africans who were with Livingstone? He started from the coast with three sorts of people. The sepoys soon came back, unable to bear the hardships of the climate and journey. The Johanna men came back with the story which has made so much noise in the world; but where are the negroes, of whom there were nine or ten, who had been sent with Livingstone, and the sepoys from Bombay? It is not said that they were killed. What has become of them?

Great stress is laid on Dr. Kirk's opinion. Granted. No man is better qualified to judge. But has he made up his mind? He wrote at the first blush of the affair, and said he feared it was true. A month later he wrote and said it was not well to go spreading reports and putting things in the papers; we had better wait for more evidence. I am not aware that he expressed himself very decidedly since then.

The continued silence of Dr. Livingstone is said to look bad. How long has he been silent? Not much more than twelve months. He was silent longer than that when he crossed the continent further south at a narrower place. I myself have been twelve months without communication with the civilized world, though I have never been in such secluded regions as those to which Livingstone was directing his course when the Johanna men say he was killed. If Livingstone is off the caravan routes which lead to the coast near Zanzibar, he is not likely to find any one to carry his letters. If, as I think quite possible, the negroes are still with him, having got so far, he would not be likely to return, but would continue his journey, and I should not be in the least surprised if he turned up in some most unexpected quarter.

Probably the Johanna men, like their neighbours on the continent, can tell most circumstantial lies. My father has been killed and buried, too, before now, with all the necessary formalities; and so have I, on a smaller scale.

My own belief is, that when the Johanna men found that Livingstone was going into a region

too remote for their taste, they did what many servants, black and white, have done before them—took to their heels some fine night when the explorer was asleep, and made the best of their way back to Zanzibar.—I am, &c.

JOHN SMITH MOFFAT.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE-LIFE IN BRAZIL.

We continue Mr. Redpath's letters on the above-named subjects.

CHRISTMAS ON THE PLANTATION.

Mr. Gardner gives a description of negro festivities at Christmas on a Brazilian plantation:

"It being Christmas-day on which we arrived, and a great holiday, we found the whole of the slaves belonging to the estate, amounting to about one hundred, dancing in the yard before the house, and all attired in new suits of clothes, which had been sent to them the day before.

"In the evening a party of the best-conducted, principally Creoles, were admitted into the verandah of the house, where I had a good opportunity of witnessing their dances, some of them not being very delicate. One of the best was a kind of dramatic dance, of which the following is a programme:

"Near the door of a house belonging to a padre (priest), a young fellow commences dancing and playing on the viola, a kind of guitar. The padre hears the noise, and sends out one of his servants to ascertain the cause. He finds the musician dancing to his own strains, and tells him that he is sent by his master to inquire why he is thus disturbed. The musician tells him that he is making no disturbance at all, but only trying a new dance from Bahia, which he saw the other day at the Diario.

"The servant asks if it is a good one.

"'Oh! very good!' replies the other; 'will you not try it?'

"The servant claps his hand, cries, 'Let the padre go to sleep,' and immediately joins in the dance. The same thing is repeated till the padre's servants—men, women, and children—amounting to about twenty, are dancing in a circle before the house.

"Last of all, the supposed padre himself makes his appearance in a great rage, dressed in a large poncho for a gown, a broad-brimmed black straw hat, and a mask with a long beard to it. He demands the cause of the noise, which, he says, prevents him from enjoying his dinner.

"The musician tells him the same story that was told to his servants, and, after much persuasion, gets him to join in the dance also. He dances with as much zeal as any of them; but, watching his opportunity, he takes out a whip which he has concealed under his gown, and, lashing the whole of them out of the apartment, finishes the performance.

"'After an experience of five years among the Brazilians,' says Mr. Gardner near the close of his volume, 'I must say of them that they are far from being hard task-masters, and that with

very few exceptions I found them kind and considerate to their slaves; and at another place, some hundred pages apart, 'at the same time I could not but exclaim with Sterne: Still, Slavery, still thou art a bitter draught.'

UN COMPTE RENDU.

[1848.]—Dr. Alp Rendu travelled in Brazil by order of the French Minister of Public Instruction, to study the ordinary diseases of that country. On his return to Paris, he published a volume of "Studies—Topographical, Medical and Agricultural—on Brazil." He devotes one section to Slavery. His opinions are what we have always in America styled the conservative pro-slavery creed; stripped of its illustrations, and, in brief, this—that Slavery is a curse, but that abolition would be a misfortune both to the country and the negro; that the black is but little susceptible of civilization; that he is naturally lazy, and, even when industrious as a slave, would become an indolent thing in a state of freedom; and that, while Slavery is a moral calamity, as everybody knows, premature emancipation would entail misfortunes of which no one can foresee the end. His plan of abolition is to declare free all children who are born of slave parents; but, to preserve them from the pernicious influence of their begetters, the government shall take charge of the children! Government, in other words—which, even in our land, is so often asked to wet-nurse industrial projects—shall become "damp-child's maid," and, in very deed, of all the young blacks in Brazil. What a stupendously mammoth nursery our Frenchman would establish!

Leaving his speculations to die the death of the absurd, we come to his specific statements. Slaves, he says, in the service of Brazilians, are generally treated with mildness; but woe to those who fall into the hands of foreigners! These, anxious to realize the hopes of fortune of which they dreamed, impatient, and possessed of but a single thought, that of returning to their native country, hesitate at no means of achieving their object. Every sentiment of humanity seems dead in them. Their slaves, badly clad, badly lodged, badly fed, are oppressed with fatigue, and often beaten. There are some exceptions, but they are too rare.

The Doctor then states at greater length than we care to follow, that masters as a whole are unjustly suspicious of the sickness of their slaves. Maladies are so often feigned that they frequently discredit real cases of disease, and hence considerable suffering is unnecessarily endured by the invalid negroes: in the actual state of things, unhappy in his condition, borne down by excessive toil, he has no desire to form enduring alliances; and, on her side, the negress is averse to giving birth to a being who must be as miserable as herself. The meals are taken in common, in a shady spot. That of the morning is light, and consists of the flour of manioc or of millet, with some fruit or a little cane brandy. Toward the middle of the day the slaves eat flesh or fish. The evening meal is composed of beans, rice, or other vegetables. This diet is not bad, although one might wish that it were more varied. No-

thing, for example, would be easier than to add fresh vegetables. The richness of vegetation would render this addition very inexpensive, and the health of the slaves would be sensibly ameliorated by it.

While in Africa the blacks are naked, or nearly so, it is a detestable custom of Brazil to keep them not properly clad. The climate of this country is less warm, and much more humid, than that of Africa, and hence one of the principal causes of the diseases which exist among the blacks ought to be attributed to the lack of clothing. Many of the proprietors give their slaves a single pair of cotton pantaloons only. Others add to it a shirt of the same stuff, and at night they sleep on a piece of matting, in a place often unhealthy, where, to protect themselves from the humidity and the cold, they have only a poor woollen blanket. In other fazendas, however, the slaves are better cared for. In addition to the preceding objects, they are furnished with a bonnet and a woollen shirt. Every Sunday their effects are changed, and an examination is made to see whether they have not sold their mats or blankets, which often happens.

The slaves employed on the *fazendas* are usually well fed, and they add to their rations vegetables, which they raise themselves, and dried meat and fish: however, it often happens that these last substances are neither good in kind, nor in quantity sufficient.

It is not thus with those employed in working mines, in washing gold and searching for diamonds, &c. Too often they receive the smallest possible rations—a deplorable economy, as injurious to the unfortunate negroes as prejudicial to the interests of the masters. The insufficiency of alimentation brings about an enfeeblement of the force, which in its turn produces mortality, and is the cause of considerable loss, which an inhuman parsimony does not compensate.

The Doctor twice recurs to the sad fate of slaves that were held by foreigners: these, he says, are hardly allowed time for sleep or rest.

Slaves take no interest in their labours, nor are they physically capable of doing so much work as a free man, because the appetite of gain sustains the one, while the fear of chastisement is the sole incentive of the other. Perpetual vigilance is the price of slave-labour, and unflinching blows for the loiterer. However active the driver, if he had not the resource of the whip against the slaves, he would get nothing out of them—absolutely nothing.

Chastisements are of two kinds: in one, they put around the neck of the guilty slave a ring of iron, surmounted by a stem of the same metal, which causes more or less torture; the other consists of lashes of a whip, the number of which vary according to the gravity of the offence. In the fazendas, the punishments are inflicted in the presence of all the slaves. At Rio de Janeiro the offenders are taken to the House of Correction, where they receive the chastisements they have incurred. During their stay in this establishment, they are employed in public works of utility.

Marriages between slaves are rare in Brazil, and while adulterous miscegenation is common,

it is seldom followed by fecundation. Frequently, also, when the negress becomes pregnant, she averts the issue, and thus the number of births is far from being in proportion to the figures of mortality among the blacks. The same thing happens at Brazil, which is noticed daily in the bagnes of Europe. The black who has passed some time in a House of Correction leaves it worse than when he entered it. Dangerous for his companions in servitude, he will certainly become one of the scourges of the country if he happens to escape from the house of his master.

The Doctor does not see how these facts destroy his preliminary statements that Slavery is a mild institution in Brazil, and they may be left to show how self-contradictory capable writers become when they permit their prejudices to mould their philosophy, but are too honest to suppress what they see of real life.

It is a fact, the Doctor states, that in well-directed establishments, where the slaves are treated with justice and humanity, marriages are contracted among them, and that the births not only compensate for the deaths, but surpass them in number.

ON INTERMARRIAGES.

[1853.]—Mr. William Hadfield, for many years a resident of Brazil, and Secretary of the British South-American Steam Navigation Company, in his volume on "Brazil, the River Platte and the Falkland Island," writes in the interest of the whites, and has but little to say respecting Slavery. In speaking of the Indians, he says that some of the tribes exhibit an extraordinary antipathy to the negroes, "which is the more remarkable, as the marriages of people of colour with whites are very common, and degrees of black that would throw a citizen of the United States into a fever of indignation are looked upon with philosophic indifference, both by Brazilians and natives of Portugal in Spain." Probably, he adds, this is one reason why slaves in Brazil are treated with a kindness and humanity altogether "unequalled in any other part of the world."

Mr. Hadfield indorses the statement of an Englishman long resident in Brazil, who wrote, in 1854, that the people were more anxious to put an end to Slavery than they had credit for, "on account of the point of civilization they had come to, and on account of the circumstance of its being in their interest."

WHAT MR. EWBANK SAW AND SAYS.

[1856.]—THOMAS EWBANK, in his interesting and finely-illustrated volume on "Life in Brazil, or a Journey to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm," (New York: Harpers, Brothers,) has furnished us, more fully than any other American, with important information as to the condition of the negroes and workings of the "Domestic Institution" in that empire.

Not far from the capital, there is an old estate which Mr. Ewbank visited. It had been in the family for several generations. The mother of the present proprietor, a venerable lady of ninety, recently deceased, kept them up to her death. Carefully instructing the slaves, the first thing

she taught them was to address the Virgin. Every night the bell on the portico, which awoke them to work, and called them from it, summoned them to prayers, which, as surviving head of the family, she read. As soon as they were concluded, her children, grandchildren, and any other relatives present, saluted her, and each slave, in passing out, asked and received her blessing for the night. She sometimes roused all, blacks and whites, at matins at two o'clock in the morning. One old negro troubled her exceedingly. "Work, work, work, all day," he would say, "and pray, pray, pray, all night—no negro stand that."

At the Brazilian eating-houses the author saw young coloured men come in, sit down, without hesitation, at the same table with whites, and, on a perfect equality, take part in the conversation.

Again, he says, that as the omnibus from Boto-Fogo stopped at the door, he saw three blacks seated among the white gentlemen. This is common. A free negro in decent attire, implied by the expression "wearing shoes and a neckcloth," can take his seat in places of public resort and conveyance as freely as persons of the lightest complexion. The Constitution recognises no distinction based on colour.

All kinds of trades are carried on by black journeymen and boys. Mr. Ewbank saw slaves, even, working as carpenters, masons, pavers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, fabricators of military ornaments, carriage and cabinet-makers, lamp-makers, silversmiths, jewellers and lithographers. It is also a fact that sculptures in stone, and saintly images in wood, are often done admirably by slaves and free blacks. A little gray-headed fellow, an old African, begs in the Cattete, who was once noted as an excellent sculptor, but now is an habitual drunkard. A man mentioned to Mr. Ewbank one slave who was a first-rate workman in sacred carving in Bahia.

This author saw four boat-loads of newly-arrived Africans. Next to no secrecy was used in carrying on the traffic.

CRUELITIES OF SLAVERY.

Scattered throughout his pleasant volume there are many indications that Slavery in Brazil is a very cruel barbarism.

"A Portuguese," he writes, "in the neighbourhood, has the reputation of being unusually cruel to his slaves. One goes past the windows for water three or four times a day, in an iron collar, with an upright prong at one ear and a shorter one under the other. There he is again! and behind him a lad not over twelve, belonging to the same owner, wearing a similar instrument with a prong behind." Slaves, he says, are beasts of draught as well as of burden. The loads they drag and the roads they drag them over, are enough to kill both mules and horses. No wonder that slaves shockingly crippled in their lower limbs are so numerous. "There waddled before me," he writes, "in a manner distressing to behold, a man whose thighs and legs curved so far outward that his trunk was not over fifteen inches from the ground. It

appeared sufficiently heavy without the loaded basket on his head, to snap the osseous stem and drop between his feet. I observed another whose knees crossed each other, and his feet preternaturally apart, as if superincumbent loads had pushed his knees in instead of out. The lamp-lighter of the Cattete district exhibits another variety. His body is settled low down, his feet are drawn both to one side, so that his legs are parallel at an angle of 30 degrees! The heads of Africans are hard, their necks strong, and both being perpendicular to the loads they are called to support, are seldom injured. It is the lower part of the moving columns, where the weights are alternately thrown on and off the jointed thighs and legs, that are the weakest. These necessarily are the first to give way under excessive burdens, and here are examples of their having yielded and broken down in every direction."

"IN A MILD FORM!"

Here is another glimpse of Slavery as it is seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro: "Neither age nor sex is free from shackles. I met this morning a very handsome Mozambique girl, with a double-pronged collar on. She could not have been over sixteen. And a few evenings ago, while standing on the balcony of a house in Custom-House street, a little old negress, four-fifths naked, toddled past, in the middle of the street, with an enormous tub of swill on her head, and secured by a lock and chain to her neck. 'Explain that, Mr. C——,' said I. 'Oh she is going to empty slops on the beach, and very probably in the habit of visiting vendas, she is thus prevented, as the offensive vessel would not be admitted. Some slaves have been known to sell their "barils" for rum, and such are sent to the fountains and to the Praya as that old woman is.'"

Whatever is the cause, blindness is exceedingly prevalent among the slaves. It is distressing to meet so often one or more bearing full "barils" on their head, rolling their sightless eyeballs and feeling their weary way with sticks.

Lithographic scenes of life in Brazil, designed and published by native artists, portray slaves in shackles as freely as in their labours and their pastimes. At most of the smiths' shops, slaves' collars are exposed, as horse-shoes are with our blacksmiths—with gyves, chains and the like.

Masks and prongs are often seen in the streets on the necks and faces of slaves. The mask is worn to prevent the negro from drinking. Mr. Ewbank saw three or four masked female slaves. Masks are much less used than formerly, as there is a prejudice growing up against them. Cuts of these two instruments of torture, and others for the same purpose, may be seen in Mr. Ewbank's book.

But these are not the only worst contrivances. The author saw instruments of torture so cruel and heavy—shackles for binding the ankles and wrists close together, and consequently doubling the bodies of the victims into the most painful and unnatural positions—that, had he not seen them, he would hardly have thought that such things were. He saw shackles, in one shop, made of bar-

iron, three inches wide and three-eighths of an inch thick! Each consisted of three pieces, bent, jointed and fastened. A screw-bolt drew the straight parts close together. The distance from joint to joint was two feet.

A native merchant told Mr. Ewbank that another common punishment was to inclose the legs in wooden shackles or stocks. Some owners fasten their hands in similar devices, and some, again, retain relics of the old thumb-screws to lock those members together. In the Northern provinces, according to this authority, the slaves are much worse used than in Rio: there it is no uncommon thing to tie their hands and feet together, hoist them off the ground, and then '*beat them as near to death as possible*.' A heavy log fastened by a chain to the neck or leg of a slave who has absconded or who is supposed to be inclined to run away, is a usual punishment and precaution. He is compelled to labour with it, laying it on the ground when at work, and bearing it under his arm or on his shoulder when he moves.

Here is a picture which can hardly be taken as an illustration of the "mildness" of Brazilian Slavery:

"I dined one Sunday with a party at the beautiful and hospitable retreat of Messrs. M—— and M'G——, at Boto-Fogo. Strolling along up an adjacent mount, I was very much startled by two of the most frightful-looking and unfortunate of human beings rushing suddenly out of the bushes in front of me; negroes of middle age, and wholly naked, except filthy rags round their loins. Each had an iron ring 'about his neck, connected by an ox-chain to shackles at his ankles. By another chain one hand of each were locked together. They bent forward, kneeled, held out their arms, sobbed, cried, screamed and made such frightfully agonizing supplications, that I have often thought neither criminals condemned to die, nor even souls in Purgatory, could make such moving appeals. Poor fellows! I did not make out what they asked for—money, victuals, or intercession with their master, the owner of the hill and of a neighbouring quarry, in which he employed over two hundred slaves. The two had attempted to escape, and, when not at work, were ordered to this sequestered spot, and forbidden to leave it."

CHAPLAIN STEWART'S TESTIMONY.

[1856] C. S. STEWART, Chaplain on the U. S. ship *Congress*, says that, on landing at Rio de Janeiro, one of the first impressions made on the foreigner is the fearfully mongrel aspect of much of the population claiming to be white. Mulattoes, quadroons and demi-quadroons, and every other degree of tinted complexion and crisped hair, met at every turn, indicate an almost unlimited extent of mixed blood. This, he adds, cannot fail to be revolting, at least to a visitor from the Northern States of our country, especially as exhibited in the female portion of the lower orders of the community, as they hang over the under half of the doors of their houses, gazing up and down the street, or lean—black, white and yellow—three and four together, in the closest juxtaposition from their latticed windows.

In a squad of sixteen dragoons he found every shade from snowy to sooty, from crisp black to flaxen hair. Such, he asserts, in a greater or less degree, is the mixture seen in every sphere of common life, domestic, social, civil and military; and scarcely less frequently than elsewhere in the vestibule of the palace and at the altars of the church.

Mr. Stewart does not question the sincerity of the Emperor in desiring at least to abolish the slave-trade. His noble regard for the highest interests of the nation, (remarks the Chaplain,) has been strikingly manifested in successful efforts to persuade those around him of paramount influence in the various provinces, of the evil and reproach of a continued connivance—in disregard of national faith given by treaty—at the slave-trade, and of the ultimate inevitable disadvantage and disaster to the country of a more extended slave population. So zealously and so wisely has he urged his views of public policy on this point—though in the face of long-established national prejudice as to the necessity of slave-labour—that the Legislature, sustained in the measure by their constituents, have pronounced the slave-trade piracy, and enacted rigorous laws against it. This has been accomplished, according to Mr. Stewart, by demonstrating to the agriculturists of the empire the economy and advantages of free labour through colonization from Europe over that of slaves, and by enactments for the encouragement of emigration from abroad.

Mr. Stewart witnessed a slave auction sale, and his account of it does not shew that these vendues are entitled to rank, in point of decorum even, over those of Confederate Richmond. He says that there were eight or ten slaves for sale, varying in age from boyhood and girlhood to years of maturity and middle life.

"They stood meekly and submissively, though evidently anxious and sad, under the interrogations and examinations of the bidders, and a rehearsal and laudation by the auctioneer of their different available working qualities and dispositions—their health, strength and power of endurance. All in their turn were made to mount an elevated platform, to display their limbs almost to nakedness, and exhibit their muscular power by various gymnastics, like a horse in his movements and actions before the bidders at Tattersall's. They were rapidly knocked down, at prices varying from two hundred to a thousand and more milreis—that is, from one to five hundred and more dollars."

LIFE ON THE PLANTATION.

Mr. Stewart gives us a glimpse into a plantation life in Brazil, such as John Mitchell and his fat coloured servants (spelled with two g's) might have envied:

"The work of the estate," he writes, "is performed by slaves, of whom, including women and children, there are thirty-three on the premises. They are well fed, well clothed, and well treated, and seem to be contented and happy. Their master is a humane and kind man, and intends to give to all their freedom, in earnest of which he has already manumitted several, who still continue with him, and to whom he pays regular

wages. The children come round him at his call with laughter and gambols, and scramble playfully for the biscuit and cakes and the other niceties which he carries with him from the dining-hall for the purpose of distributing among them. The gardens are under the care of females exclusively, the superintendent, of the same sex, being thoroughly skilled in the business. Every thing in that department is under her sole direction, from the turning over of the earth for planting to the gathering of the produce and the arrangement of it in panniers for the market. All hands are turned out for work at daybreak; are mustered by name, and receive orders from their master at a window of his room."

AN OLD "RELIGIOUS" CUSTOM.

"A custom is observed here, and, I am told, in all well-regulated families in Brazil, which, were it any thing more than an unmeaning form, would be interesting. It is the asking of a blessing from the master every morning and every evening at the close of the day's work, by all the slaves, of both sexes and of every age. The full form of words is the following:

"I beseech your blessing, (or grant me a blessing,) in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!"

"To which the master replies:

"Jesus Christ bless you for ever!"

"But it is the usage to epitomize these expressions by the interchange of the shortest possible abbreviations of them, and in words rather startling, at first, to the ear uninformed of the designed object; the slaves, as they present themselves, merely exclaiming, in all manner of intonations of voice and in every mood of humour:

"Jesus Christ!"

"While the master, be he talking or laughing, eating or drinking, or in whatever way employed, without any interruption, and seemingly without any regard to the import of the salutation, as abruptly replies:

"Siempre!" (for ever).

"The effect last night was quite ludicrous, as fifteen or twenty men and women came in from labour in the fields—probably weary and hungry, and impatient of any delay—and thrust their heads rapidly, one after another, into the windows and doors of the verandah, as we were at the tea table, with the above exclamation of two words only, followed instantly by the single voice of the master, much in the manner of a *feu de joie*.

"No bell, nor similar means of summoning the outdoor servants is used; but the clear, trumpet-like voice of the master is heard, far and wide, sending forth with a distinctness not to be mistaken the names of those needed."

PUNISHMENT FOR WOMAN SCOURGERS.

THERE appears to be a greater sense of justice in North Carolina than in England, though the latter claims the foremost rank as a humane nation, while the latter

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that in the terms of the treaty every care has been taken for the protection of their liberty, religion, property, and private rights.

Jamaica.—The Government has rejected the proposition of a yearly subsidy of 5000*l.* to promote immigration from the Southern States, the grounds on which the application was made being deemed “vague” and insufficient.

Cuba.—From Cuba the news is that the Governor of the island and the Spanish residents have received the intelligence of the sale of the Danish Antilles to the United States very unfavourably, and have a presentiment that it is a fatal omen for Spain. The Cubans, however, rejoice about it, and see a glimpse of hope for the future of Cuba.

The young Cuban poet, Torroella, had read, in the Lyceum of Matanzas, a fine piece of poetry, in memory of the poet Placido, who was shot in that city in 1844. His verses, which the auditory listened to with much pleasure, attracted the attention of the local government, and Mr. Torroella was called before the authorities of the city. Brigade-General Souza, Military Secretary, admonished Mr. Torroella, and finished by tearing, in his presence, the manuscript which Torroella had left at the office.

Porto Rico had been visited by a terrible hurricane, destroying most of the crops in the southern part of the island, causing the loss of two hundred lives, and reducing, it is said, 4000 families to destitution. Provisions were to be landed duty free for two months. By a royal decree, Porto Rico has been placed under the government of the Captain-General of Cuba.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE-LIFE IN BRAZIL.

In this Number we bring to a conclusion Mr. Redpath's letters upon Slavery and the Slave-trade in Brazil. We have reproduced them, because we thought them highly interesting, and throwing much light, from various sources, upon the true character of the “institution” in a country where its existence in a mild form has frequently been alleged, and, as we believe, with a certain amount of justification. We do not believe, however, that Slavery can exist in any country, nor in any form, without giving rise to cruelty. An abuse in itself, it must inevitably engender abuses of every kind. Nevertheless, when we see that, in Brazil, men who have been in bondage are not in consequence, and when free, precluded from holding honourable offices, and that prejudice against colour, as a simple question of colour, does not exist, we are bound to admit a certain

modification of the circumstances surrounding Slavery in Brazil, which demand recognition. With regard to Mr. Christie—late Minister at Rio—we believe him to have been zealously anti-Slavery; and had his anti-Slavery zeal less contaminated by party feeling and ill-temper, he would have rendered service to the cause of abolition. Unhappily for it—perhaps for himself—partisanship got the better of his judgment, and ill-temper obtained the mastery over both. In his representations to his superiors at home, he was not always accurate; hence it is necessary to receive with abatements for the infirmities above referred to, his sweeping assertions, that in his time the Brazilian Government was doing “nothing” to reduce or to mitigate Slavery. Nor is he correct in asserting that the coast-wise slave-trade “is attended with all the horrors of the African slave-trade.” Horrible, indeed, is this traffic in itself; but it cannot truthfully be said to entail “all the horrors of the African slave-trade.”

Mr. Christie's “Notes on Brazil” were made the medium of ungentlemanly, unmanly attacks upon individuals, who had an independent judgment of their own which forbade them from assenting blindly to all his views. They contained much that was true, but much also that was inaccurate, and very much that was highly abusive and not germane to the questions at issue. The same ill-temper, quarrelsomeness, and sad lack of discretion, which involved him in constant unseemly broils with the Brazilian authorities, led to the suspension of diplomatic relations between the Brazilian and the British Governments, and ultimately to his recall, are apparent throughout his “Notes;” and though we consider Mr. Redpath has done well to quote them, we suggest that they should be read with allowances for the distorted medium through which he saw. The evidence of Mr. Poole—the last witness quoted by Mr. Redpath—is at any rate as trustworthy as Mr. Christie's, and the reader will of course form his own judgment after giving to each due credit for sincerity.

MR. FLETCHER'S TESTIMONY.

[1857.] Rev. Mr. Kidder re-appeared as an author in Brazil in the company of Rev. Mr. Fletcher, and a new, revised edition of their work is now in the press. Mr. Fletcher discovered, what a prolonged residence in the country failed to make Mr. Kidder discern—the existence of millions of slaves there. It is mainly from Mr. Fletcher's statements that the public opinion of our people about Slavery in Brazil has been formed.

He states that one department of the *Casa da Correcao* in Rio de Janeiro is appropriated to the flogging of slaves, who are sent thither to be

chastised for disobedience or for common misdemeanours. They are received at any hour of the day or night, and retained, *free of expense*, as long as their masters choose to leave them. It would be remarkable, he says, if scenes of extreme cruelty did not sometimes occur here.

Besides the punishments of the *Casa da Correcao*, the refractory slave receives private floggings, and some of the most common expiations are the tin mask, the iron collar, and the log and chain. The last two denote runaways; but the tin mask is often placed upon the visage to prevent the city slave from drinking cachaza and the country slave from eating dirt, to which many of the field negroes are addicted.

Mr. Fletcher says that the Brazilian Constitution recognises, neither directly nor indirectly, colour as a basis of civil rights; hence, once free, the black man or the mulatto, if he possesses energy and talent, can rise to a social position from which his race in North America is debarred. *Until 1850, when the slave-trade was effectually put down, it was considered cheaper, on the country plantations, to use up a slave in five or six years and purchase another, than to take care of him.* Mr. Fletcher was informed of this fact by intelligent native Brazilians, and his own observations confirmed it. But since the slave-trade ceased, the price of slaves has been enhanced, and the selfish motives for taking greater care of them have been increased. City slaves are treated better than plantation slaves; they are more cheerful, more full of fun, and have greater opportunities for freeing themselves. But still the author thinks there must be great cruelty in some cases; for suicides among slaves—which were almost unknown in our Southern States—are of very frequent occurrence in the cities of Brazil.

In Brazil, according to Mr. Fletcher, every thing is in favour of freedom. It is the very Paradise of the negroes; for there they possess a warm climate, and, if they choose, may make their way up in the world "in a manner which can never be the case in the United States." Such, he says, are the facilities for the slave to emancipate himself, and when emancipated, if he possess the proper qualifications, to ascend to a higher eminence than those of a mere free black, that Slavery must disappear before another half century rolls around. By the Brazilian laws, a slave can go before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and can purchase himself; and Mr. Fletcher was informed that a man of mental endowments, even if he had been a slave, would be debarred from no official station, however high, unless it might be that of Imperial Senator. Some of the most intelligent men that he met with in Brazil—men educated at Paris and Coimbra—were of African descent, whose ancestors were slaves.

Their sinewy forms and jetty skins shew to advantage as they hasten at a quick trot, seemingly unmindful of their heavy loads. This work pays well, but it soon breaks them down. Their strength is prodigious. They have a system among themselves of buying the freedom of any one of their number who is the most respected. And having paid their master the sum that is required by him daily, they club together their sur-

plus to liberate the chosen favourite. An instance is recorded of the purchase of an African prince by his subjects in Rio—he and all of them being slaves—of his return to his native country, and subsequent reception and return to the same city, where he is now an athletic coffee-carrier! There are many different tribes of Africans in Rio, some being hostile to each other, and having different usages and languages. The Minas, an outdoor negro, is a Mahomedan still; the others are nominally Catholics. Thus, if a man have freedom, money and merit, no matter how black may be his skin, no place in society is refused him. It is surprising, also (says Mr. Fletcher), to observe the ambition and the advancement of some of these men with negro blood in their veins. The national library at Rio Janeiro furnishes not only quiet rooms, large tables and plenty of books to the seekers after knowledge, but pens and paper are supplied to such as desire these aids to their studies. Some of the closest students thus occupied are mulattoes. The largest and most successful printing establishment in Rio is owned and directed by a mulatto. In the colleges, the medical, law and theological schools, there is no distinction of colour.

Slaves go barefooted: shoes are the badge of freedom. The shod and the shoeless pay different rates of ferriage, for example. House slaves are decently clad, as a general rule, but the black male population who live in the open air are coarsely and dirtily attired. They are the porters and errand-goers of the streets. They are sent out by their masters, and are required to bring home a certain sum daily. They are allowed a certain portion of their gains to buy their food, and at night sleep on a mat or board in the lower parlours of the house. You frequently see horrible cases of elephantiasis and other diseases, which are doubtless engendered or increased by the little care bestowed upon them.

The coffee-carriers are the finest race of blacks in Brazil. They are almost all of the Mina tribe, from the coast of Benin, and are athletic and intelligent. They work half clad. The Minas cannot be made good house-servants: they require to live in the fresh air. The men, therefore, become coffee-carriers and the women street pedlars. Many of these negroes have purchased their freedom and returned to Africa. Sixty of them once chartered a vessel for the purpose, and went back to their fatherland; or, as Mr. Campbell, an American man of colour, expressed it, their motherland.

Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen hold slaves in Brazil, although it is in contravention to the laws of their country. The English mining company, whose stockholders are in Great Britain, but whose field of operation is S. Toao del Ray, in Brazil, own about 800 slaves, and hire 1000 more.

Mr. Fletcher has no doubt that Slavery is doomed in Brazil. True, but how? He does not say that the Government favours its "abolishment," and there is a witness who denies that it does, whom we will call on in our next investigation.

provide for a "near relative or friend of one of the high officials in the Colonial Office."

The promoters of the Southern immigration scheme, nothing daunted by the refusal of the Government to encourage it, were pursuing their efforts to obtain acceptance of their plans, but were encountering determined opposition on every side.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE LIFE IN BRAZIL.

We conclude from our last the series of letters on the above subject, from Mr. Redpath, and would refer our readers to the remarks then made respecting Mr. Christy's evidence.

BRITISH OFFICIAL EVIDENCE.

Our next author is W. D. Christie, late Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Brazil. He deals with the Brazilian Government without gloves; and, however much one may dislike the temper that at times he manifests, it is difficult to see how to deny that his blows are, to some degree, merited. For, aside from the diplomatic questions that he discusses, and aside from his defence of his own official career—making every allowance, also, for his palpable and manifest spirit of partisanship—there remains a mass of evidence in his "Notes on Brazil," which, especially as accumulative testimony, tends to confirm our belief that Slavery there is entitled to no greater consideration from mankind than the system which has been exterminated in our own country.

Mr. Christie boldly charges that the Brazilian Government does *nothing* to reduce or mitigate Slavery. He asserts that the coast slave-trade, by the confession of Brazilian statesmen, is attended with all the cruelties of the African slave-trade. He states that Brazilian agents have succeeded in creating the impression that slaves are well treated in the South-American empire, and emphatically denies the accuracy of the belief. He accuses the Brazilian Government of repeated acts of bad faith in their relations to the freed Africans.

In his introduction, he quotes from a pamphlet by Sir William Gore Ouseley, ex-British Minister at Buenos Ayres, published in 1850, a paragraph respecting the modes of punishing slaves in Brazil. Here it is:—

"In Brazil where the laws have, as in all civilized States, abolished torture in judicial proceedings, the practice is exceptionally continued as regards slaves. Thumb-screws or *anginhos* are often applied to slaves, perhaps at the will and pleasure of some ignorant, or, possibly, culpably cognisant, petty authority, for the purpose sometimes of shielding the real criminal, or they are thus cruelly treated at the caprice of some brutal and inhuman feitor or overseer; while the masters or others, who may just as likely be the culprits, are not subjected to this mode of extorting from the innocent or guilty a confession. On one occasion, I recollect my coachman hastening to my room to inform me that some horrid cruelties were evidently being practised in

a barn adjoining my stables. I at once went there, and found several negroes undergoing the torture of the iron thumb-screw, on account, it was alleged, of the loss of a key, which the overseer himself might have probably dropped when intoxicated, as he often was. At all events, seven or eight unfortunate wretches were tortured for the possible, though doubtful, fault or misfortune of one of them. The energetic, though non-official intervention that was promptly employed on this occasion to put a stop to the 'wholesale discipline,' as it was doubtless generally considered, was, I will admit, extremely undiplomatic in its character."

Mr. Kidder, in his account of Rio de Janeiro, describes a Foundling Asylum. The most noteworthy fact about it is the amazing mortality. An official report states, that in 1854, 588 infants were received in addition to 68 already in the establishment; total, 656: died, 432; remaining 221. In 1853, the number of foundlings received was 630, and of deaths 515. "Up to the present time" says the report, "it has not been possible to ascertain the exact causes of this lamentable mortality, which, with more or less intensity, always takes place amongst such infants, notwithstanding the utmost effort and care that has been used to come at the evil."

But Mr. Christie declares that "this wholesale murder is only a cloak for Slavery," and quotes an explanation published by M. Daladie, on the authority of the leading journal of Rio, of August 3, 1857. "These children," says the *Jornal do Commercio*, "whatever be the colour of their skin, are free by law. Well, what happens? If they belong to the privileged race, the nurses, whose business it is to suckle them, give account of them to the hospital, the mother of the foundlings; but if, on the contrary, they come of the race which is beyond the pale of humanity, the same nurses do not fear to report them as dead, and sell them for their own profit!"

Mr. Consul Cowper, in a despatch to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Pernambuco, May 6, 1852, declares that the general treatment of slaves may almost be as well imagined as described. Under a system so unnatural and so irresponsible, it depends entirely upon the character of the master, for the very limited protection afforded to the slave by law is neutralized by the abject dependence of his position: he is, for all practical purposes, in no better position than an animal in Great Britain, who is there also protected by law, for he dare as little make use of the faculty of speech in complaint as the other is capable of doing so: "the latter has one advantage, that he finds human beings to sympathize with and speak for him, but the slave never does."

"I have so often described the atrocities to which these persons are subject, that I need not repeat them; but they may be conceived when I re-state that I was an eye-witness to an unfortunate slave cutting his throat at a dinner-table at which I was a guest; and that invitations were issued in this province by the proprietor of an estate to witness the boiling alive of a slave in the cauldron of his estate. Urban slaves are less dependent, and consequently less worked and better clothed than rural ones, who are not uncommonly worked for twenty hours out of the

twenty-four, including a period termed on the estates *Riningu*. Emancipation is very rarely practised."

On the 11th of August 1854, according to Mr. Howard, Consul at Rio de Janeiro, a project of law was introduced into the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, providing that the owners of slaves who shall grant freedom to such of them as may not be able to support themselves, in consequence of old age or disease, shall not be exempted from the obligation of supporting them; and that slaves who beg for alms with the consent of their masters shall, *ipso facto*, be considered as free. The object of this motion, added Mr. Howard, was to remedy the not infrequent abuse of masters freeing their slaves when their services are no longer of any value, and thus turning them adrift destitute, as well as of masters sending out their slaves to beg for the profit of such masters.

To return to Mr. Christie.

Senhor Silveira da Motta in 1864 introduced a Bill into the Brazilian Senate for the compulsory emancipation of slaves belonging to foreigners, to religious bodies, and to the Brazilian nation or Government. The same Senator has more than once proposed laws for the prohibition of public slave auctions, to prevent the separation of families, to facilitate manumissions on decease of owners in certain cases, and for indirectly discouraging the employment of slaves in domestic service in cities. Good signs? But the Senator is not a member of the Government, and these his proposals have always been promptly voted down. These his attempts, according to Mr. Christie, are the only efforts that have been made to curtail or qualify the Slavery system in Brazil. The number of slaves belonging to the Brazilian nation or Government, whom Senator Motta sought to liberate, is 1500; and of these, twenty-one only were emancipated in 1860.

In 1862 the Brazilian Minister of Finance proposed in his report that he should be authorized by the legislature to emancipate gratuitously slaves of the nation *when, by reason of advanced age, or permanent infirmity of a grave character, they can work no longer!* This is the only action on the part of the Government that looks toward a liberation of its own slaves. And that there is no genuine anti-slavery spirit in this proposal—to say nothing of common humanity—it is hardly necessary to point out, for it is purely and manifestly atrocious.

Mr. Christie states that the number of emancipations is very trifling. The great increase in the price of slaves has made it more difficult for negroes to purchase their own freedom, and it has diminished the enfranchisement by testamentary disposition.

Mr. Baillie wrote to Earl Russell, December 6, 1861: "I have been unable to discern any desire or tendency towards the abolition of Slavery in Brazil, or even the mitigation of its principal evils. The internal slave-trade is carried on as much as ever."

We know, we learned at great cost, the mischievous results of an increase in the price of negroes in strengthening the supporters of Slavery. The same peril broods over Brazil.

In 1858, according to Mr. Charles Buxton, the

average price of a Brazilian slave was 350 dols. The last price current reported by the British Consul at Rio, for July 1863 shews a great advance:

	slaves.	dols.
Males (agricultural and mining)	535 at	965
Females (,, ,, ,,)	535 at	803
Males (domestic)	. . .	645 at 1070
Females (,,)	. . .	535 at 965

Thus, slaves in Brazil are approaching old Virginia prices; and—so Mr. Christie says—the "Government is resisting all proposals to mitigate or diminish Slavery." He states that the liberation of slaves sometimes spoken of by the "Brazilian agents" refers to the annual emancipations of "free Africans," who are not slaves.

Mr. Christie quotes from speeches made by Senhor Andrada and Senhor Portugal in London, and in language forcible, if not quite diplomatic, gives these gentlemen the lie, for asserting, among other statements, that the Brazilian Government has done any thing in favour of the abolishment of Slavery; that the children and parents, husbands and wives, are never separated in slave auction sales; and that "every year the Minister has recourse to measures which give freedom to a great many of the" negroes.

In opposition to a statement in the *Quarterly Review*, Mr. Christie states that there is no law giving the slave a right to appear at any time before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and buy his freedom.

"This is a complete mistake," he writes. "Slavery may be, and I believe is, with a considerable number of enlightened and respectable men in Brazil 'an admitted evil;' but, as your Lordship will have learnt from previous reports of mine, *there are no signs whatever, at present, in Brazil, of abolition of Slavery*; and there is no disposition even to entertain measures for mitigating its acknowledged evils, or for preparing for ultimate abolition. And Slavery in Brazil certainly *is*, what the reviewer says it is *not*, an institution identified in the opinion of a large party with the interests and prosperity of the country. . . . There is no doubt that colour is no obstacle to advancement, and the free-born son of an emancipated slave may attain to any position if he has merits and abilities, and fortune favours him; but I do not know what is meant by saying that 'Slavery exists in a very mitigated form.'"

As proofs that the Brazilian government does not seek to emancipate slaves who fall into its possession, Mr. Christie says, that, as late as February, two years ago, captured fugitives, whose owners did not reclaim them, were sold by auction—not liberated—by the public authorities; that, in spite of law and treaty, immense numbers of slaves, estimated at a million, were imported into the empire between 1830 and 1852; that these unfortunates are now legally free, but yet the powers that be do nothing whatever to secure their liberty; that not only has the Government inaugurated no measure in their behalf, but it resisted a proposition to establish a Mixed Commission to inquire into their condition and status.

"These illegal slaves," he says, "are at every moment and everywhere in presence of the Bra-

zilian authorities, but are not seen. No step is ever taken to rescue them from their masters, who notoriously hold them, or publicly sell them, in defiance of law."

By the coasting slave-trade, according to the estimate of Senhor Soares, five thousand negroes are annually separated from their families. These persons are chiefly carried from the more temperate provinces of the South to the torrid territory of the North. Senhor Motta in 1864 described this traffic as "in reality a disguised slave-trade."

Mr. Christie says that the mortality among the children of slaves is very great, and Brazilian proprietors do not appear to have given nearly so much attention as might have been expected, from obvious motives of self-interest, to marriages among slaves, or the care of mothers or children.

AN AMERICAN WITNESS.

While preparing these articles, Mr. Poole, Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, requested a gentleman, whose name is identified with Brazil, to write some notes for our use. We will subjoin them and then leave the reader to form his own judgment from the mass of testimony that we have laid before him. The whole question of Slavery in Brazil, he writes, is a very simple one, because,

First, You cannot find a man from one end of the empire to the other (unless he is an Englishman or a Southerner) who holds to the *divine right* of Slavery. They all hold it to be a curse.

Second, They all acknowledge that the State—the imperial central Government—has a right to intermeddle with it, and the friends of anti-Slavery are now moving in this direction, as Prof. Ed. Laboulaye has shewn in the *Journal des Debats* for July 1865.

Prof. Agassiz went to the palace one evening, and ventured to say to the Emperor:

"I am very sorry, your Majesty, to see Slavery here. It is a great moral wrong."

"Yes," repeated the Emperor, "it is a great moral wrong. It is wicked. Moreover, it is a political wrong." &c.

He meant that the State could act on the subject.

Third, The speeches made in the late Parliament, by leading statesmen, quoting George Livemore and others, are as radical as anything our Radicals have ever held.

Fourth, There never were any laws to hinder the black man (free) from perfect equality with the white man. There is no mistake on this subject; for, as a voter, naval and military officer, State employé, member of Parliament, &c. &c., I have seen the black man and mulatto on *precisely the same footing as the white man*. They know no difference.

Fifth, Since the slave-trade was squelched there has been no Cuban trickery. The people are in earnest about it, from the Emperor downwards. A million of slaves have been freed since 1850, either by self-emancipation or by their masters. There is nothing to hinder a master from liberating one or all of his slaves, or from educating them if he choose. There is no law preventing a slave learning any thing he chooses.

Well, since 1850, a million—that is, thirty-three per cent. of the slaves—have been freed.

Croakers said, that in a climate so entirely tropical, the great staples could not be produced without slave-labour. Lo! and behold the result. In seven years from 1851, a fair starting-point, instead of coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco (*the great staples*) declining, *they actually increased more than thirty-three per cent.*

To sum up:

Slavery is a curse in Brazil, as it is everywhere. The people and Government recognise it, and they only wish to do the thing peaceably and for the greatest good of the slave and master.

The question comes up next session. The statesmen born since Don Pedro II. came to the throne consider it *the* question of Brazil; and my last Rio paper says, just as soon as the Paraguay war is over, "this is *the* question we must look in the face." There are great difficulties where wrong has existed for nearly three centuries. Our Southern brethren, who have gone there, are disgusted to discover that Slavery is on a different footing from what it was here."

A FINAL WORD.

I might produce other testimony, but it would cover the same points that have already been taken in these papers. Everybody who rejoiced to see Slavery perish in the United States will watch eagerly the action of the Abolitionists of Brazil. That the Emperor may yet take rank with our Raftsmen, is the most friendly prayer that we can offer up for His Majesty!

PHILLIPS *versus* EYRE.

WE append the brief report given in the papers of the day of an application made at Judges' Chambers by the Defendant in the above action:

PHILLIPS *v.* EYRE (LATE GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA).—The defendant applied on the 18th ultimo, for an order for further time to plead to this action, which is brought to recover damages for false imprisonment and maltreatment during the disturbances in Jamaica at the latter end of 1865. For the plaintiff it was stated that the declaration (showing the cause of action) was delivered on the 23rd of December last, and that by the rules of the Court the defence should have been pleaded within twelve days thereafter; and it was pointed out, that if the defendant put in his pleas at once the cause could be tried at the sittings commencing on the 1st of February, whereas if the time asked for by the defendant were granted, the cause would be postponed to the sittings after Trinity Term in the middle of June, which would be a great hardship to the plaintiff.—The application was heard under the new Act by a master (Unthank) instead of by a judge as heretofore, and the master inquired where Mr. Eyre now was.—The gentleman representing the plaintiff said he should very much like to know.—Thereon the representative of the defendant said he believed Mr. Eyre was in Ireland or Scotland recruiting his health.—The master granted the defendant's application; whereupon the representative of the plaintiff said