

- ART. VII.—1. *Letters to Wilberforce, recommending the Encouragement of the Cultivation of Sugar in our Dominions in the East Indies, as the natural and certain means of effecting the general and total abolition of the Slave Trade.* London. Longman, Hurst & Co. 1822.
2. *Letters to the Liverpool Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, on the injurious effects of high prices of produce, and the beneficial prospects of low prices on the condition of Slaves.* By JAMES CROPPER. London: Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly. 1823.
3. *East and West India Sugar.* London, 1823.
4. *Treatise on the principal Products of Bengal,—Indigo, Sugar, Cotton, Hemp, Silk and Opium.* By JOHN PHIPPS. Calcutta. 1832.

It is not intended, in the present article, to consider the question, whether Great Britain can succeed in the attempt she is now making to break up the cultivation of cotton in our Southern States, and transfer the same to her East

India possessions. Our object is merely to show some part of the machinery which she has long been constructing, for this purpose. Every one can form his own opinion of the probable success or failure of the experiment, after taking a view of the means employed to make it succeed. Our Southern States and the British possessions in India are rivals in agriculture. The soil of the one produces the same rich staple commodities as that of the other. New Orleans and Calcutta are the two great rival cities in the world, whose imports and exports are similar. British India has superceded our Southern States in the cultivation of indigo, and is already a formidable rival in the cultivation of rice, sugar and tobacco. The attempt now making to supercede us in cotton, is well worthy of serious attention. The very country, which grows the same agricultural products as our Southern States, is the one our people appear to know and care the least about. They are not unacquainted with the grain-growing countries of Europe, but their acquaintance is very limited indeed with the history, resources, and political condition of those immense territories in Asia, under British power, which grow indigo, tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton. The people of the South have been dreaming that their old enemy, Lord Cornwallis, was dead, and that he would never trouble the South more. Though dead, he lives in marble and on canvas in Great Britain, and in the cotton, sugar, rice and indigo plantations throughout the British empire in India. He was defeated, it is true, in the South, by Washington and Lafayette, but, in less than ten years after that defeat, he succeeded in conquering fifty millions of people in Asia, stripped Tippoo Saib of half his dominions, and, as if in vengeance for his defeat in America, raised up in Asia a powerful competition, which now threatens to rob the South of her agricultural wealth.

In 1698 the East India Company purchased three little villages, extending about three miles on the eastern margin of the Ganges. The ground, on which these villages stood, forms the site of the great city of Calcutta, containing at present upwards of 600,000 inhabitants. It is the only commercial rival which New Orleans has to dread in the whole world.

The conquests of Lord Cornwallis in India, as well as those of his predecessors, were greatly facilitated by mak-

ing the Zemindars *there* act the same part which the British are endeavoring to make the abolitionists act here. Deluded by a name, the Zemindars were suborned to sow the seeds of sedition and disunion in the provinces and principalities of the Mogul empire. Elated with the idea of becoming free and independant land owners, they cooperated with the incendiary agents of the East India Company, in arraying caste against caste, Hindoo against Mahomedan, Nabob against Loubardar, and state against state. After the poor deluded people of India had exhausted themselves in butchering one another in civil war, the company's officers marched into their country, and, with a few soldiers, attached province after province to the British empire. In theory, all the land belonged to the Mogul, practically, it belonged to the ryots, or peasantry, who worked the soil, and paid the Mogul about one fourth of the products, as rent or taxes. The Zemindars were tax collectors, or revenue agents, under the Mogul government. Their office was hereditary, and they were possessed of great power and influence. Yet they could not resist the delusion which British artifice threw around the name of free land owners. Accordingly, in 1789, after the Company got possession of the country, the Governor General of India declared the Zemindars to be the actual landowners, and gave them power over the soil, to sell or alienate it at pleasure. But they were required to pay to the Company the taxes which the ryots had formerly paid to the Mogul.

The Zemindars, being obliged to go through the legal formalities to collect their levies from the ryots, were unable to pay their taxes to the government, whose proceedings were summary. Their lands were gradually sold for arrears of taxes, and in a few years became the property of the British. The poor deluded Zemindars found out, after it was too late to remedy the evil, that they had brought disunion, civil war, and every evil upon their country for a mere name or shadow. They have almost all disappeared. Many of them died by starvation. No improvement took place in the condition of the ryots: so far from it, their situation was made worse. The overseers placed over them by the English are more exacting than ever the Zemindars were. After this manner, the British, not only obtained the sovereignty of a larger portion of

India, but alone obtained the right of property in the soil. They can afford to sell indigo, rice, cotton, sugar, &c., cheap, because the production costs them nothing. The ryots have to pay them so many bundles of indigo for every bigah, or Indian acre in cultivation, or so many pounds of cotton, sugar or rice. They do not, however, want to dispose of their agricultural products at so cheap a rate. They wish to break up all competition elsewhere, particularly the competition arising from slave labor in the United States. To prepare the mind for the facts, about to be introduced, disclosing the motives of Great Britain in sacrificing her West India Colonies to promote the aggrandizement of her Eastern Empire, it should be remembered that the productions of the East, in every age, as far back as history extends, have formed the basis of the most lucrative commerce in the whole world. Antioch and Tyre owed their opulence to the productions of the East, with which they supplied all nations trading in the Mediterranean. Alexandria, Cairo, Aleppo, Constantinople, Venice and Genoa, all derived their greatest wealth from being the emporiums, which supplied the rest of the world with the rich products of the soil of India. As soon as the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope diverted Eastern commerce from its ancient channels by way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, all the above mentioned cities began to decline in importance, having lost eastern commerce, the principal source of their amazing wealth. At one time the city of Bruges was made the storehouse for eastern commodities, and supplied the more northern nations of Europe with them. "Never did wealth," says the historian Robertson, "appear more conspicuously in the train of commerce. The citizens of Bruges, enriched by it, displayed in their dress, their buildings, and mode of living, such magnificence as even to mortify the pride and excite the envy of royalty. Antwerp, when the staple was removed thither, soon rivalled Bruges in opulence and splendor. In some cities of Germany, particularly in Augsburg, the great mart for Indian commodities in the interior parts of that extensive country, we meet with early examples of such large fortunes accumulated by mercantile industry, as raised the proprietors of them to high rank and consideration in the empire." "But," continues Robertson, "the immense value of the Indian trade, which, both in

ancient and modern times, had enriched every nation by which it was carried on, was a subject familiar to the thoughts of all intelligent men, and they at once perceived that the discovery of the new route of navigation to the east, must occasion great revolutions not only in the course of commerce, but in the political state of Europe. On the first intelligence of Gama's successful voyage, the Venetians, with the quick-sighted discernment of merchants, foresaw the immediate consequences of it to be the ruin of that lucrative branch of commerce which had contributed so greatly to enrich and aggrandize their country."

Portugal enjoyed the lucrative Indian trade for nearly a century, and Lisbon became a second Venice. At length the Dutch began to participate in it, and Amsterdam became one of the most opulent cities in Europe. Finally the English were attracted to it. † * * * * *

* * * * *

Humanity was alleged as a motive for the West India emancipation act, but it appears, from a history of the controversy between the East and the West, that it was only an after thought. The East India proprietors have been somewhat disappointed in regard to the West Indies. They supposed that the emancipation act would have been sufficient of itself to destroy the cultivation of the sugar cane in the British West India Islands. It would have been, but for one circumstance. The West India proprietors have resorted to the artifice of procuring a fresh supply of slaves from Africa to supply the place of the emancipated negroes. Instead of calling them slaves, they call them indented servants or apprentices. The most of the sugar cane now cultivated in the British West Indies is by the hands of fresh importations of negroes from Africa. A large supply is obtained by capturing the Spanish slavers. We learned, while in the West Indies, that the negroes themselves preferred serving as slaves to the Spaniards than as indented servants to the English. The East India proprietors have lately come to an understanding with a large portion of the West India proprietors. Large inducements have been offered the latter,

† We regret to say, that several paragraphs of the manuscript on the Indian trade, which should have been introduced here, are unfortunately lost. *Eds. S.Q.R.*

if they will unite with the former in destroying negro slave labor in all other parts of America. The inducement held out to the planters of the British West India Islands is, that if they will lend their aid in making flattering and untrue representations of the working of the emancipation bill, and induce the French, Spanish, and Americans to pass a similar bill, that they, the British West India planters, shall have a monopoly of slave labor for their pains, and shall monopolize the slave trade also; with this proviso that they shall call their slaves, "*apprentices*," the slave trade, "*emigration*;" the money paid in Africa for slaves, "*a manumission fund*;" and the slave trader, a "*missionary*." The Morning Journal of September 4, 1841, a public paper printed in Kingston, Jamaica, contains a synopsis of the plan, in the words following, viz:

"That the remedy to be afforded by the introduction of a population from foreign sources is, in the opinion of this Committee, (of the Immigration Society of Trinidad, in correspondence with his excellency the Governor,) the only one to be recommended; because productive of no loss or sacrifice of capital, and easily effected by simply abandoning some of the restrictions now imposed on emigration." Meaning the restrictions against the slave trade.

Resolution 7th. "That a permission granted to the colony of Trinidad to engage laborers in Africa, to whom the change, in every social and moral point of view, would be highly beneficial, would remedy every existing evil, and could be easily effected by the establishment of a *land and emigration fund*."

Resolution 8th. "That this mode of proceeding, whilst it holds out a rational prospect of extinguishing the present traffic in slaves, by the successful efforts of free labor, will assist rather than interfere with any other plan *now under consideration* by her majesty's government, for the same object. Whenever British power and authority presents itself to them, clothed only in the *missionary* garb of peace, holding the Bible in one hand and a *manumission fund* in the other, we may reasonably hope for success. In this mode *alone* can the tracts of fertile soil, so lavishly spread by Almighty Providence over the surface of this island, be brought into cultivation and made available, which must otherwise remain wastes. But so employed, will be converted into a *mine of wealth*, creating immediately an extensive field for British enterprise and British capital, furnishing an ample fund for the redemption of Africans from bondage, and holding out the cheering expectations of extinguishing for ever the cause which alone creates and supports the present execrable traffic in slaves."

He must be very dull of comprehension, who has paid any attention to the subject at all, not to perceive that the design of Great Britain is, to break up, if she can, negro slavery every where else, except in her own islands, and there to maintain it to a greater extent than it has heretofore existed, by merely making an alteration in a few names,—calling slavery *apprenticeship*, the odious kidnapper, a *missionary*, and the money to purchase slaves, a *manumission fund*. Some time ago, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, sent an agent to the West Indies, to watch the working of the emancipation bill. He advised his Lordship to have tread-mills built, to put the free negroes in, and to import fresh laborers from Africa. He advised the Secretary to afflict them with want; “*create want!*” were his words. It is enough to chill the blood of an American slave-holder, the only true friend of the slave on this earth, to look into the bottom of the horrible designs brooding in the bosom of the English abolitionists against the negro race. They know that the white man and African cannot live on the same soil, on equal terms. They know that emancipation in the Southern States, means the same thing as an extinction of three millions of human beings. Yet the British abolitionists, to destroy the competition of the agricultural products of our Southern States to the similar products of their own dominions, would bring wretchedness, and ultimately destruction upon millions of that very colored race which they hypocritically profess to befriend. That very inhuman traffic, the slave trade, which they make so much noise about, they would renew, under circumstances more odious than have ever, heretofore, attended it. They would clothe the “soul driver” and “kidnapper” in the garb of a christian missionary, and send him to Africa, with the Bible in one hand, and the thumb-screws in the other, in order to restock the British West Indies with a new set of slaves,—thus making religion pander to the most execrable traffic, according to their own showing, that ever existed, and adding hypocrisy to crime.

The misfortune is, that the great mass of the British abolitionists are hoodwinked by that selfish and designing few, who are aiming at the destruction of the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing competition of the

United States, regardless of the misery they would entail on the negro race, in accomplishing their object. Any man, conversant with the character of the Ethiopian, has only to read attentively the interrogatories put to the witnesses, by the Chairmen of the Committees of the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the Privy Council, on the West India question of emancipation, to be convinced, that the pretended ignorance of that character is all a sham, in regard to the great dignitaries of England; however real it may be in regard to the great mass of the British public. The few are too wise to expect immediate abolition in the Southern States, or, in fact, any abolition at all. But they hope, by agitating the question in its most offensive forms, to cause disunion between the North and the South. Their agents are instructed to preach abolition, or its alternative, disunion, to make abolitionists and disunionists synonymous terms. They know that disunion would cause protracted wars between the American States, probably the massacre of half or all the Ethiopian race therein, and answer the purposes of the East India conspirators against American liberty, fully as well, or better, than abolition. The London junto of Leadenhall-street know, that they cannot monopolize the culture of cotton and sugar, unless they can create strife, disunion and civil war between the Northern and Southern States. In proof that they are trying to produce this strife, and *have premeditated a plan to effect it*, the report of the evidence, taken before the several Committees of Lords, Commons, and Privy Council, in July, 1832, on the West India emancipation question, would, of itself, be sufficient to condemn them, in any impartial court of justice. Let it be kept in mind, that this was anterior to the establishment of the anti-slavery societies in our Northern States, for immediate abolition, and the agitation of that subject in Congress. We will transcribe a few of the interrogatories put by the Rt. Hon. Sir James Graham, Chairman of the Commons Commons Committee, to Samuel De Peyton Ogden, Esq., an American citizen, and United States Consul at Liverpool, who was summoned to give evidence before the British Parliament against his country. Many of the questions are of too incendiary a character to appear in print:

Interrogatory No. 4,897. "If you could suppose that the slaves of Louisiana were generally able to read, and that angry discussions took place perpetually in Congress, on the subject of their liberation, which discussions, by means of reading, were made known to the slaves of Louisiana, do you think that with safety the state of slavery could endure there?"

Answer. "Not with equal safety."

No. 4,896. "Does there take place in the United States a free circulation of publications on the subject of slavery?"

Answer. "No."

No. 4,854. "What view do the friends of the slave take of the ultimate condition of the slave-holding states?"

No. 4,855. "Have they ever proposed the *immediate abolition* of slavery?"

No. 4,856. "Has that subject (immediate abolition) ever been *warmly* advocated?"

Answer. "I think I may say never." Mr. Ogden could not say so now.

No. 4,924. "Is there any feeling among Americans, jealous as they are of freedom on the one hand, and jealous as they are of the maintenance of slavery on the other, of the *gross inconsistency* of holding these two opinions?"

The following are a few of the questions put to Wm. Meir, Esq., formerly a large slave-holder in Georgia, where, after residing twenty-five years, he sold 450 negroes, and removed to Europe:

No. 5,533. "Are there any publications circulated among them encouraging the hope or wish of freedom?"

Answer. "They are not permitted in Georgia, but a good many of them can read."

No. 5,534. "Would the magistrates suppress any publications of the kind?"

Answer. "Yes."

No. 5,535. "The magistrates have that power by law, notwithstanding the freedom of the press!!"

Answer. "If there was no law, it would be like the common law for the preservation of order."

No. 5,514. "*Do you think, if emancipated, they would be induced to work for wages?*"

Answer. "I should doubt it very much."

Events, then, in the womb of time are shadowed forth in the interrogatories put to the witnesses, with unerring certainty. The witnesses are asked, if *immediate* abolition

has ever been proposed, or warmly advocated in the United States. They replied in the negative. Forthwith the mother Anti-slavery Society, a political school of the East India Company in London, began to send to the United States, by almost every succeeding packet, papers, books, tracts, reports, agents, missionaries, political, incendiary and fanatical, infidels, christians, travellers, male and female, all advocating one and the same thing, *immediate abolition*. The witnesses were particularly interrogated as to the probable effect of angry discussions in Congress. Receiving the reply, that such discussions would endanger the American Union, forthwith a number of agents were dispatched to the United States for the avowed object of getting up abolition societies to petition Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to introduce angry discussions in that body. Learning that the slaves of Georgia, unlike their factory laborers, or their East India ryots, could read, the societies established in the North, loaded the mails, in the summer of 1835, with abolition documents for the South. The witnesses, brought before the Commons, confirmed the highly important truth, which the Leadenhall junto had learned before, that the slaves, if emancipated, *would not work* as free laborers. This confirmation of the truth only whetted their appetites to break up slave labor in the South, or produce a state of things tantamount to it, and thereby destroy all competition in their East India agricultural products. But it is time to examine this subject more in detail.

August 28th, 1833, the British Parliament passed an act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British West Indies. Section 44th of said act, enacts "that the said act (the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies) shall not extend to *any* of the territory in the possession of the East India Company, or to the Islands of Ceylon or St. Helena."

On the same day, August 28th, 1833, the British Parliament passed an act, entitled "An act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian territories, until the 30th of April, 1854."

Section 20th of said act, enacts "That the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the first Lord of

the Treasury, the principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall be, ex-officio, commissioners for the affairs of India."

Section 24th empowers the above board of commissioners "to administer oaths of *secrecy* to the secretaries and officers."

Section 35th enacts that the Board shall appoint "*a secret Committee, who shall take an oath of secrecy.*"

There is a great deal of circumstantial evidence, proving almost to demonstration, that the secret committee mentioned in the 35th section, are at the bottom of the abolition excitement now abroad in our land.

The object is, to transfer to India the agricultural wealth of the Southern States, by breaking up the system of associated or slave labor in the South. The abolition societies are foreign schools established among us, to inculcate doctrines which tend directly to that result.

Section 9th gives great encouragement to the planting business in India. According to the meaning of this section, none of the cotton, sugar, rice or indigo made in India, for 20 years, from 1833, can be seized for the company's debts.

Sections 39th and 40th, enact "That the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government of all the territories and revenues in India, shall be vested in a Governor General and four Councillors, three of whom shall be servants of the company."

In other words, all India shall be converted into an extensive plantation, and put under an overseer, called a Governor General.

Section 43d enacts "that the said Governor General in council, shall have power to make laws and regulations, for repealing, amending or altering any laws or regulations, whether now in force or hereafter to be in force in the said territories, and to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all courts of justice, and for all places and things whatsoever, within and throughout the whole and every part of said territories, and for all servants of the said company within the dominions of princes and states in alliance with the said company, provided the said laws shall not affect the preroga-

tive of the crown, or the sovereignty or dominion of the crown over the said territories."

There is not an owner or proprietor of any plantation in the whole South, who has half the authority over his plantation and negroes, that the British Parliament has given to the overseer or Governor General of its large plantation in India. There is no negro in the whole South so absolutely in the power of his master, as are the inhabitants of all British India in the power of the overseer of the British East India plantation.

Section 76th enacts, "that the Governor General shall not make any law or regulation to sentence to the punishment of *death* any of his majesty's *natural born subjects born in England*."

What a horrible despotism! This English overseer has full power over the lives and property of all persons in India, excepting native born Englishmen!

Section 68th requires the Governor General "to take into consideration the means of *mitigating* the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of *extinguishing* slavery throughout said territories, as soon as it shall be *practicable and safe*."

This is the tone of Great Britain to her East India overseer, but what is her tone to her equal, the republic of the United States? Does she request America to extinguish slavery as soon as practicable and safe? She orders us to extinguish it *immediately*, safe or not safe; but her overseer in India is permitted to exercise a discretion, which she is unwilling to grant to America.

All India is in a state of slavery, and its inhabitants subjected to the despotic sway of an English overseer, who is both a civil and military despot.

Sections 81st, 82d and 84th, empower the overseer to make laws against illicit residence, and forbid any person to enter India, or to pass about from place to place, without a special license or pass.

Besides this wholesome system of slavery, the individual slaves themselves are, in some cases, permitted to hold slaves. The 68th section requests the overseer to take into consideration the propriety of abolishing the system of individual slavery as soon as might be *practicable and safe*,"—but not to touch the general slave system. The number of

slaves directly subject to the overseer, who has full power over their persons and property, having no civil or political rights, except such as he chooses to give them, amount to the enormous number of one hundred and sixteen millions of persons; about seven times the number of the whole population of the United States, in 1840. The overseer has military and political power over forty millions more, who are permitted to enjoy civil rights. The extent of the plantation, over which this English overseer has control, is greater than the whole territory of the United States. The land is very fertile, and well adapted to the culture of sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, coffee, &c. The overseer has already superceded the Americans in the rice and indigo market. He also makes large quantities of sugar and coffee. He, at the present time, makes even more cotton than any other country in the world, the United States excepted. But it seems that he is not acquainted with the improved method of cultivating cotton. His employers, the East India Company, have therefore sent to the United States an agent to procure men to go to India to teach their overseer the art of making cotton on the improved method of Louisiana and Mississippi. Eight or nine young men, two years ago, left Natchez, to proceed to India, for this purpose. They took with them our improved description of cotton seed. The seed heretofore planted in India, was like that formerly used in Mississippi, the bolls or pods not opening, but apt to rot in rainy weather. To remedy this defect, the slaves of India have been made to gather the bolls, and bury them in the ground, until the weather became fair, then to spread them out on scaffolds until they opened, when the cotton is picked out. Our improved seed will save all this additional labor and trouble. A number of our improved cotton-gin stands have also been sent to India, with models of our gin-houses. The cotton made in India has heretofore been picked by hand, after the old fashion in use before the invention of the gin by Whitney. The introduction of the cotton-gin in India will enable the same number of laborers to make ten times the quantity of cotton they do now. The cost of cultivating cotton in the United States is not less than from three to four cents per pound. The cost of cultivating it in India, with the American improvements, will not exceed one cent per pound. The slaves of India eat nothing but rice

and fruits, and have little or no clothing; while those of the United States have plenty of substantial and wholesome provisions, with comfortable clothing, which cannot be obtained without a considerable outlay of money. The shoes and blanket coats, which are given to the American negroes, cost the American planter nearly as much per annum as the whole expenses of an East India laborer, including the whole sum, which, in mockery of his condition, is called wages.

How did Great Britain acquire the possession of her large dominions in India? A part she took by violence,—by capturing the Portuguese, Dutch and French colonies in India; the other part she obtained, in the language of Burke, “by unparalleled crimes, violated treaties, blood, treachery and devastation.” “There was not a single state, prince or potentate, with which the East India company came in contact, that it did not sell; not a single treaty it ever made, that it had not broken; not a single prince or state, who ever put any trust in the company, who was not utterly ruined. Faith, justice and humanity, were mere prettexts for rapine and violence.” What are its prettexts for trying to excite civil or servile war in the United States? Humanity and religion! “When,” continues Burke, “the prettexts of faith, justice and humanity would not serve for the spoliation of the native powers, imaginary crimes were laid to their charge; plots and rebellions were the prettexts for plunder and devastation. When money was heaped up any where, its owners were invariably accused of treason. The most profitable merchandize was the Nabobs and Soubahdars. These princes, the rightful sovereigns of Hindostan, were sold and resold, like cattle in a fair. Even the Great Mogul, the descendant of Tamerlane, was knocked down for the revenue of two provinces. Some princes were sold to their own children. The company, exciting the children to a parricidal war against their parents, put them in possession of their parents’ dominions, on the condition of hereafter being tributary and dependant on the company.”*

What is the East India Company now doing in the United States? Not content with enlisting men for five years in Louisiana and Mississippi, to go to India to teach its overseer to plant cotton on the improved system, it has been endea-

* See Burke’s Works, vol. iv.

voring, for ten years, to break up the culture of cotton and sugar altogether in the United States, by setting the North against the South, by means of its abolition societies. It has regular professors of abolitionism in London, who are as much under the guidance and control of the company, as its armies in India. That the West India system of associated labor was broken up by the influence of the East India Company, history leaves no doubt. It wanted to destroy the West India competition in regard to sugar. It now wants to destroy the American competition in regard to cotton. With this view, its regular professors of abolitionism in London, have long been actively at work in establishing their incendiary schools in the United States. What does it become the South to do, under such circumstances? To get angry with the North, and dissolve the Union? Brother to go to war with brother? No, assuredly. This would be acting in accordance with the desires and expectations of the East India Company. Has the North no complaint against the British empire? If it have, so has the South. New Holland contains New England white men in slavery, whose only crime is, that they interfered in the Canada dispute. Has the British government imprisoned Thompson, or any of the incendiaries who interfered with the domestic institutions of the United States, and did all they could to excite civil and servile war? Have the British emissaries kindled a thirst in the North for the liberation of bondmen, which must be quenched? There are more than one hundred millions of bondmen in India.

In 1822, James Cropper, an East India proprietor, and a stockholder in the East India Company, wrote a work, which was published by Longman, Hurst & Co., London, entitled "Letters to Wilberforce, recommending the encouragement of the cultivation of sugar in our dominions in the East Indies, as the natural and certain means of effecting the general and total abolition of the slave trade."

Wilberforce, it is well known, was the leader of those benevolent, humane and christian people in England, who had long labored to induce the British government to discontinue that barbarous and inhuman traffic, called the slave trade. The last prayer Virginia ever made to mortal man, was in 1773, to king George III., to abolish the slave trade, at least as far as Virginia was concerned. Several of

the other colonies sent up to the throne similar petitions; but Great Britain refused to abolish the traffic, until Wilberforce, at the head of the christian and benevolent portion of the British people, after many years of labor, succeeded in effecting it. To gain over Wilberforce and the large class of conscientious and christian individuals who acted with him, to the East India interest, was a master stroke of policy in the East India Company. Hence Cropper, one of the East India proprietors, wrote the above mentioned work entitled "Letters to Wilberforce." The work had the desired effect. Wilberforce and his whole party espoused the cause of the East Indies. At that time, a violent dispute had commenced between the East India and West India proprietors, in regard to the duty on sugar. The East India Company had begun the cultivation of sugar in Bengal, but could not pay duty and compete successfully with the West Indies, while the system of associated labor prevailed in the West Indies. The object of the company was, to break up the system of associated or slave labor in the West Indies, and thereby to make the cultivation of sugar in Bengal a more profitable business. To induce Wilberforce and his party to espouse the cause of the East Indies, was an object of primary importance. The "letters to Wilberforce" undertook to establish the following propositions, in the words of the East India proprietor:

1st. "Slave labor, being much dearer than that by freemen, can only be supported by high prices of produce."

2nd. "That we (the British) are paying one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling as a premium on slave cultivation."

3rd. "As land, capital and labor are necessary to give produce, and its value is divided amongst the three, it follows that if laborers become abundant, land and capital will have the larger share of the produce."

"In the East Indies we have a revenue of £20,000,000 sterling per annum, which arises from land or other taxation."

"But it is not to sugar alone that the produce of that vast country is confined; there is plenty of land and plenty of people to produce almost every article that can be mentioned, in almost unlimited quantities."

"That the cultivation of indigo in the East Indies has nearly put an end to its cultivation where slavery exists."

"I am fully aware that the supposed connection of my private interest in this case," says the East India proprietor, "with the interests of my country and humanity, render my motives liable to suspicion; but no one

ought to be discouraged from defending his own rights or asserting their accordance with the welfare of his country and the world at large." "On the opening of the East India trade I believed that a great experiment was to be tried; that of a free competition between the products of the East by freemen, and those of the West by slaves."

"The importations of cotton from the East Indies have greatly reduced the price of that article, and thereby tended to extend its consumption, so that since the opening of this trade, (the East India trade,) the cotton manufactories of Great Britain have increased fifty per cent." The trade was opened in 1815. "Besides this great benefit, there is one which the friends of humanity will consider more important, and that is, that the price of cotton, if not already, is likely, at no great distance of time, to be so reduced, as not to pay for the further importation of slaves."

A low price may pay under good treatment to the slaves, though it might not pay for that abuse of them which requires a continual fresh supply.

"Who would here accept of a thousand men, if they were offered for nothing!"

Truly, who would buy slaves when they can get plenty of them by giving them the name of free laborers. Wilberforce was too much of a fanatic to perceive that there was no merit in not holding slaves, if they were worth nothing.

"How," continues Cropper, "could slavery exist in this country, [Great Britain] even if allowed by law?"

It cannot exist so long as a few wealthy individuals have the privilege of exclusive legislation, and armed with the terrors of cold, hunger and starvation, can punish the people of the whole land, and make them give away their labor for nominal wages. In England, a poor man's misfortune is the want of a master. As soon as he finds a master, he is happy, and strains every nerve to prevent being turned off, to suffer cold and hunger.

In 1823, Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly, London, published another work from the same James Cropper, the above-mentioned East India proprietor. The work is entitled "Letters to the Liverpool Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, on the injurious effects of high prices of produce, and the beneficial effects of low prices on the condition of slaves." At page 7 of the above work, the American government is attacked, and the foundation laid for all

those petitions with which Congress has been annoyed for the last ten years.

“ Our colonists have been under-sold, and, comparatively, driven out of the market *by the cotton of the Americans.*” Page 20.

“ If we see oppression and crimes going on, which we have it in our power to prevent, we are participating in them.” Page 32.

This principle, set forth by the East India Company, has been pressed in so many forms and shapes upon the people of the Northern States, as to induce a great many of them to believe they are participators in what the East India Company and the company's servants and coadjutors call “ the sin of slavery.” Hence, they have been reduced, through the influence of the company, to petition Congress for its removal.

The work endeavors to prove, that any encouragement to slavery and to slave labor, is the same thing as a refusal to trade with the East Indies, and eloquently appeals to the sympathies in the following strain :

“ Surely we should not refuse to trade with the East Indies because they are poor, because they are ignorant, or because they are idolatrous, if, on consideration, we find that trading with them is the most likely means to remove their poverty, their ignorance and their idolatry. Page 30.

It also endeavors to prove, that it would be the most likely means of abolishing slavery.

In 1823, after the East India Company had addressed the letters to Wilberforce through James Cropper, that fanatical member of Parliament took the field in behalf of the East India Company, and published a furious “ Appeal.” This Appeal, and subsequent works, carried the whole force of the christian and conscientious portion of the English over to the East India interest,—together with all the mad fanatics in the island.

Having worked upon the conscience and secured the influence of Wilberforce and his party, the East India Company immediately set about addressing itself to the selfish interests of the British people, and their government. The press teemed with works, all tending to prove to the government, the necessity and expediency of protecting East India interests against the associated or slave labor of the West Indies. We here give a few extracts from a work entitled

“East and West India Sugar,” published by Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly, London, in 1823:

“The West Indies argue that they are a source of wealth to the mother country; a full investigation of this point will show, that the West Indies, instead of being a source of wealth to the country, are really a dead weight upon it, and a source of enormous expense, without adequate return. We take into account, not simply the amount of West India trade, but the amount it costs to maintain it, and the amount we lose by the preference we give to them over the other parts of the empire. With respect to the imports of sugar, rum and coffee, it cannot be denied that the country is a loser, instead of a gainer, by all we pay for the West India produce, over and above the price we should pay, if the present preference were not given them. The amount of this excess may be estimated at upwards of one and a half millions. The cost of defence, in time of peace, from half a million to a million. The real export to the West Indies does not exceed a million annually. The West India sugar planters admit, and have admitted, that their plantations, on an average, do not yield them any profit. Now compare this with the East Indies. She pours capital into this country, instead of depriving us of it. We have not first to buy the laborers at enormous rates, before we set them to work. We have not to pay upwards of a million and a half by way of premium to encourage her cultivation.”—[See 2d proposition of James Cropper,—paying a million two hundred thousand pounds sterling on slave cultivation.]—“The defence and government of India cost us nothing. The expense of every establishment connected with her, at home and abroad, is defrayed from her own resources. The very savings, made in India and transferred to Great Britain, have amounted to more, perhaps, during the last 20 years, than the nett revenue derived during the same time from the West Indies.” “We have in the West Indies a costly population of seven or eight hundred thousand consumers, and in the East Indies, a population of one hundred millions, consisting of all varieties of ranks, who cost us nothing, to whose demands for our manufactures an impulse has been given, which, if duly encouraged and not cramped, will rise to an extent infinitely beyond the demand of the West Indies multiplied twenty fold. According to an official view of the administration of our affairs in 1815, we exported to India only 604,800 yards of printed cottons; but in 1821, we exported 7,602,245 yards; and in 1822, 9,979,866 yards. In 1815 we exported to India only 213,403 yards plain cottons; in 1822, 9,940,736 yards; and what limit can be put to the progressive augmentation of this trade?” “But such a result as this, it is further argued, only establishes the gross injustice of the attempt to remove the protecting duty on sugar. Its effects, it is admitted, will supercede

slavery. But the system of slavery has been encouraged by Great Britain, and the planters hold their slaves on the faith of Parliament. But is that a reason why discouragement should attach to free labor in British India?"

It will be seen from the above, what were the primary and leading causes, which led to emancipation in the West Indies. The principles of humanity and liberty had nothing to do with it. It was a mere calculation of profit and loss. The East India proprietors never mentioned humanity, or the interest of the negro, out of the circle of Wilberforce and his followers. One of them, however, did hint something about humanity in Parliament, but soon stood dumb-founded before the truth uttered by a friend of the West Indies: "That whether the sugar made in the East Indies be the product of slave or free labor, its comparative cheapness proves that the condition of the laborer must be worse there than in the West Indies,—its cheapness being resolvable into two circumstances, the greater quantity of toil the laborer is forced to undergo, or the smaller amount of the necessaries and comforts of life which he is allowed for his labor." This unanswerable argument drove the East India advocates back to their ledger of profit and loss. They reserved their humanity, to amuse Wilberforce and his followers, whose minds were too full of fanaticism to admit of reason.

Suffice it to say, that the East India Company, and those interested in East India property, after a severe and long continued struggle, carried their point, and broke up the system of associated labor in the West Indies. No sooner had they accomplished this object, in 1833, than they turned the whole machinery with which they had effected it, against the United States, with a view to break up the system of associated labor in the Southern States.

"On the separation of the British Colonies from Great Britain, several persons manufactured indigo in Bengal, with a view of supplying Europe. The success of their endeavors was, however, very limited, and many individuals lost large sums of money, until the destruction of the once flourishing colony of St. Domingo, from which Europe had been, to a large extent, supplied, occasioned a fresh opening for the sale of Indian indigo in Europe."*

* See page 3 of a Treatise on Indigo, published in Calcutta in 1832, being a part of a series of treatises on the principal products of Bengal,—the culture of indigo, sugar, cotton, hemp, silk and opium, by John Phipps. This work is to be found in Natchez, Miss.,—it belongs to a distinguished counsellor at law.

The quotation just made from a book printed in Calcutta, (and nothing is printed in India except by authority,) affords matter worthy the deepest reflection of the planters of the South. If the quotation be read over again, and the present largest cotton-growing district and its staple be substituted for the former largest indigo district, all those, whose intellectual vision is unclouded, will see, in the distance, the outline of the motive of the East India Company in plotting the destruction of the cotton-growing States. Close attention to the evidence, about to be adduced, will, it is believed, enable the dullest capacity to see distinctly the motive of the East India Company, and to trace its bloody hand, as the prime mover of those dissensions between the North and the South, which threaten the integrity of the American Union. Attention to the evidence will show how vain, idle and unfounded are all the expectations and hopes of the South, of repose or peace, so long as the instigator of the angry feelings between the North and the South lies concealed. When the East India Company's motive of self aggrandizement, by causing a family quarrel among the States of this Union, is made plainly to appear, and when some of the means it has used, and is using, to produce that effect, are proved upon it, the animosity it has created between our countrymen of the North and the South, it is believed, will give place to that fraternal feeling, so desirable among a people whom a common interest binds together, and a common destiny, for good or for evil, assuredly awaits. Bound up in the evidence may be found the olive branch, to restore peace and good feeling among ourselves.

In 1789, the East Indies and Hayti stood in nearly the same relation to each other in regard to indigo, that the East Indies and the Southern States now do in regard to cotton. Hayti made nearly twice as much indigo as the whole of India. At present the Southern States, probably, make about twice as much cotton as India does. It is contended, however, by good authority, that India, at the present time, grows more cotton than the United States; the most of the Indian cotton being consumed by the hundreds of millions of Asia, and only a small quantity, or surplus, reaching the European market, as exports. The extent of the wheat crop of the United States, cannot be estimated by the exports, without taking into account the

domestic consumption. So, in regard to the cotton crop of India. Although the exports of cotton from America be ten times greater than the exports from India, it should be considered that the Asiatic consumption is much greater than the American, because the population is so much greater. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, that our Southern States and British India cover the greatest and best part of the cotton region of the world,—or at least, make more than three-fourths of all the cotton consumed by the world. In 1789, about three-fourths of all the indigo was made in Hayti and India. The former made much the most. The latter was unable to compete with it. The East India Company, (we are informed by the Calcutta work above referred to, see page 9,) lost by the cultivation of indigo £80,000, and advanced £1,000,000 to its servants, taking the forthcoming crops of indigo as security; still it was a losing business to all parties, up to the year 1789. At that period Hayti was a happy, peaceful and prosperous colony. It enriched France, as the South now enriches the North. It not only exported more indigo, but it exported more sugar and coffee than any other island, country, colony, or kingdom in the world. That year the French part of the island exported 47,516,531 lbs. clayed sugar, and 93,573,300 lbs. muscovado, being upwards of one hundred and forty thousand hogsheads of 1,000 lbs. each, also, 76,835,219 lbs. coffee, seven millions of pounds of cotton, besides upwards of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds of indigo.*

During this climax of Haytien prosperity, there *was a stir in London*. Swarms of abolition emissaries went over from London to Paris, to teach the French the principles of liberty. France was then struggling hard to establish a republican form of government. The principles of liberty, which the English emissaries then inculcated in France, were precisely the same wild and spurious principles, which they are now inculcating in the United States, known as abolition principles. France was told, that her republicanism would prove a failure, unless she passed an emancipation act. To impress the English doctrines more fully upon revolutionary France, an abolition society was got up in London, headed by Clarkson, Wilberforce, Price, Priestly

* See a work on Hayti, written by the British Consul General, Charles Mackenzie, F.R.S.

and many others of less note. This society sent a deputation to Paris, headed by Clarkson, and established a similar society in that city. Robespierre, Gregoire, Mirabeau, Condorcet and Brissot, were at the head of the French abolition society. These societies were as active in sending out incendiary publications throughout France and her colonies, as similar societies have since been in disturbing the peace of the Southern States, by publications almost verbatim in language. They introduced the same angry discussion, in regard to slavery, in the National Assembly of France, that they have since done in the American Congress. Robespierre was in the French National Assembly, what Adams now is in the American Congress. The abolitionists of that day had imported from London a false issue, in regard to the question of slavery, the very same which has since been imported from London into the United States, viz: that color and the prejudices of color, and not the natural differences between the Caucasian and Ethiopian races, constituted the subject-matter of the question at issue. Filled with this idea, Gregoire rose in the National Assembly and said, that "To estimate man by the color of his skin, is to stifle the voice of humanity, and to break the ties of paternity." Robespierre instantly sprung to his feet, and cried out, in the true spirit of a fanatic: "*Perish all the colonies sooner than that principle.*" The original words, "*Perissent les colonies plutôt qu'un de nos principes. Qu'il valait mieux sacrifier les colonies que les principes.*" Robespierre, like the abolitionists of the present day, did not ask if the slaves were happy or unhappy? if emancipation would be useless or profitable? if it would remedy or poison their morals? if it would make their condition better or worse? but cried out, "*Les principes soient sauvés et la logique satisfaite.*" "*Save the principle, satisfy the logic.*" The principle for which Robespierre was for sacrificing the colonies, and *did sacrifice them*, and the very principle, at whose shrine the abolitionists would sacrifice the American Union, is a fallacious principle, founded upon a false assumption. Let the abolitionists go into Westminster Abbey, and look at the statue of the Right Hon. Mr. Fox, and the negro kneeling at his feet, and they will see at a glance, that the principle is false. The statue of the negro is cut of the same white marble as that of Fox, yet it truly represents the negro,—and

is altogether unlike any other statue in the whole Abbey.

Though made of *white* marble, without paint or varnish, every one will see that it belongs to an entirely different race of people from the Anglo-Saxons around. Color, therefore, does not constitute the substance of the difference between the two races. Every assumption that it does so, and every principle founded upon such assumption, is fallacious. If there had not been other broad differences besides color, the artist could not have made a block of white marble a good representative of the negro race. The history of Africa is portrayed in every lineament. In regard to the surrounding statues, the magic power of the chisel tells of mind, energy, care, industry and perseverance. The kneeling negro has more bulk of muscle than many of those around him, but he has nothing of that intellectuality which lights the countenances of the other marble tenants of Westminster Abbey. The principle, therefore, that color, or the prejudices of color, constitute the substance of the question at issue, is as fallacious as would be a principle founded upon the assumption, that the color of the red rose and white constituted the essential matter of dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster. Robespierre had neither cruelty nor ferocity in his countenance, but was rather mild and pensive in his appearance. It must have been false and fanatical principles, and not malignant feelings, which impelled him to the commission of so many atrocities. Hayti is at this moment a monument of the evils of fanatical principles. More than half a million of ignorant and deluded negroes have been murdered, and nothing obtained, but to change the mild patriarchal government of the white man, for the odious military despotism of a mulatto. Such is and ever has been the nature of the negro, that if emancipated to-day he will be a slave to-morrow; and if he cannot find a master to take care of him, he relapses into barbarism. The negroes in our northern cities, who are not domesticated in white families, are retrograding to barbarism, by the side of the church and school-house doors. It is this natural difference in the character and nature of the negro, and not the abstract difference of color, which subjects the race to servitude. The French republic, so called, went to all the extremes which the London abolitionists desired, and like the South American and every other republic founded upon extreme and

fanatical principles, it soon went to ruin. Republicanism in the United States is founded upon *natural* distinctions in society. The governments of Europe are all founded, more or less, upon *artificial* distinctions of birth, property, &c. In the United States all that extensive class of persons, who are unable to take care of themselves, and provide for their own wants, are placed under a domestic or home government, which keeps them in subjection and makes them happy and comfortable out of the proceeds of their own labor. In what are called the non-slaveholding States of this Union, about three-fourths of the entire population is under the domestic or fireside government, and in the Southern States, about four-fifths or five-sixths are under identically the same government, and no other. Mobs of apprentices and boys cannot run to Washington, as they did to Versailles, and overawe, by their noise and violence, the proceedings of the National Assembly. The domestic, or rod and strap government, keeps them better employed. The domestic, or home government, is the conservative principle of every republic, and hence the enemies of republicanism have always showed such great anxiety to destroy it.

To urge the French to break up the authority of the domestic government in the West India colonies, took Clarkson to Paris, in the year 1789. He there met with the mulatto fellow Ogé, from Hayti, and persuaded Ogé to go with him to London. Ogé arrived in London, without a shilling in his pocket, but in a few months, *he sailed from London to the famous indigo island, with arms, ammunition and stores in abundance.* Immediately on his arrival in the island, he put the arms and ammunition he had brought with him from London, in the hands of some two or three hundred assassins, and forthwith commenced the work of death. Near Grand River, he was met and routed by De Vincent, and was subsequently caught and hung. This was the first insurrection which occurred on the Island. The abolitionists of London were accused of furnishing Ogé with the means. They boldly denied the accusation, and reëffirmed, that their only weapon was peaceful argument. They appealed to their characters, as being christians and men of peace, ever charitable, humane and kind, as evidence of their innocence. Many circumstances go to prove that the abolitionists,—that is, the consciencious and christian por-

tion of them, as Wilberforce, Priestly, Price, Clarkson, &c.,—were innocent of the charge of furnishing Ogé with arms. In the Appendix of the second volume of Charles Mackenzie's *Notes on Hayti*, is a long letter from Clarkson, over his own signature, written in his old age, when he was tottering on the brink of the grave, in which he avows most solemnly, that he neither furnished Ogé with arms, nor did he know who did. That Ogé was furnished with arms in London, history leaves no doubt. If there were no other proof, the letter of Clarkson would be sufficient. He acknowledges that he brought Ogé from Paris, and introduced him to his friends in London, after which he lost sight of him. As to who furnished Ogé with arms, ammunition, and a ship to transport them to Hayti, there is a blank page in history. On that blank page let it be written, 758,628 pounds indigo made in Hayti the year before Ogé sailed from London, and 470,697 pounds made in British India; but in less than five years after the sailing of the ship from London, with the arms which commenced the first insurrection in Hayti, the indigo made in India swelled to the enormous quantity of 2,644,710 pounds, and has averaged that quantity, or more, every year since; but no more indigo exported from Hayti, from that time forward, excepting about two thousand pounds.*

What class of men in London could have been base and cruel enough to arm a Legion of assassins, and turn them loose, at the dread hour of the night, upon an inoffensive people four thousand miles off? Look in the 3rd volume of the "*Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Munro*," and there will be found a letter, proving that there is a class of men in London, whose servant drove five thousand prisoners into the river, and drowned every one of them, and that servant they not only rewarded immediately afterwards with the highest honors in their gift, but granted him a large annual pension to the present moment. That class of persons, who rewarded their servant for such shocking barbarity, are the very individuals known under the appellation of the *East India Company*.

Here is the letter as published in Sir Thomas Munro's *Life and Correspondence*, dated August 1, 1800:

* See *Treatise on Indigo*, table 16 page 50. See also Mackenzie's *Hayti*.

"I, (Col. Wellesley,) have taken and destroyed Doondiah's baggage and guns, and *driven* into the Mulpurba, where they were *drowned*, about five thousand *people*; I stormed Drummull on the 26th July. My troops are in high health and spirits, their *pockets full of money, the produce of plunder.*"

It is hardly necessary to say, that the Col. Wellesley of 1800, is the Duke of Wellington of 1842.

The tears which such men shed, for a handful of slaves in the District of Columbia, should be held suspected, particularly when it appears in the sequel, that they are well apprized of the fact, that if Congress were to grant the petitions, which they have instigated the people of the Northern States to send in for their liberation, that it would assuredly be the signal for the disruption of a mighty empire of republican States. If London has any class of people sufficiently able, cruel and bloodthirsty, to send out ships, laden with arms and ammunition, to put into the hands of assassins, let the apologists of the East India Company point them out, and say to what class of English they belong. If this can be done, it may so happen, that they furnished Oge with arms, otherwise, the arms must have been furnished, either by the British Government itself, or by the East India company. The fall of Hayti, no one can doubt or dispute, has given to the East Indies the monopoly of the indigo trade. The fall of the associated labor of the West India Islands, is rapidly giving to India the monopoly of the sugar trade, and every one can see, who can see at all, that the fall of the associated labor of the Southern States would give to the East India Company the monopoly of the cotton trade. To use the expression of the Court of Directors of the East India Company: "Indigo has become a permanent and advantageous article of commercial remittance, and is a benefit both to Bengal and to England."*

On the same page of the same book it is stated, "that the East India Company thought it expedient to encourage the cultivation of indigo in the Indian territory, for the purpose of insuring, independently of foreigners, a regular supply of an article so essentially necessary to the most important of the British manufactures." This is precisely what the company now says in regard to cotton. The company proposes to furnish Great Britain with a supply of cotton inde-

* See page 9 of the Calcutta work on Indigo.

pendently of foreigners. It is a question, yet to be solved, if it can do so, unless it can succeed in its designs and projects, now on foot, of breaking up the associated or slave labor of the South. It could not succeed in making indigo a profitable business, until the associated labor of Hayti was broken up. It could not succeed in making sugar a profitable business, until it came out victorious, in 1833, from a war, which it waged for ten years, fiercely and unremittingly, against the slave labor of the British West Indies. It showed neither mercy nor quarters to the West India planters, and it will not be less intolerant to the American planters. There is no hope of peace to the South, while this company, thirsting for gold and universal dominion, with all the wealth of India at its feet and all the power of the British empire at its back, is permitted to pursue its machinations unseen, unnoticed and unmolested. The history of its long continued and indefatigable exertions, and the heavy sacrifices it made, to monopolize the indigo and sugar trade, proclaims to the Southern States, in capital letters, what they may expect from the company, when it is now aiming at the infinitely higher and richer prize, the monopoly of cotton. Those, who are at all conversant with what is now going on in Great Britain, know that there is a strong party in that kingdom, favorable to the project of putting a prohibitory duty on the cotton of the Southern States. The fanatics of that island favor the scheme, because they are so far deluded as to believe, that if, by encouraging the culture of cotton in India, they succeed in making slave labor valueless in America, immediate abolition would be the consequence. The East India company, urge the project with a view "of insuring independently of foreigners, a regular supply of an article so essentially necessary to the most important of the British manufactures," and to make cotton, "a permanent and advantageous article of commercial remittance" between India and England. The only ostensible objection to putting the plan into immediate execution, is the present necessity of the British cotton manufacturers. They are obliged to rely on the slave labor cotton, as they call it, or stop work. But the whole energies of the British empire appear to be in action and in preparation for the accomplishment of the object. Experiments are in extensive progress throughout all India, and even in New Holland,

with every variety of cotton, native and American, with a view to improve the quality, and extend the culture sufficiently to supply the British factories with every needful quality and quantity. Numerous samples of cotton grown in India, have been lately sent to the factory masters of Great Britain, for examination. The result is, that some of the samples are said to be superior to the American. Specimens of cotton fabrics, spun and woven in India, by the Hindoos, have been exhibited in London. They were much finer than the highest numbers of any of the British factories. Many samples of the different soils were also brought from India, to the chemical laboratories of London, to be compared, by analysis, with specimens of the soil of the cotton States of America. Specimens of the soil of Concordia, Louisiana, and Adams county, Miss., were sent to London. Let ignorance laugh at science pressed into the service of agriculture ; it is her privilege ; but it is the province of science to triumph.

By turning to the 74th page of the *Calcutta Work on indigo*, it will be seen, that on soils, which yielded by analysis certain products, "the addition of a very minute portion of lime, increased the produce of indigo upwards of 50 per cent." By turning to the *London Athenæum* of November 23, 1839, we there find a "report on the cotton trade of India," and an abstract of a paper read by General Briggs, one of the East India Company's servants. The paper tries to prove, that "the people of Hindostan are as capable of furnishing Europe with cotton, as the inhabitants of North America, and that, under proper arrangements, [such as Mississippi overseers know so well how to make,] both the quantity and quality of their produce would suffice for all the requirements of our (British) manufactures, without the necessity of relying on the slave labor of America." The paper of General Briggs estimates the present Asiatic consumption at 750,000,000 lbs., which is greater than the whole amount of cotton grown in the Southern States. He puts the imports into England at 500,000,000 lbs., "chiefly slave-labor cotton, and only one-tenth Indian." The East India Company's General then asks the question, "Why should this be?" He proceeds to demonstrate the proposition, "that India might supply cotton sufficient for the manufactures of England, and, if necessary, for the whole world." The causes of the deficiency of the supply from

India, Gen. Briggs stated, " were closely connected with the administration of the country, and he should not allude to them in that place." In plain English, the East India Company has been too busy in shedding blood, to turn much of its attention to the cotton culture, but having now conquered all the hostile tribes of India, established its power, and made a near road across to the Mediterranean for speedy communication and the transport of troops, it is at length, ready to enter upon the cultivation of cotton, in good earnest. With this view, it sent its servant, Captain Bayles, to the United States, to employ overseers, and put it into immediate possession of all the American improvements. From the manner in which Capt. Bayles was received in this country, and the objects of his mission promoted, the thought occurred to us, that the South, so famous for the refinement and intelligence of its inhabitants, was, nevertheless, behind the age, in a species of knowledge of vital importance; that the people, who are not two months behind London or Paris in dress, fashion, etiquette and polite literature, and who regularly receive the news from 'Change and Thread-needle street, are unapprised of the occurrences at Exeter Hall, and of the progress of the conspiracy on Leadenhall-street, to overthrow their country, and beggar themselves and their children. On any other supposition, the open-hearted, generous hospitality, with which they welcomed Capt. Bayles, and strove to be foremost in promoting the objects of his mission, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. Another thought obtrudes itself, and is painful, but it shall have utterance, which is, that every trivial occurrence now going on in the court and commercial circles of Europe, will soon find their way to the Southern public, through the flimsy half abolition periodicals published in the North and in Europe. Whereas, this Quarterly Review, lately established in our Southern emporium, and which treats on matters of vital interest and importance to the South, will have to struggle hard for existence, until the South wakes up, and breaks the hold the abolition book agencies have got upon her, and supports a press of her own. In the North, the abolitionists have agents, paid by the year, who make a business of trying to ruin every press which supports Southern interests in the proper way. They do every thing they can, to bring such presses into

discredit, by cutting down their subscription list, and diverting their advertising custom into other channels. The edict has gone forth, from the mother anti-slavery society in London, to all her affiliated associations in England and America, to do their utmost against every book, review, newspaper, tract or magazine of any kind, on any subject whatever, which does not contain more or less abolitionism open or disguised. Until the South adopts the policy of patronizing no book, review or publication, which does not favor her interests, that great moral lever, the Printing Press, will continue to be perverted, as it has been, to the unhallowed purpose of trying to overthrow her institutions.

The ultra party papers are so full of political bickerings, (which help no cause but the one they oppose,) that if *Rome* were burning, they would continue to fiddle the tune of local strifes, and not have time or room to notice it. It is this apathy and indifference of the whole South, which constitutes the true danger to Southern institutions. If the South would awake, and look beyond second, to first causes, it can easily be demonstrated, that she would have nothing to fear from abolitionism, and, ere long, her awakened vision would see clearly and distinctly the means which would permanently enhance the value of her specie staple, —put down East India competition, and upset the cotton speculations of the East India Company.

The people of Great Britain were, for a long time, divided into two parties, for and against the slave trade. The king, imperial parliament, the nobility and capitalists *for* it; the colonial legislatures (particularly those in former times, of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia,) and the benevolent portion of the British generally, *against* it. The government persisted in authorizing the trade, long after a very large majority had declared against it. The perseverance in the traffic, against the will and remonstrances of the whole realm, naturally kindled a fierce enthusiasm in the party, headed by Wilberforce, opposed to the trade. At length the conquests in India put the East India Company in possession of more slaves than were needed, being about one hundred millions. All that was now wanting, was to turn the Hindoos to profitable account, by setting them to work. With this view the *ryotty* system was reformed in India, and the trade with that country relieved of many of its

former restrictions. (1815.) *Ryotty* and *ryotts* are terms, introduced into the English language in India, to avoid the use of the terms *slavery* and *slaves*. There were no words in the English language, but the latter, which could convey any idea of the relation and condition of the subjugated Hindoos, and the new words, *ryotts* and *coolies* were adopted in lieu of the word *slaves*, and *ryotty* system, in lieu of the term *slavery*. *Coolies*, however, are a kind of free laborers, who have the liberty of working for about three cents a day, or starving. The *ryotty* system, while it subjects the *ryotts* and *coolies* to the will of a master, does not subject the master to the trouble and expense of providing for the maintenance and support of the persons subjugated, and whose labor it extorts. It is easy to perceive, that a system of slavery, which extorts labor without providing food and clothing for the laborers, or taking care of them when sick, could not compete successfully with that more humane system which makes such provision. By the year 1822, it was found that the odious system of slavery in the East Indies, called the *ryotty system*, could not compete successfully with negro slavery in the West Indies, particularly in regard to the article of sugar. One of two things had to be done, either that the East India proprietors should take the same trouble, and endure the same expense, as the West India proprietors, in providing the necessary comforts of life for their slaves, or the West India system must be broken up. The latter was determined upon. By turning to the Calcutta "Treatise on the principal products of Bengal, by John Phipps," it will be perceived, page 105, that "the coolies, for agricultural and general purposes, are paid at two rupees eight annas, to three rupees per month: those who beat the vats, four rupees per month, while the vats are working." A rupee, according to the same book, page 43, varies from 10½d. to 2s. sterling, according to the rates of exchange. A rupee, therefore, at its highest value, is only forty-eight cents. The highest price paid for labor in India is less than two dollars per month, out of which the laborer is to find his own food and clothing. Field labor is carried on by *ryotts*, who are compelled to furnish so much produce, at prices so low, as to keep them always in debt to their masters. "It is a notorious fact," says the Calcutta Treatise on indigo, page 78, "that in scarcely any

instance do the ryotts properly attend to any of the most indispensable operations of husbandry, unless they are in a manner compelled to do so by their principals, who are obliged to keep a number of people to see that the ryotts perform what is needful in the culture of the indigo plant, from the time of sowing until the time of reaping of the harvest. This apathy on the part of the ryotts, may be accounted for in a great measure, from their being dispirited, under the impression, that after they have been, from necessity, obliged to engage in the cultivation of indigo, they have no hope of extricating themselves from accumulating balances." "Indigo cannot be raised for less than double the cost the ryotts contract to supply it." If the negroes of our own country were compelled to engage to make cotton or sugar for half the sum per pound which the production now costs the planter, if they had thus to work for nothing and find themselves, if they had overseers "to compel them to perform what is needful in the culture," then would the system of negro slavery be as odious and as oppressive as the *ryotty system* of India. "Natives," says the Calcutta Treatise pages 78 and 79, "working under well disposed planters, have seldom any real ground for complaint as to treatment; but when otherwise situated, instances are known, where they have experienced harsh usage." Uniform kindness, tempered occasionally with a show of firmness, and a determination to resist imposition, in whatever shape it may appear, is the course most conducive to the interest of the planter and the ryot." The general results of labor, conducted on such principles, providing nothing for the comfort, health, food and clothing of the laborers, were by no means equal to the general results of West India slave labor, which provides for the wants and necessities of the laborers. The West India laborers being provided with the necessary comforts of life, and associated together on large plantations, stocked the market with sugar, and in a manner, excluded that of India. It was perceived, that if the associated labor of the West Indies were abolished, there would be a great falling off in the production of sugar in that quarter, which would open the sugar market to India. Hence, arose the famous dispute between the East and West Indies in regard to the duty on sugar. The press groaned with works on the subject, which yet encumber the London libraries. The

dispute, although about sugar, was, virtually, a dispute in regard to the two systems of labor, the *riotty* system of India, and the associated system of the West Indies. Negro slavery in the West Indies was to be broken up, or all hopes of turning the labor of the hundred million of Hindoos to profitable account, abandoned. A calculation being made, the account stood one hundred to one against negro slavery in the West Indies, because East India was one hundred time more populous, and the territory more extensive than the West Indies. The East India Company appealed to the shipping interest, and argued, that by encouraging India, there would be more use for ships, the voyage being longer, and the produce of India so much greater: the manufacturers were told, that if the hundred million of Hindoos could be put to profitable employment, the demand for British goods in India would be one hundred times as great as the West India demand; but especially did the company appeal to the passions and prejudices of that great and powerful party, headed by Wilberforce, and convinced Wilberforce, by the celebrated letters of James Cropper, an East India proprietor, addressed to that individual in 1822, that the time had arrived, when, by taking sides with the East India Company, in its contest then going on with the West India planters, in regard to the duty on sugar, that the slave trade could for ever be put down. Wilberforce and his party eagerly caught at the bait. The company, therefore, got the shipping interest, the manufacturing interest, and the whole party opposed to the slave trade, enlisted against the West India planters. A wonderful change now came over the dream of that government, which had so long encouraged the slave trade, against the remonstrances of a large majority of its subjects. It not only prohibited the trade, but the very year after Cropper's publication had demonstrated the inability of East India, which yielded an annual revenue of twenty millions pounds, to sustain itself under the competition of the slave labor sugar of the West India islands, already more expensive than profitable to the government, it wheeled about, and passed certain recommendatory resolutions, "to mitigate and abolish slavery in the West Indies." These resolutions were passed in 1823. Cropper's work appeared the year before. As yet, the British

public had not petitioned parliament to abolish slavery. It was the slave trade,—not slavery,—which parliament had been petitioned to abolish. Cropper's work opened the eyes of parliament to the impolicy of buying slaves, when there were already more in India than could be turned to profitable account, unless the products of the West Indies could be excluded from market, or the system of West India associated labor abolished. The planters of the West Indies stood in the way of the magnificent speculations of the East India proprietors; and in 1823 the British government determined to sacrifice them. The planters saw their doom, in the resolutions of parliament passed that year. They fiercely remonstrated against the resolutions; although only recommendations, they struck a fatal blow at their property. The planters reminded parliament of the fact, that such resolutions had never been called for by the British public; that the public, in common with them, had opposed the slave trade, and had, for fifty years, or more, in vain remonstrated against its continuance. They urged the inconsistency of resisting the remonstrances against the slave trade, for so long a time, and then, without any remonstrances, or public voice calling for it, being suddenly stricken with a fit of philanthropy, which threatened to deprive them of their property, and ruin the colonies. They proved that emancipation would not better the condition of the negroes, but make it worse. The sharp-sighted East India proprietors saw the difficulty that the British government was in. The government was favorable to the East India interest, but had no authority or excuse for sacrificing the West India planters; no public voice, no petitions urging it. They determined that parliament should not be in this predicament long. Again there was a stir in London, and emissaries issued forth from that city, and travelled over England, Scotland and Wales, organizing societies to get up petitions for the abolition of West India slavery. In 1824 we find that that notable fanatic, Thomas Clarkson, (the same who brought the mulatto Ogé from Paris to London, whence he sailed about the year 1790, with arms and ammunition to Hayti, and the same who lately wrote an insulting fanatical letter to President Tyler,) we find the same Thomas Clarkson, upwards of eighty years of age, the fire of fanaticism still unextin-

guished in his bosom, and still the dupe of the East India Company, leaving his home, in London, and going to Durham, there organizing a society to get up petitions for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. Four years afterwards, in 1828, we find him still engaged in the work,—opening and organizing a society at Ipswich, which he called the anti-slavery society. The object of this society was not to petition, but to get up petitions, for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.*

It is useless to track the agents and dupes of the East India Company, in their perambulations through the United Kingdom, organizing anti-slavery societies, and manufacturing and circulating every kind of story calculated to turn public sentiment against West India slavery. They had about the same success, which similar societies have since had, in our Northern States, in getting up petitions to Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Like our northern people, although opposed to slavery on theoretical grounds, and erroneously believing it to be an evil, yet it was a matter which did not concern them, and for which they were in no degree responsible,—consequently, the majority of the English people were not disposed to meddle with it, lest, in getting rid of what they supposed to be an evil, they might give rise to greater evils. Hence, only a small portion of the English signed the petitions to parliament. In the mean time, Dr. Lindoe's work had been published, and extensively circulated, bearing on its title-page, "*To hold the principle of slavery, is to deny Christ.*" The work was published in London, in 1824, by Hatchard and Son, 187 Piccadilly.

The author endeavored to prove, that "slavery was sin," and that the question ought to be considered as one of "right and wrong," (page 15.) The work, however, soon showed its cloven foot, and proved its paternity. Fearing, no doubt, that the religious arguments would not have weight with the manufacturers, who are not remarkable for religious sentiment, if what John Fielding, member of Parliament for Oldham, says be true, that "the factory children are worked from five o'clock in the morning until eight at night, all the year round, and from six on Sunday morning, until twelve, in cleaning the machinery,"—Dr. Lindoe drop-

* See *New Monthly Magazine*, published in London, vol. 24, page 277.

ped the religious view of the matter, and took the ground assumed by Cropper and the East India Company, stoutly arguing the matter, not as a religious question, but as one of profit and loss. The work is a beautiful illustration of that scripture which says, that "no man can serve two masters, God and Mammon." Many other efforts, of a similar nature, were made, to identify the East India Company with the cause of Christianity. With this view, dogmas were issued from Exeter Hall, and imposed on the christian community as religious principles,—that it was "a scandal to hold christians in bondage," and that "slavery was sin." Many of the clergy, doubtless, mistook them for gospel truths. All those who could be reached by the power, patronage and influence of the East India interest, could choose between advocating the Exeter Hall abolition dogmas, or losing their places, and abandoning all hope of preferment. No wonder the dogmas, under such circumstances, gained an unmerited popularity, both in the established and dissenting churches.

But the mixture of the political question of slavery with the doctrines of christianity,—the preaching of the East India Company's dogmas, for scripture truths, met with a powerful counteracting influence in those truths themselves. If there had been less christianity in England than there was, the dogmas would have met with more favor. The more intelligent and discreet portion of the christian public eschewed the evil of incorporating the political question of slavery, with their religious creeds. History was full of proof, that every question, however remotely political, introduced into the church, had injured the cause of christianity. "Like the roots of nettles, as Lord Bacon says, "which themselves sting not, but yet they all bear stinging leaves." The term slavery, is well known to be a very general term, embracing a variety of conditions, dissimilar in their nature, and of all degrees, from Algerine bondage, to that mild patriarchal form of government, to which all are subjected in their youth. If slavery were sin, they saw the necessity of defining and describing the kind and degree of slavery which was sin, otherwise the monarch of any kingdom in Europe, might be reproached with the scandal of holding christians in bondage, equally with the planter. If slavery were sin, monarchy would be sin, the *ryotty system* of India would be sin, and many other political con-

ditions. In fact there would be no stopping-place short of an absolute hierarchy.

It was also difficult to convince the christian churches, that religious duties required that the planters should be robbed of their property. Very few would have given their assent at all, if compensation to the planters had not been appended to the West India Emancipation Bill. Notwithstanding that so many interests were arrayed against the West Indian planters, public opinion was not yet in favor of the proposed bill. Something sinister appeared in the proposition for emancipating the West India negroes, coming as it did, from the imperial parliament, which had so long resisted the remonstrances against the slave trade, and persisted in it until it ceased to be profitable. There was, also, something manifestly unjust in depriving the planters of their property, contrary to their consent, although coupled with compensation, they having no voice in setting a value upon it. In vain were the people told that the slaves of the West Indies were not property, "that man could not hold property in man;" the public knew that slaves had been recognized by the laws of the land as property, and that justice required, that that for which an individual had paid a valuable consideration, or inherited as a patrimony, should not be taken from him, by a metaphysical distinction, defining it not to be property. Here the matter might have rested, but for one of the most diabolical projects that history records. The project was, to turn public sentiment in favor of the proposed emancipation bill, and public indignation against the planters, by the prostitution of the missionary cause. The mother anti-slavery society, which, as has been shown, spread its brood over England, by Clarkson and other London emissaries, was then, as it now is, as much the creature of the East India Company, as one of the Company's ships, or a battalion of its soldiers. It is, in fact, an incendiary political school, in the service of the East India Company, as will hereafter appear, having its professors and fellows, and a kind of *propaganda* attached to it, which it sacrilegiously calls a missionary society. The anti-slavery society resolved itself into a missionary establishment, and sent out a number of incendiaries to Demerara and the West Indies, who preached according to orders, incendiary doctrines, caused several insurrections,

got the churches pulled down, themselves mobbed, returned home to London, under the full cry of persecution, preached a crusade throughout Great Britain against slavery and slave-holders, set all England in a blaze of abolition excitement, and in 1833 the emancipation bill was passed, almost by the acclamation of the United Kingdom. But these assertions require proof,—to obtain which, it is necessary to follow the incendiaries sent out from London, with the bible in their hands, but the dagger under their cloaks, in the form of incendiary tracts. On the arrival of the London incendiaries in Demerara and the West Indies, they found a number of christian missionaries, properly so called, principally Methodists and Baptists, with some few Presbyterians and Episcopalians, many of whom had labored for thirty years or more, with indefatigable zeal, and with great success, in converting the negroes to christianity. As soon as the incendiary missionaries began to preach their anti-slavery doctrines, and distribute their tracts, the christian missionaries, who had long been in the West India islands, remonstrated against it. But as the incendiaries would not desist, the christian missionaries assembled in convention, and protested against the conduct and doings of the wolves, who had come among their flocks. The resolutions and proceedings of the convention, made quite a sizeable volume. Though cautiously worded, it abounds with evidence, that the London missionaries were not Christians, but political agents, opposed to the colonies. The convention, September 6th, 1824, unanimously resolved, “that if the design of the emancipationists were carried into effect, it would be a general calamity, injurious to the slave, ruinous to the colonies, deleterious to christianity, and tending to the effusion of human blood.” Page 83 further says, “that they (the Christian missionaries,) felt themselves aggrieved by the unnatural blending of religious and political questions, which has been done at home (England), in a way calculated to induce a belief, that missionaries were agents of a political faction opposed to these colonies, instead of teachers of morality and religion.*

Even in these short extracts, we have the evidence of the christian missionaries, that the London missionaries were

* See page 135, Report of the Convention of Missionaries, in the island of Jamaica.

believed to be "agents of a political faction, opposed to the colonies, instead of teachers of morality and religion." There was no political faction opposed to the West India colonies, at that time, but the East India Company, then engaged in a fierce dispute, in regard to sugar. The incendiary missionaries blended religion with politics, and induced the christian missionaries to view them "as agents of a political faction, and not teachers of morality and religion," and not only as agents of a political faction, but a *political faction opposed to the West India colonies*. The political faction, opposed to the West India colonies, at that time, was acknowledged by all parties to be the East India Company. Now, when it subsequently appears, by positive proof, that these "agents of a political faction opposed to the colonies," in other words, agents of the East India Company, were sent out by the London anti-slavery society, or, what is the same thing, by the *propaganda* of that society, under the assumed name of a missionary society, the connection between the anti-slavery society and the East India Company will be apparent. The anti-slavery society, therefore, which sent out emissaries, under the name of missionaries, to blend East India politics with religion, and to inculcate doctrines hostile to the West India institutions, *proved itself to be a political school, in the service of the East India Company*. But the proof is rendered conclusive, by the subsequent conduct of the anti-slavery society and its *propaganda* establishment, called a missionary society; for, after the good shepherds of the West India churches had disapproved of the blending of religion with politics, and forwarded the proceedings of their convention to the various missionary societies, and to the Duke of Manchester, the anti-slavery society and its *propaganda*, instead of recalling the political incendiaries, urged upon some one or more of the christian missionary societies of London, *to recall the christian missionaries of the West Indies*, and some of them were accordingly recalled, and severely reprimanded.

The political incendiaries, thus left with a clear field to themselves, soon caused several insurrections in Demerara, and the West Indies. The planters, tracing the cause of insurrections to certain persons, bearing the name of missionaries, became violently exasperated, mobbed the missionaries, and tore down and burnt a number of the churches.

In the fury and excitement of the moment, they did not properly discriminate between the incendiary missionaries, who had excited the insurrections, and the christian missionaries, who had in vain tried to stop the preaching of the incendiaries. When the disturbances were quieted, and the planters had time to look about them, certain facts were brought to light, which are worthy of serious consideration. Few or none of the negroes, composing the congregations of the christian missionaries, had been engaged in the insurrections. The insurgents almost invariably belonged to the disciples and audiences of the London missionaries of the anti-slavery society. There were ninety negroes hung at Montego Bay. The cause of the outbreak in that vicinity was, the preaching of Wm. Knibb, one of the London incendiaries. On his return to England, in a public discourse delivered in London, Knibb averred, "that if any slave were caught praying, he would probably be flogged to death." Yet the same man, on his examination before the committee of the House of Commons, when brought face to face with other West India witnesses, *confessed on oath*, that the number of slaves, which attended the church of Jamaica at which he officiated, were seldom less than one thousand, and acknowledged, that the church in Falmouth had nine hundred and eighty-three communicants. The public discourse in London of this wolf in sheep's clothing, representing Jamaica as so sunk in heathenism and barbarity, that prayer was punished as a crime, was widely circulated by tracts and newspapers throughout Great Britain, but his testimony before the committee of the House of Commons, contradicting, with his own lips, his London sermon, sleeps quietly in ponderous tomes on the shelves of London libraries, as much unknown to the mass of the people of Great Britain and America, as if it had never been given. It was proved before the committee, that the most of Knibb's disciples were insurgents, and although the Baptists had some thousand or more church members in and about Montego Bay, only six of them were among the insurgents, and they had been seduced by the preaching of Knibb.

It was also proved, that the Wesleyan Methodists had between 3,000 and 4,000 church members in the Parish of St. Thomas in the East, not one of whom was engaged in

any of the insurrections. Their missionary labors commenced in that parish, about the year 1799, or the year following. But to prove the evils which christianity, and the missionary cause have sustained from the meddling interference of anti-slavery societies, and from blending religion with the political question of slavery, the testimony of Mr. Shand, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and a resident citizen of Jamaica, on oath, before the committee of the House of Commons, will be sufficient. In his answer to interrogatory No. 6,979, Mr. Shand deposed as follows :

“ That the missionaries are, generally, men anxious to pry into matters foreign to what is connected with religion, and to instil doctrines which are quite inconsistent with the duty of any man in a subordinate situation, like the negro ; but there are missionaries, who instruct the negro, without interfering with his relative duties to his master ; but then, it is difficult to discriminate, and the whole are suspected, more or less.”

The direct mischief to the church, of blending political questions with religion, is small, in comparison with the indirect. It is difficult to distinguish the politician from the christian, and, as Mr. Shand says, “ the whole are suspected, more or less.”

After the incendiary missionaries were driven from Demerara and the West Indies, they returned to England, crying persecution, at the top of their lungs. They travelled through the kingdom, and produced the highest degree of excitement, by drawing pictures of the smouldering West India churches, fired by the hands of the planters, and of the sufferings of the slaves, “ under the oppressions of the incendiaries of God’s houses.” They denied boldly, that the preaching of the anti-slavery doctrines had been the cause of the various insurrections, but they solemnly averred that the insurrections had been caused by certain efforts of the West India planters, to transfer their allegiance to the United States, but that the slave population could not bear the idea of the West India islands being transferred to the Yankees, and consequently, like good subjects of the crown, had risen to prevent it. Besides many others, the interrogatories of the Committee of the House of Commons, Nos. 2,864, 2,875, 2,876, and 7,625, show what a deep impression such a story had made upon the public mind of Great

Britain. After the closest investigation, it was found to be entirely false. The following interrogatories were put by the committee of the House of Commons, to William Acres Hawley, Esq., member of the London Anti-Slavery Society, and treasurer of its *propaganda*, called a missionary society :

“ Interrogatory No. 4,651. Smith, the missionary of Demerara, he who was accused of inciting an insurrection among the slaves of that country, was sent out by your society, was he not ?

Answer. He was.

No. 4,568. Which missionary society was you the treasurer of ?

Answer. The London missionary society ?

No. 4,569. Are they Baptists ?

Answer. The Baptists and Methodists, having distinct societies of their own, do not combine with us, nor we with them.”

The answers to interrogatories Nos. 1,825 and 1,826 prove conclusively, that the missionary establishment of the London Anti-Slavery Society objected to make mention of the reception of a large sum of money, contributed by the island of Jamaica, to aid the general missionary cause. If the reception of a large contribution in aid of missions appeared on any of the missionary reports, as having been received from the planters and their slaves in Jamaica, the incendiary missionaries, then travelling throughout Great Britain, preaching the doctrine that “ slavery and christianity were incompatible,” that negroes were flogged for praying, would not be fully credited, as such tales would be incompatible with “ the very considerable aid” the cause of missions had received from Jamaica. The Rev. Peter Duncan deposed, before the committee of the House of Commons, that objections were made by the Anti-Slavery and Missionary Society in Exeter Hall, to having any notice taken, in the report of the Missionary Society, of the reception of the money contributed by Jamaica, in aid of missions, although the sum was acknowledged, in the Hall, to be “ a very considerable aid.” A society, which would falsify a religious report, may be a fit instrument for the East India Company, but can lay no claims to morality or religion. The foregoing long and tedious details have been given, for the purpose of preparing the way for bringing into light a

truth, of sufficient import to startle the American people. The very society, which objected to noticing the reception of the money which Jamaica contributed to the cause of missions, and the very society which, it has been proved in the preceding remarks, sent the incendiary Smith to Demerara, and William Knibb and other incendiaries to the West India islands, where they incited insurrections, was the identical society which sent the incendiary *George Thompson to the United States*. When this political school of the East India Company sent out its emissaries to Demerara and the West India islands, it assumed the name of missionary society, and called them missionaries. Under the same name, from the same society, and the same house in London, it sent Thompson to the United States. The duplicity and treachery of the East India Company, is detected in the professions of Thompson himself. As is well known, and as the files of American papers will prove, Thompson professed to come among us, as a missionary "sent out by the pious ladies of Glasgow, to make gentle remonstrances against slavery." Yet, on the records of that identical London Society, which, it has been proved, is a political incendiary school, in the service of the East India Company, is an item of some hundred pounds sterling, and opposite to the said item the following words are recorded, "*To George Thompson, for his mission to America.*" Here is evidence, then, that the East India Company, through its political school in London, which is called an anti-slavery society, or missionary society, as the case may require, is pursuing similar means and measures, yet in a more covert manner, against the slave labor of the Southern States of America, that it so successfully pursued against that of the West India colonies. The same system of incendiary politics, under other agents, and varied to suit circumstances, enabled it to overthrow the Mogul Empire. The East India Company, and some of its agents, as will appear hereafter, are better acquainted with the subject of negro slavery, in all its bearings, as well as the peculiar nature and character of the Ethiopian race, than any portion of the American people, not excepting the planters of the South. A few planters may know as much, but none of them can know more, because the East India Company, or at least some of its agents, have got in

their possession all the information extant upon the subject. The people of the Northern States, as well as the British public generally, are entirely and profoundly ignorant of the peculiarities natural to the negro, and of the whole question of slavery, in all its aspects and bearings. The policy of the East India Company is, to keep them so. The agents of the company had evidence in their possession, that the state of religion among the slaves of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and their condition in regard to comfort, happiness and the necessaries of life, were far better than the populace, mentally, morally and physically, of the British metropolis itself, at the very time, when they were busily engaged in deluding the British public with false accounts of slaves being flogged for praying. In proof of which there was, at that time, a large contribution from Jamaica in aid of missions lying unacknowledged in London. While urging the christian community to petition Parliament for the abolition of West India slavery, on the plea that religion would prosper better among free negroes than slaves, certain christian missionaries arrived in London, who had been driven away by the free negroes of Hayti. But the truth established by the Methodist missionaries, who had been forced to flee from Hayti, and confirmed by the British Consul General, Charles Mackenzie, that the free negroes of that island have, in a manner, no religion, resist its introduction, and had converted their former churches into barns and stables, the agents of the company have taken great pains to disguise, conceal and whittle away by excuses and sophistical arguments. The truth, that the Parish of St. Thomas in the East, in slave-holding Jamaica, had more church members, in proportion to its population, than any parish in London, was of itself sufficient to disprove the dogma, "that slavery and christianity were incompatible." But if it had not been, there was another truth, known to the agents of the company, that among the 141,000 free negroes in the non-slave-holding States, in 1830, not half nor quarter the number of church members are found, as among a like number, almost any where in the slave-holding States. Very few persons, either in England or the United States, appear to be acquainted with the very important fact, that the slave-holding States of America, in proportion to their population, including black and white, have more

church members than any part of the British Empire at home or abroad, and fully as many, or even more, than the non-slaveholding states themselves. Agents were sent from London to the United States, for the especial purpose of prying into this matter. Finding the true state of the case, they let it sleep. But the interest of the South requires that it should not sleep. Let those who would wage war, in the name of religion, against Southern institutions, and who are continually crying out against the sin and evil of slavery, be put to the blush, by the records of the christian churches.

Whatever the people of the Northern States or England may think, or imagine, the East India Company's agents are well apprised of another fact, known only to a portion of the South, and to them, which is, that the South, neither has nor will have, for ages to come, any thing to fear from the slaves themselves. The utmost efforts of the anti-slavery societies, can only produce neighborhood disturbances, which would soon be put down, as they always have been. The negroes out-numbered the whites, more than ten to one, in Jamaica, and more than twenty-five to one in Demerara; yet the disturbances in those colonies were of short duration. The East India Company never expected to break up the system of associated labor in the West Indies after that manner, nor did it expect to accomplish that object in the United States, by Thompson and the other agents it sent to America. It was too wise to entertain such an expectation for a moment. The agents, it sent to the West Indies, through its political school in London, were, for the purpose of ripening and promoting the scheme of kindling irritations between the West India colonies and the British people at home. So, also, Thompson and the other agents, it has sent through the same incendiary political school in London to the United States, were for the purpose of kindling irritations between the Northern and the Southern States of the Union. The West India planters had nothing seriously to apprehend from their negroes, excepting a few neighborhood disturbances. It was the action of the British people at home, which constituted their danger. So, also, the South, neither has, nor ever has had, any thing seriously to fear from its slave population, over and above an occasional disturbance, which could be put

down in a day. If the South have any thing to fear, it is from the action of the Northern States, and the intrigues of the English, and not from its slaves. The South has been overrun by hostile armies promising protection, liberty and lands to its slaves, yet so strong is the tie of reciprocal benefits binding master and slave, that it could not be broken, except in a few instances, constituting exceptions to the general rule. A perseverance in hostile action by the people of the Northern States to Southern institutions will, however, lead, if not arrested, to a dissolution of the Union. Herein lies the true danger of the South, but it is a danger which equally threatens the North. The agents of the East India Company are so well acquainted with our institutions as to know, that a dissolution of the Union would not free a single slave. But they have good reason to believe, that after the dissolution of the Federal Government, the irritations of the Northern and Southern States leading to it, would bring on wars, in which both parties, being so nearly balanced, would weaken each other so much, as ultimately to fall a prey, like the Mogul Empire, to British power. At any rate, the East India Company would reap the advantages of any suspension in the agricultural labor of the South, by whatsoever means it may be caused. Could a correct knowledge of the basis upon which the incendiary politics of the East India Company is founded, be diffused among the people of the North and the South, there would be some ground to hope, that those irritations it has kindled between States of the same great republican family, would give place to better feelings. Certainly the North should let the South alone, but the misfortune is, that urged and goaded by the agents of the East India Company, through the company's political schools, called anti-slavery societies, it will not let the South alone, unless the machinations of that company be brought to public notice and counteracted. Great Britain has abolished slavery in the West Indies. Yet, the political school of the East India Company, called the anti-slavery society, established for the ostensible purpose of bringing about that effect, is not abolished. The object of its creation is accomplished in the passage of the West India Emancipation Bill; yet it still continues in greater activity than ever. The whole object and intent of the London Anti-Slavery Society,

can be for no other purpose than to inflame the people of the Northern States, by false representations and other means, against the system of slavery, so as to induce them, by some rash act, to drive the South to disunion and non-intercourse with the North. Indeed, the East India Company, its founder, no longer makes a secret of its machinations against the Southern institutions of America. If the world be too small to afford a market for the products of the East, and similar products of our Southern States; if British power in India must fall, or our glorious Union be dissolved, (since Great Britain is forcing upon us the question of disunion or abolition,) the sooner the issue is brought on the better. The question of abolition we will never discuss or entertain; but the question which shall stand or fall, the ill-got power of Britain in India, or our holy Union, cemented by the blood of our fathers, is the one which America should always be ready to debate, either at home or on the Ganges, with sword and with cannon.
