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ADDRESS
ON
SLAVERY IN CUBA,

PRESENTED TO THE
GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

BY
R. R. MADDEN, Esq., M. D.

SIR,—I am so fully aware that my habits do not qualify me for the task that has been assigned me, and my state of health renders me so unequal to it, that nothing but a strong sense of the importance of the question I have been requested to afford some information on, could surmount the reluctance I feel at presenting myself before a public meeting, and especially before such an assembly as this, where, if I felt a momentary satisfaction in being recognized as one who at least was known to be willing to serve this cause—who had walked after the hearse of slavery in Jamaica—assisted likewise in this country at the obsequies of the apprenticeship system, and employed a practised eye for some years past in taking the measure of the grave of slavery in Cuba itself;—if in anything I have encountered of toil or peril in this cause, in whose service I have spent the last seven years, I may say not in the peaceful closets of philanthropy, but in the field of slavery itself, as a mercenary, if you will, but as a soldier at all events, if any such feeling of pride was excited, the foolishness of it would be surely rebuked by the presence and the bearing of those men who have so long toiled in the cause, but most especially of those men from America, who have come as one great cloud of witnesses across the Atlantic, and made you acquainted, not only with the wrongs of their black brethren, but likewise personally so with the heroic courage, and untiring energies which they have devoted to this question.

It has been my fortune to have visited America three times during the last six years, and to have been afforded an ample opportunity of observing these truly noble men in the sphere of their own duties and dangers—for these are never separated in America; and if I had reason to rejoice for no other cause to have taken a part in these proceedings, than to have been permitted to bear my feeble testimony to the constancy of the courage of these brave, bold men, the most virtuous and amiable withal I ever knew engaged in public strife, the most strongly actuated by high and generous motives, and the least influenced by anything vain or selfish—I would rejoice to have this occasion of recording my humble opinion of their worth: and yet I have heard these men counselled here to be more moderate in their language, and more measured in their rebukes. Why this is the counsel that ever has been given to persecuted men; they are told they should “let the sweat of agony flow more decorously down their foreheads—they should groan in melody,” and murmur their complaints in softer whispers. Were these the accents which your own reformers spoke in, in former times? Are these the accents, which great complaints, real or imaginary, have ever been proffered in, or in which those who uttered them have made them to be redressed?

We are told, that in the early ages of christianity, slavery was known to exist, and slaves have been held by christians, even in the times of the apostles. It is some consolation to know, however, that although there were slaves in the early ages of christianity, there have been martyrs in the latter ages of slavery; and one of those noble soldiers of the cross, who sealed the covenant of truth with his blood in those early times, has declared, that there were two kinds of martyrdom—one that gained the crown by the exercise of a sudden act of christian fortitude,—the other, that was a perpetual martyrdom that lasted during life, and only ended with it. And this was the highest martyrdom of all. This is the kind of suffering and of sacrifice, our friends in America have undergone, and are daily undergoing there.

As for the assertion, that there have been slaves in the early ages of christianity, I for one admit that such was the case; but

for what purpose are the smouldering ashes of the Hebrew customs and usages, that were suffered to exist in those early times of christianity, to be raked up? Surely, if there be anything more evident than another in the whole history of religion, it is this, that whatever revelation has been made to us from on high, the whole course of God's teaching and communication has been of a progressive character; and that from the beginning of that teaching to the period of the greatest revelation of all, that progressive character has been seen in the course of the development of the higher truths and more exalted doctrines that were taught, and that no violent disruption from what had gone before, was permitted; but in the words of Augustin, that it was apparently the inscrutable pleasure of Providence "that the synagogue should be buried with honour." And with it was interred those customs which were tolerated, perhaps, on account of the hardness of heart, which had given a temporary sanction to other usages no longer in existence.

But the subject I have to speak to you on, is, of somewhat a more practical kind, and such as befits a practical man to deal with—namely, the state of slavery in Cuba, and on this subject I have encountered so much error, both at home and abroad, that I have felt it my duty to give very particular attention to it.

In the Report presented by Mons. A. de Tocqueville to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23rd of July, 1839, in the name of the Commission, charged with the examination of the proposition relative to the slaves of the French colonies, I find a very important error, and one not only prevalent in France, but in this country also, on the subject of the treatment of negroes held in bondage in the Spanish colonies, which if allowed to pass uncontradicted, might hereafter, expose that valuable Report to censure, and lead to the adoption of measures for the nominal amelioration of slavery in the French colonies, which would prove abortive. At page 17, of the published Report, I find it stated, that "it is of public notoriety in the New World that slavery has always had with the Spaniards a peculiar character of mildness; one can convince himself of this in reading over the ordinances made by the

kings of Spain, at an epoch when, amongst the other nations of Europe, the laws for the government of slaves were so strongly tinctured with barbarity. The Spaniards who showed themselves so cruel towards the Indians, have always ruled their slaves with a singular humanity. In their colonies, the distinction between blacks and whites was less than in all the others, and the authority of the owner resembled more that of a father of a family than of a master. The slave, better treated in these colonies, sighed less after liberty, which ought to be preceded by arduous exertion ; hence the legislator accorded him a right which he very seldom wished to avail himself of."

Now, in the above statement, there are six distinct propositions, and five of them are entirely erroneous, namely, these :—

1. That negro slavery has always had in the Spanish dominions " a peculiar character of mildness."

2. That any sufficient proof of such a character could be fairly drawn from the ordinances of the kings of Spain for the government of their distinct colonies.

3. That the Spaniards, who had been such cruel masters to the Indians, " had always treated their slaves with singular humanity."

4. That the authority of the master resembles that of a father of a family.

5. That in consequence of good and humane treatment the slaves seldom desired to avail themselves of the privilege of claiming their freedom by purchase.

And the only statement that is really correct in the whole passage, is contained in these words—" In these colonies the distinction between blacks and whites was less than in all the others," presuming the meaning of the observation to be that, amongst the Spaniards the prejudice against the stolen people of Africa, on account of their complexion, is less than amongst the colonists of other European States. Such unquestionably is the fact, and there is too much Moorish blood, in the veins of the descendants of the old " Conquistadors" for the feeling to be otherwise.

Tolerably well acquainted with some of the British West India islands, with one of them, both previously and subsequently to the act of emancipation, and having seen something of slavery in many eastern countries, I brought perhaps some little knowledge

of the condition of men held in slavery to the subject which has been the object of anxious inquiry with me during a residence of upwards of three years in a Spanish colony where slavery flourishes, and where upwards of 400,000 human beings exist in that condition. Perhaps this extensive acquaintance with slavery in various countries, during the last ten years, may have qualified me to form some opinion of the relative evils or advantages of slavery in a Spanish colony.

The first proposition—"That slavery has always had with the Spaniards a peculiar character of mildness," is one that I have seen stated in books so often, and heard laid down so frequently by merchants who have resided in Cuba; by naval officers who have visited the shores and harbours of that island; and by transient visitors who have made tours of pleasure or winter journey, in pursuit of health from one large town on the coast to another; and seen the interior economy of one or two estates of opulent proprietors, what in our colonies would be called "crack plantations," that I really feel astonished at the amount of error that prevails on his subject—error so great, and held by men entitled to credit, that I have sometimes felt absolutely doubtful of the evidence of my own senses, and when the irresistible conviction of the excessive rigour of slavery in Cuba has been forced on my mind, and when I have dwelt on the appalling scenes I have witnessed, it often seemed hopeless to me, and even imprudent for me, to attempt to disabuse the public mind, and to set my experience against the opinions of many people whose sentiments on any other subject I considered entitled to respect. But on a question of such vast importance, and where erroneous sentiments are calculated to do so much injury to the objects of the solicitude of anti-slavery exertion, it would be an act of cowardice to suppress the truth, or at least one's strong persuasion of it, in deference to error, however generally diffused or honestly adhered to, it may be. These erroneous conclusions, that Spanish slavery is of a peculiarly mild character, are arrived at by four ways of viewing this question; they may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. It is concluded, that because the laws for the government of slaves in the Spanish colonies are mild, that these laws are executed, and the slaves are happy.

2. It is considered by some who visit the large sea-port towns, that the condition of the prædial slaves is similar to that of the domestic servants, and that because the latter are lazy, well fed, and decently clad, and lightly worked negroes, the poor field slaves are likewise idle and indulged, kindly treated, and contented slaves.

3. The condition of slaves is judged of by men who have no immediate interest in slavery, but who have long resided in slave countries, or been on stations where opportunities of visiting these colonies have made them acquainted with the proprietors of estates, and in course of time, familiar with their views, then favourable to their interests, and at length accustomed to the evils of slavery, and insensible to the sufferings of its victims.

4. The treatment of slaves, in general, in Cuba and elsewhere, is inquired into by transient visitors and tourists at the tables of the planters, over the wine of the slave-holders,—and where truth is drowned in hospitality, and the legitimate inquisitiveness of a stranger's curiosity is merged in a courteous acquiescence with the sentiment, or at least the statements of a liberal entertainer, and a gentlemanlike host.

Now, sir, of these different ways of coming towards conclusions, it is evident, that it is to the first the signal error of the French Report is to be attributed. In fact, you admit that your opinion of the mildness of Spanish slavery is derived from the royal ordinances and laws made for the regulation of it. I freely grant that the spirit of these laws and ordinances is humane, but the great question is, are such laws compatible with the interests of the slave-owners? Are they put in execution? Negro slavery, as it ever has existed in the West India colonies, has been a condition in which the profitableness to the master of unpaid labour, for the time being, has always rendered the happiness of the labourer, a question of comparative unimportance. What you, sir, would call humanity to the negro, there is not a proprietor in Cuba, who would not deem injustice to the planter. You cannot legislate partially, humanely, and yet efficiently, for any slave-colony in a prosperous condition—you may pass measures of general effect for the total abolition of slavery, but you can carry none into execution for effectually modifying its

nature, and leaving unpaid labour to be wrung out of its victims, while a show is made of surrounding its compulsion with humane arrangements, duly detailed in the Royal Cédulas, and set forth in legal books, *with all the solemn mockery of Spanish law.*

This Report states, as a curious anomaly in the history of Spanish slaves, that while the Indians were treated by the Spaniards with such terrible cruelty, the negroes, it is well known, have always been treated with peculiar mildness. I need hardly remind you, that while the poor Indians were writhing under the lash of the most unmitigated cruelty, *the world up to that period ever saw;* while the Spanish colonies were exterminating the whole race of their victims by the astounding rigour of their slavery, the kings of Spain were dictating benevolent cédulas and humane ordinances for the treatment of the unfortunate slaves, while the council of the Indies were continually framing laws for the better regulation of the “repartimientos,” or distributions of the natives—while the heads of the Spanish church,—*the mitred politicians of the day—half statesmen, half churchmen—*were constantly sending out missions and commissions to co-operate with the illustrious apostle of the Indies, the protector of the slaves—in fact, while all the machinery of the government that was four thousand miles off, was brought to bear on this question of the amelioration of slavery in the Spanish colonies, yet the Indians perished in the mines, they died under the lash, sunk under famine in caves, or sought in voluntary death a final refuge from Spanish cruelty. Yes, the whole race perished, while the kings of Spain and its ministers, were framing laws impracticable, because they were partial, measures of relief, for the preservation of their Indian subjects.

Let me tell you, sir, the same terrible system of cruelty is going on this day in the Spanish colonies—the same terrible evils are silently in operation. Change the term Indians for negroes, the word mines for plantations, and in every other respect the same bloody tragedy is acting over again—the same frightful work of extermination, the same cruel mockery of staying the evil by laws without enforcement, cédulas without a hope being entertained of their being carried into effect, is now practising in New Spain,

and the awful waste of human life, that in the time of the Indians was for a limited period made up by the ravages of the man-robbers on the coasts of the New World, has now for three centuries been filled up in Cuba alone, by an annual importation that has now reached to the amount of 25,000 stolen men from the shores of Africa.

If it be notorious, as this Report states, that negro slaves have always been treated with peculiar mildness in the Spanish colonies, it follows that the slaves of the Island of Cuba, for example, are a contented race, that therefore, they are not over-worked, nor under-fed, nor ill-clad; that the sexes are equalized, that the mortality is small, and the increase by births considerable; that the amount of produce obtained by the labour of a given number of slaves is less than it has been in former years in the British colonies; that there is a considerable number of aged slaves on the estates; that the pregnant women are allowed exemption from hard field labour in the last six or eight weeks of their pregnancy, that the females are not usually flogged; that the children are instructed in the elements of the christian faith; that the negroes on the estates are married by the ministers of religion; that they are suffered to attend a place of worship on the Sabbath-day; that it is not lawful to hunt them down by dogs when they are fugitives from the estates; that when they are scourged to death, or killed by violence, the white man who is their murderer may be brought to justice, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law—but not one of these measures of justice, or means of protection for the prædial slaves are known to exist in Cuba—not a single one of these I have pointed out is to be looked for to the law, and yet the law allows these things, and solemnly condemns every withdrawal of them. But the law was never framed with any reasonable prospect of its being enforced, it never has been enforced, and, what is more, it never can be enforced against the planters who are the transgressors of it; because, in fact, these are the men who are entrusted with the execution of it.

In the towns and cities, the case is indeed different with the domestic slaves—but what a small portion do these form of the number of slaves in Cuba? These domestic slaves, especially

those of the opulent proprietors, comparing their condition with that of the prædial slaves, may be said to be fortunately circumstanced. They have the power in the large towns and cities, of availing themselves of the privileges the law accords them. If they have a harsh owner, they may demand permission to seek another master, and it is compulsory on that master to sell them either for the sum he paid for them, at such a rate as the *sindico*, or the special protector of the slaves, and the judges may determine, in consideration of any reasonable increase in their value, or in consequence of their having been taught a trade or calling.

But how is the prædial slave to avail himself of these legal privileges? The officers of justice in the country towns are usually slave-holders themselves; the estate may be ten, nay, twenty miles distant from a town, the *sindicos*, the *alcades*, the *capitanes de partidos*, all are planters. The idea of a prædial slave going to the *mayoral*, or overseer, and telling him he wants "a paper"—a permission for two or three days to seek another master (*buscar-amo*), would be laughed at in Cuba; the unfortunate negro who would make so daring an attempt to obtain his rights, would, in all probability, be flogged on the spot; he dare not leave the estate to seek the *sindico* in any adjoining town; and no matter what injustice may be done him, were he to pass his master's gate, he would be subjected to punishment, "*boca abajo*," without appeal as a fugitive, and if he still presumed to talk of the law, and to insist on being taken before a magistrate to claim the privileges which that law gave him, he would then be treated with a degree of rigour "beyond the law," as an insolent and rebellious slave. But granting that he succeeded in getting to the *sindico*, the *alcade*, or the *capitane de partido*, what chance of justice has an unfortunate slave in Cuba against the powerful influence of a rich, and perhaps a titled, owner? The planter is the friend of the authorities of his district, they dare not disoblige him, and if they dared, they are at last to be gained over by a bribe, or got rid of by a remonstrance to the Governor, and a suitable present to the assessor of the Governor, who is one of the great law-officers of the Crown. How in the name of common sense is the law to be looked to in a Spanish

colony for the mitigation of the evils of slavery, or the protection of the slave?

The excellence of the Spanish civil law is admitted by every one, *yet the iniquity of Spanish tribunals, the corruption of Spanish judges, and the incomparable villany of Spanish lawyers, is proverbial in all the colonies of Spain.* Justice is bought and sold in Cuba with as much scandalous publicity as the bozal slaves are bought and sold in the barraconca.

Is there a man in Cuba who had suffered wrong in property or in person who would be mad enough to go for redress into a court of law, and expect to obtain it by trusting solely to the merits of his case? How then are we to expect from any code for the regulation of negro slavery, justice for the Creole who has not the means to buy the judge? How are we to expect to restrain the cruelty, or to control the cupidity of men who have the means to bribe the bench of every tribunal in the land, to make "impregnes," as these solicitations are called, with the sons and servants, the cousins and the familiars of the judges in their cause? Is it then to cédulas and laws, to parchment justice, or to statute-book benevolence we are to look for that peculiar character of mildness which your Report assures us is the characteristic of slavery in Spanish colonies? Surely, what we know of slavery in every country, where it has existed, should be sufficient to satisfy every enlightened person that bondage is an evil that cannot be mitigated by any partial measures of reform, so as essentially to serve the slave, to improve the system, to humanize the master, and thus to benefit society at large.

But in Cuba, it is not that I have heard or read of the atrocities of Spanish slavery, but I saw them with my own eyes. I lived for a whole year at the Havana before I could so far disembarass myself of the merchant-planter influence of that place (that deadening influence of slavery which steals so imperceptibly over the feelings of strangers in the West Indies), as to form an opinion for myself, and to trust to my own senses alone for a knowledge of the condition of the prædial slaves. It was only when I visited estates not as a guest of the proprietors, seeing through the eyes of my hospitable hosts, thinking as they thought,

and believing as they saw, fit to administer to my credulity the customary after-dinner dose of the felicity of slaves—it was only when I went alone, and unknown, and unexpected on their estates, that the terrible atrocities of Spanish slavery astounded my senses. I have already said, and I repeat the words, so terrible were these atrocities, so murderous the system of slavery, so transcendent the evils I witnessed, *over all I had ever heard or seen of the rigour of slavery elsewhere*, that at first I could hardly believe the evidence of my senses. Nay, I have known men of great intelligence, one in particular, whom it was of great consequence to have well-informed on this subject, and whom I myself accompanied over several estates in various parts of the country; and here in Cuba, so terrible were the admissions made by the mayorals or overseers, on the estates we visited, that he could not believe he heard correctly the accounts that were given to us, even by the managers themselves, of the frightful rigour of the treatment they described. Till this gentleman (who is known to this Convention) and myself, made partially known at the Havana the evils that had come to our knowledge, on the sugar estates especially, there were British and other foreign merchants in that city, who had resided there for years, who said they were utterly ignorant of these evils, but like the framers of this Report, having read certain laws for the protection of slaves, and seen certain cédulas for the nominal mitigation of the cruelties of slavery, they actually imagined that the laws were enforced, and the negroes happy and humanely treated.

With respect to my own experience, it is not by particular instances of cruelty or oppression, the fact is to be established that slavery in Cuba is more destructive to human life, more pernicious to society, degrading to the slave, and debasing to the master, more fatal to health and happiness *than in any other slave-holding country on the face of the habitable globe*. Instances of cruelty enough, no doubt, have come to my knowledge of the murder of negroes, perpetrated with impunity—of men literally scourged to death—of women torn from their children, and separated from them—of estates where an aged negro is not to be seen—where the females do not form a third part of the slave popula-

tion ; nay, of estates where there is not a single female ; of labour in the time of crop on the sugar properties being twenty continued hours, frequently for upwards of six months in the year, seldom or never under five, and of the general impression prevailing on this subject, and generally acted on by the proprietors, that four hours sleep is sufficient for a slave.

These cases, sir, were I to bring them before you without a shadow of colouring to heighten the effect of the naked outline, so frightful a detail, I am persuaded would cause you to marvel that such things could be in a christian land—could occur in the present age—could be done by men who moved in society, who are tolerated in it, and bear the name and wear the garb of gentlemen ; by a people, in short, professing the religion of Christ, and daring to couple the sanctity of that name with rapine, murder, and the living death of slavery itself, which are carried on even in its name ; for the purpose, forsooth, of making christians of African unbelievers.

To understand thoroughly the subject of the laws in the Spanish colonies for the protection of slaves, it is necessary to refer to a work not easily to be met with, being only to be found in the hands of the syndics, which is entitled “ *Exposicion sobre el origen, utilidad, prerogativas, derecho, y deberes de los syndicos procuradores generales de los pueblos, por D. Jose Serapio Majorrietta abogado de la real audiencia.*” This book it is to be noted, is printed at Puerto Principe, in Cuba, by royal authority, by command, and at the expense of the Real Audiencia, the highest law tribunal in the island, and it is the legal guide of the syndics, or protectors of slaves, in the administration of justice between master and slave over the whole island, and by which they are bound to act. The work begins by stating that the Supreme Court, in the year 1766, created the office of syndic ; every town was placed under the legal protection of one of these officers ; its rights were to be defended by them ; and in the words of the cedula, “ When there was any grave or important matter, it should be treated by them joining themselves with some of the neighbours (*juntandose con los vecinos*) for the consideration of it. Now, here is a most important regulation for

the due administration of justice; in fact, one giving to the accused the advantages, to a certain extent of a jury.

And now let us see how the law authorities of Cuba, as represented in this work, interpret these words. The treatise in question says—"These words are not to be understood in their literal sense; this method is contrary to the nature of our government, and for this reason, so responsible is the post of a syndic, that he is appointed not by an open meeting (*cabildo abierto*) of the corporation *ayuntamiento*, but by the votes of the judicial body, or the *regidores*. Their duties in the rural districts are to watch over the order and maintenance of the public markets, the prevention of monopolies in corn, meat, &c., inspecting the accounts of overseers, agents, &c., protecting the interests of proprietors of estates before the tribunals of the district, by all the legal privileges accorded them, even to the point of demanding the suspension of the royal laws, or ordinances in which they may hurt or harm some private person," (*hasta el punto de porder pedir la suspencion, de las cédulas y reales rescriptos, en qua se daña a sigun particular.*)

Behold the value of all the royal laws for the protection of slaves. The syndic, their protector, is likewise the legal defender of his master; and the suspension of every law that is distasteful to the latter, it is in the power of this officer to demand of the higher tribunals of the law. In fact, the whole secret of the conduct of the Cuban Government, with respect to the fulfilment of the treaties with England for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the laws which enforce them, is here left out, and the *shameful duplicity of the Government of Spain, with respect to these royal orders, is disclosed*, for at page 10 of the treatise in question, the opinion of the legal authorities of the island is laid down as to the proper mode of interpretation of the royal *cedulas*, when these are opposed to Creole interests, or supposed to be so, in these words—"It has been laid down by his Majesty, that his sovereign will is (with respect to these laws) that they be obeyed and not fulfilled;" and reference, is made to lib. 16, Nov. Recap. (*come se tiene manifestado que su soberana voluntad, es que se obedezcan y nose cumplan.*) This seems to me to be the very

acmé, indeed, of public immorality; and there is no reason to doubt the duplicity of the conduct here ascribed to his Spanish Majesty, and the weakness of his sovereign will, and that he frames laws for the purposes of delusion, to throw dust in the eyes of foreign powers, or to deceive his own subjects at home, and which are to be obeyed and not executed.

Now, with respect to the jurisdiction of the syndics in the case of slaves, and the mode of interpreting the laws for their defence, this treatise lays down very minute rules, and points out a course of proceeding which is universally acted on in Cuba, for it is to be remembered this treatise is published with the express sanction and approbation of the judges of the highest tribunal of the land, of the Real Audiencia. "It is to be observed," says the author, "either the rights which slaves complain of being infringed, are violated by their masters, or a third person. In the last case, their complaint is to be preferred by their masters—by the general rules of right, which subjects them entirely to those who exercise dominion over them; but if the slaves attempt to complain (*intentan presentarse*) against their masters, then comes the authority of the syndics, because by no other mode can there be made a true decision, there being no legitimate litigation of parties, which consists in this, that the plaintiff and the criminal should be different persons. But supposing this distinction to be made in such a case (as perhaps some one might say it ought to be,) it appears the slave ought to have the right of naming an attorney or agent (*personero*), and the law, that so much protects the natural defence of the slave, should leave in his power the exercise of this precious right. But how many inconveniences would not this measure cause? In the first place, slaves have no proper person (*los esclavos no tienen persona*), they have no representation in society, they are considered as things subject to the dominion of man, and ill could such beings name agents or attorneys, who cannot appear in their own character in our courts. And yet, if abating the rigour of fixed principles, we chose to leave to slaves the free election of which we treat—how many and how expensive would be the causes which would inundate our tribunals—and what would be the

insubordination alone of this class of domestics, when unfortunately interested men are not wanting to derive the advantage of lucre from such miserable discord. The syndics, however, as chosen by the corporation, should be adorned with all the fine qualities we have already stated, and in the degree that they may undertake to protect the rights of these unfortunates, they will take care to beware of encouraging unjust complaints, by maintaining the slaves under due submission and respect, which system is certainly the most happy that can be adopted to conciliate the private interest of the slaves with those of the owners of them."

Now the next interpretation of the Royal law, or cedula of 1789, which at page 3, ordains the regulation of the daily labour of slaves, "so that it should begin and conclude from sunrise till sunset;" and moreover, should leave them two hours of the intermediate time for their own use and benefit, is given in these terms, terms indeed most worthy of your profound attention:—"But this is not observed, and neither the magistrates regulate the time of labour, nor do the slaves cease to serve their masters at all hours of the day;" (*Esto no se observa y ni las justicias, ni los esclavos dejan de servir a sus dueños en to das las horas del día.*) Well may the expounder of the sentiments of the Royal Tribunal of the Audiencia of Cuba say, the laws are not observed, "the slaves cease not at all hours of the day to work for their masters."

But this second Daniel, this Cuban commentator on Spanish law, rigidly indeed, as he sticks to the sense of the colonial judges, tells but half the truth, when he says that "the slaves cease not to work for their masters at all hours of the day;" he should have said on the sugar estates during the time of the crop, for upwards of six months in the year, at all hours of the night, with the exception of four for sleep. It did not suit the purpose of the Royal Audiencia, to startle the ears or astonish the weak minds of the people in the towns, with the frightful announcement or the appalling statement that the wretched negroes, *in spite of the express terms of the royal law for the regulation of slave-labour*, were worked to death on these estates for twenty continuous hours, twelve in the field and eight in the boiling-house or at the mill; and that even on the coffee estates, where the necessity for hard-

labour is so much less, that at certain times of the year, it is a common practice during the bright moonlight nights, to work the slaves at field-work for four or five hours by the "*Clara de la luna*," as it is called. But what are the sentiments of the Royal Audiencia, on the subject of the great privilege on paper conferred by the laws on the slave, in the power nominally given him of purchasing his freedom, or portions of it, by the payment at once, or at different periods, of the price his master paid for him. It is to be observed, that the payment of a part of this sum to the master, gives the negro the legal right of having that sum deducted from his price whenever he happens to be sold, *and entitles him, as it is most erroneously but generally believed, to an immediate reduction of labour in proportion to the sum paid.*

In the year 1825, this error is fallen into a very able statement, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by one of the British Commissioners at the Havana, on the treatment of the Spanish slaves, and the mode of manumission in the Spanish colonies. And no doubt the origin of this error was the same as of that into which others have fallen, in common with all who estimate the value of Spanish laws by the wording, and not the execution of them. The paying a sum of money to a master on the part of a slave towards the purchase of his liberty, renders the payer what is called "*coartada*," the meaning of which is, in part manumitted. The word is derived from *coartar*, to cut or separate and not from *quartear*, to divide into four parts, *as is commonly supposed*.—"Some syndics," says the law treatise in question, "have attempted to alleviate slavery, so as to pretend to concede a half of their time to slaves who are bound in service to their masters," (when they have paid half of their value to their owners;) "but this opinion is not in conformity with the law, and the syndics should respect the rights of the proprietary power, without allowing themselves to be led astray by a notion of equity badly understood. The *coartacion* (or part payment made to a master by a slave towards the attainment of freedom) was not established to reduce slavery into halves, but only to prevent any alteration in the price to the slaves. A slave who, being worth 500 dollars, gives to his master 400 by way of *coartacion*, remains as subject to servitude

as any slave who is so entirely. The master cannot be deprived of the proper rights of his authority, and the slave is under the obligation of devoting all his service to him; for such reasons the syndics ought to avoid the wish to establish such demands." Then comes the interpretation of the law in Cuba, as laid down in this treatise, on that most important privilege of all to the negroes in Spanish colonies, the power nominally given by the law to the slave who is ill-treated, or discontented with good cause with his master, to seek another owner on payment of the price at which he might be valued by the judicial authorities. Now hear the mouth-piece of the Real Audiencia of Cuba on this subject.

"The question may also be asked, if slaves (*coartados*) have the right to go out of the power of their masters whenever they desire, and the answer is not difficult, if we consider that the slaves (*enteros*) entirely so, are obliged to allege some great reason to compel their masters to sell them. And what difference can there be between one and the other, when we see that the yoke of slavery on all is the same? If the slaves (*coartados*) do not enjoy the rights of freemen, on what principle can they claim the right of changing masters at their pleasure? Is it for some light correction? This is not sufficient to enable them to use this privilege. And then, could the masters exercise their authority with the due severity which is necessary? By no means, and hence we have seen that the Real Audiencia has always repelled similar demands in all the suits that have been promoted on this point and brought for their superior decision. But some persons desire, notwithstanding, founding their opinion on the Royal Cedula of the 8th April 1779,* that slaves (*coartados*) should be left in possession of the privilege in question. In answer to this, let us refer to the terms of the cedula. We declare, it says, that the masters of slaves (not *coartados*) have the liberty to sell them for whatsoever price they agree on with the buyers according to their actual worth, that when masters for just reasons are obliged by the judicial authority to sell their slaves (those so entirely) it shall be for the price at which they shall be valued by those authorities,

* In this cedula the precise duties of the syndic are laid down.

but if the buyer wishes to take the slave without valuation, agreeing thereon with the master, they can arrange between them the price, and the authorities have no power to prevent it, although the master is compelled to sell, except that in order to diminish the amount of the alcabala duty (or tax on the sale of property) some collusion between the party be suspected; further, that slaves who are 'coartado,' or have paid that portion remaining of it, the same obligation being binding on the buyer; that in all cases the seller shall pay the alcabala tax according to the price paid; further, that if the slave 'coartado' by bad conduct give a reasonable motive for selling him, however slight his crime, the addition to it be made of the alcabala tax on his sale; and finally, that no slaves of any kind, entire or coartados, who redeem themselves by their lawful earnings, ought to pay this tax. The masters shall be obliged, conformable to the custom, to give them their liberty the moment they bring the due price for it."

Now to any ordinary capacity, the plain meaning of the terms of this beneficent law of 1778, is, that slaves have the power of demanding to be sold to another master, if another master can be procured to pay the price fixed on by the judges to the actual owner. In fact, the slave by this means puts himself in the position of a coartado, one who has the right to demand his freedom whenever a price has been agreed on, or fixed by judicial valuation; and having procured a person to advance the money, he is content to have his liberty sold again in consideration of the change of masters. But mark the chicanery by which every practical utility of this benevolent law is frittered away by the interpretation of the judicial authorities of Cuba. The slave who would change owners is first called on to produce a reasonable cause for his application. He alleges severe punishment or harsh treatment, who is to decide whether the slave has been maltreated or not. The syndic. Who is the syndic? A planter himself, and who is the master? The neighbour of the syndic. But what says the Real Audiencia exposition of the law for the regulation of the practice of these syndics? Why, that the due severity of the discipline of the proprietary power towards the slaves is not a sufficient cause for a slave's application to be

sold, and that the only sufficient causes are insufficient nourishment, scarcity of clothing, and dearth of instruction in the christian religion. Now what does the last obligation on the planters amount to in Cuba?—to the christening of the slave, and to the burial of him with the ordinary rights of the church. This is the whole amount in Cuba of religious instruction, save and except the teaching the newly-imported pagans to repeat, like parrots on certain feasts, the Lord's Prayer, the confiteor, and the decades of the rosary; but as for having the slightest conception of the meaning of the words they repeat by rote it would be a folly to expect it, for they are never instructed in religion by priest or layman, except on the estate of (some rare phenomenon in Cuba) a pious planter, a scrupulous master, and a christian man.

As to the complaint of insufficiency of food, the syndie of course acts on the general opinion, that it is the interest of an owner to feed his slaves well, and to clothe them also, for the sake of the preservation of their health and strength. This sounds well, and it passes for the truth with thousands of people, not only in Cuba but in England. This is an argument stated and re-stated hundreds of times, in answer to the ordinary charge of ill-treatment brought against slave-owners, namely, that it is the interest of a man to give good treatment to the beast (and "pari passu," to the slave) he keeps for use, or sale, or hire. No doubt it is his duty, but is it his interest, according to his ideas, to do this? Is it the supposed interest of the owners of our own miserable hacks, to treat the animal thus which he lets on hire or rides on daily, or rather, can you persuade the great body of horse-dealers it is their interest to do this? Unquestionably you cannot. They act on the principle that a quick return of the money outlaid on horse-flesh, no matter how great the wear and tear of the property that is worked or hired, is better than moderate work with small gain, and a longer use of the means from which that return is derived. Why, we might as well go to Connemara, or the shores of Leuce, and talk to Mr. Richard Martin's venerable ghost of the humanity of the treatment of the hackney-coach horse-owners in England, on the ground of their interests. That

honest ghost, if ghosts in Ireland do speak, as they are said to do, would tell you that these persons deny it is their interest to spare their horses, and admit it is their interest to get the greatest possible quantity of work in the shortest space of time from their hacks, and when they are worked off their legs, to purchase new ones. In fact, it is on this very principle the fast mail coaches are horsed and run.

But I have heard it said, however they may work them, it surely is their interest to feed them well. To this I answer, the universal feeling of the tribe is this, their true interest is to keep them cheaply. True it is, if they gave them treble the quantity of good hard provender, they would last, perhaps, double the length of time, and do half as much more work ; but you cannot persuade these men you understand their interests better than they do, you may, indeed, easily persuade the owner of a stud of race-horses of the soundness of your opinion, but the high-blooded racers that belong, in England, to gentlemen on the turf, in proportion to the hacks and stage horses, are about in the same ratio, as the slaves in Cuba, belonging to intelligent, considerate, humane proprietors are to the wretched negroes in the hands of unthinking, unprincipled, and grasping owners. But what says the Creole expounder of the Spanish law on the subject of the most important privilege conferred on the slaves. "We believe," he says, "that a slave not having undergone bad treatment on the part of his owner, and having administered to him, food, clothing, and religious instruction, he cannot compel his master to sell him to another." So much for the benefit of the parchment privileges of the slaves of Cuba.

And now for their moral condition, and the administration of the laws affecting it, on the high authority of the work, published with the sanction, and at the expense of the Real Audiencia of Cuba. "As amongst the Romans," says the author, "there could be no marriage solemnized except among citizens, the union of the slaves was accomplished by concubinage, and the children followed the condition of the mother ; *our district law has adopted the same system (nuestra ley de partida ha adoptado la misma disposicion)* and when recently coartacion was established, the

question was discussed ; if the infant of a slave coartado should enjoy the same privilege as the mother, but the doubt has ceased, since the publication of the Royal Cedula of the 10th of February, 1789, in which we find the point in question definitely settled."

There can be no doubt of the express meaning of the royal law on this subject being what it is described, and there is unfortunately, no doubt that the slaves of Cuba have none of the rights of citizens, that they are not suffered to marry, and that a general system of concubinage is that which the christian law of the *partida* sanctions in Cuba, and to which it condemns nearly half-a-million of human beings. Here I take leave of the Cuban exposition of the Spanish laws for the amelioration of slavery. No one can dispute the authority of the treatise I have referred to, *for the express sanction of the Real Audiencia is prefixed to it.* It was with no little difficulty I procured a copy of that work, *for I have already stated it is not allowed to fall into the hands of strangers.*

I now proceed to show the extraordinary delusion which has been practised, not only on foreigners who have visited the Spanish colonies, but even sought to be practised on our government, and on the agents of it. It is no wonder, indeed, sir, if the world has been imposed on by the specious benevolence of the Spanish laws, that have never been carried into execution, or are capable of enforcement in any country where slavery exists, and where the interests arising from it are prosperous. And if the only result of the years of turmoil and painful inquiry, I have passed through in the West Indies, were productive of no other advantage than the experience which enables me to address these observations to you, I would fain hope that I have made the best use of my time, and the opportunities afforded me by my position, that it was possible for me to make, in enabling me to disabuse the minds of men like you of an opinion so erroneously entertained, that slavery in the Spanish colonies is mild in its character, and that the fact of its lenity is to be established by the laws and ordinances of the Sovereigns of Spain. But on this subject I must briefly refer to another source of information.

In the year 1824, Mr. Secretary Canning addressed a despatch

to the Chief Commissioner at the Havana, desiring to be furnished with information on the subject of the manumission of slaves in the Spanish colonies, and enclosing a memorandum which had been presented to our government, at that period when the question of gradual emancipation in our colonies was forcing itself on the attention of ministers. The document enclosed is in the following terms:—

“That slaves (namely, those in the Spanish colonies) are generally appraised at four hundred dollars; that a slave paying down the fourth part of his value, or one hundred dollars, immediately acquires a right to be coartado—that is, that he can work out, paying his master three reals de vellon or bits a-day, until he can make a further deposit; or, if the master require his service, he can oblige the man to work for him, paying the slave one real; thus a deposit of two hundred dollars gives the slave a right to two reals daily; of three hundred, three reals, and thus till the completion of the payment of the whole sum in which he had been appraised. *A dollar is worth eight reals or bits.*”—(*Vide Slave-Trade Reports, 1824-25, Class A. page 63.*)

In the first place, the common error with respect to the meaning of the term of coartacion, which I have already referred to, is pointed out in the reference made to the question of paying down one-fourth part of the value of the slave. The next error is in the statement, that a slave coartado has the right to work out, or to leave his master's service, paying him wages in a certain proportion to the sum still due for his liberty, the law treatise I have so largely quoted explicitly denying that the slave has any such right against the consent of his master. The next error is, that there is any law which compels the master to pay wages in any proportion to whatever sum the slave may have paid in part liquidation of the price of freedom.

The Chief Commissioner replied to Mr. Canning's inquiry, October 9, 1824, stating, that he had consulted the most able lawyers and government authorities on the subject of manumission, and encloses a memorandum—a most valuable paper—though by no means to be considered as practically applicable to the attainable privileges of prædial slaves, and that distinction is not suffi-

ciently drawn in the document, but only slightly, and very slightly, alluded to at the end of the memorandum. Nevertheless, the extent and accuracy of information that it is so difficult to procure on this subject, is surprising to me; and in referring to it I have only to entreat attention to this point, that the information has reference to what the laws decree, and not to the practical working of them; and when it refers to the latter, the experience adduced is entirely of their execution in towns and cities, and especially at the seat of Government, the Havana.

Mr. Kilbee, the Commissioner, informs Mr. Canning that he has been wrongly informed that slaves are valued at any fixed price for "coartacion;" that he has known one sell for 1000 dollars, but that the tribunals discountenance excessive valuation; that the average valuation of full-grown negroes on estates is 500 dollars; that house-slaves are valued at six, and mechanics at still higher prices; that the statement is incorrect in asserting, "if the master require the service of his coartado slave, he can oblige the man to work, paying the slave a certain sum," the fact being, that in all cases the master is entitled to the service of his slave, whether coartado or not, without any remuneration whatever. That the wages of a common field labourer is about four reals a-day, (there being eight reals "de plata" and twenty reals "de vellon" to the dollar, the writer of the memorandum previously referred to, having confounded these) and, moreover, that the negro is fed and clothed, and that as mechanics earn from a dollar and a quarter to three dollars a-day, consequently, a coartado slave, who works out, is able to pay his master the daily quota proportioned to his price, and to lay by something towards the further attainment of his liberty. That the regulations for ameliorating the condition of slaves are founded principally on custom which has acquired the force of law, many of which are confirmed by Royal Decrees.

That when a slave applies to purchase his liberty, the master is not allowed to fix an arbitrary price, but if he and the slave cannot agree upon it, two appraisers are named, one by the master, and another by the syndic, on the part of the slave, and if they differ, the judge names an umpire, and in these cases, the slave is

exempt from the payment of the alcabala duty, which is six per cent. on the sale of slaves sold in *venta real* or by public auction. That a master will be compelled to sell a slave, if a purchaser is found to engage to emancipate the slave at the end of any reasonable time—that ill usage justifies an application for change of masters—that a slave once emancipated, cannot again be reduced to slavery—that the master having once given an “*escritura de cortacion*,” binds himself never to demand more than a stipulated sum, though less than the actual value, has no relation to the actual price originally paid for him—that the *coartado* slave, when his master allows him to work out on hire, is only bound to pay his master one real a-day for every hundred dollars in which he is *coartado*, thus if his appraised price was four hundred dollars, and he had paid one hundred towards his liberty, he would only have to pay three reals a-day to his master—that a pregnant negress may emancipate her child even when in the womb, at the fixed price of twenty-five dollars, and from the time of its birth, till it be baptised, for fifty dollars—that the system respecting the manumission of slaves, although in the country parts where there are few magistrates, there may be, and undoubtedly there are, many abuses—yet in the Havana, and other large towns, and in other populous districts, it is efficiently observed; and lastly, on the authority of this able statement of Mr. Kilbee, the slave-population of the island of Cuba, in the year 1824, was 250,000; the free-people of colour 115,000; and the whites 290,000.

I have attempted to show you that the system of manumission, and the regulations in force for ameliorating the condition of the slave in the Spanish colonies, honourable as these are to the apparent intentions of the Spanish government, are of little real benefit to the *prædial* slaves, that is, to the great body of the slave-population in these colonies. There are exceptions, there are instances, where slavery has not rendered masters heedless of all laws human and divine, even where their pecuniary interests are concerned. But these are few on the estates. There are instances, where the owners are persons of high rank and wealth and standing in society—noblemen, like the Count Fernandina,

and a few others of his order, where the rights and privileges of the slaves are in some degree respected. These men, however, live not on their properties, and it is only to their occasional visits, the slaves on their properties have to look for justice. It is, as I have said before, in the large towns alone, and for the non-prædial slaves, that the privileges in question can be said to be available, and where manumission can be hoped for, the means acquired of obtaining it, and the opportunity given of applying for it, and for the partial redress of any wrong suffered by a slave. The murder of a slave by a white man, in no case whatever, is punished with death. During my residence in Cuba, some of the most atrocious murders *that I ever heard of*, came to my own immediate knowledge, the murders of slaves by their masters or mayorals, and not in any one instance was the murderer punished, except by imprisonment, or the payment of costs of suit.

During General Tacon's administration of the government in the latter part of the year 1837, in the village of Guauabacoa, a league from the Havana, where I was then residing, the murder of a slave was perpetrated by his master, a well-known lawyer of the Havana, whose name I consider it my duty to make known, and far as lies in my power to expose it to the infamy of a notoriety, which it is not in the power of the shackled press of Cuba to give to it, but which I have reason to believe, the press of Spain will give to these disclosures, so that the reprobation of his countrymen will reach this gentleman, whom the laws he outraged were unable to reach or punish. The name of the murderer is Manchado, and he moves without reproach in the goodly circles of genteel society at Havana, in that society where the capitalist, who has acquired his riches in the abominable slave-trade, by the especial favour of his sovereign, bears the title of "*Excelentissimo*," where the prosperous dealer in human flesh now retired from the trade, is a noble of the land—where the foreign merchant, who still pursues the profitable traffic on the coast, is the boon companion of the commercial magnates of the place—and where the agents of foreign governments themselves are hailed as the private protectors and avowed well-wishers of the interests of the trade. The murdered slave of the lawyer Manchado, was suspected of

stealing some plated ornaments belonging to the harness of his master; the man denied the charge; the customary process in such matters, to extort a confession from a suspected slave was had recourse to. He was put down and flogged in the presence of his master. The flogging, it appeared by the sworn testimony of the witnesses who were present, given before the Commandant of Guauabacoa, a colonel in the army, a gentleman of the highest character, commenced at three o'clock, it ceased at six, the man having literally died under the lash; a little time before the man expired, he had strength enough left to cry out he would confess if they would flog no more. The master immediately sent for the Commissary of Police to receive his confession; this officer came, and stooping down to speak to the man, he found him motionless; he said, the man had fainted. The brutal master kicked the lifeless body, saying, "the dog was in no faint, he was shamming." The Commissary stooped down again, examined the body, and replied "the man is dead." The master hereupon called in two physicians of Guauabacoa, and rightly counting on the sympathies of his professional attendants, he obtained a medical certificate, solemnly declaring that the negro had laboured under hernia, and had died of that disease. In the meantime the atrocity had reached the ears of the captain-general Tacon, the alcaldis of Guauabacoa were ordered to inquire into the matter; they did so, and the result of the inquiry was, of course, the exculpation of the murderer. General Tacon, dissatisfied with the decision, immediately ordered the military officer commanding at Guauabacoa to proceed to a solemn investigation, *de novo*, without reference to the decision of the civil authorities, and this gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted, proceeded with all the energy and integrity belonging to him, to the inquiry. The result of this inquiry was an able report, wherein the Commandant declared that the testimony adduced, plainly proved that the negro had died under the lash in presence of his master, in consequence of the severity of the punishment he received during three hours. I have entered at large into this case, because I speak from actual knowledge of the judicial proceedings, and from the authority of the judge in the cause. Now what was the result in this case;

why, in due time, the Captain-general communicates to the Commandant the law opinion of the assessor or legal adviser of his administration, to the effect, that the report was evidently erroneous, inasmuch as the Commandant had examined negro witnesses on the investigation when their masters were not present, which was illegal, and consequently all the proceedings were vitiated. In plain English, the murderer was acquitted, and the upright officer who declared him guilty was rebuked; nay more, he was ultimately removed from his post at Guauabacoa. The folly of talking about illegality in the proceedings is evident, when it is considered that the setting aside the civil authorities, and putting the cause in the hands of the military tribunal, was a course obviously illegal, but rendered necessary in the mind of the governor by the base corruption of the civil tribunal, and the iniquity of its decision. On inquiry into the amount of money paid by Manchado in the way of bribes to obtain the decision in his favour, and the cost of suit, I found that the expenses amounted to 4000 dollars.

The next case I have to direct your attention to, has been given to the world in the recent admirable work of Mr. Turnbull on Cuba, a work which it required more honest, closer observation, and a higher spirit of humanity to produce than any work on the West Indies that has been given to the public. I happened to be with Mr. Turnbull on the journey of which he speaks in reference to this case, when a person who accompanied us on our return from a sugar estate in the vicinity of Guines, informed us that the estate in question was the terror of all the negroes in the vicinity. Of this fact, what we had ourselves witnessed of the management of the property, and what we had heard from the mayoral himself, left but little cause to doubt, but it was not without surprise we learnt that this very overseer, who was still left in charge of the estate, had recently been brought before the authorities of Guines on the charge of flogging one of the slaves of the estate to death, and that the result of this investigation was similar to that of the case at Guauabacoa; the body of the murdered slave was examined by medical men, and the usual certificate was given in all due form, satisfactorily accounting for the

death of the negro, and in the eye of the law of Cuba, the slave that was murdered by a white man, and expired under the lash of legitimate authority, died a natural death. The wretch who committed this act left the court, of course, without a blemish on his character, and the employer of this man, who had taken him back into his service, to the terror of every negro on his estate; this respectable planter was living at ease fifty miles distant from the scene where the blood of his murdered negro was shed with impunity, enjoying the pleasures of the Havana, and, perhaps, by the urbanity of his manners, and the hospitality of his house, and the indulgent treatment of his domestic slaves, convincing the passing tourist, who was fortunate enough to be his guest, of “the peculiar mildness of slavery in the Spanish colonies.”

The next case—I know these horrors are painful to be listened to—but it is a sickly sensibility which refuses to hear details, however shocking to humanity, that must be told by those who have the misfortune to be acquainted with them, or the wrongs they treat of cannot be redressed. The next case of negro murder committed by a mayoral, of which I have to speak, came to my knowledge in the autumn of 1839. I was travelling in the vicinity of Matanzas, accompanied by a gentleman who resided in that district. I was informed by my companion that he had just received very unpleasant intelligence of an acquaintance of his, a mayoral of an estate on the Pan of Matanzas, who had unfortunately flogged a worthless negro, and the worthless negro had unfortunately died, and the soldiers had just been sent down to arrest the mayoral, and they did not find him. The misfortune of the mayoral touched me indeed less than the murder of the slave; but if my sympathies had been ever so strongly directed to the inconvenience the mayoral had been put to by his flight, I might have been comforted by the assurance that he had only to keep out of the way for some time, and the thing would pass over; or, if he were taken, at the worst he had only to suffer in purse, and perhaps in person by imprisonment for some time, if he was a poor and friendless mayoral. This was only another vacancy in the negro gang to be filled up by the purchase of a new bozal—another life taken away under the lash

to be added to the list of Cuban crimes—another item in the long account that slavery has to settle with a just God. I know it is painful to dwell on these topics, but the report I have alluded to has proved how necessary it is to enter on them most fully, and to show how greatly the people of France,—and I fear, I may add, of England,—have been deceived with respect to the subject of slavery in the Spanish colonies.

The last case of murder perpetrated on a slave by a white person, to which I will refer, took place at the Havana in the last year. This crime was committed by an American woman on a poor negro girl, under such horrible circumstances of cold-blooded cruelty, that I doubt if there is any parallel to be found to it in the records of crime in Cuba. The girl that was murdered belonged to a Spaniard of the Havana, who was the paramour of the American. This woman was possessed of property to a considerable amount. She had been long resident in Havana, and was somewhat remarkable for her personal attractions: Her friend, the Spaniard, had sent to her house one of his slaves to assist her, and this girl became the victim of her jealousy, it is supposed—for no other adequate reason has been assigned for the cruelties practised on her. The cries of the unfortunate girl had been heard in the adjoining houses: at length the usual screams were heard no longer, but night after night the sounds of continued moaning were noticed by the neighbours, and at length they gave information of the matter to the police. The Commissary of Police proceeded to the house of the American lady. On searching the outhouses in the yard, in one of these offices, converted into a dungeon, they found a dying negro girl chained by the middle to the wall, in a state that shocked the senses of all who were present, so loathsome and withal so pitiful an object as the persons who discovered this unfortunate girl never beheld. On releasing her from this dreadful dungeon, where she had been she could not tell how long, it was found that the chain round her body had eaten into the flesh, and the ulcers in it were in a state of gangrene. She was taken to the hospital, and she died there in two or three days' time. If I have added one iota to the truth, or exaggerated a single point in the

statement I have given, I am content that every fact I have stated should be disbelieved ; but in truth, the horrors of the place, and the wretchedness of the condition in which she was found, are understated. In fact, they could not be described. The monster who committed this murder, when I left the Havana, in October last, was alive and well ; in prison indeed, but in one of the halls of distinction, (salas de distincion,) where the prisoner who has money, no matter what his crime, may always obtain superior accommodation. She was visited frequently by persons of my acquaintance. She did not admit that she had committed any crime, and she had no fear for the result of the process that was going on, except on the score of its expense. She looked on her imprisonment as a conspiracy only of the Spanish lawyers to get money from her ; because they knew she was rich ; and in this she probably was not much mistaken. The Teniente Gobernador, one of the principal officers of state, was in the habit of visiting her in prison, and encouraging her with the assurance that her suit would speedily be terminated, and that she had nothing worse than banishment to fear. A lawyer of the name of Garcia had defended her some short time before her committal on the present charge, in another case of cruelty practised by her on a slave, and he publicly boasted that if she had come forward in the present case with a sufficient sum, he would have brought her through her present difficulty without any more inconvenience than in the former instance. Such is the administration of justice in the island of Cuba, and the execution of those laws which are thought so mild in their character, and benevolent in their principles, that the slave who lives under them is protected from injustice, and in consequence of their excellence the negroes in Spanish colonies are comparatively happy.

It was said by the late Mr. Canning, that all laws for the partial amelioration of the condition of slaves were necessarily defective, because such laws had no executive principle, inasmuch as the persons who were expected to carry them into operation were interested in defeating them. My experience entirely bears out the assertion of Mr. Canning ; and both, I am sorry to say,

are at variance with that part of the report to which I have referred, and with the common opinion of the humanity of the system of Spanish slavery, entertained even by well informed persons in this country.

And in concluding this subject, I would earnestly desire to impress these facts on the minds of all who are interested in the question of negro emancipation; that the abolition of slavery in our colonies, has given great advantages to those colonies where slavery exists. And that it is in vain to expect a beneficial result from our efforts, while slavery flourishes in Cuba and the Brazils, and leans on the sympathy and support of countries like America and the colonies of France, whose interests are identified with theirs.

THE END.

Table 1. Summary of the data used in the analysis. The table shows the number of observations for each combination of variables.

Variable	Category	Number of Observations
Gender	Male	150
	Female	150
Age	18-24	100
	25-34	100
Education	High School	100
	College	100
Income	Low	100
	High	100

The data were analyzed using a series of regression models. The first model estimated the effect of gender on the dependent variable, controlling for age and education. The second model added income to the list of control variables. The third model included all four variables. The results are reported in Table 2.

The results show that gender has a significant effect on the dependent variable. The coefficient for the gender variable is positive and statistically significant. This indicates that, on average, males score higher on the dependent variable than females. The effect of age and education is also significant, with older and more educated individuals scoring higher. Income has a positive but less significant effect.

Overall, the analysis suggests that gender, age, and education are important factors in explaining the variation in the dependent variable. Income also plays a role, but its effect is less pronounced. The findings have implications for policy and practice, particularly in areas related to gender equality and education.

