

anything that can possibly inconvenience the present Ministry is needless and useless.

“ ‘I am, my dear Lord, with great esteem and respect,

“ ‘Yours most faithfully,

“ ‘T. F. BUXTON.’

“ It was early on the Wednesday morning that this letter was sent, and in the afternoon he went again to Lord Althorp, who immediately gave him to understand that he saw it was of no use attempting to turn him, and that he gave him every credit for his motive. Accordingly they resolved on their several courses, the motion and the amendment. Thursday morning, May 24th, came. My father and I went out on horseback directly after breakfast, and a memorable ride we had. He began by saying that he had stood so far, but that *divide he could not*. He said I could not conceive the pain of it, that almost numberless ties and interests were concerned, that his friends would be driven to vote against him, and thus their seats would be endangered. But then his mind turned to the sufferings of the missionaries and of the slaves, and he said after all he must weigh the *real* amount of suffering, and not think only of that which came under his sight; and that if he were in the West Indies, he should feel that the advocate in England ought to go straight on, and despise those considerations. In short, by degrees his mind was made up. When we got near the House every minute we met somebody or other, who just hastily rode up to us. ‘Come on to-night?’ ‘Yes.’—‘Positively?’ ‘Positively;’ and with a blank countenance the inquirer turned his horse’s head and rode away. I do not know how many times this occurred. In St. James’s Park we met Mr. Spring Rice, whom he told, to my great satisfaction, that he positively *would divide*. Next Sir Augustus Dalrymple came up to us, and, after the usual queries, said, ‘Well, I tell you frankly I mean to make an attack upon you to-night.’ ‘On what point?’ ‘You said, some time ago, that the planters were opposed to religious instruction.’ ‘I did, and will maintain it.’ We came home and dined at three. It is difficult to recall, and perhaps impossible to convey to you, the interest and excitement of the moment. Catherine Hoare, R., and I and the little boys went down with him. We were in the ventilator

by four o'clock; our places were therefore good. For a long time we missed my father, and found afterwards he had been sent for by Lord Althorp for a further discussion, in which, however, he did not yield. Many anti-slavery petitions were presented; the great West Indian petition by Lord Chandos. At length, about six, 'Mr. Fowell Buxton' was called: he presented two petitions, one from the Archbishop of Tuam and his clergy, and the other from the Delegates of the Dissenters in and near London. The order of the day was then called, and he moved his resolution, which was for a Committee 'to consider and report upon the best means of abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions, with a due regard to the safety of all parties concerned.' He spoke very well indeed, and they listened to him far better than last year; in short, the subject obviously carried much greater weight with it, and the effect of the speech last year on population was manifest, as indeed it has been ever since. He touched on that subject again, and alluded to his statement \*, which he was happy to see in the hands of honourable members (he had sent it round to each a day or two before signed by himself, and there were many of them looking at it while he was speaking). I was very much pleased to see it in their hands. I will not, however, attempt to go over the debate, or to relate the speeches. Mr. Macaulay's was strikingly eloquent. Lord Howick's capital, and giving such a testimony to the speech of last year as delighted me. He said, it had indeed startled him, and that he had examined into all the facts, which he found undeniable; he evidently spoke under the effect of the impression it had made upon him. Lord Althorp proposed the amendment of adding 'conformably to the resolutions of 1823.' Then came the trial: they (privately) besought my father to give way, and not to press them to a division. 'They hated,' they said, 'dividing against him when their hearts were all for him; it was merely a nominal difference, why should he split hairs? he was sure to be beaten, where was the use of bringing them all into difficulty, and making them vote against him? He told us that he thought he had a hundred applications of this kind in the course of the evening; in short, nearly every friend he had in the

\* April 15. 1831. See Hansard of that date; also Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v. No. 100.

House came to him, and by all considerations of reason and friendship, besought him to give way. Mr. Evans was almost the only person who took the other side. I watched my father with indescribable anxiety, seeing the members one after the other come and sit down by him, and judging but too well from their gestures what their errand was. One of them went to him four times, and at last sent up a note to him with these words, 'immovable as ever?' To my uncle Hoare, who was under the gallery, they went repeatedly, but with no success, for he would only send him a message to persevere. My uncle described to me one gentleman, not a member, who was near him under the gallery, as having been in a high agitation all the evening, exclaiming, 'Oh, he won't stand! Oh, he'll yield! I'd give a hundred pounds, I'd give a thousand pounds, to have him divide! Noble! noble! What a noble fellow he is!' according to the various changes in the aspect of things. Among others, Mr. H—— came across to try his eloquence; 'Now don't be so obstinate; just put in this one word, "interest;" it makes no real difference, and then all will be easy. You will only alienate the Government. Now,' said he, 'I'll just tell Lord Althorp you have consented.' My father replied, 'I don't think I exaggerate when I say, I would rather your head were off, and mine too; I am sure I had rather yours were!' What a trial it was! He said afterwards, that he could compare it to nothing but a continual tooth-drawing the whole evening. At length he rose to reply, and very touchingly alluded to the effort he had to make, but said he was bound in conscience to do it, and that he *would* divide the House. Accordingly the question was put. The Speaker said, 'I think the noes have it.' Never shall I forget the tone in which his solitary voice replied, 'No, sir.' 'The noes must go forth,' said the Speaker, and all the house appeared to troop out. Those within were counted, and amounted to ninety. This was a minority far beyond our expectations, and from fifty upwards my heart beat higher at every number. I went round to the other side of the ventilator to see them coming in. How my heart fell as they reached 88, 89, 90, 91, and the string still not at an end; and it went on to a 136! So Lord Althorp's amendment was carried. At two o'clock in the morning it was over, and for the first time my father came up to us in the ventilator. I soon saw that it was almost too sore a subject to touch upon; he was

so wounded at having vexed all his friends. Mr. — would not speak to him after it was over, so angry was he; and for days after when my father came home he used to mention with real pain, somebody or other who would not return his bow. On Friday Dr. Lushington came here and cheered him, saying, ‘Well, that minority was a great victory;’ and this does seem to be the case; but we hardly know how to forgive some of those who ought to have swelled its numbers. My father, however, cannot bear to hear them blamed. M— was wishing that some of those who professed so much and voted against him might be turned out. ‘Oh!’ he said, ‘I would not hurt a hair of their heads.’ He feels it a great cause for thankfulness and encouragement to have a committee sitting to consider the best means of getting rid of slavery. The formation of this committee was the next business, and very difficult indeed it was. My father went many times to Lord Althorp about it. Once Lord Althorp said, ‘The fact is, Buxton, the West Indians object, not only to your friends, but to everybody who has any constituents: they won’t have anybody out of schedule A.’ Lord Howick’s name being mentioned, Lord Althorp said, ‘Why he’s one of yourselves;’ but added, ‘We, the government, the middle party, must be represented in the committee.’ My father said, ‘Now, laying aside the caution of power, and all the pledges you have given, do you mean to say you don’t agree with me in your heart?’ He did not deny it.”

In this debate, as Mr. Buxton afterwards said, “the cause made a seven-league stride.” One sentence of his speech may be given:—

“How is the Government prepared to act in case of a general insurrection of the negroes? War is to be lamented anywhere, and under any circumstances: but a war against a people struggling for their freedom and their right would be the falsest position in which it is possible for England to be placed. And does the noble lord think that the people out of doors will be content to see their resources exhausted for the purpose of crushing the inalienable rights of mankind?”

“I will refer the House to the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson was himself

a slave-owner, and full of the prejudices of slave-owners; yet he left this memorable testimony: 'I do, indeed, tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep for ever. A revolution is among possible events; the Almighty has no attribute which would side with us in such a struggle.'

"This is the point that weighs most heavily with me: The Almighty has no attribute that will side with us in such a struggle. A war with an overwhelming physical force,—a war with a climate fatal to the European constitution,—a war, in which the heart of the people of England would lean toward the enemy; it is hazarding all these terrible evils; but all are light and trivial, compared with the conviction I feel, that in such a warfare it is not possible to ask, nor can we expect, the countenance of Heaven. I assure the House I have been discharging a most painful duty, and my endeavour has been to perform it without offence to any one."

Mr. Buxton writes a few days afterwards to his daughter:—

"London, May 31. 1832.

"One line, if it be only to say that we are well and happy. I earnestly hope that you are the same. Pray enjoy yourself all you can: you are entitled to a holiday.

"I had a successful though laborious day yesterday. City Committees till 10 o'clock; Secondary Punishments from 1 till 4; a ride; Criminal Law from 5 till 11; the motion carried.

"To-morrow, the West-Indies Committee meets for the first time. Love to all your party, and above all to yourself, my daughter, sister, friend, companion, counsellor."

Pursuant to the amended resolution, a committee was named, of which Sir James Graham was chairman. It prosecuted its investigations from the 1st of June to the 11th of August. Yet this period was far too short for it to receive half the evidence which each side was eager to bring before it, and it broke up without coming to a definite conclusion; stating only that the condition of the affairs disclosed by its inquiries demanded the earliest and most serious attention of the Legislature.

Much of the evidence related to the insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, which had been followed by proceedings on the part of the colonists, equally deserving the name of insurrection, had they not been perpetrated by the militia, the magistrates, and the gentry of the island. These persons had come to a resolution to maintain slavery, by putting down the religious instruction of the negroes. They accordingly destroyed seventeen chapels\*, and inflicted upon the pastors and their flocks every species of cruelty and insult. "I stake my character," said Mr. Buxton, "on the accuracy of the fact, that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime, save that of worshipping their God."

He adds, in reference to the unfortunate missionaries,—

"There have not been, in our day, such persecutions as these brave and good men have been constrained to endure. Hereafter we must make selections among our missionaries. Is there a man whose timid or tender spirit is unequal to the storm of persecution? Send him to the savage, — expose him to the cannibal, — save his life by directing his steps to the rude haunts of the barbarian. But if there is a man of a stiffer, sterner nature, a man willing to encounter obloquy, torture, and death, let him be reserved for the tender mercies of our Christian brethren and fellow-countrymen, the planters of Jamaica." †

The more obnoxious missionaries, particularly Messrs. Knibb and Burchell, were driven from the island, and arrived in England at the very juncture when their evidence before the Committees was of the utmost value, and went forth to the country under Parliamentary

\* See Report of the Committee, p. 270.

† Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v. p. 149.

sanction. They then travelled through England and Scotland, holding meetings in all the principal towns, and their eloquent appeals produced a great effect upon the public mind. Nothing, in fact, contributed more powerfully to arouse the "religious world" to a sense of their duty with regard to the question of slavery. Mr. Buxton frequently adverted to the overruling hand of Providence, which had thus turned the intolerance of the system to its own destruction.

The investigations of the Committees of both Houses were published together, and the general impression was, that they had established two points: First, that slavery was an evil for which there was no remedy but extirpation; secondly, that its extirpation would be *safe*.

The nation willingly acceded to these conclusions, and impatiently desired to act upon them. How they affected the minds of those in office we shall presently learn.

Such was the state of the slavery question when the session closed; and Mr. Buxton returned with his family to Northrepps. During a short visit to London, in September, he thus writes to his daughter:—

"Spitalfields, Sept. 27. 1832.

"Yesterday I got through all my business well; we had really an excellent Bible Meeting, and we have resolved to reform our auxiliary, upon the *celebrated* plan adopted by the ladies at Cromer. I saw T. B. Macaulay yesterday; he told me one thing, which has much occupied my mind ever since, and which furnished the subject-matter of my meditations as I rode by the light of the stars to Upton last night. He said, 'You know how entirely everybody disapproved of your course in your motion, and thought you very wrong, very hard-hearted, and very headstrong; but two or three days after the debate, Lord Althorp said to me, "*That division of Buxton's has settled the slavery question.* If he can get ninety to vote with him when he is wrong, and when most of those really interested in the subject vote against him, he can command a *majority when he is right.*

*The question is settled*: the Government see it, and they will take it up." So reported Macaulay; and he added, 'Sir James Graham told me yesterday, that the Government meet in a week; they will then divide themselves into committees on the three or four leading questions, for the purpose of settling them. Slavery is one.' Now it is not so much the fact that Government are going to take into their own hands the question, for the purpose of settling it, which occupied my mind, as the consideration of the mode by which we were led to that division, to which such important consequences attach. It certainly was not the wisdom of my coadjutors; for, with the exception of my own family, Hoare, Evans, Johnston, and one or two others, they were all directly at variance with me. Brougham, when he heard of my obstinacy, said, 'Is the man mad? does he intend to act without means? He *must* give way.' It really was not the wisdom of my counsellors; and as certainly it was not either my own wisdom or resolution. I felt, it is true, clear that I was right; but I did not find it easy to explain the reason why I was so clear.

"Then as to the resolution, I found it very difficult to stand firm. I felt far more distressed than I ought to have done at acting in hostility to my friends. I was unusually weak on that point. What then led to the division? If ever there was a subject which occupied our prayers, it was this. Do you remember how we desired that God would give me His Spirit in that emergency, that He would rise up as the champion of the oppressed? How we quoted the promise, 'He that lacketh wisdom, let him ask it of the Lord, and it shall be given him?' And how I kept open that passage in the old Testament, in which it is said (2 Chron. chap. xx. 12.), 'We have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee:' the Spirit of the Lord replying, 'Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude, for the battle is not yours, but God's?' If you want to see the passage, open my Bible; it will turn of itself to the place. I sincerely believe that prayer was the cause of that division; and I am confirmed in this, by knowing that we by no means calculated on the effect which that division seems likely to produce. The course we took appeared to be right, and we followed it blindly.

“I must now leave off. I am going to Sir James Graham, and the Colonial Office, to-morrow, to see what I can pick up.”

It was not only from his antagonists that Mr. Buxton encountered opposition; the storm at times was almost as fierce from those who were as ardent as himself in the cause of emancipation. On the eve of the election of 1832 he suggested, in a letter to Sir George Chetwynd, that the pledge to be asked from candidates at elections should be, that they would aim at “the extinction of slavery, at the earliest period *compatible with the safety of all classes.*” This last condition was unacceptable to one section of the Anti-slavery party, whose zeal could no longer brook any degree of moderation. The following burst of “indignant astonishment” was from the pen of one of these impetuous advocates:—

‘ “I have long condemned the advocates of emancipation, because they have not sought the deliverance of the slave till it suited the *convenience* of his oppressor to let him go free.

\* \* \* To be candid, Sir, I would rather see you throw up your brief, and take a retaining fee from the planters, than that you should, in a reformed Parliament, bring forward a motion in accordance with the sentiments expressed in your letter to Sir G. Chetwynd. And if you appear as the advocate of such a profane measure, we will look to some more enlightened advocate to forward that cause which must be carried.”

Mr. Buxton’s reply was as follows:—

“Dear Sir,

“Northrepps, Oct. 15. 1832.

“I am so thoroughly inured to expressions of the strongest condemnation from all sides, as to my course with regard to slavery, that I should scarcely be prevailed on to notice those I have received from you, were it not that I *like* the spirit which dictates them, and should be glad if it were more general. Without therefore noticing the violence of your expressions, or questioning their propriety towards one who, however unworthy and unsuccessful, has certainly been for many years

almost wholly devoted to this cause, let me attempt to justify the letter to which you refer. I said to Sir George Chetwynd, as I have said on every other occasion, and as the words of my motion expressed, that my aim was ‘emancipation at the earliest period compatible with the personal safety of all classes.’ Where did you find a word of ‘*convenience*?’ How little do you know the heavy battles I have had to fight on this very point! If the emancipation of the slaves were in my power I could not dare to accomplish it without previous police regulations, which is all the delay I mean. These ought to be undertaken instantly; for I know our power of emancipating in one way or another is fast drawing to a close: I mean, that the negroes will take the work into their own hands. But whoever else is willing to undertake the weight of so enormous a responsibility, *I am not*, without considering the personal safety of all classes. If you, my dear Sir, can send some ‘more enlightened advocate,’ you may believe me, that we are far too much oppressed and borne down with the weight of our task in parliament not to hail his assistance, however given. But in the meantime I must take the liberty of saying, that I did not undertake this serious work at man’s bidding; nor shall I, I trust, lay it down at the bidding either of enemies or friends.

“With every good wish, and begging you to continue your exertions, and to blame me as much as you please if it will stir up one of our friends, I am, dear Sir, yours, very truly,

“T. FOWELL BUXTON.

“P.S.—Perhaps you will let my friend Sturge see this letter, and pray believe that I write in perfect good humour.”

The day of freedom for the slaves was now evidently dawning, and the autumn was spent in the welcome though anxious task of preparing for that long-sought consummation. In November he went up to London to discuss his plans with Dr. Lushington: from thence he writes:—

*To Miss Buxton.*

“Nov. 8. 1832.

“Thanks for your letters, which always cheer me. We had a capital meeting at Lushington’s last night, arranging our plan

of Emancipation; we made good progress. This morning I saw the Government on it, and they are well satisfied; our views are so much in unison with their own."

*To Zachary Macaulay, Esq.*

"Dec. 1832.

"I am waiting for Lushington's plan. My conclusion is, that we must stick firm and fast to our claims of justice. Immediate and total emancipation is our right, and if we yield an iota of it, it must be not for the sake of the planter, nor for the sake of Government, but for the benefit of the negro; and we must give up no more than it is the interest of the negro to surrender. In short, we must fight the battle with a single eye to the benefit of our clients the slaves."

*To Miss Buxton.*

"Weymouth, Dec. 14, 1832.

"Here is my first frank in this parliament; I trust that before I give my last the negroes will be elevated to the rank of freemen and Christians, and all in peace. I find by Cropper's letter that I *am standing* for the north division of the county of Lancaster; but I hope my letter will be in time to stop all proceedings. The election closed yesterday in a way which was very gratifying, and even touching to me. The town, *z. e.* the voters on both sides, took the alarm lest I should be thrown out, and I found they had, in very many instances, reserved their votes for the purpose of giving me plumpers if needful. They have shown a degree of feeling, interest, and anxiety for me which I hardly expected, and I now see that I had a strength in reserve which rendered my defeat impossible. I am now going to be chaired. I wish the boys were here to 'pursue the triumph and partake the shout.'

"I saw the sun rise in gold out of the sea, with Portland in the foreground, this morning. I never saw any thing so grand or so sublime. I am quite well and very cheery."

## CHAPTER XIX.

1833.

OPENING OF THE SESSION.—GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKES THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—INCREASE OF PUBLIC FEELING.—ANXIETY AS TO THE INTENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.—NEGOTIATIONS.—DAY FIXED FOR THE MOTION.—DISAPPOINTMENT.—AGITATION RESOLVED ON.—WHITELEY'S PAMPHLET.—COMPENSATION.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.—THE NATION AROUSED.—DELEGATES SUMMONED.—MEETING OF DELEGATES.

MR. BUXTON began this year — the most important of his life — by publishing a brief address to the members of the Established Church, in which he invited them, together with the principal Dissenting bodies, to unite in setting apart the 16th of January as a day of prayer on the subject of slavery. In his own prayers it was never forgotten. Just before the session commenced he thus refers to it in one of his papers.

“Northrepps, Sunday, Feb. 3. 1833.

“I go to London to-morrow. Parliament meets on Tuesday, and I have reason to hope that the King's speech will declare that Government has resolved to effect the total and immediate emancipation of the slaves.

“This then is a season, if ever there was one, for fervent prayer to thee, Almighty God, that the light of thy countenance may rest on that good cause, and on me, one of its advocates; on my dear wife and children, who will be with me in London: on those who will remain here; on those to whom they will be entrusted; on my friends and relations; in short, on all things and all persons who are dear to me.

“But first, let me commemorate thy mercies during the six months we have been here. There, too, my cause, or rather let me say thy cause, the liberation of the oppressed slave, has prospered. I have had sufficient health of body and vigour of mind in working at that cause to convince myself that I have not been altogether a faithless and indolent steward.

“Now that I am about to quit this peaceful haven, and

embark on a tumultuous sea, what provision and safeguard of prayer do I desire to carry with me?

“ Grant that I and all of us may be strengthened with might by thy Spirit in the inner man, and that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith. This is my prayer as to the spirit which may reign within. And my general prayer as to our external actions is the collect of the day, fourth Sunday after Epiphany.

\* \* \* I beg with peculiar earnestness, that the incomparable treasure of thy blessing may be with our sisters at the cottage. Health to them, if I may ask it; but, at all events, the canopy of thy wings round about them, especially in the watches of the night; strength, support, hope, and comfort in the hours of illness. I pass through a chosen list of friends and relations, and pray thee to give to *each* the peculiar gift which shall tend most to their earthly joy and the welfare of their souls; and do thou discharge the debts of love and gratitude I owe them. .

“ For the slavery cause my prayer is, that thou wouldst not leave it to the weakness and folly of man, but that thou wouldst rise up as its advocate, and wouldst dispose all hearts and mould all events by Thine Almighty power, to the accomplishment of that which is good and right. Oh give these thy unhappy creatures their liberty — and that liberty in peace, and protect their masters from ruin and desolation. In my labours give me always the spirit of prayer and the spirit of confidence in Thee; ‘ The battle is not mine, but God’s: ’ and the spirit of discretion and resolution; ‘ Thine ear shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand or to the left.’ ”

It was generally understood that Earl Grey’s government was about to undertake the settlement of the question, and Mr. Buxton went down to the House of Lords on the 5th of February, in full expectation of hearing from the King’s speech that one of the great measures of the session was to be the emancipation of the slaves. Great was his disappointment when the speech closed without any allusion whatever to the subject. He hastened back to the House of Commons, and immediately on the Speaker’s return gave notice of a motion

on the 19th of March for the abolition of slavery. A few minutes afterwards one of his friends hurried up to him, and said, "I have just been with Brougham and Goderich, and they conjure you to do nothing hastily; you will wreck the cause if you do." "What! not give notice of a motion?" said he. "O, no! by no means," was the reply; "you will knock the whole thing over." "*But it's done!*" said Mr. Buxton. This prompt proceeding had an immediate effect on the Ministers. He writes two days later to Mr. Joseph John Gurney:—

"London, Feb. 7. 1833.

"You may suppose that I was affronted and vexed at the silence of the King's speech. I instantly gave notice of a motion, and last night, as you will see by the papers, I asked the Government what their intentions were. They replied, that they would undertake the question, and introduce '*a safe and satisfactory measure.*' I feel excessively relieved and delighted, and not a little thankful for this great mercy."\*

He says, in a hurried note to Miss Gurney, dated from the House of Commons:—

"The Government have to-night taken the slave question into their own hands, promising to settle it 'in a safe and satisfactory manner.' This delights me, and now I scorn those critics who maintain that the children of Ham ought to be flogged by all good Christians."

A government must have been shortsighted indeed which could have hoped to keep clear of this great question. Public feeling had been of late gathering with prodigious rapidity, and a crisis was evidently near. The outcry against slavery seemed to be rising at once from every corner of the land. Men of all ranks, of all denominations, were joining in the attack. And the

\* "The smiles on his countenance are delightful to see," says one of the family letters.

House itself, where but a few years before scarcely half a dozen hearty advocates for emancipation could have been numbered, was now filled with zealous friends of the cause. This rapid growth of popular opinion may be in some measure attributed to the exertions of a sub-committee of the Anti-slavery Society, called the agency committee, established by some of the more ardent friends of emancipation, who, weary of parliamentary delays, were anxious to appeal to the people, and had taken great pains, by lectures and other methods, to disseminate information through the country. The settlement of the Reform question also, in the previous year, had been eminently favourable to the Anti-slavery movement; not merely because the nation's will now held greater sway in Parliament, but also because the late struggles had roused without wearing out the nation's feelings; and never are those feelings so readily called forth as when just lulled after a storm.

The country being thus at leisure for the strife, with kindled energies and the power to enforce her will, we cannot wonder at the sudden increase of velocity with which anti-slavery principles spread through the nation in 1832-3. But the principles themselves were not the growth of a day. They had been sown when the spirit of Christianity awoke again in England, towards the latter part of the last century. The Anti-slavery movement sprang from religious principle, and thence came its strength.

Some may think that the people were misled in fancying slavery to have been cruel and unchristian; others will think that the pictures drawn of its horrors were outdone by the reality; but in either case thus much is clear, that the people had no end of their own to gain: that they were, for a while at least, looking off from

their own interests to shield those of others. It was a movement of a character as yet scarcely known in the annals of mankind. Instances we have in history of a nation arousing itself and demanding deliverance from its own wrongs, and there are few spectacles more great and noble. But in the deed before us virtue was exhibited of a far rarer kind. Impelled by the pure motive of mercy and justice, unsullied by selfish views, the English nation rose up as one man to befriend a far distant people, itself undergoing a heavy sacrifice, that oppression might cease out of the land.

It has been mentioned that the House itself partook of the same impetus as the people. This welcome change is thus referred to in one of the letters written to Northrepps Cottage: —

“ My father tells us that the number of strangers who have come up and addressed him is extraordinary ; and all on this subject. One gentleman, member for an agricultural county, told him that he had been five months canvassing, and that all the way through, instead of Corn Laws, or any thing else, slavery was the cry. At one out-of-the-way village they began by asking him whether he was trying to get into the Lords or Commons? ‘ But,’ they said, ‘ whichever you do get into, you must vote for the poor slaves.’ So it appears that there is quite a band in the House, and an army out of it. My father is very often with the ministers, and seems, on the whole, well satisfied. He said yesterday to Lord Howick (the Under Secretary for the Colonies), ‘ Lord Howick, you hear both sides ; now tell me fairly, have we exaggerated ? Are our statements correct or incorrect ?’ The answer was, ‘ I cannot say that they are correct, for they are *vastly understated*. You know not one-half of the evils of the system ; you have not brought to light half its wickedness.’ ‘ Well,’ he said, ‘ bring in your bill, my lord, I will act under you as soon as you please.’ ”

But while Mr. Buxton was quite willing to give up

the conduct of the case to the ministers, he did not cease to watch their proceedings with the utmost vigilance. Hopes and fears alternated as to the nature and extent of the measures that were to be expected from them, and as the time advanced he became more and more uneasy.

He had consented to abstain from making his motion on the 19th of March, on the condition that the ministers would themselves bring in "a safe and satisfactory measure;" but some weeks had now elapsed, and still not one word had been said publicly as to their intention of fulfilling their pledge. They had named no day for a motion; they had officially announced no plan; and rumours got abroad that there were divisions in the camp, that the Government collectively had by no means decided on adopting the vigorous steps which some of its members proposed.

From ten years' experience, Mr. Buxton had but too well learnt the immense weight of the West Indian party in the councils of the nation. He knew also that the Government had the questions of Finance, India, and the Church to grapple with during this session, and were probably not so impressed as himself with the extreme danger of delaying the emancipation of the slaves. He could not, therefore, but feel it a cause for alarm, that notwithstanding Lord Althorp's promise of a safe and satisfactory measure, so long a period should have elapsed without the appearance of any measure at all. "He is much depressed, because the ministers do not name the day; he does not know whether or not to execute his threat of bringing his motion forward next Tuesday; for this he is almost unprepared: and besides they promise so well that it seems doubtful whether it

would be right or politic to go to war with them. He sleeps badly and is very anxious." \*

Since the ministers were overwhelmed with business, and fettered by their relations with the West Indian proprietors, it may naturally be asked, why did he leave the question in their hands? Backed by such a band of followers, why did he not wield all his powers, and drive forward the measure with his own hand. It was because he believed that, while emancipation in the end was certain, it was only as a cabinet measure that it could be carried through during this session; and delay, fraught as it might be with servile revolt, was the one thing that he most dreaded. He contented himself therefore with spurring on the Government, resolving not to take the lead unless compelled to do so. Nothing drew such notice from his friends as the indifference he evinced as to any personal credit to himself. "It is surprising," writes one of them, "how he puts himself entirely out of the question. It does not seem to excite one feeling in his mind, whether, after all his toils, he is to appear in the matter or not. He seems to care for *nothing*, but the advancement of the cause."

His whole heart, and soul, in fact, were given up to the work, and the depth and intensity of his feelings were visible in all his deportment; he looked pale and careworn, and his tall figure began to show signs of stooping. He spoke little, and was continually engrossed in thought. His demeanour could not be more exactly portrayed than by Spenser's lines: —

" But little joye had he to talke of ought,  
Or ought to heare that mote delightful be :  
His mind was sole possessed of one thought  
That gave none other place."

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\* Letter to Northrepps Cottage, March 16.

So abstracted used he to become when engaged in his fits of musing, that often some minutes would elapse before a reply could be obtained for the simplest question.\*

The 19th of March was now approaching. A letter written a few days afterwards describes the difficulties of the crisis.

“ Ever since the notice was given on the first night of the session,” writes his daughter, “ my father has been engaged in an anxious negotiation with the ministers, who have been endeavouring to offer terms just sufficiently favourable to prevent him from adopting active measures ; but on Saturday the 16th of March all hope appeared to be at an end ; no day had been mentioned by the Government, and he felt that he must now make up his mind without delay. He accordingly addressed a letter to Lord Althorp, telling him so in very decided terms, and took it himself to Downing Street. He found that a council was sitting, and the porter refused to take in his letter ; just then the Duke of Richmond went in, and kindly undertook to deliver it ; but my father soon received a message that they could give no answer.

“ On Monday, the 18th, he went down to the House, at twelve o'clock, armed with numerous petitions (one from Glasgow signed by 31,000 people), and took the opportunity of saying that he should certainly bring on his motion the next day, ‘ as he had no alternative left him † ;’ afterwards he received intelligence that the Government intended to deprive him of the day. He went down again at five o'clock, seated himself behind Lord Althorp, and said, ‘ So I hear these are your tactics.’ Lord Althorp replied, that they really were obliged to do so, they were in such a strait.’ My father gave him to understand that he should resist to the utmost, and was determined to push the matter through. After a good deal of argument and hesi-

\* At this period he was threatened with a petition against his return for Weymouth, which seemed likely to be troublesome and expensive, but was afterwards withdrawn. It being remarked by a friend how provoking was this attempt to annoy him, “ Oh,” he replied, “ it is a thousand leagues behind my slavery matters to me.”

\* See the *Mirror of Parliament*, March 18. 1833.

tation, Lord Althorp said, ' Well, if *you* will not yield, *we* must;' and accordingly agreed to name a day for a ministerial motion on the subject. All this passed in private: my father, still feeling uneasy, as no public declaration had been made, would not leave the House (which was then in committee on the Irish Coercion Bill). At three o'clock in the morning Lord Althorp got up and moved an adjournment of the debate till the following day. The effect of this would have been to deprive him of his day, he therefore went across to the opposite side of the table and said aloud that he would not give up the day unless he had satisfaction from the Government respecting the abolition of slavery; no reply was made, but the threatened adjournment was not persisted in. Accordingly, the next evening he rose to bring forward his motion. Lord Althorp then requested him to postpone it to a future time; but he replied that he was compelled to resist the request, unless upon two conditions: first, that the Government would prepare a plan for the complete and immediate abolition of slavery; and secondly, that *they would fix a day for introducing that measure to the House.*

" ' I see clearly,' he said, ' what will be the fate of this great question if I postpone it without some definite assurance that it will be brought before the consideration of the House. It will be postponed for the session; \* \* \* and then, there is much reason to fear, it will be settled elsewhere in the most disastrous manner. Therefore, however obstinate I may appear, and however painful it may be for me to resist the request, before made to me in private, and now in public, by the noble Lord, I am compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless His Majesty's Government can fix a day on which they will be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial slavery.'\*

" Lord Althorp upon this named the 23rd of April, and then my father formally told the Government that he gave up the question into their hands, upon the security of the declaration made to him that the proposed measure was to be safe and satisfactory."

The fears by which he had been harassed lest the ministers should allow the session to pass away without bringing any measure forward, were now at an end.

\* Mirror of Parliament, March 19. 1833.

The day for the motion was fixed, and when this long-desired step was taken, he sank for a while into a feeling of profound repose. He was able to sleep at night, and began to resume his cheerfulness of manner. He thought that as the Government had been prevented from delaying the question, the grand point was gained; and that it only remained for him and his friends to await the unfolding of their measure. "I have no more to do with slavery now than any other gentleman," was an expression frequently on his lips during that interval of rest. But he soon found that he had been too sanguine; at the end of a few days fresh causes of anxiety began to arise. To his dismay, he heard a rumour that Lord Howick, on the soundness of whose principles he thoroughly relied, was about to resign his place, on the ground that the Cabinet refused to concur in his scheme of immediate emancipation. Afterwards he learned that the Government were inclined to make the negroes buy out their own freedom. The details of the measure Mr. Buxton could not learn, but the process was sure to be dilatory, and was on the face of it unjust. Full of chagrin and disappointment, he hurried to Dr. Lushington. They agreed to call a special committee of the Anti-slavery Society on the following day, and he then went home, "looking as if some heavy misfortune had befallen him." The next day the heads of the party met to deliberate on this new turn of affairs. Their opinion as to the course they should pursue was unanimous. The higher powers were clearly about to fail them; the nation was firmly on their side: why not, then, place the matter in the nation's hands?

*"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo,"*

was the feeling in every bosom there.

Having resolved to arouse the people, they spared no pains to do so with effect; and, in this endeavour, a most opportune aid was afforded them. Just at the time when they were anxious to call forth a burst of public feeling, Mr. Buxton being one morning at breakfast, surrounded as usual by papers, and deep in discussion with Mr. George Stephen, a young man named Whitely was brought in and introduced to him by Mr. Pringle, as a book-keeper who had just returned from the West Indies. He told what he had seen, a tale of cruelty and suffering such as Mr. Buxton had heard a hundred times before. The young man took his leave; but scarcely was he gone, when the thought struck Mr. Buxton, that such a picture fresh from the spot was the very thing they needed. He ran into the street without his hat, caught Whitely as he turned the corner into Portland Place, and, having brought him back, told him that he absolutely must put down this story in writing, and must also produce certificates as to his own character. These certificates proved to be highly satisfactory, and in a few days the pamphlet was in print.\*

The effect was prodigious. The narrative, written in a homely but graphic style, realised to the mind of every one the real import of what he had previously heard, as to the dwindling of the population and the terrors of the lash. Truth, too, was stamped on every word. It contained indeed nothing new, but in reading Whitely's simple narrative of the common incidents of a sugar plantation, the whole scene appeared to stand before the eye. The driver looking on with lazy indifference,—the piercing cries and supplications of the miserable negro woman brought out and tied down upon the

\* Three Months in Jamaica, by Henry Whitely. The certificates are given at the end of the pamphlet.

ground to receive her punishment,—the crack of the fearful cart-whip, — and the shriek of agony as it cut deep into the flesh,—appalling as the description was, yet no man could deny its truth. In four colonies, and these the best ordered, the planters had themselves sworn to the infliction of sixty-eight thousand punishments in two years. And let any man say how they could be inflicted, without these circumstances of horrible suffering and degradation.

The pamphlet spread abroad with wonderful rapidity. “Whitely,” says a letter to Northrepps, “nothing but Whitely, is the order of the day; the sensation it creates is immense; the printers can scarcely supply the demand. Mr. Pringle says ten thousand have been ordered to-day.” In short, within a fortnight’s time, nearly two hundred thousand copies were scattered abroad.

Eager as the leaders were to urge the Government forward, by turning upon them a strong pressure of popular opinion, they were at the same time most anxious to preserve their alliance, and keep them in the front of the movement, by every allowable concession. And the first concession which the Government required was the concurrence of the abolitionists in granting compensation to the planters.

On this question the opinions held by the Anti-slavery leaders were not those of the main body of their followers. The former maintained, that neither law nor custom could give one man a real claim to the possession of another; and, therefore, they could not admit that the planters had any *moral right* to compensation. On the other hand, they were both willing and desirous to give compensation, first, because they thought that a bonus to the planters was the best if not the only way of obtaining emancipation with safety to

all parties ; secondly, because they heartily desired that, while the negroes were set at liberty, the planters should not be exposed to a ruinous loss. But the greater number of their followers did not comprehend the real position of affairs. They were not aware of the relative strength of the three parties in Parliament, nor did they perceive that, unless a junction were effected with the Government, success could not be insured against the West Indians.

Carried away by their anxiety to do justice to the negro, they deemed all compromise, and all concession to his owner, a dereliction of principle ; nor could they endure the idea of striking a bargain with the oppressor. It is likely, also, that, in the minds of many, a feeling of personal hostility towards the planters had grown up during the long continuance of the contest. Mr. Buxton, therefore, and his more temperate coadjutors, had now to undertake that task which has so frequently dethroned the leaders of a popular movement,—that of teaching their followers to rein in their zeal.

It was determined that the idea of acquiescing in some system of compensation should be broached to the Anti-slavery Society at its approaching annual meeting. This meeting was held on the 2nd of April : Lord Suffolk was in the chair, while Mr. Buxton undertook the delicate task of introducing the proposal.

His friends listened with extreme anxiety as he commenced his speech : for a time he seemed to hover about the subject, as if shrinking from his task ; but at length he grappled boldly with it, and his appeal was met with apparently unanimous applause. He was ably followed by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Joseph J. Gurney, and others ; and their exertions appeared to be crowned with unexpected success.

But nothing can be more transient than such triumphs of oratory, which can only withdraw a party for an instant from its natural career. Smooth as the beginning seemed, at this point commenced divisions in the ranks of the abolitionists, and the seeds of discord were sown, which bore fruit in due season, though happily too late to be of injury to the cause.

But while the leaders of the Anti-slavery party made this concession to the Government, they still deemed it necessary to rally all their forces, and render their victory complete. The Government certainly was pledged to effect emancipation; but the details of their measure—how and when it was to be brought about—were still undetermined. Lord Goderich had been created Earl of Ripon, and Mr. Stanley had succeeded him as Secretary of the Colonies, while Lord Howick's place was supplied by Mr. J. Shaw Le Fevre. The change of hands in itself could not at such a momentous crisis be otherwise regarded than as a serious disadvantage. Mr. Buxton felt great anxiety as to the line that would be adopted by the new Colonial Secretary, and he watched for the first tokens of his feelings with no small solicitude. He greatly regretted the loss of Lord Howick from the Colonial Office; and he further apprehended that the change might imply an intention on the part of the Government to resist more steadily the growing pressure of Anti-slavery feeling in the country.

Nor was solicitude confined to Mr. Buxton and his friends. The Government had their full share of anxiety. Indeed Mr. Stanley's position, in the midst of so many conflicting interests, was one of great difficulty, and he found it necessary to postpone his motion till the 14th of May.

Now, therefore, when full success might be gained by

a vigorous effort, or lost if that effort were not made, now was the time to bring every force to bear, and to sweep away all obstacles by an irresistible impetus of public feeling. This was the moment to make the Government feel to what a pitch the hatred of slavery had risen. Nor was it difficult. The meeting in Exeter Hall, and the publication of Whitely's pamphlet, had led the way. These first steps were followed up by the most vigorous proceedings, under the direction chiefly of Mr. George Stephen and Mr. Pringle, whose services were of essential value at this critical juncture. Lectures were delivered in all the counties of the kingdom. Crowded meetings were everywhere held, and the friends of the cause bestirred themselves from one end of the country to the other. The newspapers and periodicals caught the enthusiasm. The cause of mercy seemed the cause of religion, and many of the clergy and dissenting ministers did not hesitate to urge upon their flocks the sinfulness of slavery, and the righteousness of joining heart and hand for its overthrow. The flame soon spread far and wide; from every corner of the land petitions poured in, breathing the earnest desires of the people; from Devonshire came five hundred, from West Essex three hundred; the number of signatures attached to the petitions presented this session were calculated to amount to nearly a million and a half; and just at this moment, when the ferment was highest, a step was taken which gave double effect to all the previous proceedings. A circular was addressed by the committee to the friends of the cause in every considerable town, requesting them to appoint delegates, who were to meet in London on the 18th of the month, to represent in person the wishes of the nation.

Mr. Buxton had been, with Mr. James Stephen,

spending a few of these eventful days in a delightful, and, as it proved, a farewell visit to Mr. Wilberforce, at his son's house at East Farleigh; but when the day for the assembling of the delegates drew near, he returned to town, and again plunged into the whirlpool of affairs. During the heat of the conflict, the rush of business at his house can hardly be imagined. As he usually returned late from the House, and slept very badly, he was rarely down in the morning till 10 or 11 o'clock, and long before he had finished dressing, the applicants for admission began to pour in. To him, as the Anti-slavery leader, every one who had any connection with the utmost border of the subject felt at liberty to apply. Besides his London coadjutors in the cause, he was often visited by those who had been active in promoting it in the country, and who wished for his advice or encouragement. Then there were people from the West Indies, teeming with complaints, arguments, and information—some come in the hope of convincing him by their individual experience that he was all in the wrong; some to confirm his impression that he was all in the right; angry planters come to expostulate; missionaries, teachers, and negroes come to lay their cases before him, or to supply him with intelligence. His house, which had before been a kind of depôt of Anti-slavery petitions, was now half-filled with them; in every corner they lay in heaps, with letters and papers from all parts of England. Anxious consultations were going on among the leaders of the party in London. The call for delegates had been answered to an unexpected extent; and the question now arose how most prudently and effectively to wield the force about to join them. Nor was the moment unattended with anxiety. It was very doubtful whether so many earnest advocates could be

brought to act in concert; each had his own conscientious scruples; and does there exist anything more wayward and hard to manage than the conscience of a scrupulous Englishman? They were not unlikely to mistake matters of expedience for matters of principle, and, in particular, to think that it would be a crime to give the planter compensation, however much the interests of the negro might require the concession. "People's principles are the greatest nuisances in life," playfully exclaimed Mr. Buxton, when he returned from the first meeting of 330 delegates in Exeter Hall. It was an occasion which called forth all his tact and powers of argument; but the delegates, strong and independent as their views were, placed a generous confidence in their leaders, and a sufficient degree of unanimity was at length obtained.

It was necessary to frame an address to the Premier which should embody their sentiments. This difficult task fell to the lot of Mr. J. J. Gurney, and the paper which he prepared received a cordial assent. On the ensuing day they met again in Exeter Hall, and proceeded in a body to Downing Street. Drawn as they had been from almost every place of note in the United Kingdom, they included in their ranks men of every calling and denomination; among them were to be seen, we are told, "merchants, squires, bankers, magistrates, clergymen, and dissenting ministers." Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley received them; and after Mr. Samuel Gurney had read the address and commented on it, Mr. Buxton stepped forward and pointed out the extent of the movement which had sent the delegates thither. "This, my lord," said he, "is the deputy from Cork,—this is the one from Belfast; these are from Edinburgh, those from Dundee; this gentleman is

from Aberdeen, that from Carmarthen; these are the delegates from Bristol, those from Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield; these from York and Leeds," &c.

It cannot be doubted that this manifestation had a great effect on the Government; it was the first occasion on which public feeling so emphatically expressed itself, and it was felt to be called forth by no ordinary earnestness of purpose. Mr. Stanley afterwards acknowledged its importance, but, at the time, he gave no further pledge than that he would not again postpone his motion. With this the applicants were, for the present, compelled to be satisfied. They retired, and on the same day dined together. When the cloth was removed, Mr. Buxton spoke with great feeling, expatiating more than was usual with him on his deep sense of the Providence that had attended their course, as well as on the hopes for the future, and the motives and principles by which they ought to be governed. He ended with "gladly seizing a long-wished-for opportunity of bearing testimony to the merits of the real leader of this cause — the Anti-slavery tutor of us all — Mr. Macaulay."

## CHAPTER XX.

SLAVERY. 1833.

DEBATE, MAY 14.—MR. STANLEY'S SPEECH.—RESOLUTIONS PASSED.—  
BLAME ATTRIBUTED TO MR. BUXTON.—LETTERS.—BILL BROUGHT  
IN.—DEBATE ON APPRENTICESHIP.—ON COMPENSATION.—PROGRESS  
OF THE BILL THROUGH THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—THROUGH THE  
HOUSE OF LORDS.—PASSED.—LETTERS.

THE Government plan was now expected with the utmost anxiety. In the interval, Mr. Buxton, who stood much in need of rest and quiet, retreated with his daughters to a fishing cottage at Dagenham Beach, near the Thames, belonging to Mr. Fry. This could be reached only by water, and afforded the most perfect seclusion. "We trust," writes one of the party, "not to see the face of a visitor nor the direction of a letter till Monday the 13th." Dr. Lushington remained in town to watch the progress of affairs. Many contradictory reports were afloat, and Mr. Buxton's brief holiday was spent in deep meditation on the course he should pursue. His eldest daughter thus writes from Dagenham:—

"Saturday, May 11. 1833.

"Here we are in our singular retirement, living out of doors on the rich bank, which is overflowing with grass and flowers, and watching the hundreds of fine ships, which from here seem to float among the fields; but when we climb the bank, there lies the river stretched out—its lovely reaches glittering in the sun. We have tasted some real enjoyment in the exuberance of spring in this place; but far more in seeing my dear father

wandering about without his hat for hours together. He has, I fear, been reflecting too deeply during these walks. A set of harassing letters came from London yesterday, which immediately gave him a sharp headache."

At last the 14th of May arrived. Mr. Buxton afterwards told his daughter, that just as they were going off to the House on that memorable evening—perhaps the most memorable of his life—he had reached his study door, when he went back to have one look at his Bible. It opened on the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, and he read those two verses, "If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon day; and the Lord shall guide thee continually," &c. "The remembrance of them preserved me," he said, "from being in the least anxious the whole evening; I felt so sure the promise would be fulfilled to me, 'The Lord shall guide thee continually.'"

The proceedings of the evening commenced with the presentation of a huge petition from the females of Great Britain. The scene is thus described in the *Mirror of Parliament*:—

"Mr. Fowell Buxton, on presenting the petition from the females of Great Britain, said, 'Ten days ago this petition was not prepared; it was not even in contemplation: but within that short period, without any solicitation whatever, it has received from all parts of the country through which it has been circulated, no less than 187,000 signatures. I wish to consult you, Sir, as to the manner in which I am to get it to the table, for it is so heavy that I really am unable to carry it.'

"The Speaker, 'If the hon. gentleman cannot bring up the petition himself, he must procure the assistance of some other members of the House.'

"Three hon. members then went out with Mr. Buxton, and by the united exertions of the four, the petition was brought in

and placed upon the table," (as we are told elsewhere,) "amidst the laughter and cheers of the house."\*

Mr. Stanley then opened the debate. He had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month, yet he showed that, vast as the subject was, he had in that short time completely mastered its details, had become conversant with all its dangers and difficulties, and was prepared to settle it for ever. He began by noticing the depth and extent of public feeling upon the question of slavery, and that this feeling had its source in religious principle.

"There is," he said, "throughout the country, from one end of it to the other, a determination, a determination the more absolute and irresistible, because it is founded in that deep religious feeling, on that solemn conviction of principle, which admits of no palliative or compromise, and which has declared itself in a voice to which no minister can be deaf, and which no man who watches the signs of the times can misunderstand."

He then entered into the history of the case, pointing out how confidently Parliament had looked for the co-operation of the colonial legislatures, and that in these expectations "the country had been grievously disappointed."

\* This bulky document was the result of a very simple movement. A short form of petition was sent through the country with the intimation that, if sheets of signatures were sent in by Monday the 13th, they would be appended to the original in London. The time being so short, many answers to this appeal were not anticipated, but by the appointed day they poured in from all parts of the country in numbers almost unmanageable.

The preparation of the petition is thus described by a member of the Ladies' Committee:—"We were hard at work at it from ten in the morning till past nine at night. The two petitions became enormous; much heavier than we could move, or even roll over, so we had two men to each, tureens of paste, and everything in proportion. They were like two great feather beds. One broke entirely to pieces, and we had to begin it all again, so we kept bracing them with broad tape, and at last they were sewn up, each in a great sacking, and sent off, the one to Lord Suffield, the other to Mr. Buxton, for presentation."

“The voice,” he said, “of friendly warning—the voice of authority has been found to be in vain. Not a single step has been taken by any one of the colonial legislatures with a view to the extinction of negro slavery.”

After asserting the right of the mother country to legislate for the colonies, he proceeded to show that the distresses of the colonists were not owing “to the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists,” and the discussion of the slavery question in Parliament; and he read documents to prove that those distresses existed to the same extent, not only before slavery was discussed, but even in the days of the slave-trade.

He then entered forcibly into the arguments founded on the rapid decrease of population, and the immense amount of punishments with the whip, proving the pregnant and dreadful fact, that, as the population diminished, the number of stripes increased.

“We are told,” he said, “that the slaves at the present moment are unfitted for the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; that they have no domestic ties and no habits of industry; that they do not provide for their wants, and would not provide for their families; that they have no forethought, no discretion; and that, in short, they would be totally ruined, were you to throw them loose upon the world. \* \* \* Sir, it is slavery which debars them from acquiring industrious habits; it is slavery which prevents them from exercising the virtues of foresight and prudence; it is slavery which leaves them nothing to labour for; it is slavery which takes away from them all the incentives to industrious labour, which debars them from all the ties of social intercourse; and then you declare them to be ignorant of the duties of social life,—that they have no foresight, no industry, no prudence, no discretion, and therefore they must continue in a state of slavery!”

Up to this point Mr. Buxton and Dr. Lushington had been listening to the speech with satisfaction and

delight. The very principles, the very facts, the very arguments which they had for years been endeavouring to impress upon the House, they had now heard enforced from the Treasury Bench, with the splendid eloquence of Mr. Stanley.\*

But when Mr. Stanley turned from the general principles on which he proposed to act, to his scheme for their application, the feelings of the advocates of the negro underwent a painful change. His plan contained the following main propositions, — some good, some, as they conceived, fraught with evil.

That slavery be abolished throughout the British dominions.

But that the present slaves should be apprenticed for a certain period of time to their former owners; that is, should be bound to labour for their former masters during three-fourths of the day, the master in return supplying them with food and clothing.

Part of the slave's value would be secured in this way to his former owner. The remainder was to be paid by England in the shape of a loan of 15,000,000*l.* sterling (afterwards changed to a gift of twenty millions).

All children under six years old were to be at once set completely free. Stipendiary magistrates were to be appointed to carry out these measures, and provision

\* In reference to Mr. Stanley's adoption and illustration of their sentiments, Mr. Buxton afterwards quoted Cowper's lines to Mrs. Courtenay:—

“ My numbers that evening she sung,  
And gave them a grace so divine,  
As only her musical tongue  
Could infuse into numbers of mine.  
The longer I heard, I esteemed  
The work of my fancy the more,  
And e'en to myself never seemed  
So tuneful a poet before.”

was to be made for the religious and moral training of the negro population.

The negro was to be liable to corporal punishment if he refused to give his due portion of labour.

When Mr. Stanley had announced the resolutions of which these were the leading features, their further discussion was adjourned to the 30th of May.

Upon the whole, Mr. Buxton was satisfied with the result of the evening, for although some of the proposed arrangements were utterly distasteful to him, he looked forward to great modifications of the obnoxious clauses during the progress of the bill through Parliament. According to his invariable practice, he laid the matter before God in frequent and earnest prayer.

The following was the substance of his supplications at family prayers, on the second morning after the announcement of the Government measure: —

“ We beseech thee, O Lord, to be thyself the champion of the captives; their champion, yet not the avenger of their sufferings. We pray thee so to assist this great work, that it may be the means of spreading temporal peace, ease, and industry among the negroes, and of leading them spiritually to the knowledge of God, that by it millions may be brought into thy happy fold. And for those who have laboured in this good and great work, may their reward be in the outpouring of thy Spirit; may they live in thy light, and may their darkness be removed for ever; may the Lord guide them continually; may their soul be like a watered garden, and may they be satisfied in drought. Bless the country that shall make this amazing sacrifice.

“ And now I desire to return thanks unto thee, O Lord, for the great mercies thou hast shown us; that thou hast turned the hearts of those who have influence and power, and made them to be labourers in the cause of the oppressed. We thank thee, that thou, at length, hast shown thine own power and come forth.”

The discussion of the resolutions occupied the House till the 12th of June. At this point the grand object of the Anti-slavery leaders was to see the Government and Parliament fully committed to the measure. "For," said Mr. Buxton, "were an amendment on this plan to be moved and carried, and we were in consequence to lose this measure altogether, an insurrection would inevitably take place, and I confess I cannot with firmness contemplate so horrible a termination of slavery."\* Therefore while protesting against the apprenticeship, they abstained from dividing the House upon it till the principle of the bill had been admitted. They also acquiesced in the grant of compensation to the planters. On the clause relating to the moral and religious instruction of the negroes:—

"I shall move," said Mr. Buxton, "as an amendment, the words which have been used by the Right Hon. Secretary in his speech, namely that the system of instruction shall be conducted, not on exclusive, not on intolerant, but on 'liberal and comprehensive principles.'† I am the more anxious on this point, as I know, on the one hand, the extreme animosity of the colonists to all religious teachers of their slaves except those of the Church of England, while on the other, I know the vast benefits which the dissenting missionaries have imparted, and are likely to impart, to the negro population. I think a system of perfect and unbounded toleration ought to prevail in the West Indies as in England."

But the main features of the plan were, "apprenticeship for the negro," and "compensation to the planters;"

\* *Mirror of Parliament*, June, 1833.

† The words were inserted, but when the bill came before the Lords the Duke of Wellington moved their omission as an amendment: it was, however, negatived. "Were you not much amused," Mr. Buxton wrote at the time, "to see the Duke of Wellington's protest against my words, 'liberal and comprehensive?' This did us real service, giving fifty-fold emphasis to the terms, and preventing the possibility of their being forgotten."

and these were so extremely obnoxious to the more vehement abolitionists, that Mr. Buxton was most severely blamed for having acquiesced in the principle of a measure of which these formed an essential part. He should, they said, have at once gone to war with the Government. But his own deliberate opinion was, that if this measure were refused no other would be obtained ; and therefore he was most anxious to modify rather than to reject it. Dr. Lushington took the same view, and by degrees they had the satisfaction of finding that all their original coadjutors acquiesced in its prudence.

But the Anti-slavery movement was outstripping its leaders. In so large and zealous a body as that which now followed them, there could not but be many so earnestly bent on the success of their cause as to be unable to heed the obstacles which still blocked the way, and who,

“ Forgetting  
That policy, expecting not clear gain,  
Deals ever in alternatives,”\*

looked with extreme jealousy on the slightest concessions made by their chiefs. And thus the party quickly fell into two sections, one of which was ready to make any reasonable sacrifice in order to attain success, while the other firmly opposed all compromise, looking on it as a breach of principle. This latter section, dissatisfied with the moderate counsels of the original committee, had already established another of its own, under the name of the “ Agency Committee.”

There soon appeared in the newspapers a resolution purporting to come from this committee, in which Mr. Buxton was severely condemned ; and indeed his fidelity to the cause more than questioned.

\* Philip Van Artevelde

This proceeding, authoritative as it professed to be, proved afterwards to have been the production of only two individuals. On first hearing of it he was naturally hurt and indignant; but with him it was easy to forgive a personal slight, when it sprang from zeal for the slave. Instead of expressing any resentment, he wrote those two individuals a letter, in which he calmly pointed out how entirely they had mistaken his views, and expostulated in mild terms against the severity of their censure.

But when a certain member of Parliament thought to ingratiate himself with his constituency by calling Mr. Buxton to account, through the medium of the public press, for his anxiety to keep terms with the Government, he addressed him as follows:—

“Sir,

Dagenham, June 17. 1833.

“The undoubted zeal and honesty in the cause of the abolition of slavery, of the two gentlemen who, in the name of the Agency Committee, passed and published the resolution of the 13th of June, called for an explanation from me, and I have given it, by showing that they had misconceived the facts, and had ascribed language to me which I never used.

“But what title *you* may have to demand an explanation of my conduct, through the medium of the newspapers, still remains a mystery to me.

“For ten long years we have been fighting the arduous battle of the Anti-slavery cause. You never offered us that assistance which we should have so thankfully received—you never touched that heavy burden with one of your fingers; the first and the last manifestation of your zeal occurred on the eve of the election of 1832, and even that was not of the most unequivocal description,—it was not an offer on your part to serve the cause, but an entreaty that the cause might serve you.

“You have a right in the House of Commons to question my Parliamentary conduct. I shall be in my place to-morrow at

twelve o'clock, and shall be happy to hear, and anxious to reply to, your accusation.

“Your obedient servant,

“T. FOWELL BUXTON.”

To a vote of censure passed on him by a committee in the country, he thus replied : —

London, June, 1833.

“Our cause, I trust and believe, is essentially prospering. Patience and confidence we cannot perhaps expect from lookers-on; but we are not therefore absolved from our duty to God and the negro race to act according to the best of our judgments and consciences, and this I can safely affirm I, at least, have done. My character is of very little consequence. Indeed, had I not long ago learnt that I must sacrifice that, as well as almost all else, to this cause, I should, between my foes and my friends, have led a very unhappy life. But I have learnt that, severe as is the task of incurring the displeasure of those I esteem, my duty frequently calls for it, and I acknowledge myself amenable to no human tribunal in this cause. \* \* \* Pray believe that I write in perfect good humour; but it is necessary I should be independent, and independent I will be, or how can I give an account of my stewardship?”

He details some time afterwards his own justification of his conduct to Mr. Joseph Sturge : —

“After Sturge had acknowledged the purity of my motives, he added, ‘But it cannot be denied that you acted against the wish of many of the delegates; and if you had stood firm the planters would have got no compensation.’ ‘Perhaps so,’ said I; ‘they no compensation, and we no extinction of slavery: or rather it would have been extinguished by a rebellion. Besides what right had they to expect that I would follow their opinion when I thought it wrong? I protest I would rather sweep the streets than enter Parliament pledged to do just as they bid me. Happy am I that I never was servant to those who admit my motives, and yet almost denounce me for my conduct. I serve a Master in this matter who will receive my intentions in lieu of my acts, and pardon the errors of my judgment in consideration of the purity of my motives.’ I added, ‘You and I differ

in our principle; you hold by abstract justice, I consider myself the counsel of the negro. I will either speak or hold my tongue, agitate or not stir a finger, as the interests of the negro may require."

In the midst of these attacks, it was most cheering to Mr. Buxton to receive assurances of sympathy and approbation from those veterans of the cause whose opinions he most highly valued.

Mr. Wilberforce thus expresses himself to Mr. W. Smith: —

"Bath, June 25. 1833.

"I have but one moment to-day at my command, but I cannot bear to remain silent, when your letter touches a string which vibrates in my inmost soul. I feel more indignant than I can well express at the unworthy treatment dear honest Buxton has experienced. Even had he been mistaken in his judgment, yet, knowing the purity of his motives, and the zeal, and the anxiety, and the labour which he has been experiencing, any liberal man would have taken him to his bosom, and endeavoured to cheer and to comfort him. I entirely concur with you as to our true policy."

One of the letters to Northrepps Cottage says —

"The career of victory has been mixed with many personal humiliations and mortifications; and now the Anti-slavery people are so violently turned against my father for not voting against the twenty millions that they can hardly find words to express their displeasure. I must say that his spirit through all is wonderful. He is as uninfluenced by the attacks of friends as of foes, and goes straight on to his mark with a degree of firmness which, considering it is unaided by that very supporting quality, natural obstinacy, seems almost incomprehensible.

"Every day he receives violent letters of censure, from one party for voting for the money, from another for saying the planters have no right to it; but he is under such a deep and powerful impulse for the good of his cause, that nothing else touches him. He seems to be devoted to it in a way that renders him insensible to minor influences, and reminds one of

the description of Howard, in Foster's *Essay on Decision of Character*. Self is strangely forgotten by him; not subdued or resisted, but genuinely forgotten."

When Mr. Stanley's bill was brought in, Mr. Buxton was disappointed to find that it retained the obnoxious points in full force. He writes:—

"London, July 6. 1833.

"I do not think our slavery matters are going on very well. The Government are going to bring in their bill to-night. It retains the apprenticeship for twelve years, which makes me very indignant, and would make me very unhappy, if I did not indulge the hope that we shall be able to beat them out of it in committee."

*To Thomas Pringle, Esq.*

"July 16.

"In all our deliberations at this moment, the first question which arises is, at what stage of the bill we ought to make our opposition to it.

"I am decidedly of opinion that it ought *not* to be on the second reading. It seems to me that, in the first place, we ought to muster all our strength for an occasion on which we *could* hope to be victorious, and this we certainly *could not* on the second reading. Moderate men of all parties would tremble at the idea of throwing the bill out.

"Secondly, because I think, even if we *could* we *ought not* to throw out a bill of this kind, and at this period of the session, till we see what is done to it in committee; for though we know the sentiments of ministers, we do not know those of Parliament. I should be exceedingly terrified at the idea of throwing out the bill without giving it this chance; an awful conclusion might ensue, and it behoves us to give no vote which, in that event, we could not review with satisfaction. *The good of the negroes* ought to be our sole guide, and I cannot believe, if they could judge, they would wish us to throw out this bill on the second reading.

"We must allow no feelings to interfere with this great principle,—no subordinate motives, no want of lavish liberality,—supposing our object really gained. Then, in committee, we

must muster all our strength for the most vigorous opposition to the objectionable clauses, and if we direct it judiciously and exert it fully, I feel a great hope of gaining our point.

“I hope my friends distinctly understand that my point is to overthrow the apprenticeship at the price of the twenty millions.

“To this end, I think, all our efforts should be directed; and the committee seems to me the right time for making our attack.”

According to that plan of operations which had excited so much angry feeling, Mr. Stanley's bill was allowed to pass through the second reading undisputed, but no sooner had it come under committee than the battle began.

The first and most important struggle was on the duration of the apprenticeship.\* Mr. Buxton moved an amendment for limiting it to the shortest period necessary for establishing the system of free labour, and suggested the term of one year; “for,” he said, “if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how any one can suppose that we shall be able to obtain the labour of the negroes, is to me unintelligible.”

After a spirited debate the amendment was lost, though only by a minority of seven; but as Lord Howick observed, the first fruits of the discussion were gathered the next day, when Mr. Stanley consented, in deference to the wishes of the House, to reduce the period of apprenticeship from twelve to seven years.

In the course of the debate, on the 24th inst., Mr. Stanley “warned his honourable friend (the member for Weymouth), that any expression falling from him would come upon the minds of the negroes with much greater

\* July 24. See Mirror of Parliament for the course of the Slavery Bill.

weight than any similar expression coming from any other person.”

In his reply, Mr. Buxton said :—

“ The right honourable gentleman has done me the honour to say, that the language which I hold towards the negroes may have some influence upon them. If I thought that were the case,—if indeed the faintest echo of my voice could ever reach them—most earnestly, most emphatically, would I implore them, by every motive of duty, gratitude, and self-interest, to do their part towards the peaceful termination of their bondage. I would say to them, ‘ The time of your deliverance is at hand ; let that period be sacred, let it be defiled by no outrage, let it be stained by no blood, let not the hair of the head of a single planter be touched. Make any sacrifice, bear any indignity, submit to any privation, rather than raise your hand against any white man. Continue to wait and to work patiently ; trust implicitly to that great nation and paternal government who are labouring for your release. Preserve peace and order to the utmost of your power,—obey the laws, both before and at the time of your liberation,—and when that period shall arrive, fulfil the expectations of your friends in England, and the promises they have made in your name, by the most orderly, diligent, and dutiful conduct ! ’ ”

When the question of compensation came under discussion, Mr. Buxton was strongly urged to oppose it, as the apprenticeship clauses had not been given up. The difficulties that beset him are thus described \* :—

“ Mr. Stanley declares that if any point is carried against him regarding the grant he will throw up the bill ; whether or not to run this risk is now the very point of the matter, and numerous are the dilemmas the question involves. We had quite a levee this morning ; Messrs. Pringle, Cropper, Sturge, Moorson, and George Stephen, all came in at breakfast-time, and my father made them a speech, telling them that on such a difficult and critical point he would never enter the House with his hands tied. They wanted him to promise to fight the money

\* Letters to Northrepps Cottage.

battle, and to defeat Mr. Stanley, if possible. He will not promise to do any such thing, and says he must be at full liberty to act according to the discretion of the moment. They went away to deliberate upon it, and it is now time to go down to the House again. He told me he trusted but in one thing—‘The Lord shall guide thy steps.’”

In the division which followed, Mr. Buxton voted for the grant of 20,000,000*l.* to the planters\*, “as giving the best chance and the fairest prospect of a peaceful termination of slavery,” but he moved as an amendment that one-half of that sum should not be paid till the apprenticeship should have terminated. He thought this would act as a check upon the planters in their treatment of the apprentices. This amendment was thrown out.

Mr. Buxton thus writes to a friend on the 1st of August:—

“I must tell you how comfortable and happy I feel to-day. Last night at twelve o’clock we got through the committee; the bill, therefore, for the abolition of slavery must pass this session, and may Providence make it a blessing to millions. We were defeated upon my proposal to hold back half the money till the apprenticeship was over. Stanley declared that if we carried that proposal he would throw up the bill. I thought it right, however, to persevere, but I must confess that I should have felt anxious if we had obtained a victory. The newspapers give but a wretched report of the debate, which was one of the best we ever had.

“Upon the whole I went to bed well pleased. To-morrow night we have the report, and on Monday the third reading. How grand it is to be so near the top of the mountain, which it has taken ten years to climb!”

\* The following afternoon his sister, Mrs. Forster, asked him “if he had not acted hastily in giving his vote for compensation?” “No,” replied he, slowly rising off the sofa, and speaking with great deliberation, “No: I would do the same again. I did it to save bloodshed; that was my motive, and I am glad I did it.”

The joy with which the abolitionists looked forward to the speedy termination of their labours in behalf of the slaves was tempered by an event of deep interest to them,—the death of Mr. Wilberforce. The great leader expired on Monday the 29th of July, having, shortly before his death, exclaimed with fervour, “Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery.”

The announcement of his death was received by the House of Commons, then in the midst of the discussion on compensation, with peculiar feeling. Mr. Buxton referred to the event, and, in expressing his love and admiration for the character of Mr. Wilberforce, applied to him the beautiful lines of Cowper:—

“A veteran warrior in the Christian field,  
Who never saw the sword he could not wield;  
Who, when occasion justified its use,  
Had wit, as bright as ready, to produce;  
Could draw from records of an earlier age,  
Or from Philosophy’s enlighten’d page,  
His rich material—and regale the ear  
With strains it was a luxury to hear.”

On the 7th of August, 1833, the Bill for the Total Abolition of Colonial Slavery passed the Lower House.

“The bill has already passed the House of Commons two or three hours,” writes Miss Buxton to Mr. Macaulay; “would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer, that my father might have taken back to him *fulfilled*, the task he gave him ten years ago!”

Mr. Buxton writes on the following day:—

“London, Aug. 8.

“I have been intensely engaged in winding up, or watching the winding up, of this the main object of my life. The bill passed its third reading last night, and I cannot but feel deeply relieved and thankful, great as are its faults. May a blessing

be with it! The fullest toleration we have, I trust, obtained. And now the thing is done; and all the duty respecting it which remains for us is to do our utmost to render both the people of England and the negroes satisfied with it, and to labour for the religious instruction of the latter."

The bill now went with little delay through the House of Lords. Mr. Buxton thus alludes to Lord Suffield's exertions on that occasion:—

"When the bill reached the Upper House, Lord Suffield's task was of the most difficult and laborious kind. Dr. Lushington and I, and some others used to go and spend hour after hour at the bar of the House of Lords, watching our friend in his arduous conflict; and I find that scarcely any one of the many memorable scenes and incidents of that session has left so strong an impression upon my memory, as witnessing his unsupported but determined struggle over each clause of the bill, as it passed through the Committee of the whole House."

"On Tuesday, the 20th," writes Miss Buxton, "was the third reading in the Lords. Dr. Lushington came in afterwards, unexpectedly, to dinner; he was just setting off for his holidays, and seemed very much pleased with the events of the session, which he discussed in the most lively manner. Lord Althorp said to him in the House, a few days ago, 'Well! you and Buxton have wielded a power too great for any individuals in this House. I hope we shall never see such another instance.' Among other incidents, it was mentioned that one day, in the House of Lords, Lord Grey went up to my father to speak to him about yielding the 'removal' question. The Duke of Wellington said, 'I see what the influence is under which you are; and if that individual is to have more power than Lords and Commons both, we may as well give up the bill.' All the Commons' ministers who were standing there were highly entertained."

*T. F. Buxton, Esq., to Zachary Macaulay, Esq.*

"My dear Friend,

"August 20. 1833.

"Priscilla will tell you what was done last night in the Lords' Committee. The result was, that after two or three rather mis-

chievous alterations the report passed. The Government told me that the Tories had collected their strength and were determined to throw out the bill. No symptoms, however, of such infatuation appeared. So now we are nearly at the end of our labours. I must confess I am, if not quite satisfied, exceedingly well pleased. I look back to the letter which you and I wrote to Lord Bathurst in 1823, containing our demands, twelve in number. Bad as the bill is, it accomplishes every one of these, and a great deal more. Among the rest, the day is fixed after which slavery shall not be!

\* \* \* \* \*

“Surely you have reason to rejoice. My sober and deliberate opinion is, that you have done more towards this consummation than any other man. For myself, I take pleasure in acknowledging that you have been my tutor all the way through, and that I could have done nothing without you. \* \* \* This should and must cheer you. It has pleased Providence to send you sore afflictions, but hundreds of thousands of human beings will have reason here and hereafter to thank God that your zeal never slackened, and that you were enabled to labour on against difficulties and obstacles, of which no one perhaps, except myself, knew the extent; dragging to light one abomination after another, till the moral and religious feeling of the country would endure such crimes no longer. So cheer up.

“I continue very well. This session has done me less mischief than any former one. We have had something to console us, and we knew but very little of that kind of fare in former times,

“Ever yours very truly,

“T. FOWELL BUXTON.”

On the 28th of August the bill for the abolition of British Slavery received the royal assent. Mr. Buxton sent a copy of it to Mr. Clarkson, with the following letter:—

“My dear Sir,

“Northrepps Hall, Sept. 22. 1833.

“I cannot forward to you the enclosed Act without a line to inquire how you are, and to say how sincerely I trust you are really cheered and happy in the contemplation of the *Abolition*

*of slavery!* I am sure you ought to be, for you have greatly contributed towards it. I always think your pamphlet, which first gave us the *true tone*, was of most essential importance to our cause. Such as it is, it is done; and I do more and more think we ought to be very grateful and satisfied. It is a mighty experiment at best; but we must trust that it will answer to the full, and be as it were the pulling away of the corner-stone of slavery throughout the world.

“I should be delighted to hear *your* opinion of the measures.

“Yours very faithfully,

“T. F. BUXTON.”

“Dear Mr. Buxton,

“Playford Hall, Sept. 25. 1838.

“I received your letter the day before yesterday, and I can truly say in answer to it, that I am immeasurably, more than I can express, thankful to God for that rich display of his mercy, which at length, in his own good time, he has vouchsafed to manifest to the long-lost children of the African race. That the bill is not entirely what I wished, I have no objection to confess; but yet I am thankful, inexpressibly thankful, for it.

“I tremble to think what might have been the consequences, if you had refused the proposals of Government. What would another administration have done, had it been left to them? We may judge of this by the speeches of the Duke of Wellington last session. \* \* \*

“Yours most truly,

“T. CLARKSON.”

## CHAPTER XXI.

1833, 1834.

LETTERS.—GOOD ACCOUNTS FROM THE WEST INDIES.—BARON ROTHSCHILD.—OCCUPATIONS OF THE SPRING AND SUMMER.—ENDEAVOURS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NEGROES.—REV. J. M. TREW.—THE DAY OF FREEDOM, AUGUST 1. 1834.—CONDUCT OF THE NEGROES.—LETTERS.

Now that slavery had fallen, Mr. Buxton looked forward with delight to the leisure which lay before him. The autumn proved, however, to be one of much sorrow. Early in September, the eldest son of Mr. Hoare, a young man of the highest promise\*, began to sink under consumption; and closely as the two families were linked together, the blow which fell upon the one was felt almost as keenly by the other. It is to this event that the following letters refer:—

*To Samuel Hoare, Esq.*

“Northrepps Hall, Sept. 1. 1833.

“Your letter was very painful, and made us very truly and very bitterly sympathise with you. I know by sorrowful experience how much is to be endured, and how many tormenting changes there are in the disease. There is, however, one part of his case which is liable neither to anxiety nor change. He has built upon a rock. A century hence it will signify nothing whether at this time he was stronger or weaker in body; but it will then and for ever after be a matter of the greatest moment that he held a certain and just hope of eternal life through Christ.

“I had intended to have divided a great part of this day between you and myself—that is, between a review of your

\* See Mr. Buxton's letter to him in 1827.

circumstances and of my own mind, which particularly wants setting to rights. It is difficult to say what I mean, so as to be understood, but I find there is such a thing as bringing the mind actually to partake of the cares and sorrows of those we love, and eating the same bread which is before them. However, my intentions were frustrated. We have had a terrible storm: three at least, I fear five or six, vessels have foundered at sea, and all hands lost. I started after church, and rode to Sheringham, by the sands, and then to Weybourne, where I found a Weymouth vessel, on shore. I saw in this excursion eleven vessels on shore, but all lives were saved. I did not get home till half-past eight o'clock. The storm is much abated now, but it has had a strange effect among the trees. It is impossible to walk about the wood at the back of the house, or down to the cottage, except in the broad daylight, so many trees are overturned. So ends this 1st of September. I have, I hope, arranged that some birds shall be slain for you to-morrow; but I must be excused at present, I am in no great mind for shooting."

*To Mrs. Samuel Hoare.*

"Northrepps Hall, Sept. 8. 1833.

"This has been but a low and gloomy day here, as well as at Hampstead. I think that we have felt as sorely and as much shared your sorrows, as if we had been on the spot. We have been in a state of much dejection since our return home, and very remarkable it has been. I had made up my mind for months that this was to be a first-rate holiday. I was to throw off my arms and my armour, and forget slavery, except now and then as a relish. In short, it was to be my business to be merry and happy at a great rate. The event has not been such. I have tried to shoot, but made only a poor hand of that. However, to-day I got rather near true comfort, and was able to ask, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God!' And I do see in the event before us great stores of comfort. Nothing less than the greatest comfort would avail; for I do not disguise from myself, that, all things considered (wife, father, mother, station, prospects of usefulness), it is an affliction of no common kind. Yet dark as it is, and strongly as it proclaims that all the glory