

of man is as the flower of the grass, still there is that in it which tells us to gird up the loins of our mind and rejoice and be glad. After all, in reason as well as in faith, it is no such miserable thing to be somewhat nearer than we supposed we were to that inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, and glorious, which Christ has provided for His own. But, my dearest sister, I shall consume my paper and my time before I come to the point about which I wish to write. I hope you do not allow yourself to give way to that self-tormenting delusion of unavailing regrets and repentances, as if you had not done all that you might. I think it is a narrow view to suppose that minor matters have had any weighty influence. I believe the sickness came from the hand of God, and that he also ordained the treatment you should resort to. I believe from first to last it was His doing, and this consideration is sufficient to stifle all complaint as to the event, and all remorse as to the means. Pray do not give way to any regrets, but accept the event as wholly coming from God, and as wholly merciful, and fraught with blessings. I cannot say how deeply and tenderly I feel for each of you."

*To the same.*

"Oct. 6. 1833.

" \* \* \* In my own afflictions, I have never known how to get any peace, except by taking hold implicitly of the great truths of Scripture. Is God a God of infinite mercy, not willingly afflicting us, but sending our sorrows as a precious and health-bearing medicine? I am told, and I believe it, that all which He does is done in love. Here, then, is solid comfort. Secure that our Physician knows what is best for us, and does it, a stop seems put to all idle complaints of the sharpness or bitterness of the remedy. The answer to them all is, 'It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth him good.' It seems hardly worth while to puzzle one's self why He does so and so. He has expressly said 'What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' There is too another way of silencing and stifling grief. The apostle gives us the argument in a perfect form. 'We faint not,' he says, 'for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' There is something quite irresistible in this. The affliction, whatever it may be, and

however sad in itself, and while we limit our view to it, is in reason, as well as in faith, light as compared with the weight, short as compared with the eternity of that joy and that glory, which are prepared for the followers of Christ. Look at the things which are seen, narrow our thoughts to the pains and disappointments which unexpectedly break in upon us, and there seems no room for peace; but look at the things which are not seen, let one's mind range through a boundless eternity, remember that we have the promise of God that there we shall find that He has provided for us beyond what eye has seen or imagination conceived; and then to be over anxious as to what may befall us in the present hour, and to be diffident whether our merciful Master can and will compensate us for our present trials, seems to be want of sense and reason. \* \* \* After all we have nothing to say, in cases of human suffering and disappointment, but one thing, but that one thing carries with it supreme and all-sufficient comfort,—namely, that Christ died for us, and hath, *actually hath*, begotten us again to a lively hope, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for you and yours.”

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Great anxiety now began to be felt as to the manner in which the Emancipation Act might have been received in the West Indies. The accounts of this event at length arrived, and proved to be highly satisfactory. The planters had received the new law without irritation, the negroes without excitement or insubordination, and the colonial legislatures immediately prepared to carry it into effect on the following 1st of August.

“ Northrepps Hall, Dec. 29. 1833.

“ In turning to my prayers for the slavery cause on last new year's day, I cannot but acknowledge that they have been most signally and surprisingly fulfilled. Thou, O Lord, hast stood forth its advocate; Thou hast controlled events, and disposed the nation to the accomplishment of liberty, and that liberty in peace; and peaceful liberty to the slave has been accompanied

by increased prosperity to the master; every word of that prayer has been accomplished, and I bless thee for thy signal bounty."

On the 17th of March Mr. Stanley gave a most satisfactory account in the House of the continued tranquillity and prosperity of the West Indies, while awaiting the day of freedom. Mr. Buxton is described as "full of joy at Mr. Stanley's speech; he says, 'I go to sleep thinking of it; I wake thinking of it.'" Some one said to him in the House in reference to Mr. Stanley's statement, "This is worth living for, and dying for." Indeed the cordial tone of his coadjutors, and of his late opponents also, was most gratifying to him.

Lord Suffield writes on this occasion:—

"My dear Buxton,                      "Gunton Park, March 20. 1834.

"I read Stanley's reply to your questions with infinite pleasure and thankfulness for God's blessing upon our efforts, the prosperous issue of which appears to be so far beyond all that human foresight could anticipate. The fact is we were not half so confident as we should have been in the success of a work tending in so great a degree to promote the honour and glory of God, and the temporal and eternal interests of his *coloured* creatures.

"But here *you* are more chargeable than myself; to my shame be it said, 'the honour and glory of God' made a very small part of my consideration, whereas, in yours, it was chiefly uppermost. Believe me I am duly sensible now of my unworthiness to have been made in *any degree* an humble instrument in the hands of God to accomplish so great an achievement.—You felt what you were doing throughout; you acted from the right motive, and therefore had better ground than myself for being confident of unbounded success.

—yours,  
"SUFFIELD."

*To Miss Buxton at Earlam.*

“ 54. Devonshire Street, Feb. 4. 1834.

“ It is curious how many compliments we West Indian fanatics \* have had on the success of our measure. I have just been in the House ; and among a great variety of congratulators I saw ——, who said that nothing could be doing better ; and he added, that, having lately read my speeches from the first to the last, he must confess that he was surprised to find how true and sound they had been. Stanley whispered, ‘ I congratulate you.’ I answered, ‘ I congratulate *you*.’

“ But I now come from the House of Lords, where Lord Grey, in reply to the Duke of Wellington, has been pronouncing a splendid eulogium on ‘ that beneficent measure,’ as it was called in the King’s Speech, ‘ which extirpated the worst of all human evils ;’ and taunting the Duke with having been a prophet of evil, whereas nothing but good has as yet resulted. I am quite pleased. This is the impression which the events of the day have made on me.

“ Love to Joseph and Mary ; quote to them my favourite verse : —

‘ Those are not empty-hearted, whose low sounds  
Reverb no hollowness.’ †

“ It applies much to my silent feelings towards them.”

*To Miss Buxton.*

“ Devonshire Street, Feb. 14. 1834.

“ We yesterday dined at Ham House to meet the Rothschilds ; and very amusing it was. He (Rothschild) told us his life and adventures. He was the third son of the banker at Frankfort. ‘ There was not,’ he said, ‘ room enough for us all in that city. I dealt in English goods. One great trader came there who had the market to himself : he was quite the great man, and did us a favour if he sold us goods. Somehow I offended him, and he refused to show me his patterns. This was on a Tuesday ; I said to my father, “ I will go to England.” I

\* He overheard one member say to another, “ So, after all, the fanatics were right ! ”

† King Lear.

could speak nothing but German. On the Thursday I started; the nearer I got to England, the cheaper goods were. As soon as I got to Manchester, I laid out all my money, things were so cheap; and I made good profit. I soon found that there were three profits—the raw material, the dyeing, and the manufacturing. I said to the manufacturer, “I will supply you with material and dye, and you supply me with manufactured goods.” So I got three profits instead of one, and I could sell goods cheaper than anybody. In a short time I made my 20,000*l.* into 60,000*l.* My success all turned on one maxim. I said, I can do what another man can, and so I am a match for the man with the patterns, and for all the rest of them! Another advantage I had. I was an off-hand man. I made a bargain at once. When I was settled in London, the East India Company had 800,000*l.* worth of gold to sell. I went to the sale, and bought it all. I knew the Duke of Wellington must have it. I had bought a great many of his bills at a discount. The Government sent for me, and said they must have it. When they had got it, they did not know how to get it to Portugal. I undertook all that, and I sent it through France, and that was the best business I ever did.’

“Another maxim, on which he seemed to place great reliance, was never to have anything to do with an unlucky place or an unlucky man. ‘I have seen,’ said he, ‘many clever men, very clever men, who had not shoes to their feet. I never act with them. Their advice sounds very well, but fate is against them; they cannot get on themselves; and if they cannot do good to themselves, how can they do good to me?’ By aid of these maxims he has acquired three millions of money.

“‘I hope, said —, ‘that your children are not too fond of money and business, to the exclusion of more important things. I am sure you would not wish that.’ Rothschild. — ‘I am sure I should wish that. I wish them to give mind, and soul, and heart, and body and everything to business: that is the way to be happy. It requires a great deal of boldness and a great deal of caution to make a great fortune; and when you have got it, it requires ten times as much wit to keep it. If I were to listen to all the projects proposed to me, I should ruin myself very soon. Stick to one business, young man,’ said he to Edward; ‘stick to your brewery, and you may be the great brewer of

London. Be a brewer, and a banker, and a merchant, and a manufacturer, and you will soon be in the Gazette. \* \* \* One of my neighbours is a very ill-tempered man; he tries to vex me, and has built a great place for swine, close to my walk. So, when I go out, I hear first grunt, grunt, squeak, squeak; but this does me no harm. I am always in good humour. Sometimes, to amuse myself, I give a beggar a guinea. He thinks it is a mistake, and for fear I should find it out, off he runs as hard as he can. I advise you to give a beggar a guinea sometimes; it is very amusing.'

"The daughters are very pleasing. The second son is a mighty hunter; and his father lets him buy any horses he likes. He lately applied to the emperor of Morocco for a first-rate Arab horse. The emperor sent him a magnificent one, but he died as he landed in England. The poor youth said very feelingly, 'that was the greatest misfortune he ever had suffered;' and I felt strong sympathy with him. I forgot to say, that soon after M. Rothschild came to England, Bonaparte invaded Germany; 'The Prince of Hesse Cassel,' said Rothschild, 'gave my father his money; there was no time to be lost; he sent it to me. I had 600,000*l.* arrive unexpectedly by the post; and I put it to such good use, that the prince made me a present of all his wine and his linen.'

During the Easter recess Mr. Buxton thus writes from Northrepps Cottage: —

" March 27. 1834.

"Now for a history of my day. After a cheerful breakfast I lounged with a book to the Hall. It looks brighter than I expected; the day so fine, the flowers so abundant, and the birds so happy. I am going to sell my sheep, so there is the end of that sagacious speculation. Anna Gurney called for me there and took me first to Mr. Law's, where I saw a great craniologist, who spent an hour over my head, and told me strange news of myself; some hitting the mark, and others far away from it.

"Then we drove to Trimmingham, where we looked at fossils, and at the calm sea, and the land which I am to have for shooting. We got home about 2 o'clock, and she read to me till our quiet lively dinner; everything vastly agreeable. Moscow\*

\* A favourite Newfoundland dog.

was allowed to come in and dine with us. After dinner, reading and a trifle of sleep, and so on, till now. The only take off is, that I am quite out of my element, hardly knowing what to do in the country at this time of year."

"April 13. 1834.

"My birthday is just passed: though I did not minute down my thoughts, it did not pass unheeded. How had I to exult and to thank my God for His mercy with regard to the slave question! On the 17th of March, Stanley, in answer to a question from me, gave a most highly encouraging account of what was going on in the West Indies;—the whip abolished, the negroes more industrious, no disturbance, no murmur, no ruin to the planter.

"Three years ago who dreamt of such a termination? What would I have given to secure such good tidings, even one year ago, on the 19th of March, the day of my motion! Do I say more than the truth, when I say I would have given my life?

"Blessed be God, for ever blessed, for this singular mercy!

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have now been walking in the garden, and having an hour of earnest prayer. I was much affected by looking at the expanse of the skies—the moon—the masses of cloud. They gave me a more realising view of Him who created them all, that wonderful Being, so great as to govern the universe, so merciful as to regard such a worm as I am, and to bear with my transgressions.

"Oh! that I might always carry with me the same awful sense of His presence, and such a realisation of His majesty and of His goodness!"

Neither in public nor in private did he forget to give God the glory of the success that was obtained. At a meeting of the London Missionary Society, May 15th, after alluding to Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Macaulay, he said:

"But let it not be supposed that we give the praise of the abolition of slavery to Mr. Wilberforce, or to Mr. Macaulay, or to any man. I know the obligations we owe them; but the voice of the Christian people of England was the *instrument* of

victory. Its *Author*, however, was not of human race; but, infinite in power, what His mercy decreed, His fiat effected."

The spring and summer of 1834 were spent chiefly in active exertions for the benefit of those so soon to be liberated, watching the regulations adopted in the different islands; carefully investigating the appointment of the stipendiary magistrates; and especially endeavouring to provide for the education and religious instruction of the negroes. He was in constant communication on this subject with Mr. Stanley, and corresponded largely with the secretaries of various benevolent societies, trying to stir up their zeal on behalf of the newly emancipated blacks. A noble example was set by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which promised a New Testament and Psalter to every negro who should be found able to read on the Christmas-day after emancipation.

Amongst other schemes there was one of great importance, which at length succeeded. Some years before this time, Mr. Buxton had received information that a certain Lady Mico, who died in 1710, had left a sum of money to her daughter on condition of her not marrying a specified individual, in which case it was to be devoted to the redemption of white slaves in Barbary. The daughter married and lost the money, which accumulated till, in 1827 (when no Christian slaves remained in Barbary), it amounted to more than 110,000*l.* "This sum," wrote Mr. Buxton to Mr. Macaulay, from Cromer, "Lushington thinks we shall be able to get applied in the right way, *if you come by the Holt coach on Saturday*, — William Smith comes on Friday. I will send for you to Holt on Saturday night."

At length, after much expense and trouble, the money was obtained, and invested in the names of Dr.



Lushington, Mr. Buxton, and two other trustees, to be employed in the education of the negroes. To the interest of this sum the Government added a temporary grant of 20,000*l.* per annum; and the proper and most efficient application of this money occupied much of Mr. Buxton's time and attention. He, as well as the other trustees, spared no labour in the endeavour to establish schools, and to procure schoolmasters of ability and piety. Their chief agent was the Rev. J. M. Trew (now Archdeacon of the Bahamas), who had won Mr. Buxton's highest esteem by the sacrifices and efforts he had made on behalf of the negroes, during a long residence in Jamaica.

The following interesting memoranda, in connection with the subject, were preserved by Mr. Trew.

“The letter in which Mr. Buxton announced my appointment said, ‘I have named you to the trustees for this important work. They are abundantly satisfied; and if you are prepared to carry out their views upon a liberal and comprehensive basis you will proceed immediately to London.’ Immediately on my arrival in town, I called upon Mr. Buxton, and said to him, ‘I do not quite understand what is to be the basis of your system, or what is meant by your “liberal and comprehensive principles.”’ ‘What is your own view of the case?’ was the rejoinder. ‘My view of the case,’ said I, ‘is simply this: I take the whole word of God to be the only right basis upon which a Christian education can rest; will you concede this?’ ‘Granted,’ he replied; ‘and let me assure you, that upon no other principles would I have anything to do with this charity.’ Upon those principles he commenced, and by those principles he and his co-trustees ever after continued to be governed. Having been deputed by his colleagues to examine the teachers when selected by their agent, preparatory to their embarkation for the West Indies, it was delightful to witness the condescension and tenderness with which he was accustomed to address them. He had a word of kindness and of encouragement for each. To one he would say, as he reached forth his hand to bid him farewell, ‘Well!

you are going upon an arduous work ; but it is a noble undertaking. I hope that you may do well, and that God may bless you.' To another, ' Write to us often, we are deeply interested in your welfare ; you have the prayers of many for your success.' He used to remark, ' I like to know these men, that I may identify each with his peculiar sphere of labour.' And if he thus desired to know them, truly it may be said that his affectionate parting remembrance was never forgotten by any of them. They honoured him, and they loved him.

" Never shall I forget the effect which his manner and address produced upon some young men who were shortly afterwards to proceed to the West Indies. On the occasion referred to, Mr. Buxton, having been detained beyond his appointed hour, owing to his having been at Court, came direct from the palace before he changed his dress. The schoolmasters in waiting, who were simple men, chiefly from Scotland and Ireland, not one of whom had ever been in London before, were much struck by his appearance ; but when, as they were severally introduced, he took them kindly by the hand and conversed with each, as one interested in their respective prospects and welfare, they were astonished beyond measure, and went forth to their labours, assured that they had in him a sympathising Christian friend ; and many indeed were the opportunities which subsequently presented themselves, whereby he proved that his feelings of interest in their welfare were not evanescent, but the result of Christian principle, operating upon a naturally amiable and generous heart.

" In those islands for which comparatively little had been done previously to the period of their emancipation, as in Trinidad, St. Lucia, Mauritius, Seychelles, &c., he took the most lively interest, always maintaining the principle, and acting on it also, that the training of native agents was essential to a general diffusion of knowledge amongst the islanders. With a view to this, he advocated the establishment of normal schools in the most important of our colonies ; and he had the happiness of living to know that so successful were the operations of the Board of Trustees, that, under the blessing of God, upwards of 500 teachers were trained in these model seminaries ; and that, too, for every denomination of Christian Missionaries."

The first of August, 1834, the day on which the emancipation of the slaves was to take place, was drawing near; an address, written by Mr. Buxton in the name of the Anti-slavery Society, forcibly shows what were his feelings on the occasion: —

“ Surely a day of such vast moment to the welfare of one part of the empire, and to the honour of the whole, ought not to pass unnoticed. \* \* \* It is a day for undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free; and the true celebration of such an event is in hearty and united thanksgiving to God for this marvellous achievement, and prayer that He will bless the work, bless the givers, bless the receivers, and make it a source of blessing to the oppressed and afflicted throughout the world. \* \* \* Some may think that this great work was accomplished by the act of man; some will ascribe it to one body, and some to another; but we trust that our friends, now that the conflict of party has ceased, and the cloud raised around us by the passions of man has been dispersed, will unite in acknowledging the signal providence of Almighty God, who has, from the beginning to the end, been the true doer of the glorious work; originating it in the hearts of its advocates; lifting it over the all but insurmountable obstacles of its early day; setting at nought the counsels alike of friends and foes; providing means, providing instruments, unexpected, diverse, conflicting; yet, under the skilful guidance of the Divine hand, all urging forward the same conclusion; and from the chaos of confusion, from the battle of irreconcilable opinions, bringing us to the scarcely credible consummation of emancipation in peace, in harmony, in safety, in congratulation and acquiescence on all sides.”

Five days before the first of August, he thus refers to it in his book of meditations: —

“ July 27. Sunday.

“ On Friday next slavery is to cease throughout the British colonies! I wished, therefore, to have a season of deep retirement of soul, of earnest prayer, and of close communion with my God, and, for this purpose, I went to a Friends' meeting. I began with earnest prayer for the influence of the Holy Spirit that he should take the helm in all our doings, and navigate us in

peace and safety throughout our whole voyage. Then, in deep humiliation, in a sense of my own great guilt and ingratitude, I made confession of such sins as occurred to me, and pleaded hard with God, for Christ's sake, 'in whom we have redemption through His blood; even the forgiveness of sins.' This prayer was offered in some trouble of soul, and in a full sense that every other cord was broken, and that the only cable by which I could hold on was forgiveness through Christ. Then I returned thanks—I was sensibly affected with a view of God's dealings with me. Each one knows the history of himself, and many things are known to him which are concealed from others—perhaps, therefore, others could recount similar experience, but to me it appears that there has been a strange and peculiar guidance over me; and that God, designing to commit to me in his goodness some share in the emancipation of the negroes, had originated contrivances, and ordered events, singularly suitable for such a result. Then I prayed for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on those 700,000 oppressed and persecuted children of our common Father who will be liberated on that day. O thou who hast been indeed their merciful Deliverer, who, for the oppression of the poor and the sighing of the needy, hast arisen and set them in safety; add, we beseech thee, to all thy benefits, by such an effusion and outpouring of thy Spirit, as shall make them a people peculiarly obedient to thy commandments, and peculiarly visited by thy presence, and that, as by thy goodness they are changed from slaves to freemen, they may also be transformed from heathens into Christians; in deed, in spirit, and in truth.

“And now I commend next Friday to thee, my merciful God. May it be a happy day, and the harbinger of many, many happy days, to one very, very dear to me, and to multitudes for whom I have been favoured long to labour!”

The anxiously expected first of August at length arrived. It was kept very generally throughout England as a day of rejoicing. To Mr. Buxton it was rendered memorable, not only by the consummation of that great work to which his heart had so ardently been given, but also because on this day his eldest daughter was

married to Mr. Andrew Johnston, of Renny Hill in Fifeshire, M.P. for St. Andrew's. He thus alluded to the circumstance, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Philip of Cape Town: "I surrendered my vocation, and next to Macaulay, my best human helper in it, on the same day; and I am not only well contented, but very happy, and very thankful that she is so bestowed."

A large circle of his connections assembled at his house on the occasion, and expressed the lively interest with which they had sympathised in his public labours, by presenting him with two handsome pieces of plate, in commemoration of the emancipation of the slaves.

It was indeed a day which called forth the expression of his deepest feelings of thankfulness, and of his most earnest desires for blessings on those near and afar off, to whom the day was one of such signal importance.

"Never had we," he said, "such a call for thanksgiving, never such occasion to pray for a blessing, as upon the work of this day. It is demonstration to our understandings, it is vision to our minds, that God has done it. We had no might, neither knew we what to do. The battle was not ours but God's. The Lord has been with us."

*To Mrs. Upcher.*

"My dear Friend,

"August 1. 1834, four o'clock.

"The bride is just off. Everything has passed off to admiration, and there is not a slave in the British colonies!"

"Mark the seal, 'Safe and satisfactory.'"

In the evening the leading Abolitionists dined together at the Freemasons' Tavern; the Earl of Mulgrave, the late Governor of Jamaica, in the chair.

But many of those who shared in the festivities of the day could not divest themselves of a feeling of uneasiness when they thought of what might, at that very time, be passing in the West Indies. The period that intervened

between August, 1833, when Mr. Stanley's measure became law, and August 1. 1834, when it was to take effect, had indeed passed away in unexampled tranquillity. But would not the gloomy predictions of the West Indians be now fulfilled? The bloodshed, the rioting, the drunkenness, and confusion they had so often foretold—would not these tarnish the lustre of this glorious deed of the British people?

It was, therefore, with feelings of deep solicitude, that Mr. Buxton and his friends awaited the news from the colonies. He was at Northrepps Hall, when, on the 10th of September, a large pile of letters came in with the colonial stamps upon them. Well knowing that they would contain the long-looked-for intelligence, he took them, still sealed, in his hand, and walked out into the wood; desiring no witness but One of the emotion and anxiety he experienced. He opened them: and deep indeed was his joy and gratitude to God, when he found that one letter after another was filled with accounts of the admirable conduct of the negroes on the great day of freedom. Throughout the colonies the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the slaves had crowded into them, on the evening of the 31st of July. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees, and awaited the solemn moment, all hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells they sprang upon their feet, and through every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all, for the chains were broken, and the slaves were free.\*

\* Amongst the many beautiful verses which the occasion called forth, the following, by Mr. James Montgomery, stand pre-eminent:—

“ Hie to the mountains afar,  
All in the cool of the even,  
Led by yon beautiful star,  
First of the daughters of heaven :

*To the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.*

“ My dear Friend,

“ Cromer, Oct. 21. 1834.

“ How long have I neglected to write to you, and how often have I reproached myself for it! My only excuse for it is, that Andrew Johnston, M. P. (who breakfasted at your house, just before your departure), has run away with my secretary, Priscilla. They were married on the 1st of August,—the day on which, says the Act of Parliament, ‘ Slavery shall cease and be unlawful in the British colonies, plantations, and possessions.’ I know you heartily rejoiced at this termination of our labours; for I remember with gratitude, that you were ever steadfast and faithful to that good cause. We have now accounts from the West Indies of the way in which the 1st of August was passed; and highly satisfactory they are.

Sweet to the slave is the season of rest :  
 Something far sweeter he looks for to-night,  
 His heart lies awake in the depth of his breast,  
 And listens till God shall say, ‘ Let there be light ! ’

“ Climb we the mountain, and stand  
 High in mid air, to inhale,  
 Fresh from our old father-land  
 Balm in the ocean-borne gale.  
 Darkness yet covers the face of the deep :  
 Spirit of freedom ! go forth in thy might,  
 To break up our bondage, like infancy’s sleep,  
 The moment when God shall say, ‘ Let there be light ! ’

“ Gaze we awhile from this peak,  
 Praying in thought while we gaze ;  
 Watch for the dawning’s first streak,—  
 Prayer then be turned into praise.  
 Shout to the valleys ‘ Behold ye the morn,  
 Long, long desired, but denied to our sight ! ’  
 Lo ! myriads of slaves into men are new-born,  
 The word was omnipotent—‘ Let there be light ! ’

“ Hear it, and hail it ;—the call  
 Island to island prolong ;—  
 Liberty ! liberty ! all  
 Join in that jubilee song.  
 Hark, ’tis the children’s hosannahs that ring !  
 Hark, they are freemen, whose voices unite !  
 While England, the Indies, and Africa sing,  
 ‘ Amen ! hallelujah ! ’ to ‘ Let there be light ! ’”

“ The apprenticeship seems to go down with the negroes. This is wonderful to me ; for I cannot reconcile it even now to my reason that this system should flourish. In Antigua the legislature wisely dispensed with the apprenticeship, and from thence we have most encouraging reports.

“ A letter, dated the 2nd August, says, ‘ The day of wonders — of anticipated confusion, riot, and bloodshed — has passed by, and all is peace and order.’ On Monday the negroes all returned to work. Now this quite amuses, as well as pleases me. During four days’ examination before the Lords, they asked me, among a thousand strange questions, ‘ If emancipation were to take place to-day, what would the negroes do to-morrow ?’ I replied, ‘ To-morrow they would, I think, take a holiday ; so they would on Saturday ; on Monday I expect they would go to work, if you paid them for it !’

“ Another letter, dated the 4th, says:— ‘ Yesterday I was round the island, and did not hear of a single improper act, not even of a man being intoxicated. Our chapels were crowded to suffocation.’ And not only from Antigua, but from every other quarter, we hear that almost the whole population attended chapel or church on the day of their liberation.”

*To Mrs. Buxton.*

“ Bellfield, Nov. 23. 1834.

“ I could not get a place in the Dorchester Mail, so I took my place to Salisbury in another. Soon after I was seated, the Bishop of Barbadoes got in, and a great deal of very interesting conversation we had. He has received letters from many parts of his diocese, giving the most encouraging accounts. At Antigua seven important results have followed emancipation:—

“ First: Wives and husbands hitherto living on different estates began to live together.

“ Second: The number of marriages greatly increased. One of his clergy had married ten couple a week since the 1st of August.

“ Third: The schools greatly increased ; a hundred children were added in one district.

“ Fourth: The planters complain that their whole weeding gang, instead of going to work, go to school.



“ Fifth : All the young women cease to work in the fields, and are learning female employments.

“ Sixth : Friendly societies for mutual relief have increased.

“ Seventh : The work of the clergymen is doubled. One of the chapels which held 300 is being enlarged, so as to contain 900, and will not be large enough.

“ The utmost desire is felt by the negroes for religious instruction, and their children are in every way as quick in learning as the whites. The most intelligent and influential of the Antigua planters tells him that the experiment is answering to his entire satisfaction. It will require some time, he says, for the planters to overcome their prejudices against machinery. He has not heard of an act of violence anywhere. The negroes are a very affectionate and docile race. He has seventy-seven clergymen in his diocese, and most of them zealous good men. Twenty young men have been educated at Codrington College for the church ; and some of them, who are already ordained, are excellent ministers.

“ But now about my journey. When we got to Salisbury the Bishop and I posted on together. I dressed and breakfasted at Dorchester, and went on very cheerfully. As soon as I got to Weymouth I collected some of the best of my party, and got them to advise me to do the things which I had resolved to do, viz. to canvass immediately, and to abstain from anything like treating or giving beer.

“ I said publicly, and said truly, that if my election depended on a single vote, and that vote was to be sold for sixpence, I would not give it.”

“ Northrepps, Dec. 28. 1834.

“ On February 3. 1833, I prayed that thou, O Lord, wouldst rise up as the Advocate of the oppressed, disposing all hearts, and moulding all events, to the accomplishment of liberty, and that liberty in peace: protecting their masters from ruin and desolation.—Thou didst rise up ! It is said in the Psalms, that ‘ the nations shall see that it was thy doing,’ and how manifest was thy instrumentality ! Who raised up the population of England to demand as one man the liberation of the negro ? Who overruled that convincing warning, the insurrection in Jamaica, to prove to a hesitating Government that the crisis would brook no delay ? Who, contrary to our wishes, caused

the formation of those Parliamentary committees which, designed and demanded by the enemy, ended in their discomfiture? Who sent witnesses at the very crisis in which they were needed; carrying conviction to the minds of many of our antagonists, that slavery must be abolished? Who prevailed on a money-loving people freely to sacrifice twenty millions of money? Who thus delivered the masters from ruin and desolation? Who moulded the hearts of the negroes, so that their first act was universally crowding to the chapels, to return thanks to thee; then of their own accord abolishing Sunday markets, and abstaining from any instance of intoxication? and who enabled the Governor to report that 'no act of violence on the part of the negroes had occurred?'

"In each of these events, and in numberless others, it were blindness not to perceive the guidance of a more than human hand.

"Let me entreat thee, O merciful Father, to go with me, to guide me, and guard me, and prosper my ways. Oh! the comforting plainness of that promise, 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, and it shall be given him.'"

## CHAPTER XXII.

1834, 1835.

INQUIRY INTO THE TREATMENT OF ABORIGINAL TRIBES IN BRITISH COLONIES. — ADDRESS TO THE KING ON THE SUBJECT. — CAFFRE WAR. — ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE. — LETTERS. — LORD GLENELG'S DESPATCH. — VISIT FROM A CAFFRE CHIEF. — MR. BUXTON TURNS TO THE SUBJECT OF THE SLAVE TRADE OF FOREIGN NATIONS. — AN ADDRESS TO THE KING AGREED TO.

ALTHOUGH the summer of 1834 was mainly occupied by Mr. Buxton in endeavours to complete the great work of emancipation, yet his mind was much occupied by a new undertaking, which, however, was in many respects similar to that upon which he had been engaged.

This was an inquiry into the condition and treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of our colonies; a subject peculiarly calculated to arouse his interest, and, indeed, to excite his indignation. "I protest," he said, "I hate shooting innocent savages worse than slavery itself."

He thus concludes a long paper of meditations, dated January, 1834: —

"Though I practise not, I see what a noble course there is opened for me; and if I have a desire, it is that by the instrumentality of thy grace, O Lord, thou wouldst mould me into a man who is altogether thy servant, in temper, in objects of pursuit, in labours, in meekness, in charity, in faith, in godliness, in prayer, and in practice, directing my steps heavenward.

"My attention has been drawn of late to the wickedness of our proceedings as a nation, towards the ignorant and barbarous natives of countries on which we seize. What have we Christians done for them? We have usurped their lands, kidnapped,

enslaved, and murdered themselves. The greatest of their crimes is, that they sometimes trespass into the lands of their forefathers; and the very greatest of their misfortunes is that they have ever become acquainted with Christians. Shame on such Christianity! My object is to inquire into past proceedings, for the purpose of instituting certain rules and laws, on principles of justice, for the future treatment of the aborigines of those countries where we make settlements.

“O thou God of mercy and justice, who hast supported me and strengthened me in the ten years' combat for the deliverance of the negro, be thou my guide and guardian in this effort. Let it be conducted under the direction of thy good Spirit. Let prayer be made for its good issue. Give us wisdom and resolution. Move the hearts of those who have power, and the hearts of all thy righteous people in this land, to come to our help. Purify the motives from which we act: let no unworthy desire of praise spring up; but let this good cause begin in a hearty desire to serve thee. Let it be conducted under the guidance of thy wisdom, and under the succour of thy strength. And let it terminate in the entrance of millions of our fellow-men, now barbarous, ignorant, and heathen, into thy Church; let innocent commerce, civilisation, knowledge, and that which is better than all, true faith in Christ, be extended to the barbarous nations, to whom we are as yet known only by our power and our cruelty.

“O God, for the sake of Him who healed the sick, comforted the sorrowful, instructed the ignorant, and shed abroad that light and that influence to which we owe all our present enjoyments, and on which all our future hopes are built, for His sake hear and answer these prayers.”

*To the Rev. Dr. Philip, at Cape Town.*

“January 17. 1834.

“It appears to me that we ought to fix and enforce certain regulations and laws, with regard to the natives of all countries where we make settlements. Those laws must be based on the principles of justice. In order to do justice we must admit—

“1st. That the natives have a right to their own lands.

“2ndly. That as our settlements must be attended with some evils to them, it is our duty to give them compensation for those

evils, by imparting the truths of Christianity and the arts of civilised life.

“ Having agreed on the points to be aimed at, our next business is to ascertain in what degree we have acted, and now act, in violation of justice and humanity towards the natives—what encroachments we have made on their property—what moral and physical evils we have introduced. Next, as to the reparation of these oppressions. Have we done our best, or have we done anything, for the purpose of improving their condition and making them Christians? or have we resisted both the one and the other, and done our best to retain them in a condition of debasement and depravity? And, finally, how must we now retrace our steps? and what are the most judicious modes of securing to them some portion of their own land, and giving them an equivalent for their losses and sufferings, by making efforts for their civilisation and conversion to Christianity?”

On the 1st of July, 1834, he moved an address to the King on the subject. In his speech on this occasion he dwelt upon the grievances of the commando system in South Africa. These commandos greatly resembled the border forays of the fifteenth century. On some plea of cattle having been stolen, the colonists used to arm and make inroads into Caffreland; and after despoiling the lands of the barbarians, they would march home in triumph, usually with large booty. Thus in a single year, (1819) as many as 52,000 head of cattle were taken from the natives; and this system of spoliation was continued, till the colonists became persuaded that nothing could secure their own existence, but the annihilation of their irritated foes.\*

\* The following is an extract from a description, given by an eye-witness, of a commando sent out from the Cape in 1830. (See Evidence before Parliamentary Committee, 1835)—“The military were divided into three or four parties. \* \* \* We were only aware of the presence of the other parties in the country by the smoke of the burning villages. One Caffre shouted to us across a ravine, to ask why we were burning his cottage; it seemed difficult to make a reply; there was silence throughout the party!”

The address, having been seconded by Mr. Spring Rice (the Colonial Secretary), was passed unanimously. It prayed His Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to take such measures as should secure to the natives the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights, promote the spread of civilisation among them, and lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.

*To the Rev. Dr. Philip, at Cape Town.*

“Sept. 30. 1834.

“I have received and heartily thank you for your long letter, dated May 6th. Pray keep me well informed.

“I have also received the letters and newspapers about the attempted renewal of the Vagrant Act.\* I think it will come to nothing, but if so, your prompt interposition prevented it. I wrote a very strong letter to Spring Rice, our Colonial Secretary and my old friend and coadjutor on Mauritius and slavery matters. Power would make great changes indeed if it were to give *him* any fellowship in feeling with West India planters or your boors.

“I have also received your note about the commando system. Upon that I feel most deeply interested : furnish me with facts ; give me facts about commandos, and I will, if alive and in Parliament, aim an effectual blow at them. I stay in Parliament very much against my inclination, for no other purpose except to watch the West Indies and to protect the aborigines,—chiefly the latter. Did you ever read Wordsworth’s ‘Life of Baxter’? Baxter says, ‘There is nothing in the world which lieth so heavy upon my heart as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth. I cannot be affected so much with the calamities of my own relations, or the land of my nativity, as with the case of the heathen, Mahometan, and ignorant nations of the earth. No part of my prayers is so deeply serious as that for the con-

\* This vagrancy act was an ingenious contrivance of some of the colonists to reduce the Hottentots once more to slavery ; but it was prevented from becoming law by Mr Spring Rice.

version of the infidel and ungodly world.' I feel, in my poor way, somewhat of the same kind, and desire and pray that my heart may be turned, and my exertions directed, to the spread of peace, and justice, and knowledge, and Christianity among them. I think England is a deep offender in the sight of God, for the enormities she permits to be practised upon these poor, ignorant, defenceless creatures; and with God's help, I hope to do something for them yet. I have read with great interest your letter to America. In one respect you are in error; you praise the American Colonisation Society. It is nothing else than an artifice of the slave owners, who wish to divert public attention from the question of slavery, and to get rid of the people of colour. They pass the most furious and bigoted laws against them. For example, they make it death for the second offence of teaching negroes and people of colour to read: and thus forcing the people of colour to quit America, they are pleased to set up for philanthropists in Africa. With this exception, I was highly gratified by your letter. There is one question which I beg you to consider. What are the measures which I should aim at for the benefit of countries where we make settlements? I have thought of a protector, through whom all bargains shall be made, that they may not be cheated out of their land; and secondly, that as inevitably we must do them much injury by spreading our diseases, and our brandy, and our gunpowder among them, we ought to make them compensation by measures for the diffusion of Christianity. What more shall I aim at? You know I look to you as my chief informant and adviser, so pray help me. Let me have every species of information about the Kat River Settlement. How does 'Buxton' get on? I am now going to a Bible Society Meeting in the neighbourhood, where I shall make a speech out of your letters and the Kat River; they do me frequent and good service at Bible and Missionary Meetings."

*To Mrs. Buxton.*

“Bradpole, Jan. 4. 1835.

“How sincerely sorry I am when I think that it is but too probable that you are at this very time suffering from another attack of those dear eyes! How very very glad I shall be if I get to-morrow an improved account!

“Now for election matters. — Bankes has resigned. There never was any thing like the infatuation of these people. At this moment I am safe, but we must not be too confident. Every body is mad, and there is no telling what they may do in their frenzy. \* \* \* On Wednesday is the nomination. I shall make a speech and tell them my opinions without reserve, and those opinions will not be gratifying either to Tories or Radicals.

“I came over here yesterday, and have enjoyed much the silence, the divine silence, of the country. I am now going to meeting with William; and to-morrow morning I return to Weymouth.”

At the commencement of 1835 he thus refers in his commonplace book to the coming year: —

“I shall devote myself to the three great subjects now on my hands.

“1st. The completion of emancipation; for much remains to be done.

“2nd. The abolition of the Spanish and Portuguese slave trade.

“3rd. The just treatment of the aborigines.

“Then (if I am to have these honourable duties, and shall be enabled to fulfil them) I desire and pray that I may be returned at the approaching election; but if, O Lord, thine eye perceives that I shall be turned away from the path of duty, that I shall pursue my own pleasure or aggrandisement in preference to thy service, then I heartily pray thee to avert from me the temptation. But in all acts, in all counsels, be with me, and teach me what I shall do and say for Christ’s sake.”

“Northrepps Hall, Jan. 18. 1835.

“Late yesterday evening I returned to this sweet home, having, for the seventh time, been elected, and having had my prayers answered. I have been, I thankfully acknowledge, guided and directed. May it please thee, thou prayer-hearing God, to make my being in Parliament conducive to the spread of thy name among the heathen, and to the interests of humanity, justice, freedom, and real religion.



“ My mind has been a good deal occupied of late with deep and powerful impressions of the shortness of the time which remains for me on earth, and with the irresistible reasons for dedicating it to God, and through his grace to the salvation of my own soul. Oh, my God, now give me the spirit of wisdom, that, the eyes of my understanding being enlightened, I may know the riches and the glory of thy inheritance. Is it prudent, is it the part of true wisdom, to employ this small remnant of time in the pursuit of pleasure, or honour, or wealth?

“ If these things could certainly be acquired, and if certainly they would last for ever, the tempter might have some colour of reason wherewith to seduce my mind to the belief that they were really objects worthy of my affections. But when there is a certainty, not of their continuance but of their speedy flight, every reason and argument is marshalled on the side of dedication of heart to pleasures, glories, riches, which shall endure for ever.

“ With the conviction then that I stand almost on the verge of eternity; that the days cannot be many before the secret and awful things of futurity shall be unveiled to me; that ere long I must be an inhabitant of the world of spirits, and that then my eyes will assuredly see that Christ, whose name I bear, royally attended with an innumerable company of angels descending from heaven to judge me and all mankind, and that then my ears will hear that sound of the trumpet which shall summon all flesh before His presence, and that on me must be pronounced that irrevocable sentence — ‘ Come you blessed,’ or ‘ Depart you cursed — —.’

“ Seeing then that those earthly things must be dissolved, what manner of person ought I to be? Thou good and gracious Spirit, teach me this; thou blessed Lord, who instructs the ignorant and succours the weak, do thou, in compassion to a soul very ignorant and desperately weak, but nevertheless with some desires after a higher and holier walk than heretofore, do thou in mercy be my guide and teacher.

“ Let me then picture the character I ought to be—a Christian in faith. This is, beyond doubt, the great point to be obtained.  
\* \* \* What then are the acts which correspond with a true and sound faith?

“ The habit of prayer.

“ The habit of watching the mercies of God, and solemnly

returning thanks for them. I am sometimes inclined to think that I have been peculiarly the child of Providence. At all events, how much have I to be thankful for, and how poor and dull is my abiding sense of gratitude!

“There is something very alarming in the question,—‘Were there not ten cleansed, but where are the nine?’ Oh, may I not be of the number who ‘returned not to give glory to God!’

“The habit of kindness, courtesy, tender-heartedness—how much does this appear the spirit which is congenial to Christianity, and which grows and flourishes in a Christian heart! How often is it inculcated! How high is the standard placed before us, forbearing one another and forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you!

“The habit of doing and seeking to do all the good in my power. God has given me a portion of property, station, reputation, intellectual energy. Such as they are, God gave them, and to His service must the influence they give be dedicated.

“The habit of dedicating the Sabbath to its peculiar duties, not wasting its precious hours, not worshipping God with a wandering and unsteady mind, not stealing its moments for secular purposes.

“The habit of calling myself to account for the use I make of my money, my time, my powers. \* \* \* On Wednesday next I go to attend my duties in Parliament—what are my prayers? I have now been wandering about the garden; my last Sabbath’s walk this season, it may be the last I shall ever take, and I have been pouring forth my heart in prayer. I have prayed for myself, and my prayer is that thou, O Lord, wouldst enable me to give thee my heart. Constrain me to dedicate myself, body, mind, and soul, fortune, talents, influence, and energy, to thy service, and this without reserve. If I am convinced in sober judgment that nothing can be so wise, so right, and so happy, as this surrender of myself to thee, enable me to act in all things as one who is resolved to make that my one absorbing aim; and as without Christ I can do nothing, do thou work this change in my heart. Do thou fortify my resolutions, and do thou give me the ability to offer this willing and reasonable sacrifice. As to all my affairs, public and private, I ask of thee the fulfilment of this rich promise;—‘I will instruct thee and

teach thee in the way which thou shalt go, I will guide thee with mine eye.'

"Let this guidance be with me especially in my Parliamentary duties; in the cause of the natives, in the slave trade, in the religious instruction of the negroes, in dealing with the Church.

"In these great questions do thou be my teacher, and make me to attend rather to the small voice behind me, saying, 'This is the way, walk thou in it,' than to the bias of party or the desire of favour in the eyes of man.

"O Lord, be with the rulers of the nation, making them to do that which shall conduce to the peace and welfare of the nation, and to thy glory.

"Be with the emancipated negroes in our colonies, pour out upon their ministers and upon them that living water which is better than liberty or wealth.

"Oh, my God, hear and answer these prayers, for Christ's sake."

At the election of January 1835 he stated to his constituents that his labours should be devoted to the objects above mentioned; and in fact they formed his principal occupation throughout the year. The grievous accounts of the Caffre war turned his attention more especially to the state of the natives in the colonies. The depredations of the Caffres had led to severe retaliations on the part of the colonists, which ended in open war and the complete overthrow of the Caffres.

In a despatch to Lord Glenelg, who had succeeded Mr. Spring Rice, Sir Benjamin D'Urban announces that —

"4000 Caffre warriors have been slaughtered; 60,000 head of cattle and almost all their goats captured; their country (now called the Adelaide territory) is taken from them; their habitations are every where destroyed, and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste."\*

Mr. Buxton obtained a Parliamentary committee to

\* November, 1835.

inquire into this war, as well as into the general treatment of the aboriginal nations bordering on our settlements.

*To Mrs. Buxton.*

“ London, Aug. 8.

“ I went yesterday into the city to the Alliance, to the Anti-slavery Society, to the Aborigines' Committee, and to a meeting at Lushington's about the Mauritius. The variety and interest of these subjects, especially the two last, animated me.

“ We had a pleasant journey down to Coggeshall, where Edward, Edmund, Abraham Plastow, and myself took a walk of an hour and a half, and very interesting it was to me and Abraham recounting old events. It is strange that, having hardly been at Coggeshall since I was a boy, of all the numbers of persons associated in my recollection only my uncle and Abraham remained as my seniors. I was all but the oldest of the party. Abraham, in whom I could remember nothing but that he was my tutor, was a little more reverential than suited my recollections; but I was greatly pleased to meet that most honest, brave, facetious, old associate.”

When the session closed, Mr. Buxton occupied himself in a careful investigation of the evils of the system hitherto pursued towards the native tribes, and of the remedies to be applied.

In commencing these inquiries he as usual summoned to his aid the members of his family circle, especially those at Northrepps Cottage, whom he employed to make extracts from and abstracts of those documents which related to the tribes of South Africa.

*To his Sister, Miss S. M. Buxton, at Northrepps Cottage.*

“ Earlham, Sept. 28. 1835.

“ I hope you read Anna Gurney my letter about her preparing an epitome of Dr. Philip's letters. I am thus hard-hearted in taxing her strength, because I do believe that an able digest of these letters, sticking close to the text, might save a nation of

100,000 beings and several flourishing missions from destruction. It is a cause well worth an effort. I gave our new Colonial Secretary a disquisition to my heart's content on the treatment of savages, the death of Hintza, the atrocities of white men, and above all, on the responsibilities of a Secretary of State; and I gave him to understand that I knew there was a corner in the next world hotter than the rest for such of them as tolerate the abominations which we practise abroad. I feel happy that I let loose my mind, but I am afraid Ellis, of the London Missionary Society, was almost shocked at the recklessness of his lordship's feelings with which I spoke. I believe, however, that Lord Glenelg feels both soundly and warmly on the subject."

*To Zachary Macaulay, Esq.*

"Northrepps Hall, Oct. 1835.

"I am deeply interested about the savages, particularly the Caffres. Oh! we Englishmen are, by our own account, fine fellows at home! Who among us doubts that we surpass the world in religion, justice, knowledge, refinement, and practical honesty? but such a set of miscreants and wolves as we prove when we escape from the range of the laws, the earth does not contain."

When the statement of the South African case had been prepared, he communicated it to Lord Glenelg, accompanied by the following letter:—

"My dear Lord,

"Northrepps Hall, Oct. 10. 1835.

"I send you by the mail to-morrow various documents relative to the commando system, the Caffre inroad, and Hintza's death. I think the papers sent establish—

"1st. That the colonists, or at least some of them, have long been actuated by an eager desire to get possession of the Caffre territory.

"2ndly. That the commando system has been the real cause of the war.

"3rdly. That facts are stated relative to the death of Hintza, which, if true, throw a deep reflection on the colonial authorities, and which demand a close inquiry.

“ I cannot forbear adding, that I am persuaded the future peace of the colony, and the life or death of many thousands of human beings, depend upon your decision. That you may be guided to a righteous one, and that you may stand between the oppressor and his prey, is my heartfelt desire and prayer. Believe me, my dear Lord, with every sentiment of respect,

“ Your faithful servant,

“ T. FOWELL BUXTON.”

Shortly after this he was exceedingly gratified at finding that the subject had been thoroughly investigated by Lord Glenelg, and that he had come to the conclusion that the Adelaide territory had been unjustly taken away from the Caffre people. Accordingly, with a regard for justice as rare as it was noble, his lordship determined not to acquiesce in our usurpation of the territory, but to restore it to its rightful possessors.

“ Lord Glenelg,” says Mr. Buxton in a letter to Mr. Macaulay, “ has sent a most noble despatch to the Cape of Good Hope, restoring the territory we lately stole, to the Caffres, and laying down the soundest principles with respect to future intercourse with them.” He was greatly pleased at finding that the Government had agreed to place protectors of the aborigines in every colony where the English came in contact with them, and he writes —

“ Many other things did I hear equally delightful. I lay awake almost all last night from an exuberance of gratification and thankfulness; the image rising before me of the hunted people restored to their land; of Macomo, now so dejected, soon amazed with unlooked-for relief.

“ How glad am I,” he remarks in December 1835, “ that I did not give way to the difficulties of obtaining a committee! I was too near letting it be postponed to another session. The events of the war, Hintza's death, and the clamours of the settlers for permission once more to spoil these ‘ irreclaimable savages,’ have called the attention of the Government to our

evidence, and coming at the very nick of time, I have reason to know it affected the decision of the question."

When the news arrived that the restoration of the Caffres to their own lands in the Adelaide territory had been effected, he thus conveyed it to Miss Gurney of Northrepps Cottage\* :—

" I have to tell you a piece of news, which has made me sing ever since I heard it. You, of all people, ought to have known it two or three days ago, and should, if I had not been too busy to write on Wednesday, and too desperately tired on Thursday. Well, what is it? It is life itself, and liberty, and lands and tenements to a whole nation.

" It is nothing short of this—the hand of the proud oppressor in Africa has been, under Providence, arrested, and a whole nation, doomed to ruin, exile, and death, has been delivered and restored to its rights. On a given day the drum was beat in the front of Tzatzoe's house, and the troops were marched directly back again to the British territory, and the ' fertile and beautiful Adelaide ' was once more Caffreland. Only think how delighted must our savage friends be, and with what feelings must they have viewed our retreating army! Surely we must make a party, and pay King Macomo a visit. This is, indeed, a noble victory of right over might."

On the reappointment of the Aborigines Committee, in 1836, Dr. Philip brought over to England Tzatzoe, the Caffre chief alluded to above, and Andrew Stoffles, a Hottentot, to be examined before it. As a matter of course, Mr. Buxton invited them to his house, and the following description † gives an account of the evening which these children of the desert spent with him :—

" Dr. Philip dined here yesterday with his two African protégés, Tzatzoe ‡ and Stoffles, Mr. Read, who had married a Caffre woman, and his half Caffre son, being also of the party.

\* March 18. 1837.

† Letter from Mrs. E. N. Buxton.

‡ A portrait of Tzatzoe will be found in Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, 3rd ed., p. 314.

Tzatzoe was dressed in fanciful English attire, with a gold-laced coat, something like a naval officer. He is rather a fine-looking, well-made man, but his hair is like a carpet. Both he and Stoffles behaved in a perfectly refined and gentlemanly manner. James Read acted as interpreter; he looks more like a Caffre than an Englishman; he is full of animation, and very clever and observing. He sat by Tzatzoe at dinner and kept up the conversation capitably. Tzatzoe was asked what struck them most in England? He said, 'First, the peace, no fighting, all looking "kind;" secondly, no beggars; everybody had their own business and wanted nothing of other men, but all looked comfortable and happy; thirdly, no drunkards, no fighting about the streets.' He was then asked, what he could mention to our discredit. He hesitated at first, but then boldly said we abused our Sabbaths: he was shocked to see the carriages about, and people selling in the streets; he admired the horses, but could not think what the donkeys had done to merit such different treatment: and as to the dogs, he thought it a most wicked thing 'to make them work like Hottentots.' He pleased my father very much by saying, that if it had not been for his labours in the committee, his nation must have been entirely extirpated. He told us, so great was the gratitude felt towards him, that in most of the Christian settlements about the Kat River they held a regular meeting every Wednesday evening to pray for Mr. Buxton, Dr. Philip, and Mr. Fairbairn. When Tzatzoe spoke in Caffre, Stoffles translated it into Dutch for Mr. Read. Doing this gradually roused up Stoffles himself, and now when we applied to him on the subject of infant schools he lighted up in a most extraordinary way, his heavy face beamed with life and pleasure, and he was all action and animation. Dr. Philip says, that in oratory he is quite the Lord Brougham of his country. \* \* \* After dinner they sang to us: first, the three together a hymn in Dutch, then Tzatzoe and Read in Caffre, and then Stoffles alone sang a war song in Hottentot. It had a most extraordinary effect. Ices then came round. The poor men had seen none before, and the grimaces made at the first mouthful are not to be told. They could not eat more, but laughed heartily.

"When they were about to go away they commanded silence, and Stoffles rose formally, with Read to interpret, and made a



very good speech, returning thanks to his host. 'I thank God,' he said, 'that my life has been spared long enough to come to England, and that Buxton's life has been spared long enough also for me to see him. I have long desired nothing so much, but never thought I should have that happiness. I hope Buxton will live much longer and continue to help the oppressed, and that he will never cease to hold his hand over my nation.' He thanked him heartily on behalf of all the Hottentots for his labours for them. Tzatzoe then rose and made a similar speech, expressing himself most warmly. My father then thanked them for their good wishes, and said he hoped their nation would go on improving, and especially that religion would increase among them, that they would be firm to their God and Saviour, for that was the only path to peace, to happiness, and to Heaven."

Even while the discussions on British slavery had been pending, Mr. Buxton's thoughts were often directed to the subject of the slave trade, as conducted by foreign nations, between the coast of Africa and the slave states of America and Cuba. So long before as 1832 Mr. Wilberforce had thus written to him:—

"Happening lately to have been led into some lucubrations on the slave trade, I was gradually excited into such an internal heat, that were I not to attempt to lessen the intensity of the flame by imparting a measure of it to you, I should almost become the victim of my own excessive inflammation. Happily, I am persuaded I need use no laborious exertions to excite your warmth. Let me beg you, unless you happen to have recently looked into this subject, do not suppose yourself to know it, but do review your inquiry and consideration, and you will be as ready to burst into a flame as I am. I feel, and shall feel, this affair the more, because I myself am not guiltless. I myself ought to have stirred in it more than I did before I left the House of Commons; and now that I am there no longer, you I consider as my heir-at-law; and I really believe, if you cannot get Government to concede to your wishes, you might carry the measure in the House of Commons. Farewell! may the blessing of God be with you and yours!"

But important as Mr. Buxton felt this subject to be, he could not enter upon it while his time and strength were engaged in the contest with the more immediate evil of British slavery. Now, however, he was able to examine it more closely.

“Bellfield, April 29. 1835.

“I had a pleasant journey, and the coach to myself, so I had plenty of time for both reading and reflection. I shall spend much of my time over the slave-trade question, in which I feel the deepest interest, and perhaps a quiet day here may be useful. I am very fond of this garden as a study, it is so lonely.”

A day later he continues: —

“I am now going to wander about these charming walks with the slave-trade question on my mind. Then my uncle is to drive me with the four ponies. On Saturday I shall, I doubt not, take my place inside the Magnet, and after a pleasant ride, fruitful in meditation, have the great pleasure of getting home again. \* \* \* The constant subject of my wondering gratitude is, that we have so much to be thankful for. Now for the garden.”

*To Miss Gurney, of Northrepps Cottage.*

“54. Devonshire Street, May 6. 1835.

“I hope to bring forward the slave-trade question next Tuesday. I have abundance of facts, but the House of Commons ‘careth for none of these things,’ and I care very little for any political things, these excepted. I went to the Missionary Meeting yesterday, and made a speech, which I thought vastly fine, but I was singular in that opinion. The clergy are desperately sulky with me for my Church speech.”

On the 12th of May, 1835, Mr. Buxton laid the results of his investigation before Parliament. He proved that though, at the Congress of Vienna, Spain and Portugal had received more than a million of money from England, on engaging to give up their traffic in men, yet that they were still carrying it on to

as great an extent as ever; no less than 264 vessels, avowedly engaged in the slave trade, having sailed from the single port of Havannah between January 1. 1827, and October 30. 1833 — this being but a small part of that detestable commerce. He moved for an address, suggesting the consolidation of all the treaties on this subject with various powers into one great league, which was to contain, amongst other clauses, a proposal for extending the right of search, for giving the right of seizure in the case of vessels equipped for the slave trade, though not actually having slaves on board, and for declaring the trade in slaves to be piracy. This address was agreed to.

“ I now feel,” he said on the following day, “ as if the session was over. Let me see, what is there more for me to do? There is the Apprenticeship, 16th June; Aborigines, 14th July; Irish Education; and I must have another little touch at the Church, which they have so vilified me about.”

Except that from time to time he brought the subject before the House, no further step could be taken for the present upon the slave question; but it continued to occupy his thoughts, and to be a source of continual solicitude.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1835, 1836.

ACCOUNTS FROM THE WEST INDIES. — MOTION FOR COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY. — CORRESPONDENCE. — WRITINGS, JANUARY, 1836. — COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP, MARCH, 1836. — LETTERS. — LETTER FROM MR. JOHNSTON. — IRISH CHURCH QUESTIONS. — SPEECH ON IRISH TITHE BILL, JUNE, 1836.

THE best news continued to arrive from the West Indies of the industry and excellent behaviour of the negroes, during the period to which the preceding chapter refers. Crime had rapidly diminished; marriages had considerably increased; education and religion were progressing. "The accounts from the West Indies are capital," writes Mr. Buxton, March 7. 1835; "this puts me into excellent spirits. The truth is, my spirits rise or fall according to the intelligence from that quarter."

*To his Sister, Miss Buxton, Northrepps Cottage.*

"House of Commons, March 16. 1835.

"I must give you a taste of the good news which I have received within this hour. Lord Aberdeen said yesterday that every thing was going on marvellously well in the West Indies. The negroes quiet, dutiful, diligent. 'It is quite amazing, it is contrary to reason, it cannot be accounted for, but so it is!' Just now Stanley came over to me, saying he had a letter from Lord Sligo\* to-day, dated the 29th January. He read me the greater part of it, and most gratifying it was. The Christmas holidays had gone off more quietly than for many years. No case of riot had been reported, and the negroes had all returned to their work in good humour. The produce of the crop sent

\* Then Governor of Jamaica.

to England would be a good average one. Lord Sligo had recalled all his troops and vessels (which had gone out to quell possible disturbances), because every thing was perfectly quiet. 'In short,' said Stanley, 'it is impossible that matters can be better than in the focus of danger—Jamaica; except it be,' he added, 'in Antigua.' Is not that something like good news? It makes me two inches higher for pride."

*To Zachary Macaulay, Esq.*

"Northrepps Hall, 1835.

"Now as to Jamaica, I send you copies of Lord Sligo's letters. It is curious that I have before me at this moment letters from him and Lord Mulgrave, in which they unite in saying, that so far from having exaggerated, we have never told a tithe of the horrors of slavery. What an honour, and what a privilege, to have had part in overturning such an abomination!"

The following is one of the letters from Lord Sligo, referred to above:—

*To T. Fowell Buxton, Esq.*

"My dear Sir,

"Mansfield Street, 8th April.

"In reply to your inquiries, whether my opinions on slavery had undergone any change while I was in Jamaica, I beg to say, that when I went out there I thought that the stories of the cruelties of the slave owners, disseminated by your society, were merely the emanations of enthusiastic and humane persons, rather a caricature than a faithful representation of what actually did take place. Before, however, I had been very long in Jamaica, I had reason to think that the real state of the case had been far understated, and that, I am quite convinced, was the fact. I was an ardent supporter of emancipation before I went out, but after being there a short time I was shocked at ever having held different opinions.

"My dear Sir, most truly yours,

"SLIGO."

*To Lord Suffield.*

"March, 1835.

"The news from every part of the slave colonies is most excellent. I hear this from a variety of quarters—friends, enemies,

colonial bishops, and the Secretary of State. I saw a letter from the Bishop of Jamaica to the Bishop of London, saying every thing that we used to say; I recollect one expression—‘the industry of the negroes when working for wages has so entirely belied the apprehensions of the planters here, that I have not a doubt of the entire success of the emancipation measure.’ In short, we have every reason to be happy and to be thankful.”

This was one of the last letters addressed by Mr. Buxton to his excellent coadjutor and friend. Lord Suffield was thrown from his horse on the 30th of June, 1835, and died a few days afterwards from the injuries he had received. “Every day since the event happened,” writes Mr. Buxton, “I have felt more and more strongly what a calamity it is, and what a loss we have all sustained.”

It was indeed a time when Lord Suffield’s co-operation was particularly missed. The favourable accounts from the West Indies were chequered by intelligence of the occasional ill-treatment of the apprentices by their masters, who could not divest themselves of the habits formed under the system of slavery.

On the 19th of June, Mr. Buxton moved for a select committee to inquire whether the conditions on which the twenty millions had been granted, for the abolition of slavery, had been complied with; but upon receiving an assurance from the Government that the most vigilant measures had been taken, and would continue to be taken, on behalf of the newly emancipated people, he consented to withdraw his motion.

For so doing he was severely blamed by some of the more vehement abolitionists. He thus replies to one of those who had expressed himself with great warmth on the subject:—

“September 11. 1835.

“You think it right to say that you could see no reason for my withdrawing my motion, except it was a wish to please the ministers. I am conscious of a thousand defects in the management of our great question, but I do not and cannot charge myself with having at any time sacrificed one iota of our cause to please any set of men. You add, that ‘I should have gained public confidence by pressing my motion to a division.’ I hope you do not do me the injustice to suppose that a momentary popularity with you, or with those worthy and faithful men who think with you, would be bait enough to allure me to do that which I thought likely to prejudice the cause or impair the prospects of the negro. I should be still more unworthy than I am to be the advocate of that afflicted and oppressed race, if I were to be biassed by any such considerations; or if I sacrificed opinions, formed deliberately, with the whole facts before me, and with an earnest desire to be directed aright, to the wishes of friends, or foes, or ministers of the Crown.

“I have thought it right to enter thus at length into my views, that you may not be prevented from taking any steps in order to secure a division, when the subject comes to be debated in Parliament. Think of me as you please; I think you an honest man, a true friend to the negro, a faithful advocate of freedom; but I give you this unequivocal warning, that I never will take your advice as to my conduct on these questions, when I think that advice likely to be disastrous to those for whom we feel an equal concern.

“You are quite at liberty to show this to any body, or to publish it if you please.”

A day or two later he thus writes to Mr. Macaulay:—

“The fact is, my apprehensions lie in a direction different from the apprenticeship. The planters will, I think, try for a vagrancy law, which will be slavery in reality, and for a permanence. Sorry should I be that by our want of support about the apprenticeship, the Government should be led to suppose that we could not make a good fight against a vagrancy law. Is it not dangerous, then, to reveal our weakness? or, rather, is it not dangerous to go to battle on a question where we have no chance of success? Some of our warm friends write in newspapers and

periodicals as if they believed that I should hesitate, because I did not like to offend the Government. I flatter myself you know that neither that, nor any personal consideration, should tempt me to betray the cause of our poor clients."

During this autumn the Rev. Mr. Trew left England for the West Indies, taking out with him the agents selected for schoolmasters. This was an occasion of deep interest to Mr. Buxton.

*To the Rev. J. M. Trew.*

- "Northrepps, Dec. 1835.

"Many thanks for your letter just received. Depend on my disposition to 'strengthen your hands, and to make all reasonable allowances.' The truth is, I feel very grateful to you for going out, and consider it my duty to do all to make your labours as light and as pleasant to you as possible \* \* \* And now I wish you God speed. In going you make a noble sacrifice of your living, and the derangement of your family; the opposition and persecution you will have to encounter, and many other similar things you have to surrender or to endure; but I trust that God's blessing will go with you, remain with you, remove difficulties, and crown you with success and with rejoicing."

On Jan. 1. 1836, he thus speaks of the end of one, the beginning of another year: —

"What mercies has the past year produced, and what events may the next unfold! My prayer at the beginning of 1835 was for myself, that I might give God my heart; that in matters public and private He would instruct me in the right way, especially in slave questions, the cause of natives, slave trade, instruction of negroes, and Church legislation.

"O God, grant that we may each of us be branches of the living vine, that are fed and nourished from the sacred stem; that we may bear fruit, and much fruit. I thank thee, O Lord, that I know there is none other source of profit to my own soul, or of usefulness to others save through Christ. If I abide in Him, I shall be enabled to bring forth rich clusters of heavenly fruit;



if not, a withered and unprofitable branch am I. Grant then, O Father, to thy weak, poor, most unworthy servant, that I may be the true servant of the Lord, that I may belong to Him, and may be made useful through the fructifying influence of His Spirit; that that Spirit may carry with it the whole man to His blessed service; that He being my ruler and guide, I may be enabled to do something this year for the negro race, — something towards delivering them from the remnants of their cruel bondage, — especially something for their souls; and may large flocks be brought to thy fold. May I this year do something towards the further abolition of the slave trade, and something for the natives of our colonies.

“ Help me, O Lord, in forming a right judgment of the critical affairs of the Irish Church. Direct me aright, and let neither the love of liberal policy on the one hand, nor the fear of the resentment and reproach of the evangelical clergy on the other, lead me astray.

“ May all peace and all profitable prosperity be granted in this year to all my relatives and friends. Each and severally I recall them, and present them before thee, craving health to the sick, consolation to the afflicted, strength to the weak, instruction to those who know not thy saving grace, and happiness, wisdom, grace, the guiding, the encouraging, the comforting influence of thy Holy Spirit to all. This year I shall have numbered half a century. It is a subject of deep meditation, where shall I be at the end of the next half-century? Through mercy, through love unbounded, through Christ, I trust that I shall be in His kingdom. Walk with me, tutor me to thy will, be with me in every struggle, shape out my course, be my wisdom, my guard, my guide, in every hour of this year, for Christ’s sake.”

The following memorandum, in Mr. Buxton’s handwriting, appears on the last page of a book of ‘ Papers on the Abolition of Slavery : ’—

“ January 7. 1836.

“ I have finished this collection of papers with a degree of satisfaction and thankfulness which I cannot express. My expectations are surpassed, God’s blessing has been on this perilous work of humanity.”

On the 22nd of March he moved for a committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system. His investigations on that subject had cost him much time and labour; and he now brought forth a mass of statistical facts, proving, on the one hand, that the negroes had behaved extremely well, and on the other, that they had been harassed by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishments. "This is my case," he said, in conclusion; "it shows at least this: that if the planters have misconducted themselves, they can find no excuse for it in the conduct of the negroes. There has been no disappointment in that quarter."

The committee was granted, and Sir George Grey (the Under-Secretary for the Colonies) soon afterwards introduced a bill for enforcing, in Jamaica, certain measures in favour of the negroes.

The Aborigines Committee had likewise been re-appointed, and Mr. Buxton's attention to these two subjects, in addition to matters connected with them, occupied him closely. A friend, who spent a day at his house in Devonshire Street during the spring of this year, described it as "curious, and almost fearful, to witness the multiplicity of business, the wave upon wave of deep interests which poured in upon him. No time for air or exercise, no time for relaxation." His strength was barely equal to the claims upon it. "Oh! how shall we throw up our hats," he said, "when I am out of Parliament!"

*To the Rev. J. M. Trew.*

"July 1. 1836.

"I am truly grieved not to hear a better report of your health, for I do regard it as *invaluable*. We are not less overworked at home. The Apprenticeship and Aborigines Com

mittees have been heavy and incessant work, and there are innumerable calls upon our best exertions.

“I look upon your exertions and those of your fellow-labourers with unmixed comfort. I hope that ‘meekness of wisdom’ may be yours, and I desire that we may all truly remember that ‘*One is our master.*’ With cordial good wishes to you and yours, in which my family warmly join,

“I am,” &c. &c.

*To Zachary Macaulay, Esq.*

“Renny Hill, Fifeshire, Sept. 6. 1836.

“Once more I have to feel how scandalous it is that I have been so remiss in writing to you, but I must lay the blame on the labours of the session. What with the Committee on the Apprenticeship, which occupied two days in the week, the Aborigines Committee, which occupied two more, the House itself, and my own private business, I was as much overworked, or more so, than at any former period; but for the last month I have done literally nothing, except learn to sleep in my bed, and to eat at my meals, arts which I had nearly lost while in London.

“It is, however, full time that I should tell you something of my impression as to the effect of the Apprenticeship Committee. I think we proved, beyond dispute, that the negroes are subjected to many oppressions quite at variance with the intentions of the Abolition Act. On the other hand, it was proved that these had gradually, but decidedly, abated, and that feelings of hostility had much subsided.

“In discussing the report, I was placed in a difficult and painful position. Johnston was in Scotland; O’Connell could not often attend; in short, had I divided upon its continuance, I should have been alone. I contented myself, therefore, with a protest, and got for my moderation the introduction of a paragraph declaring that, after 1840, the negroes were to have ‘unqualified freedom,’ and to be subject to no other restrictions than those imposed on white labourers at home. This, to my mind, is a great victory. The Government are pledged up to their teeth to consent to no act which shall in any way cripple or encroach upon perfect freedom when the apprenticeship

“The Mico teachers are going on excellently well in the West Indies. They describe the thirst for instruction among the coloured people as excessively strong.

“The Aborigines Committee went on exceedingly well. I wonder whether you have seen Lord Glenelg’s despatch about the seizure of the Caffre territory. It is most admirable, and is about the first instance of a nation acting towards the weak on the principles of justice and Christianity.

“I begin to hope that my period of public service is nearly expired, and that I shall be so fortunate as to be turned out at the next election. I should not be satisfied if I resigned; but if I stood and failed, I should think it a most happy consummation.”

Mr. Buxton’s friends were anxious that he should not expose his broken health to the fatigue of another Parliament. His uncle, Mr. Charles Buxton, had written him a pressing letter upon this subject. In reply, he says:—

\* \* \* \* “At present I am remarkably well, have no headache, and no complaint, except rather too good an appetite. I have received very encouraging accounts from the West Indies of the conduct of the negroes, and this I am sure will please you. Three years ago, it appeared, by official returns, that in Jamaica there were 300,000 floggings with the cartwhip in a year. Last year the number was reduced nine-tenths, from 300,000 to 30,000. The result being such, I grudge neither the time, nor the money, nor the labour, nor the health I have spent on this object; and I hope this consideration will make you better satisfied with my having been in Parliament. Can I, as an honest man, retire now, when I know for a certainty that the effect of my motion in the House, last year and the year before, has been to frighten the magistrates, and to save the backs of thousands of poor fellows from unmerciful floggings?”

“You may say what you please, I know it is all in kindness for me; but I also know that if you were in my place, no personal consideration would be sufficient to prevail on you to abandon your duty.”

His conduct upon these committees has been well portrayed by his son-in-law, Mr. A. Johnston, who was his companion and assistant in them, and who supplied the place of a private secretary during the last three years that he was in Parliament. His remarks, as will be seen, refer also to the earlier and still more important warfare on the slavery question, in which Mr. Johnston had been one of his most faithful allies.

“I had,” says Mr. Johnston, “been well acquainted with Mr. Buxton’s name, and had watched his proceedings with interest, before I entered Parliament in 1831. Shortly after I took my seat, I introduced myself to him as one who aimed at being enlisted under his Anti-slavery banner, and before long I was honoured with that friendship which I ever felt I could not sufficiently prize. I was soon strongly impressed by seeing his almost exclusive devotedness to the object he had in hand at any given time; he spared no pains to achieve his purpose, he was constantly on the watch, and by his tact and perseverance frequently succeeded in obtaining documents which would otherwise have remained in obscurity. Often did he patiently wait till the end of the usually long debates for the small chance of success in a motion for papers; often did one tiresome opponent, in particular, who seemed to make it his peculiar vocation to hinder his progress, succeed in frustrating his endeavours, after he had remained till two or three o’clock in the morning. Then did Mr. Buxton, night after night, postpone the motion till a favourable opportunity should arrive, and in our refreshing walks home, in the early cool morning, after the heat, glare, and fatigue of the House, he betrayed no impatience, but showed himself content to labour on, accepting with thankfulness every little success which he was permitted to enjoy in this harassing but most necessary portion of his duty.

“He was very often at the Foreign Office; and at the Colonial Office he was, during the sitting of Parliament, almost a daily visitor. Though his proceedings called forth bitter opposition from some quarters, and though the Government generally resisted his proposals, at least for a time, I soon saw that his

honesty and singleness of purpose, his manly understanding, and the weight of his character, commanded a decided and increasing influence in Downing Street. He was thoroughly liked and respected in the House, and yet his constant urbanity and kind feeling, even towards his bitterest opponents, ought to have disarmed them more than it seemed to do. His firmness was sometimes exposed to severe trials. I remember in particular the debate of May, 1832, when the Government, who were unwilling to oppose his resolutions directly, endeavoured to neutralise their effect by a 'rider.' He was earnestly entreated by a great many members to consent to this without dividing the House; but, strong in his own conviction of what was right, he resisted them all. I sat by him through the whole of that anxious evening, and was astonished at the firmness which he displayed. He obtained a large minority, but many of those who voted in it were very angry with him for placing them in opposition to the ministry.

“This debate led to the appointment of a committee, on which I was one of Mr. Buxton's nominees, as well as on those which were subsequently appointed at his instance, on the state of the Aborigines connected with our colonies, and on the working of apprenticeship in the West Indies. These cost him very many toilsome hours. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the perseverance with which he pursued his inquiries or the zeal with which he endeavoured to elicit truth. His energy never flagged, nor do I remember his ever losing temper in the fatigues and annoyances of these labours. In general, at the rising of the committee, when the members were summoned to the House, a number of persons were in waiting, each of whom had his own observations on the evidence, or his suggestions, to submit to Mr. Buxton, or it might be some grievance to bring under his notice, or some scheme of benevolence for which his patronage was requested. Each of these watched his opportunity, probably believing his own to be the business of all others paramount in importance. To all these persons he was accessible, and, though exhausted by his previous exertions, to all he gave a patient and attentive ear. Often on these occasions I have urged him to break away from this additional strain upon his mind, and leave the heated committee-room, but he invariably persevered until he had dismissed his numerous applicants, satisfied with the

manner of their reception, and charmed with his great kindness and consideration.

“For some years Mr. Buxton and myself were associated with a select band of members of Parliament, who, though of varied and even opposite political opinions, met on every ‘House night,’ for a short period, to enjoy confidential intercourse on the one subject upon which all were agreed.

“Reading from Scripture and prayer were the leading objects for which we assembled. Mr. Buxton was one of the most constant attendants, and very often ‘the chaplain.’ Nor can I doubt that these meetings greatly strengthened and sustained him, under the fierce opposition with which he was too often assailed.”

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In one of Mr. O’Connell’s speeches on some Irish question, he exclaimed, “Oh! I wish we were blacks! If the Irish people were but black, we should have the honourable member for Weymouth coming down as large as life, supported by all ‘the friends of humanity’ in the back rows, to advocate their cause.”

This allegation was jocosely made, but it was not entirely wide of the truth. Every thing connected with the African race seemed to touch a chord of feeling in Mr. Buxton’s heart, and to bear a stronger sway over his sympathies than any other subjects could attain.

Yet the affairs of Ireland deeply interested him. “Never,” he said, in 1835, “did I make any public subject, except slavery, a matter of so much prayer as this question of the Irish Church.” Being, as he was, a thorough Whig, the natural bias of his mind was to support the measures of that party.

“But,” said he, “the Irish Church is too sacred. I am a Protestant and a churchman, and I would not sacrifice an iota of either for all the political connections in the world; so I was for some time a waverer; exactly what Hume called a

*loose fish*, and which sort of loose fish he afterwards described as a wolf in sheep's clothing. Rumour ran that the Whigs were going to assign part of the Church revenues to the Roman Catholics. I resolved to resist, having come to the conclusion that, if a surplus were proved, it ought to be given to religious education. To my surprise and satisfaction, I found that the plan I had worked out in my closet, and which I meant to adhere to, in defiance of them, was precisely what they had resolved on."

Some of the reasons which had brought him to this decision are thus mentioned in a rough memorandum:—

"700*l.* tithes from parish of Killeen:—you give 75*l.* to your working curate, and 625*l.* to Sir H. L. at Bath. Pray is this a religious use, or ecclesiastical? I have a butler; pay him 700*l.* He, too rich to work, hires a deputy for 75*l.* I say, as the deputy does the work, I may as well hire him; save 625*l.* Is my establishment in danger? No; but more means to make it more perfect in other respects.

"Church not in danger. Sir H. L. in danger—of being obliged to do his duty."

He moved, however, as an amendment to Lord John Russell's motion, the insertion of the words "moral and religious," instead of "general" education; and a provision for the resumption of the surplus by the Church when required.\*

The following letter was addressed, after that debate, to his two younger sons at Northrepps:—

"Devonshire Street, April 3. 1835.

"My dear Fowell and Charles,

"C. will tell you how I have been engaged this week. It has been very laborious work. I did not get to bed this morning till broad daylight, near seven o'clock; so I suppose you were up before I was down.

"I have scarcely time to write, as I must be at the House of

\* Hansard, April 2. 1835.



Commons again early, and there I shall be kept all night I suppose; but I am quite equal to the exertion, and (I must confess it) somewhat cheered and exhilarated by the success of last night's effort. Work hard, my lads, and what you do learn, remember; fix it in your minds, and then write it in your commonplace books. The passage of my speech last night which was best liked was a quotation picked up by me some thirty years ago, when I was a youth—planted in my mind—and there it was when I wanted it. I have just been taking a delightful walk with your dear sister Priscilla, talking about slavery, and savages, and slave trade. Whenever I want to clear and brighten up my mind, I find nothing so effectual as an interchange of thoughts with her.

“Give my best love to the ladies at the Cottage, and tell them, that there, on the table before me, lie their Caffre papers, and I now and then glance at them, and smile at them as a treasure. Tell Miss Glover I am going to treat her as the king treated Daniel. I call upon her, not only to interpret my dream, but to tell me what my dream is.

“I want her to find a passage to this effect: ‘Our religion braves the face of day; it does not skulk from truth.’ But where is it? Oh, that is more than I know. I think it is either in a volume of South\*, or in the fourth volume of Hopkins; and I think it is on the bottom of the left-hand page, and marked by me. If she can find it by these clear directions, and will send it to me, the world shall have it. I think you might ride over to Sheringham, to tell them all the news; they would be so pleased to find that we were pleased.

“I was delighted to have Edward at the House last night; I was sure of one auditor who would listen attentively, and judge with partial acuteness.”

Mr. Buxton's readiness to go hand-in-hand with Dissenters in any work of mercy, and the hearty friend-

\* He quoted this passage from Dr. South, in his speech in the following year. It stands thus:—“Some of their (the Roman Catholic) clergy deal with their religion as with a great crime, if it is discovered, they are undone. But our religion is a religion that dares to be understood, that offers itself to the search of the inquisitive, to the inspection of the severest and most awakened reason; for, being secure of her substantial truth and purity, she knows that for her to be seen and looked into is to be embraced and admired.”

ship with which he was honoured by many eminent Christians of different persuasions, gave rise to an impression that he had little affection for the Established Church. This impression was entirely erroneous.

“I look up,” he said, “to the Established Church with grateful affection; I hail her as the great bulwark of religious truth, and I can conceive no calamity greater than any inroad made on her security. But I must avow that I am an enemy to every species of intolerance; justice to every man, charity to every man, are parts of the religion I profess.”

Thrown, as he had been, amongst pious and benevolent Dissenters, he could not but rejoice in the deep fellowship of heart which existed between them and him; but he was not the less firmly attached to his own branch of the Church of Christ: he loved her sublime and solemn ritual, and he looked upon her as a most important means of preserving and propagating Christian truth. But he could not consider any particular form of church-government as having come from God, and therefore too sacred to be touched by the hand of man. Accordingly, his desire to increase the efficiency of the Church led him to seek the reform of those abuses which, during the lapse of ages, had crept into her institutions. But on this, as on all other important occasions, he did not act without deep deliberation and earnest prayer for guidance. In the lists\* which he made almost every Sunday, of the subjects to be dwelt upon in his family prayers, “the Church” is, at this period, usually inserted as one on which he required help and direction.

\* These were mere notes, to aid him in his family devotions; they were not the same as the papers of religious meditations, from which extracts have been given before.