

**THE COLONIAL CONTROVERSY:
CONTAINING A REFUTATION OF THE
CALUMNIES OF THE ANTICOLONISTS; THE
STATE OF HAYTI, SIERRA LEONE, INDIA,
CHINA, COCHIN CHINA, JAVA, &C. &C.,
THE PRODUCTION OF SUGAR, &C.**

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The Colonial Controversy: Containing a Refutation of the Calumnies of the Anticolonists; The State of Hayti, Sierra Leone, India, China, Cochin China, Java, &C. &C., the Production of Sugar, &C. by James MacQueen & Zachary Macaulay

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JAMES MACQUEEN & ZACHARY MACAULAY

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THE PRODUCTION OF SUGAR, &C.**

W. J. Keith & *Deeds*
THE *Portland* ~~Slave~~
COLONIAL CONTROVERSY,
CONTAINING A *from the Antislavery*

12 REPUTATION OF THE CALUMNIES
OF THE
ANTICOLONISTS;

THE STATE OF
HAYTI, SIERRA LEONE, INDIA,

CHINA, COCHIN CHINA, JAVA, &c. &c.

THE PRODUCTION OF SUGAR, &c.

AND THE STATE OF THE
FREE AND SLAVE LABOURERS IN THOSE COUNTRIES;

FULLY CONSIDERED,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

The Earl of Liverpool;

WITH A

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTER TO MR. MACAULAY.

BY JAMES MACQUEEN.

Glasgow:

PRINTED BY KHULL, SLACKEN, & CO.

1825.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE matter which forms the Letters in the present sheets, was previously published in a similar form in the *GLASGOW COURIER* of different dates. Some passages which related more particularly to that Paper, and the writer of the Letters, have been omitted, or shortened in the following pages. On the other hand, an additional number of important facts, which bear upon the great question at issue, have been added. The arrangement also is in some parts different, and placed in the order in which it was at the outset intended, had not circumstances arisen, to render it advisable to change that arrangement. The Letter to Mr. MACAULAY has been rendered necessary by some observations and statements which he has made in the republication in a Pamphlet form, of his Letters, first inserted in the *New Times*. The Letters addressed to Lord Liverpool, are now submitted to the Public, not from any view of private emolument, but solely to render a service to a valuable portion of our Empire, most unjustly, and most wantonly accused, defamed, and endangered.

These sheets may probably find their way to the Colonies, and if they do, they will serve to show the Colonists the nature of the spirit which contends against them in this Country. On their minds I would earnestly impress the fact, that while Reason and Justice will be listened to, and attended to by the British Government, neither have much chance of being listened to amidst the clamours of enthusiasm and speculating philanthropy, out of doors. The fate of the Colonies remains in the hands of the Colonists themselves. Firm, temperate, and judicious proceedings on their part, can alone save them.

JAMES MACQUEEN.

Glasgow, 4th February, 1825.

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ERRATA.

- Page 36, line 3d, for "1790," read "1789."
— 91, line 24th, for "an at," read "at an."
— 75, line 19th, (foot Note, for "States," read "State."

COLONIAL CONTROVERSY.

No. I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool.

MY LORD,

THERE are moments when the humblest individual in a free country, may, on public questions, be permitted to approach the rulers thereof, and address them in the words of truth. I consider the present period, and the Colonial question now under discussion, and on the issue of which the honour, interest, and prosperity of this country so greatly depend, to be a period and a question of this description.

On this subject, I, in a special manner, address your Lordship, because you are the First Minister of the realm, whose duty it is to watch over and to guard the lives and property of every individual dwelling within the bounds of the British Empire, from danger, violation and harm. I address your Lordship on this occasion, because with your able colleagues, Pitt and Melville, you formerly stemmed, combated, and crushed the gigantic efforts of frenzied revolution, whether amidst terror and blood, these exerted their energies amongst the adorers of the *Goddess of Reason* in the Old World, or under the mask of the *Natural* rights of man, laboured to produce similar results amongst the semi-savage blacks in the New. To you, again, my Lord, the British Empire at this moment looks for justice and protection—to you this nation looks for the preservation of her Colonies, her national faith and her national character, from the violent efforts of a spirit as wild and ungovernable as the former, but not so easily detected, from its being clothed with a more specious, ensnaring and deceitful veil.

An able article in the last number of the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, and which, when compared with official despatches and communications, evidently speaks the sentiments of His Majesty's Government on this important subject—this article has drawn forth all the anti-colonial ire, and anti-colonial “venom.” In the anxiety of their champion to make out their misrepresentations and unfounded assertions, and to support and make good their case of injustice and oppression, the paper in which I write, and the person who has at present the honour to address your Lordship, come in, amongst others, for a large and particular share of their reproach, reprobation, and condemnation; as these are to be found in a series of letters bearing the signature of their great champion, “*Anglus*,” and conveyed to the public through the columns of the *NEW TIMES* of different dates, which it would appear, from a *Government*, has descended to become the anti-colonial Gazette, and, as such, to oppose and traduce the *BRITISH GOVERNMENT—the Government* of our West India Colonies.

Although it is with the matter, not with the individual that is my object, and which I have at present to do, still, it must be admitted, that it is of material importance to know who *Anglus* is, as his lucubrations would doubtless be looked up to with greater attention and consideration, were these believed to proceed from the pen of an official servant, and independent British Legislator, than if they were ascertained to proceed, as I believe they do proceed, from the pen of an irresponsible, interested East India Proprietor, and Sierra Leone “Sophist.” I have been compelled to make this research and development by the mode and manner which *Anglus* has chosen to make his attack. His calculation is *cunning*. The motives and object are appreciated. But *Anglus* has not calculated the result.

“*Common fame*,” my Lord, the usual anti-colonial *referee*, sets down *Anglus* as Mr. J. Stephen, but information from good authority, leads me to believe that *Anglus* is no other personage, than Mr. Zachariah Macaulay—the individual who, as your Lordship may probably recollect, boasted in his “SECRET” letter to Governor Ludlam, and in name of the African Institution, that, with the exception of one clearheaded Secretary, he

could do what he pleased with the whole British Administration—the individual, I repeat, who arrogated to himself the power and the privilege to “save” the administration of which your Lordship was the head—to “save His Majesty’s Ministers THE TROUBLE OF THINKING.”* This great personage is, I am told, *Anglus*, though I believe, there are more heads than his employed in the composition of the letters which bear that signature.

Be that as it may, however, I scorn, as *Anglus* does, to skulk under a borrowed name. Engaged, as I believe and feel convinced I am engaged, in the cause of truth and justice, I shall save any opponent the trouble of queries and answers, by subscribing my name to this and any future letters I may write on this subject, and, at the same time, I at once identify myself with all the articles in the *Glasgow Courier* since the commencement of the present discussion. They are mine, my Lord,—mine, prompted by no one, influenced by no one, and guided by no one; and what is more, my Lord, unbiassed by interest, I have not a shilling at stake in the West Indies, nor am I directly or indirectly concerned in any business with that quarter of our empire, and the best refutation I can give to the in-

* Letter from Z. Macnally, Esq. to Thomas Ludlam, Esq. dated London, November 4, 1807, and endorsed SECRET.

My dear Sir,—A woman in private respecting the African Institution. I cannot help regarding it as an *important engine*. We have many zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence, who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can be done both for the colony and for Africa. Mr. Percival and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly. Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more immediately lies, is good-humoured and complying; but his secretary, Mr. Cooke, is, I fear, hostile to the whole thing, and may be disposed to seize any circumstance which will put it in his power to do us mischief. You will see how very important it is to be aware of this in your communications with Government. Indeed, in all the *ostensible letters* you write, whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African Institution, or myself, it will be right to consider the *effect* of what you say on lukewarm friends, and in the hands of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix with us.

I have NO DOUBT that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them, with respect to Africa, *provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking*. THIS you will see to be HIGHLY IMPORTANT.—(*Macnally’s Letter to the Duke of Gloucester, Appendix, p. 21.*)

situation thrown out, that my motives are "venal," is the assertion of *Anglus* himself, that the cause I defend, is opposed to the feelings and the will of every part of our Empire, the West Indies excepted. No Sierra Leone sophist would embark in a contest against such odds. He consults his *interest* more, and he *knows* his interest better.

Anglus, my Lord, while boasting that he is the voice of this nation, and labouring in the "work of God," has chosen to conceal himself under the thin veil of a borrowed name. To use the words of the Edinburgh Review, (Mr. Stephen or Mr. Brougham) vol. 5th, p. 240, &c. "How is this to be accounted for? Very easily. In the case of an *anonymous* writer, we have not that sort of security against misstatements, which we enjoy when any one pleads a cause in *propria persona*. An anonymous writer does not always consider himself as answerable for the accuracy of his allegations and facts; nor have the" colonists "now, for the first time, to complain that, against them, instruments and acts of warfare have been used, which the *very same men* who resort to them, *would not have openly employed*. No cause, however, can on the long-run prosper, which requires the aid of such auxiliaries as THESE."

From the view of the matter before me, I fear that in following out the subject, I may be compelled to trespass upon your Lordship's time longer than I could wish, but in a question of such vital importance, involving so many great interests and facts; involving the loss or preservation of a *fourth part* of the trade of Great Britain—of so many millions of property, and the security, the peace, the happiness, and independence of so many millions of the subjects of this Empire, your Lordship will readily perceive and admit that a review of the question cannot be brought into a very narrow compass. The Anticolonists, trusting to the sanctity of their professions, have a happy knack of making a bold and a false statement in a line, which requires pages of official documents to refute. Hence their brevity gives them an advantage in controversy. Trusting, however, to your Lordship's indulgence, I hope, as I proceed, to be able to shew, from documents, which cannot be contradicted nor controverted, whether the Glasgow Courier or *Anglus*