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M I N U T E S

OF THE

E V I D E N C E

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

BEING



A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SLAVE TRADE,

Complained of in the several Petitions which were presented
to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative
to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXXIX.

B. H. M. M.

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 26^o die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc, } For the petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and
Mr. Heywood, } others, Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, and resident in Liverpool, whose names are thereunto subscribed;—and for the other petitions from the town of Liverpool.

Mr. Piggott—For the petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and others;—and also, the petition of Stephen Fuller, Esquire, Agent for the Island of Jamaica;—and also, the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Island of Grenada and the Grenadines, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in [the said Islands; and also, of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the Islands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the last-mentioned Islands;—
and

and also, the petition of the Council and Assembly of the Island of Nevis.

Mr. Trower, with Mr. Piggott—For the petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuityants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and others;—and also the petition of Stephen Fuller, Esquire, Agent for the Island of Jamaica.

Mr. Bond, with Mr. Piggott—For the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Island of Grenada and the Grenadines, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the said Islands; and also of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the Islands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, whose Names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the last-mentioned Islands.

Mr. Graham—For the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Island of Saint Christopher, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the said Island.

Mr. Thomson, with Mr. Graham—For the petition of Mr. Spooner, Agent for the Island of Saint Christopher;—and also for the petition of the Proprietors of Estates in the West India Islands, and Merchants trading to the West Indies, residing in the City of Glasgow and its neighbourhood.

Mr. Burton—For the petition of John Burton and William Hutchinson, Esquires, Agents for the Island of Antigua.

The Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Resolved, That the Counsel be again called in, and asked, In what mode and order they propose to proceed?

And the Counsel were called in;—and, being acquainted with the said Resolution, they informed the Committee, That it was their wish, that Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc and Mr. Heywood, who appeared as Counsel on the part of the several petitions from Liverpool, should be first heard in support of those petitions.

Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc was heard; and called

J O H N B A R N E S, Esquire.

How long did you reside on the Coast of Africa, and in what capacity?

I resided on the Coast of Africa, at different times, and in different capacities, thirteen years.

Was you ever Governor of Senegal?

I was, for near three years.

What years were those?

From 1763 to 1766.

During your residence there, had you opportunities of knowing the manners of the country?

I had opportunities of knowing a good deal of them; I resided there the greatest part of eight years.

Can you give any account of the Policy and Government of that country during the time of your residence there?

I believe I can, as much as a stranger can do in a foreign country.

Will you give the Committee that account?

I wish to know to what particular points the Counsel would wish to be informed.

With respect to the Nature of the several Governments in the neighbourhood, whether free or arbitrary Governments?

The Negro Government with which I was acquainted, was in general Monarchical—but in some measure mixed—not absolute.

Are there any Slaves in that Country, and in what manner do they become so?

Most certainly—I have known no part of Africa without Slaves—As far as I have understood, they become Slaves by various means; by the commission of Crimes, and by Capture in War.

As far as you know, by the history of that Country, was there any period of time in which there were not Slaves there?

As far as I know of any history, I do not know a time when there were not Slaves there.

B

You

You said, Persons become Slaves by commission of Crimes—
What are the Crimes, by the Conviction for which they become
Slaves ?

Theft, Murder, Adultery, Witchcraft. I meant to observe
one means by which they become Slaves, which I forgot. They
become likewise Slaves for Debt ; and I have heard of great
numbers becoming Slaves by Gambling.

Is Polygamy allowed in that Country ?

It is, universally.

Is there any thing peculiar in the punishment for Witch-
craft ?

I have understood that the Principals are generally put to
Death.

Does the punishment extend to the rest of the Family, as
well as to the Principals ?

The rest of the Family are condemned to Slavery.

Is Witchcraft a common Crime there ?

I understand it is a Crime with which people are often
charged.

Before whom were the criminals tried ?

Before the Elders of the village or town.

Have they, on these occasions, a full and fair trial ?

I understand always.

Do you know, of your own knowledge, that Crimes have been
imputed for the purpose of making Slaves ?

I do not ; nor do I believe it possible.

For whose benefit are the persons thus convicted sold ?

I believe generally for the benefit of the party injured.

What is the reason why you do not think it possible that
Crimes should be imputed for the purpose of making Slaves ?

Because of the fairness of the trial—the party is generally
tried by a number of the Elders in the district—It is a public
trial—open to every body—and the sentence is generally with
the satisfaction not only of the Judges but of the Assembly pre-
sent.

Have

Have you ever heard of the Princes going to war for the purpose of making Slaves ?

I have never known such an instance.

Have you known of any Prince breaking up a Village for the purpose of making Slaves ?

I never heard of such a thing in Africa ?

Have you heard of breaking up Villages for other purposes, and what ?

I never heard the term till lately, that the Slave Trade came to be the subject of conversation.—Princes go to war there as in other countries ; Villages are taken, are plundered, the inhabitants made prisoners ; and if they cannot ransom themselves, they must be sold as Slaves ; this is all that I know—But I have never heard of their going to war for the express purpose of making Slaves.

In what manner can the prisoners of war ransom themselves ?

By paying for themselves, according to their quality, in merchandize, in cattle, or in Slaves.

Do you know what would become of the prisoners of war, if they were not sold for Slaves ?

I cannot tell.

Have you heard of any persons having been kidnapped for Slaves by the Black Traders ?

I have not ; I do not know of such a thing.

In what other part of Africa have you been besides Senegal ?

On the river Gambia, at the Isle de Los, Sierra Leone, and at Bonny.

In any of those places, do you know of kidnapping having been practised ?

I have not known it.

From your knowledge, if such a thing was to be discovered, would it be allowed to pass unpunished ?

I am confident it would not, no more than a robbery in this Country.

Can you say what is the principal source of Slavery in Africa, that you know of, particularly in Senegal ?

I think I have already answered that question.

What

What proportion do those made Slaves by capture in war bear to the Slaves made by other means?

I cannot tell. I should not think a great proportion, because, in a course of a very long peace, I have found but little alteration in the quantity of Slaves sold.

Do you know whether the people of property in that Country have Slaves of their own, and in what quantity?

They all have, and some an incredible number, as I have understood.

Are Slaves brought down from the interior parts of the Country for sale?

Great numbers.

Has the Owner of Slaves, in that Country, any power over the life of the Slave?

I believe not, except he is a prisoner taken in war.—I believe, in the very act of capture, he may kill him if he chuses it.

Who are the persons who bring down the Slaves from the interior Countries?

They are generally Merchants trading in Slaves.

What is the extent of the Country from whence they bring the Slaves?

That I cannot tell; though I have been to a great extent in the inland Country myself, yet I have never been able to obtain any perfect knowledge of the Countries further inland, from whence most of those Slaves come.

What European Powers traded for Slaves to the places where you were?

While we had Senegal we held it exclusively from other nations; Gambia, in like manner; the greatest part of it. The other parts of Africa, where I have been, was open to all nations.

Do you know of any trade carried on to Egypt, or the eastern part of Africa, from Senegal?

I know of a very considerable trade carried on between the Negro Country on the banks of the Senegal and eastward of the Senegal and North-Barbary — I mean the whole extent from the Streights of Gibraltar to Egypt—and I have heard of a very
great

great trade carried on between the inland Countries of the Negroes, about the same latitude, through Nubia, to Egypt.

Do you know whether Slaves are an article of commerce between the inhabitants of Senegal and Nubia?

Slaves are the chief article of commerce between those Countries that I have mentioned.

Are the parts of Africa, where you have been, extremely populous, or otherwise?

I have only seen it on the sea-coast, or in the neighbourhood of great rivers, and then I have always found it extremely populous.

Are the wars carried on there destructive, or not?

Very little destructive, in general.

Do you know what number of Slaves are exported from Senegal, by Europeans, annually?

Not more than about 1,000 to 1,400.

What is done with the persons convicted of crimes at Senegal, who are not sold for Slaves?

I cannot say.—I do believe, if Slavery was not a punishment for crimes committed there, that the laws would be more sanguinary than they are.

Can you speak as to the produce of Africa, proper for exportation, exclusive of Slaves?

The produce of Senegal, exclusive of Slaves, was principally Gum Senega.—On the Gambia, we purchased a little Bees Wax—On the Windward Coast, a little Dying Goods; and all over the Coast, a little Ivory.

Do you know any other articles or goods fit for exportation?

Nothing worth mentioning as an article of commerce.—The country is capable of producing a great many; it is capable of producing all the products of the West Indies—but the inhabitants are too indolent to cultivate it;—nor do I believe it practicable to obtain those products from the inhabitants.

Is all the Gum Senega exported from Senegal?

No—we have had trade for Gum Senega from Portandick, a little to the northward of Senegal.

Is there a sufficient market for all the Gum Senega that is produced in that Country?

The crops of Gum Senega are very uncertain.—In some years the country produces more than is sufficient for several years consumption of all Europe; in others, hardly enough—but, upon the whole, the general crop is rather more than sufficient for the consumption of all Europe.

Could the trade in Bees Wax and Ivory be increased?

I am confident neither of them could be increased; on the contrary, if there was not a Slave Trade, the trade for Ivory would be considerably lessened, because the Merchants, in bringing the Slaves from the inland Countries for sale, find it worth their while to bring what Ivory they can get along with them; whereas, if they had no Slaves to bring, the Ivory alone would not pay the charge of the journey.

Could the market, with regard to the Dying Wood, be much increased?

The market for the Dying Wood, on the Windward Coast, where I have been, I believe could not be increased; nor do I understand it could beneficially; because, I believe, we have already as much as we want of it.—I have understood, that the trade for Dying Wood, which is got in the neighbourhood of Angola, the Bar Wood, may be increased; but we have already more of it than we want.

Does Africa produce any Cotton?

Yes; very fine Cotton.

In what parts?

Both in Senegal and on the Gambia.

Is it produced in great quantities?

Only sufficient for the consumption of the countries. I have attempted to get a quantity, but could not do it.

Are you acquainted with the Windward Coast of Africa?

As far as I have been upon it, which is as far as the river Sherbro.

Are you acquainted with the shore?

Yes, as far as I have been.

Is the landing easy on that Coast, so that heavy commodities could be easily carried on board ship?

There is no landing on that Coast, except within the rivers.

Is there any river, in which a landing can be made, between Sherbro and Bonny?

I believe there is no river, between Sherbro and Benin, in which a landing can be made with any degree of safety.—Between Benin and Bonny there are some small rivers, in which a landing, I believe, may be made.

What is the distance, along the Coast, between Sherbro and Benin?

I cannot say; I believe about three or four hundred leagues—but I am not clear.

Is there a bay or harbour, in that space, in which a ship can lie with safety?

No—I believe not;—it is all an open Coast.

What is the distance between Benin and Bonny?

To the best of my recollection, about forty or fifty leagues.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.



Martis, 26^o die Maii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness examined,

JOHN BARNES, Esquire.

N^o I.

Mercurii, 27^o die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in, as before.

JOHN BARNES, Esquire, again called in.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Whether, in your opinion, if a Prince of the country can dispose of the body of a Slave, he has not the means, if he should prefer this plan, of requiring labour from the hands of the Slave?

He certainly can require labour.

Whether you do not think that, should the number of persons employed in the cultivation of Cotton be increased, the quantity of Cotton produced will not be increased in proportion?

No question of it.

If a Prince of the country should not be able to procure the merchandizes he wants by selling the bodies of men, would he not have a sufficient inducement to require the labour of his people, to such an extent as might enable him to purchase that merchandize with the produce of labour?

Certainly he would, if he could procure that merchandize by that labour; but I am confident he could not.

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What

What are your reasons for that opinion?

The Princes in the interior parts of the country, could not avail themselves of that labour by a sale of the produce of it to Europeans, particularly in the article of Cotton; nor do I know of any other produce of the country that would bear the transport.— There are other reasons: The uncertainty of that produce from the nature of the climate itself;—I have known the whole vegetation of a country swept away in twenty-four hours by the locusts.— The government of those countries is in general so imperfect, that a proprietor cannot depend on his property for so long a time as from the planting to the harvest, in many cases; and therefore the proprietor would rather bring Slaves, or any other commodity, to market, and get his price, than wait for the advantage of the cultivation of the land.

Do you conceive that the locusts would be more destructive to the Cotton raised for the purpose of exportation, than they are to the quantity of Cotton cultivated for the consumption of the country?

By no means;—but there is a wide difference in the motive for cultivation.—When a man plants Cotton for his own consumption, it is of very little importance to him whether it succeeds or not; but if he risks his whole success in life in that particular Culture, then it becomes valuable to him, and the failure of a crop may ruin him.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in; the Witness was asked,

Do you not think, that if, in addition to the persons now employed in the culture of Cotton, all those, whose bodies are at present exported from the country, should in future be employed in the cultivation of this article, there would not be the means of a considerable export?

I have many doubts whether the thing would be practicable, on account of the uncertainty of tenures in Africa.—Besides, such Cotton could be only shipped on the banks of navigable rivers. The cultivators, as I observed before, in the interior country could not afford to bring it to those rivers; nor do I believe that the Chiefs of the country could be induced, by any means, to attempt any species of industry.

Whether

Whether the uncertainty of tenures could possibly affect the culture of Cotton, by the Slaves of the Prince, on the lands of the Prince ?

I cannot well answer the question.—I do not know precisely what the lands of the Prince are. In the town where the Prince lives, the circumjacent lands are cultivated for the use of the town at large; each inhabitant has his little district for the produce of his Grain, or Cotton, or Tobacco, or what he has occasion to plant on it. This extends but a very little way from the town. The Prince, I conceive, could not deprive the inhabitants of that benefit; and if he or any of his subjects were to carry their plantation to a more remote distance, I do not believe his property would be secure.

Do you mean to say, that the Prince of the country neither does or can appropriate to his own use any part whatever of the lands of the country, for the purpose of those lands being cultivated by his own Slaves ?

That is a question I cannot answer—as I have never known an instance of the attempt—further than in the Instance which I have just now mentioned; but I do believe he could not—for that is an appropriation which I believe could only be practised in a more civilized country.

As you have stated that the inhabitants of the towns have each of them their respective allotments of land, what reason can you assign for the Sovereign of the country not being able to do that which you describe as invariably done by many of his subjects ?

It is only necessary to explain, that that division is only a division for the crop, and goes no further—The cultivator has no further right to the land after he has taken the crop off—The division may be different next year—He may neither have the same land nor the same quantity of land.

Is the Committee then to understand that the property is secured till the crop is taken off the ground ?

So far as property can be, in a very loose and in a very imperfect government.

Is not theft punished with great severity in Africa ?

Generally by fine, as far as the value of the person of the thief.

Do

Do you recollect that you yourself stated the crime of theft as one of those offences for which the Africans are condemned to Slavery?

Most certainly I did.

Do not you imagine, that if the number of persons now employed in collecting Gold-dust should be increased, the quantity of Gold-dust so collected would also be increased in proportion?

No doubt it would—but that is a species of industry that is not always in the power of the parties.—The mines in Africa, as far as I have heard any thing of them, are always considered by the Natives as a deposit of sacred treasure, to be had recourse to only upon particular occasions.

Do you speak generally of all the mines of Africa—those upon the river Niger—those in the kingdom of Wangara—and those that are understood to supply the Coast of Guinea;—or whether you speak of some one particular mine, which you conceive to be thus sacred?

I have not heard of any mines, except in two particular nations of Africa—the country of Bambarena, and the country of Galam. In the country of Galam, I know for a certainty, that what I say is fact—and I have understood the same in Bambarena.—I know there has been Gold, in considerable quantities, obtained on the Gold Coast of Africa—but I never heard of a certainty of any mines there.

What are the thefts, and on what species of property have you known them to be committed?

Merchandize of Europe, Grain, Cloth, Cattle, and other property of the country.

How is the Cloth of the country manufactured? Whether by each individual for his own use, or to be brought to market for sale?

The women generally amuse themselves with spinning—(I am speaking only of the country between the river Gambia and Senegal)—there are Weavers by profession, who are hired to weave Cloth.

Are there any other handicraft trades carried on by the Natives, for furnishing houses, or utensils?

I have known of no other, except a very coarse Smiths work—who manufactures a kind of hammer and adzes for the common services

services of the country—and likewise makes gold ear-rings for the ladies.

The materials for building houses, what are they ?

The houses are built, in some parts, of reeds—in others, with mud ; and all covered with thatch.

Is there no gradation or middle rank between the Prince and those who work, and who are kept without labour ?

Yes ; there are Nobility—and Free people of condition, who have Slaves.

How long did you reside in Africa ?

Thirteen years.

In the course of those thirteen years, did you perceive no alteration in point of civilization among the natives ?

Not the least.

What, in your mind, appears to be the obstructions to civilization ?

It is very difficult to answer that question—The same obstructions as those which operate to prevent it among the Savages of America.

Was you in Africa at the time of the late American war ?

No ; but I was there at the time of the former war.

At that time, was the demand for Slaves equal to what it has been in times of peace ? Was there a ready sale for Slaves, and were they brought down in any quantities ?

The trade was naturally checked by the war—The ships did not arrive in such numbers.

Was the price of Slaves, in consequence of that, lowered ?

Generally.

Was the glut so great as to occasion any other employment to be sought for for the Slaves, or were they devoted to other purposes ?

I have always understood they were diverted to other channels.

To what other channels ?

For sale.

E

Where ?

Where ?

To North Barbary, Egypt, and the Eastern Coast of Africa.

Was there any attempt to employ them in cultivation or manufacture ?

I never heard of such a thing ; nor do I believe there was.

Have you been in Africa since the last war in America ?

Not since 1766.

Do you mean, when you state that for theft they were fined to the extent of the value of their persons, that they must be sold as Slaves, unless they could discharge the fine ?

Certainly.—I beg leave to say further, that the fine sometimes exceeds the value of a Slave—to ten or twenty Slaves, which they are bound to find, or otherwise to go into Slavery themselves.

In what manner is the trade for Slaves carried on on the Coast by the Captains of the Slave ships and the natives ; is it clandestinely or openly ?

Openly always.

Was you acquainted with the state of the health of the crews on board the Slave ships on the Coast, and of the crews on board the King's ships, whilst you was there ?

I had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of them.

State your observations on that subject ?

The first three years that I was at Senegal, there were two King's ships stationed there ; the mortality on board those ships was very terrible, infomuch that they were obliged at last to man them chiefly with Negroes. In the Merchant ships (which trade for Slaves or other goods) I have always observed the mortality greater in those ships that went up the river, and more particularly immediately after the rainy season ; but on board the ships trading on the open coast, I have observed them generally as healthy as other ships between the Tropics. I speak of the King's ships only in the three first years ; but of the other ships I speak generally.

How are the persons, retained in slavery on the Coast of Africa, treated by their masters ?

In general pretty well.

Whether,

Whether, if they commit any fault, or are neglectful in the duties they are employed in, they are punished at the mere discretion of their Masters, and in what manner?

For a slight offence they are punished at the discretion of their master, with stripes generally—for more weighty crimes, generally with the approbation of their fellow-servants; and the punishment is, generally, being sold as Slaves.

Then, for weighty crimes, the Slaves cannot be punished merely at the discretion of their Masters?

I am speaking of the practice—I do not say the Master has not a right to do it—but this is the practice, and I believe it to be a practice more of prudence; because, if he were to treat his Slaves in any arbitrary or cruel manner, he would lose them by desertion.

Are the Slaves allowed to marry, and in what manner are the children of Slaves treated by the Masters?

They are allowed to marry, but always with the approbation of the Master—the children are in general well treated.

You said, you thought the wars in Africa not destructive; Why do you think so?

I have understood so always from the Natives themselves.

In what manner are the wars carried on, and what weapons are used?

A very irregular war; what is called Bush-fighting. In the lower parts of the country, about 150 leagues inland, the weapons are fire-arms and swords; beyond that, they use bows, and every where the javelin is much in use.

From what country are they supplied with fire-arms and swords?

By the Europeans, on the Western Coast, and by the Moors, to the Northward.

From what part of Europe are they chiefly supplied?

From England, France, and Holland, and some from Portugal, I believe, and Denmark—from all the European nations trading there.

You said many Slaves were sold to North Barbary: What is the Distance between that Country and North Barbary?

I think I stated that a considerable trade is carried on between North Barbary and the countries Eastward of Senegal and the Gambia;

Gambia; but not from the particular country where I resided. The distance from Senegal to the inhabited part of North Barbary is about ten degrees.

Are Slaves sold and sent that distance of ten degrees?

The inhabitants of North Barbary come into those countries and purchase them, and carry them that distance back again.

Are they not conveyed through a great tract of uninhabited country?

A great part of that district is uninhabited—a desert.

How are they found with provisions and necessaries on that journey?

They carry provisions with them—even water.

What is the distance from the part of the country where the Slaves are sold to Egypt?

I cannot tell.

Do you not suppose it must be at least two thousand miles?

No—I do not conceive it to be half the distance from the Upper Egypt.

Are Slaves, who are the property of an African Master, never sold but for crimes?

I believe never;—if it is meant House Slaves, the Slaves of his family—never.

Is the transfer from African to European slavery considered as a severe punishment by the inhabitants of that country?

I speak of the House Slave—I wish to make a distinction— if the Slave has been acquainted with Europeans, as those near the sea-coast, who are in the habit of seeing Europeans, they do not conceive it to be a hardship; they know where they are going, and for what purpose;—the only hardship is, in case they have a family, in being separated from them;—but those from the interior parts of the country are naturally terrified in being put into the hands of a people of a different colour, whose character they are not acquainted with; and being ignorant of the purpose for which they purchased them.

If the being sold to Europeans is not considered as an hardship, has the dread of such sale any effect towards the preventing crimes?

Only

Only where they have a family, and the consequent shame attending being transported.—I mean still further, that though they do not dread it, it is still a punishment, though they are not afraid of it.

Are they, in general, capable of strong domestic attachment?

I do not think, in general, that domestic attachments are so strong, as where polygamy is not allowed.

If the Slave Trade to Africa were to be abolished by the British Legislature, could the African Princes be supplied with European commodities through any other channel?

By other Europeans carrying on the trade—no doubt they might.

While the possibility of acquiring European commodities in exchange for Slaves, through any channel, is left open, would the African Princes be induced to acquire those articles by commodities raised by the improved industry of their subjects?

I do not believe they would.

You have said, that the fine is sometimes equal to twenty or thirty slaves.—How does he get those Slaves?

He is sometimes a man of great opulence, and capable of paying three times the value of those Slaves.—A man may be worth one thousand Slaves, and fined to the amount of twenty or thirty; yet he has an option of paying the price in Slaves, or the value of Slaves.

You have stated an instance where the King's ships were chiefly manned by Negroes.—How did the Captains get those Negroes?

I speak chiefly of the King's ships stationed at Senegal—in the Island of Senegal there are a great number of inhabitants possessed of Slaves, which they let out to hire for the service of the Port, or of shipping—it was with those Slaves chiefly that the King's ships were manned.

Whether your evidence in general is confined to Senegal, or extends to other, and what, parts of Africa?

In particular parts of it, when I mentioned Senegal, it relates to that only.—In my general evidence, where I have not distinguished the district, my meaning has gone as far as I have been on the Windward Coast—as far as the river Sherbro.

How long did you reside in other parts of Africa, besides Senegal ?

I have been employed in voyages to other parts of Africa for five Years ;—eight in Senegal ;—in all thirteen.

What number of Slaves, exported from Senegal, are natives of that coast, or are brought from the interior country.

Nearly about one half each.

Whether the evidence you have given of the mode of their becoming Slaves applies to the interior countries.

What has happened in the making of Slaves in the lower part of the country, has happened more compleatly within my own knowledge.—With regard to the making Slaves in the interior country, I could only have it from hearfay.

Can you say any thing with regard to the mode of making Slaves in the interior country ?

I have told the Committee that I have understood the mode of making Slaves in the interior country is the same, but I have it not from my own knowledge.

From whom have you learnt it ?

From the most respectable travellers through those countries.

Whether those travellers have given you any, and what, information of the government of those countries ?

I do not recollect any thing particular.

Did you understand from them what proportion of the Slaves, brought from the interior countries, were convicted of crimes ?

I never made the enquiry.

Did you understand from them in what manner the persons sold for crimes were convicted—what form of trial was used ?

I have always understood from them that the mode of conviction has been generally as I stated it.

Then is the Committee to understand, that, though these persons have given you no information of the government of those countries, yet that they have explained to you the forms of judicature used there ?

I wish it to be understood, that I have not understood from those travellers any information respecting the government of those countries,

countries, materially different from the countries nearer the sea-coast, with which I was myself acquainted.

Did you learn from those persons what was the form of government in the interior countries?

I did not make a particular enquiry respecting the form of government of the interior countries.

Can you then undertake to say by whom persons accused of crimes in the interior countries are tried?

Yes, I do say I have understood they were tried by the Elders, as in those countries within my own knowledge.

Can you undertake to say that there are no unjust convictions in that country?

No—I cannot.

Can you undertake to say that the greater part of the convictions in that country are not unjust?

I do believe they are not;—I believe justice in general is fairly administered there.

On what grounds do you believe this?

I think I stated that last night—I said, because trials are generally by a number of the Elders of the district—that the trial is open—and, that the Judge has no advantage in the issue of it.

Then, is the Committee to understand, that you have been told by these travellers that trials in the interior countries are always before the Elders of the district—that the courts are always open—and, that the Judges, in the interior countries, have no profit from the conviction?

I have understood so.

Whether, when you resided in other parts of Africa, you had communication with travellers, who gave you information of the interior countries from which the Slaves who were sold were brought?

No; only in the Senegal and in the Gambia—but the interior countries, from whence I have had this information, I conceive to be the same countries as those which furnish Slaves to other parts of the Coast of Africa, as far as the Bite of Benin.

Can you state what those interior countries are, by name or situation, to which the information of those travellers applies?

I can

I can state the names of the principal part of them; but it is impossible to state their extent or situation.

State their names?

Countries of Bamberena, Malay, Mandinga, Bito.

Whether those travellers were Europeans, or natives of Africa?
Natives of Africa, generally Priests.

Have you learnt from those travellers whether any, and what, proportion of the Slaves brought from those countries have been prisoners taken in war?

I have understood that many of them are prisoners taken in war, but what proportion of them I have not been able to learn, nor do I believe the people were capable of informing me.

Whether those travellers have explained to you the causes for which wars have been made in that country?

No; no particular causes.

Have they told you whether any, and what, proportion of the Slaves are persons kidnapped?

No, they never told me any such thing.

Do the causes you mention, which prevent the exportation of articles of provision, apply to all the parts of Africa to which you speak, or only to Senegal?

They apply to the countries between the river Senegal and Gambia, and to the countries bordering on those rivers.

Whether Rice is produced in any of the countries to which you speak?

A little Rice is produced in those particular countries I have just alluded to, but more on the Windward Coast, towards the river Sherbro, so far as I have been upon it.

Have you ever heard, or have you known, that any Rice has been purchased by British vessels on the Coast of Africa?

I have known it purchased always for the provision of ships trading on the Windward Coast—though sometimes they find it very difficult to get a sufficient quantity.

By whom is that rice, so exported, raised?

By the natives of the country.

Do you know in what manner the Gold-dust, purchased by Europeans, is collected?

When there is any Gold purchased by Europeans, which is very little, it is collected in the mines, in the Mine countries, as I have already stated—and upon the Gold Coast (there I speak only from information) I understand it is collected by washing the sands in rivulets on the sea-shore, and from the torrents, in the rainy season, running from the hills.

Do you know to whom the mines, in the Mine countries, belong?

They are understood to belong to the district in which they are situated, under the controul of the Prince and the Priest.

Do you know what articles we give in exchange for Gold-dust?

In the rivers Senegal and Gambia, I have not known any Gold-dust purchased for many years—on the Gold Coast, I understand, it is purchased for European and East India commodities; but the Gold, the produce of such purchase, is always expended again in the ship's commerce on the coast.

Do you know, when the Gold-dust is so purchased, to whose use the commodities so given in exchange for it are applied?

To the use of the vender, I believe.

Who then is the vender or proprietor?

The native African.

What description of native African? Is it the Prince, or the Priest, or for the district in general?

I fear I have not been sufficiently clear, or the honourable Member has mistaken me.—When I spoke of the mines, I told the Committee, they were the property of the district in which they are situated—under the controul of the Prince and the Priest—That those mines, I said, in a former part of my evidence, were situated west and east of the rivers Senegal and Gambia—I am now speaking of the Gold collected upon the Gold Coast.

When the Gold from the Mine country is sold, to whom belong the commodities which are given in exchange for it?

It is necessary first to observe, that when the Gold is collected in the mines, it is distributed to the different people working for it—the Prince has a share; the Clergy have a share; and the labouring

labouring workman has the remainder—Then, whoever sells his share, it is his own property what he receives in exchange.

Then are the Committee to understand, that (the hire of the labourers being paid) the mines are worked partly for the profit of the Prince, and partly for the profit of the Priest?

The labourer's profit is not a profit of hire; it is a profit of risk—if his labour is attended with success, the Prince, and the Clergy, and himself, are all gainers by it. He works in like manner with the Spanish Miner in Peru, for as long as he is allowed to work.

Did not you state that the mines were a sacred deposit, not to be touched but in cases of emergency?

Yes.

Are then the Prince and the Priest the judges of this emergency?

I understand the Priest always, and of the quantum of it, how long they are allowed to work.

Did not you say before, that in a former war, when the demand for Slaves was lessened, the Slaves were not turned to the articles of production?

Yes.

Was there at that time any increased demand for articles of African produce, or was not the demand for articles of produce lessened by the same causes which lessened the demand for Slaves?

During the war, the trade with Africa was altogether lessened in point of number of shipping; but with respect to the demand for African commodities, not Slaves, that has been always very great: in the poorest state of the trade, infinitely greater than the supply.

State particularly in what commodities?

Gold, Bees-wax, Ivory, and Cam-wood.

How are the domestic Slaves employed?

I think I stated that some individuals were possessed of an incredible number of domestic Slaves—they are employed in the various articles of inland commerce and agriculture.

Whether

Whether the prisoners taken in war would be employed in raising Cotton, if they were not sold to the Europeans?

I am confident they would not.

Whether persons convicted of crimes would be employed in raising Cotton, if they were not sold to the Europeans?

I do not believe they would.

Do you think more Cotton would be raised by putting a stop to the Slave Trade?

I do not believe it would make any difference in the industry of the inhabitants.

Are there any public roads in that country?

None.

Are there any horses?

Between Senegal and Gambia many, and to the northward—but they are never used either for draught or burthen.

If they grew large quantities of Cotton, could the Cotton be conveyed down to the ships?

Only what grows on the borders of the great rivers, none other—land carriage is totally impracticable.

Does any Rice grow southward of the Windward Coast?

I have never heard of any.

In what manner are the Slaves belonging to Negro Masters, in Senegal, fed?

In Senegal and Gambia they are very well fed (excepting in years of famine) with corn, flesh meat, and fish.

How many hours in the day are they worked?

They are not worked for any regular time.

Is their labour constant?

No.

Is it carried on under the whip?

Never.

You said that some of the King's ships, stationed off Senegal, were very unhealthy—what were the names of the ships?

One

One called the London, a bufs—another called the Union Hoy, to the best of my recollection—and another called the Goree Sloop.

In what year did that happen?

In 1758 and 1761.

Were they in the river Senegal, or on the Coast?

The bufs and hoy were stationed within the bar of the river, and the sloop on the Coast—it is to be observed, within the bar of the Senegal, is in fact being on the Coast.

You said, there was no landing-place between Sherbro and the Bite of Benin—is the Committee to understand that no ships trade within that distance?

To the best of my recollection, I said there was no navigable river within that distance; but I will beg leave to state further, that there is no convenient landing-place within that distance, fit for the landing of merchandize, or embarkation of merchandize, without great danger.

Is there any trade for Slaves carried on within that distance?

Yes, a great deal.

How are the Negroes brought on board, and how are the goods landed, in exchange for them, on this part of the Coast?

I have understood generally in canoes, by the natives.

Does not the space you have mentioned comprehend all the Gold Coast?

The whole of it.

Are there not many European factories on that coast?

Several.

Are there not landing-places at each of them?

Yes; such as I have described—very unsafe ones.

Is there not safe anchorage, on all the Coast, in the open roads?

I have understood there is—but it is to be observed this is only hearfay, as I was no further than the River Sherbro.

Did not you say there was no landing-place from Sherbro to the Bite of Benin, in the former part of your Evidence, How do you know that, if you was not on the Coast?

From

From the best information of many navigators with whom I have conversed.

Have you ever heard of any ships being lost, on the Gold Coast, by stress of weather?

No; for the plainest reason in the world—because the wind is always along shore or off shore.

Cannot ships put to sea at pleasure, on any part of the Coast?
Certainly; for the same reason.

Is not Senegal now in the hands of the French—and whether the British have any access to it?

I believe it is in the hands of the French, and we have no access to it.

Is not all you have said of the Gold Coast entirely from information, and not of your own knowledge?

It is; and I have always stated it so.

Whether, to your knowledge, the Tetanus, or locked jaw, prevails on the Coast of Africa?

I have not seen an instance of it.

Can you say why a less number of Female Slaves, than Male Slaves, are sent out of Africa?

It is a question that requires so much to be said in answer to it, that I would wish to refer to what I have said in answer to that question before the Committee of Privy Council.

Whether, from your own knowledge, no persons are sold for Slaves, on the Coast, but such as are prisoners of war, or have been convicted of crimes?

I have not, within my own knowledge, known of any sold on the Coast, except on those accounts, or for debt.

By what means a person paying the fine of Twenty Slaves of his own, for a theft committed by himself, communicates the guilt of that theft to those twenty Slaves, so as to make them proper objects of the European market, conformably with your own statement of the laws of the country?

I think I stated, that persons convicted for crimes were subject to a penalty of one, or two, or as far as Twenty Slaves—that he must either pay those Slaves or be sold himself for a Slave—that he pays those Slaves either in Slaves, or in the value of those Slaves; if in
H Slaves,

Slaves, I don't suppose he imposes any guilt upon them; they are his property; he pays his debt, or he pays his penalty with it.

Are there then any other causes, besides Crime or Debt, that will justify selling persons as Slaves to Europeans?

I know of no other cause than those I have already stated; but, with submission, I conceive those persons are already Slaves, before the person paid his penalty with them, owing to some of the causes which I have before mentioned.

Do you mean to say, that all the persons in Africa, having Slaves, have the absolute power over the persons of those Slaves, to dispose of them as he thinks fit?

By no means—I think I have stated otherwise.

Whether it is necessary that the twenty Slaves, so paid by a Master for a penalty, should be persons convicted of crimes, or liable to the punishment of transportation?

I do conceive they would not have been Slaves, but for some of the causes I have already stated.

You say that rich persons possess a great number of Slaves—Is the Committee to understand that all the Slaves are persons convicted of crimes?

I do conceive that all the Slaves in Africa are Slaves owing to some of the causes I have mentioned.

You stated, among the causes of Slavery, Adultery, and that Polygamy is allowed in the country—on whom does the punishment for Adultery attach—on the man or the woman, or both?

I understood always on both.

Have all the wives of any man the same rank?

They are all his wives; but the guilty one only is punished.

Whether infidelity in every one of the wives is adultery?

It certainly is deemed so.

On an average, how many wives has each man?

I cannot average them—very uncertain—in proportion to their quality, and in proportion to their opulence.

Is there any difference between Polygamy and Concubinage in that country?

Not

Not a great deal—I believe, in most countries where Polygamy is allowed, the first wife bearing a child is considered as the principal wife.

Does the marriage ceremony take place with every wife that a man takes?

Yes; I believe it does.

Do you know whether the northern bank of the river Senegal is inhabited by Moors?

Both by Moors and Negroes.

Have you never heard that it is a common practice with the Moors on the northern shore, to cross the river for the purpose of catching persons, whom they afterwards carry down to sell to the Europeans?

No; I never heard of such a practice—on the contrary, I know there is no such a practice.

You have stated, that domestic Slaves are sold only for weightier crimes—Are there two descriptions of Slaves in the possession of African owners, one description of which he may sell without conviction in a judicial process, though he may not the other?

Certainly there is.—One description of Slaves he holds as merchandize or moveable property; so long as he holds it in that state, he can dispose of it as he pleases; but from the moment when he tells one of those Slaves, “You shall belong to my household,” from that moment he enjoys a security which he did not before possess—he cannot be sold without the commission of a crime.

In what consists the weight of punishment which is inflicted in the sale of a Slave, for having committed a weightier crime, when you have stated that to those that live on the Coast, and are acquainted with the Europeans, it is only the exchange of a black master for a white one, which the criminal does not dread as any punishment at all?

I beg to be understood, that when I stated that he did not consider the change of the master as any punishment at all, I said, the transportation from his country, and separation from his friends, he certainly must feel as a great punishment.

Then is the Committee to understand, that an African Negro does consider transportation from his country, and separation from his

his friends, as very great punishment, though he does not expect to incur any further inconvenience.

Certainly.

Are not the Africans very fond of European commodities?

They are fond of them only so far as their necessities require them.

Are not beads a great article of exportation to Africa, and do their necessities require beads?

Beads are not a great article of exportation—only used particularly at Gambia.—The use of them is more as a commodity of exchange, though they must become ultimately an article of ornament.—In the earlier period of the African trade, beads and many other toys were much used, but the trade is now more generally reduced to a demand for necessaries.

If European commodities were only to be had in exchange for the produce of the country, would the natives rather go without those commodities, than employ themselves in raising the produce necessary to procure them?

From all my observations of the natives of Africa, I am most confident of opinion they would.

You have stated, that persons are never condemned without a fair trial, and that numbers are sold for Slaves on the accusation of witchcraft—What do you consider as a fair trial for witchcraft?

Trials for witchcraft are generally carried on secretly—I do not know of any fair trial for witchcraft.

Whether the children of the Slaves you describe as moveable property, are themselves considered as Slaves, although they have not committed any crime?

The children always follow the condition of the mother.

Are such children saleable, in the same manner with their parents?

They certainly are.

When Slaves are brought down to the European Factories to be sold, from the interior parts of the country, whether any questions are ever asked those who offer them for sale, in what manner they procured those Slaves?

I do

I do not believe it is the practice—but I do not speak from my own particular knowledge, as I never bought a Slave.

Then a former Question and Answer being read to the Witness, as follows; viz.

“ Have you never heard that it is a common practice with the Moors on the northern shore, to cross the river for the purpose of catching persons, whom they afterwards carry down for sale to the Europeans ?

“ No ; I never heard of such a practice—on the contrary, I know there is no such a practice.”

The Witness was then asked,

On what ground do you assert you know there is no such practice ?

I assert it from the very intimate knowledge I had of the country during the eight years I resided in it, and from a regular correspondence with most of the Chiefs of it.

Do the inhabitants of that country wear any clothing, and of what sort ?

In the country between Senegal and Gambia, they do wear clothing, as I have before observed, chiefly of their own manufacture.

From whom do they obtain the raw material for that manufacture ?

The material is Cotton of their own growth.

If they have more of that raw material than they want for their manufacture, might they not be persuaded to sell the superfluity ?

I dare say they might ; but I have never known an instance of their having more than they want. I have taken great pains to obtain some of the Cotton, but never could succeed, beyond the purchase of a few pounds.

If you had wanted any of their Cotton cloths for your own use, could you have obtained them ?

A very few, and at a very high price. I have known Cotton cloths, two cloths of the usual size of their cloths which they weave, about three yards long, and a yard and a half wide, estimated at the price of two Slaves.

At what price do the natives buy them for their own use?

They are very seldom an article of sale, and therefore they are so dear; the natives generally manufacture them for themselves.

Does this high price of the Cotton cloth arise from the scarcity of the raw material, or the difficulty of manufacturing them?

I believe chiefly from the indolence of the people themselves.

What quantity of the Cotton cloth may be supposed to be used by a native annually?

That is according to the quality of the native—The poorest female Slave may have a couple of coarse ones, and those two may serve her a twelvemonth.

How many may be supposed to be used by the male Slaves, and the people of higher condition?

They never, neither male nor female, wear more than two at a time, one over their shoulders, and one round their waist.—People of quality and opulence will have changes, but I do not think that the actual consumption exceeds two cloths in a twelvemonth.

By whom are the cloths, which are worn by persons of higher condition, manufactured?

They are all home manufacture.

Are they manufactured, by the persons of higher condition, with their own hands, or by their Slaves?

Women of the highest condition spin—their Slaves certainly spin too; and they employ weavers to weave it. Sometimes their own Slaves weave them, and then the whole manufacture is within themselves.

Do you mean to assert, that there are persons there who are weavers by profession?

I do.

Are they Free persons, or Slaves?

Both.

Do you not conceive that the Slaves, who manufacture the Cotton Cloths, by their Masters command, would not cultivate the ground for Cotton, if they were ordered by their Masters so to do?

No;

No;—I do not believe they would—it is the labour of women and children—all except the weaving—it is the private amusement of the family.

Are women ever employed in field cultivation, in that country?

I believe not—I have not known it;—but I beg the Committee to understand that I am still speaking of the country between Senegal and Gambia.

Is any wood obtained from that country?

Very little.—I have attempted myself to get wood from the Gambia; I once imported some very bad Ebony, and sold it at a considerable loss; I imported likewise some samples of mahogany, and found it coarse in quality, and much more expensive than I could purchase mahogany for here.

Do you conceive that large quantities of those commodities might be obtained, if they were not so defective in quality?

Of the Ebony I know there could not; the quantity I imported was about 12 ton, and it was obtained with infinite difficulty. I believe greater quantities of mahogany might be obtained, but not at any price to encourage the importation of it.

Whether wood had been used to be imported from that part of the country before you made that experiment?

No—I have not known it; I think I have heard that the Royal African Company made some experiments of that kind, but they were not successful.

By whom was the wood cut down which you imported?

Principally by the people belonging to the vessel which imported it, and some of it by the Slaves of a white trader there; by the black Slaves of the white trader.

Do you conceive the Slaves of that white trader would not equally have obeyed, if they had been ordered to cultivate Cotton?

No—I do not believe it.

Why?

Because the one is only a particular service of short duration, to which they would have submitted to gratify their master;—if they were to employ them in the constant practice of cutting of wood, they would not do that neither.

Do they manufacture iron in that country?
They make a clumsy hoe, an ax, and a knife.

By whom is that iron manufactured—is it by the Slaves?
By the native Smiths, whether Free or Slaves.

Have they those implements in plenty?
Yes, pretty well; almost all the Bar Iron we export to that country is used in that way.

Have they any Iron Ores in the country?
Yes, in Galam, I have understood they have; and the Highlands of Sierra Leone appeared to me to be entirely Iron Ore;—the natives are totally ignorant of the use of it.

You said, our ships bought Rice from the natives of that country; by whom was that Rice raised?

I believe by the natives themselves, both Free and Slaves; I am not clear.

Does not the same part of the country which produces Rice, also produce Cotton?
Yes, the same countries produce Rice and Cotton.

Why would the Slaves obey the order of their Masters in cultivating Rice, and not in cultivating Cotton?

They do obey their orders in both cases, and in the same extent—as far as the necessities of the family require it.

Did not you say that our ships bought Rice from the natives of the country?

I did say so.

How do they bring the Rice to the ships?
It is generally brought in canoes.

You have said, There are individuals who possess an incredible number of Slaves;—by what means do individuals acquire so large a number of Slaves?

By commerce generally. One particular description of people, which I then alluded to, is an order of Arabic Priests, on the banks of the Senegal, who have, I believe, some thousands of Slaves.

Is a trial for Witchcraft conducted in a different manner from a trial for any other offence?

It is.

How is the Rice brought to the water's edge?

It grows by the water's edge.

Does the cultivation of the Cotton, produced in that country, require much labour; and by whom is that labour performed?

I cannot answer that question.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.



Mercurii, 27^o die Maii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was re-
ferred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness Examined,
JOHN BARNES, Esquire.

N^o 2.

Jovis, 28^o die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House, to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in, as before.

RICHARD MILES, Esquire, called in, and examined.

How long did you reside in Africa, at what time, in what capacity, and on what particular part of the Coast?

I was eighteen years and an half in the Company's service on the Gold Coast.—During the first ten years I had at different times the command of most of the subordinate posts; the last seven years I lived at Cape Coast Castle, and had the command of the whole; it was from 1765 to the beginning of 1784. I was absent about twenty-six months in the whole during that time.

*Richard Miles
In command of
Cape Coast 1765-84*

What are the limits of the Gold Coast, and what is the extent?

The limits are generally considered from Cape La Hou to the River Volta, which takes in an extent of coast about four hundred miles, lying east and west nearly.

*Gold Coast
—limits*

Is your knowledge of Africa confined to those limits, or are you acquainted with other parts of Africa?

I have been in other parts of Africa;—at Senegal, Gorcee, Gambia, and Sierra Leone.

L

Did

Did you understand the language of the country?
The language of the Gold Coast I understood perfectly.

What is the form of government of the country on the Gold Coast?

My evidence is confined to the country on the water-side; I have no knowledge of the interior parts of the country.

To what extent from the water-side do you confine your knowledge of the country?

Except in one instance, where curiosity carried me twenty miles inland, I do not believe I was ever five miles from the Coast.

During your long residence there, did you obtain information with respect to the interior parts, from persons resident or native there?

None that I should think myself justified in repeating on the present important occasion.

What was the form of government of the country which came within your own knowledge?

Generally speaking, the Gold Coast is divided into petty states; I know of but one despotic monarchy on the Gold Coast.

What is that?

At Apollonia.

What is the extent of that monarchy?

I cannot say how far it may extend inland.

Did Slavery exist in all the countries that came within your knowledge?

I found them in the practice of it, and I left them so.

Did it appear to be a condition of modern introduction, or to have existed from remote antiquity?

If I am to speak from matter of fact, I can speak only to the time I was there myself; if from information, I have conversed with the oldest men in that country, and believe it to have been a practice for centuries past.

In what manner did persons become Slaves?

I can speak only as to the water-side upon the Gold Coast, where,

is divided into petty states

is a monarchy

where, as far as my observations went, the water-side provides near one-fourth of the whole purchased by us on that Coast.

By what name did that Nation go?

The Fantee Nation.

What is the whole number of Negroes furnished by the Gold Coast?

I believe, one year with another, from 7 to 8,000 are purchased by the English.

How are those Slaves obtained upon that Coast?

They are sold by the Black Brokers to the European Traders.

In what manner do they first become Slaves?

That must be matter of opinion in a great measure; there are many crimes that subject them to Slavery.

What are those crimes?

The chief of those I know are Theft, Debt, (if that can be considered a crime) Adultery, and Witchcraft.

In what manner are persons tried for these offences?

As far as my observations have gone, and I have had many opportunities of seeing, they have, according to the established laws of the country, as fair a trial as in any other part of the world.

Is the trial for Witchcraft carried on in the same manner as trials for other offences?

It is not; nor am I so competent to speak to that subject, because those trials generally take place in the night; but from observing, as I generally have done, all parties satisfied, the culprits excepted, I conclude that they are considered to be fair decisions. I do not mean to say that there is no exception to that general rule.

Witchcraft

punished for

What is the punishment for Witchcraft?

I believe in many cases, in some I know it, that the principals are sacrificed—the rest are generally sold.

Does that punishment affect the person convicted only, or does it extend to his family or relations?

Generally the whole family suffer Slavery, but here there are also some exceptions.

Does

Does the same form of trial exist in that country you call despotic, as in the other states on the Coast?

The King of that country has his Pynims, or Judges, or Elders, but they are more dependant on the will of the King than on other parts of the Coast.

For whose benefit are persons convicted of the crimes you have enumerated sold?

For the benefit of the party aggrieved—I have generally observed it so, nor do I know an instance to the contrary.

Is it so in the case of Witchcraft?

I have already said I cannot speak so pointedly to that crime, but I believe it generally is.

In the case of Witchcraft, do you mean by the person injured the party who conceives he is injured in his person or his property by the exercise of the supernatural power of the person accused?

I think so—but it is mere matter of opinion.

Do you mean that person, when you say the party injured?

Yes.

In the case of Debt, is the person sold as a Slave for the benefit of his creditor?

Beyond all doubt: I have known thousands of instances of it.

Have you known or heard of crimes imputed to them for the purpose of making Slaves of them?

Unless Witchcraft comes under that description, which, in this enlightened country, it certainly would do—I do not think it applies to any other.

Do the judges receive any benefit from the conviction of a criminal?

I know of none, nor do I believe they have any benefit whatever—they have a fee at the instituting of all suits; but that has nothing to do with the conviction.

Are prisoners taken in war sold for Slaves?

I can by no means think that wars are frequent in Africa; but where they do happen, in some cases I suppose they may be sold as Slaves: but in that part of the country where I had an opportunity

tunity of making any observation, I have generally found, where skirmishes have happened (for I do not admit it to be to the extent of wars) between two villages or towns, the difference is generally made up by the interference of a third party; in which case, for the most part, the prisoners are exchanged, except where it is proved that any one man, or any family, has been the cause of the quarrel, in which case that man or family is sold.

Were such skirmishes frequent during the eighteen years of your residence on that Coast?

In a country like that, where there are so many different petty-states, there must necessarily be frequent disputes and broils among them; but seldom carried to any extent.

Is it the custom for the Natives to possess a great number of Slaves themselves?

Slaves are considered as property in that country, as much so as land or money in the funds is here—they have Gold, some of them in considerable quantities—but a man, speaking of his property, speaks of his Slaves—Gold, or any thing else, is considered as secondary.

Is kidnapping practised there?

I do not know I ever heard the word mentioned there or any where else but in this country. It cannot be practised on the Gold Coast to any extent without certain detection; for the Natives have one general language, and the Brokers who sell the Slaves have a daily intercourse with the shipping; if therefore any Slave on board ship felt himself in that predicament, he would communicate it to the Slave Brokers, who, from motives of interest, as well as from regard to their own laws, would sift it to the bottom, and the delinquents must be found out.

You have said that one-fourth of the Slaves exported from the Gold Coast are what you call water-side Negroes; from whence do the other three-fourths come?

From the interior parts of the country of course.

Can you give any information how those become Slaves?

I have never been in the interior parts of the country—I have said so—I can only judge of their situation from what I see of the situation of those on the water-side.

Does the practice of human sacrifice prevail in that country?

It is painful to me to give an answer to that question. I have

M

no

no doubt but that it is generally practised. That it is practised, I have had ocular demonstration.

Has it ever happened to you to know what have become of any Slaves which the Europeans have refused to purchase?

Many thousands of them are sacrificed at the burials of great men. Every one understanding the language must know this to be a general practice, though they did not see it.

From your knowledge and experience there, can you say whether any Slaves have been saved from sacrifice by having been sold to Europeans?

I have myself, in some few instances, given three or four pounds per head for Slaves to save their lives.

Have you ever heard any conversation pass between the Natives of what would become of any particular prisoners, if they were not bought by Europeans?

I have already said, that any person understanding the language must know that the custom of sacrificing is general.

From your observation, during a residence of eighteen years, Can you say whether or not Slaves have been made on the Coast by violence, fraud, or oppression, either of the Princes of the country, or of the Europeans trading to that country?

To the first part of the question, as to acts of oppression by the Kings or Princes, I know of none, except in Apollonia, which, I have already observed, is a despotic government, where the subjects have no will of their own.—As to the latter part of the question, unless it may be in one or two instances, in which instances I believe the offenders have been brought to justice in this country, I know of no others, nor of this but from report or hearsay.

Have you ever known the Slave Trade on that Coast produce wars amongst the Natives?

I have answered the question before, in saying I do not believe the wars are general; and that in the skirmishes, so far from being intended to increase the number of Slaves, the prisoners on each side are generally exchanged.

With what particular manufactures are Slaves on that Coast purchased by the Europeans?

I cannot enumerate the particular articles, there are many—
I suppose

I suppose the Custom-house books will shew in a great measure.

Are they purchased by articles of manufacture carried out from this country?

It follows of course — I have just said the Custom-house books will shew the articles carried out.

Does that country produce any articles of commerce in which an extensive trade could be carried on to this country, independent of the Slave Trade?

I just observed I once went twenty miles inland, and, from my observations, I think the Gold Coast less favourable to cultivation than any other part of Africa—I wish to except a very small part of it between Accra and the river Volta.

When you speak of any other part of Africa, do you speak from the information you have had of other parts of Africa, or from your own knowledge?

I speak in part from both.

You were understood to say you had been only twenty miles inland—say, therefore, to what other parts of Africa you refer when you say, “The Gold Coast is less favourable to cultivation than any other part of Africa?”

I mean both to windward and leeward of it.

Have you been to windward and leeward, or do you speak from information?

To windward I speak from my own observation—to leeward from information.

How far have you been to windward?

I have been from Senegal all the way down to the Gold Coast.

What other articles of exportation besides Slaves are produced on the Gold Coast?

I do not immediately recollect any but Gold and Ivory—there may be some trifling things besides.

Are Gold and Ivory produced in any considerable quantities there?

Very inconsiderable quantities, I conceive, could be procured, speaking of it as a branch of commerce between this and that country

country—One ship of one hundred tons would carry twice the quantity that the whole Gold Coast affords in a twelvemonth—I conceive so.

Does that answer refer to Gold and Ivory, or to Gold only?

It is principally Ivory—for I believe a very small boat would carry all the Gold that could be got.

In what manner is the Ivory brought down to the Coast?

It is brought from the interior parts upon the shoulders generally of the Slaves that are brought from thence.—When a Broker has one or more Slaves for sale, he generally endeavours to procure Ivory, that he may embrace the opportunity of Slaves going down to carry it.

What navigable rivers are there upon that Coast?

Not one from one end to the other—except the small river at Chama, a Dutch settlement; and I am very doubtful if it is practicable to get vessels even into the mouth of that small river.

In what manner then must articles of any bulk (supposing they could be procured) be brought down to the shore of the Coast?

I have been so little (as I have said before) in the interior parts of the country, that I can hardly speak to that subject.—It is an impenetrable wood what little I have seen of it.

Are there any convenient bays, harbours, or landing-places on the Coast?

I must trace the whole Coast to answer that question.—Landing-places there certainly are, or we could not get ashore at our forts; but most of those landing-places are very dangerous. Bays and harbours, I do not know of one capable of admitting a ship of any burthen.

Would it then be practicable to load, ship, or unship, bulky articles of commerce on that coast?

The ships on that coast generally lye two or three miles from shore, and the landing-places being mostly very dangerous from the heavy surf or breakers, I conceive would be a great drawback upon the value of such produce in the transporting of it to the shipping.

Whether, from your experience of eighteen years residence on the Coast, you can say whether that country could be colonized by Europeans?

From

From the observations I have made, I should be sorry to be one of those who attempted it. The Natives would oppose you in the first instance, and the climate in more.

Does that country on the Gold Coast produce either Grain or Cotton for exportation?

I never knew it produce either one or the other for exportation, unless the Indian Corn, which is sold by the Natives to the shipping, comes under the head of exportation.

Is that Indian Corn sold to the shipping in any large quantities?

Sometimes more, sometimes less. It depends upon the quantity of provisions the ships carry from Europe.

Is the Corn produced from the Gold Coast, or is it brought from the Grain Coast?

The Indian Corn I spoke of is produced on the Gold Coast. The Corn to windward is a different kind of Grain altogether.

Does the Gold Coast produce Dying Wood in any considerable quantity?

I never knew a single stick of any kind produced on the Gold Coast. I do not mean to say there is no such thing on the Gold Coast; but if it had been an article of commerce, it is more than probable some of it would have gone through my hands.

Are any other valuable woods produced on that Coast?

I cannot speak as to the value of woods—we have a sort of tree grows on the Gold Coast, that when cut into boards resembles wainscot the nearest of any thing I know.

Did any other Europeans, besides the English, trade for Slaves on that Coast during your residence there?

The French, in a very small degree, on the Gold Coast—the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese—besides a very considerable number of Americans.

Has the French trade on that Coast increased of late years?

They never had any settlement on the Gold Coast whilst I was there—I understand they now have one, or are building one—but the French carry on a considerable commerce just now on that Coast—not directly with the Natives, but with the English shipping.

N

Why

*French trade -
settlement being
built*

Why do the French carry on that commerce through the medium of the English shipping?

No doubt because they find it their interest.

When did the Americans first take up that trade?

The Americans carried on a very considerable trade to that country on my first going there, and continued in it till the American war—Since the peace I understand they have taken it up again—There are several American ships now on the Coast.

From your experience of that country, can you say whether, if this country once gave up the Slave Trade on that Coast, it could afterwards be resumed?

It certainly might be attempted to be resumed, even if it was given up for a few years—but I think it would be very impolitic to attempt to relinquish the Trade.

Whether the demand for Slaves on that Coast has been such, that if the English gave up the Slave Trade the Slaves which at present are transported by them would be bought up by other countries?

No doubt of it.

Is the climate of Africa particularly unhealthy to the Europeans on that part of the Coast where you resided?

In general it is very fatal to Europeans, though I had the good fortune to enjoy my health,

Is it most unhealthy to those on land, or to those on board the ships at sea?

To speak positively to that question I should have lived both on board the ships and on shore, which I did not; but I believe they are most unhealthy on shore.

Do you know any thing of the tenure of land in that country?

I do not think I can speak to that question—I believe, in general, land is so plenty, that every one takes the spot he likes; and no one invades him till he has taken off his crop.

Can you tell from what part of America the Slave Trade is carried on to the Gold Coast at this present time?

Chiefly out of Boston, as I understand by report—but I have no doubt they will soon fit out ships from their other ports.

Examined

Examined by Members of the Committee.

After what procefs are Natives of the Gold Coast condemned to fale for debt?

We have in most of the towns on the Gold Coast a Palaver Houfe, which, strictly fpeaking, is a court of juftice—in thefe places the Judges or Elders of the town (few of which are under the age of fixty or feventy) afsemble to hear the parties. Thefe trials are in open day, and free for any perfon to hear that pleafes.

*Palaver Houfe
Trials*

What is the mode of trial for Theft on the Gold Coast?
The fame.

For Adultery?
The fame.

For Witchcraft?

To Witchcraft I cannot fpeak fo pointedly—I conceive it to be a fort of fecret religious bufinefs, which they keep entirely to themfelves; but I wifh to be underftood a very fmall part of the Slaves fold are fold for Witchcraft.

What proportion are fold for Witchcraft?

I cannot fay—When I fay a fmall part, I mean a very fmall part.

What is the extent of the diftrict of the kingdom of Apollonia?

My refidence was chiefly confined to the forts I commanded. I occasionally made excurfions up and down the fea-coaft—I do not know my obfervations juftify me in fpeaking exactly to its extent—it may be eight or ten miles of fea-coaft—or it may be more or lefs—or thereabouts.

*Apollonia
extent*

Can you fay what is pretty nearly the extent of the kingdom of Apollonia?

I cannot anfwer that queftion any other way than I have done. I dare fay I exceeded it when I faid eight or ten miles.

What proportion do the Native Slaves of Apollonia bear to the whole number of Native Slaves exported from the Gold Coast?

Slaves born

I am

I am free to say not one in an hundred.—The late king of Apollonia took more pleasure in killing his Slaves than in felling them—he was a great warrior, but a great monster, not fit to be spoken of in this country.

What is the whole extent of the Coast to which you speak?

In that also I may be wrong—I believe it to be about four hundred miles.—I believe I just now said the king of Apollonia was a great warrior, I wish to explain myself on that head—Hammonce, the king of Apollonia, for many years carried on a war against the Dutch in that country, in which I believe many thousands were lost on both sides, for the war continued many years—It was in consequence of an attempt of the Dutch to take Hammonce's country from him, which he ceded to the English in 1765.

Do you apprehend the Negroes sent abroad to our settlements in the West Indies are more or less attached to their wives, families, and relations, than the Europeans are?

I do not know I ever made any particular observations on that head.—If it had been possible to have foreseen that I should have been questioned to that head, there are many other points of information as well as this I should have endeavoured to have made myself more master of.

Then can you not give any further answer to this question, having resided there eighteen years?

I do not believe affection is very predominant in the breast of the Negroes.—If I was to give an opinion, I should think it rather otherwise.

Can you give any reason for your opinion?

I know of no particular reason.

Can you inform the Committee, whether they have more or less attachment to life than the Europeans?

I can give no other answer than I did to the last question.

Do you not think it probable they may look on expulsion from their own country as the greatest of all calamities?

I can give a positive answer to that question—I am sure they do not.

Have you not heard that the Negroes on their passage go with

were killed by
the late king - a
monster, so great
arrived

Hammonce, King of
Apollonia -
Was well butch
no mention of the Kingdon
English 1765

Hammonce
at by the Dutch
Amemichia
the English
Amemichia

with an idea that they are to be sacrificed when they arrive in the West Indies ?

I am very certain, as far as my observation has gone, they have no such idea.

You have said, that any attempt to settle colonies on that Coast would be violently opposed—what is your reason for saying so ?

Because I think they have the same right to oppose me in settling on their land, as a Planter in the West Indies would oppose my settling on his land, or a landed man in this country.

Do you not think they have the same right to oppose our seizing their persons ?

I never knew an instance of seizing their persons—not a single instance.

Was you supplied with any, and what articles of provisions, the product of Africa, by the Natives of Africa, during your residence there, and of what sort ?

My daily consumption, both of live and dead stock, I purchased of the Natives, such as pigs, poultry, and Indian corn, yams, and a few other vegetables.

Was you supplied by them with rice or millet ?

Neither of those articles grow on the Gold Coast, nor ever did.

What proportion do the Freemen of the country bear to the Slaves ?

The difference is immense, I cannot speak to the number.—The Freemen are to the Slaves as ten to one, twenty to one, probably fifty to one—it may be one hundred to one—no comparison—one hundred to one at least.

*Superior of freemen
to slaves*

Is there any distinction amongst the Slaves with respect to their offices and duties ?

In answering that question I can speak only as to domestic Slaves—of the others we know nothing till they are brought to be sold to us.

Then all the Slaves on the Coast where you was are domestic Slaves ?

For the most part I suppose they are so, speaking of the number that the water-side gives.

O

When

When a man is tried for any offence, and found guilty, and sold for a Slave, what becomes of him immediately after sentence is passed on him?

In many cases his family or his friends are at hand, who redeem him with a Slave—if he has no such friends he is sold.

Of what sort is the Slave by which he is redeemed, is he a domestic Slave?

No; one of the Slaves that come from the interior part of the country, of which most of the people of any consequence on the water-side have some at hand.——I will explain—If a man living in the town near the water-side has a son or daughter, or any other relation, who has lost their liberty—that man, if he wishes to redeem his child, if he can obtain a Slave in no other way, will take Gold and buy one from the Europeans.

From what occupation or employment is the Slave, paid for the redemption of the person convicted of a crime, taken?

I have already said if they cannot immediately obtain a Slave that is for sale, they will take Gold and buy a Slave out of the shipping.

What is the employment of the domestic Slaves on the Coast, are they employed in cultivating the land?

The women, for the most part, cultivate the land, and do all the drudgery about their houses—The men are chiefly fishermen—some are huntsmen; but Fish is the great article of commerce with them.

Are they employed in any manufacture?

I do not know a single manufacture of any kind on the Gold Coast.

Are they employed in any handicraft trade?

In most villages on the Gold Coast they have an awkward sort of a Blacksmith, which is the only man in the country which comes under the description of a tradesman.

Are there any shops or warehouses for the sale of any commodities in the towns on the Gold Coast?

Europeans have such places, but the Natives none.

In the punishment for crimes, is the family of the culprit involved in the sentence of being sold for Slaves?

In

In none I believe, except for Witchcraft, which in general involves the whole family.

You have said that the number of Freemen on the Gold Coast exceeds the Slaves in the proportion of one hundred to one, did you not in that calculation confine yourself to domestic Slaves alone?

In that calculation I considered domestic Slaves as Freemen, because they have all the advantages of Freemen.—I do not know but I might go so far as to say that, leaving out the domestic Slaves, the Freemen are to the Slaves in that proportion.

Do you mean, by leaving out the domestic Slaves, that you would not include them in the calculation either as Slaves or Freemen?

Yes—I think the Freemen alone are full in that proportion without the domestic Slaves, but it is a difficult thing to ascertain exactly who the domestic Slaves in a family are.

When you say that the proportion of Freemen to the number of Slaves is as one hundred to one, do you mean the Slaves in the country, or the Slaves exported from the country?

With the Slaves annually exported.

When you say the Slaves annually exported, do you mean the Slaves exported from that country itself, which you stated at about 2,000, or the whole number, stated at 7 or 8,000, brought from the interior country?

In speaking of the Freemen, I can only speak of those on the water-side, of course I mean to say that, taking it for granted that the water-side and the countries immediately adjacent to it give about 2,000 Slaves, or one-fourth of the whole number, that the Freemen are in proportion of one hundred to one of the 2,000 Slaves.

To what extent of country do you speak of as containing 200,000 Freemen?

I mean to confine myself to the Gold Coast, the extent of which I have before mentioned; but the more you go into this subject the more I am convinced the number of Freemen exceeds the number I have mentioned.

Do you mean to say that in the whole extent of that Coast, of four hundred miles, there are not more than 200,000 Freemen?

Upon the first putting of that question I said I did not think myself

myself competent to answer it; but I am sure I was considerably out in my calculation.

How many villages are there within five miles of the place where you resided?

I cannot answer that question.

Are there any villages?

Several.

What number of inhabitants are there in those villages in general?

In some villages not fifty—and in some 3 or 4,000.

Is there any one village within five miles of your residence containing 3 or 4,000?

Yes.

One, or more?

This is all guess—more than one, two, or three.

You have spoken of a distinction between domestic and other Slaves; in what state are those other Slaves, and to what purpose are they employed?

They are bought for the purpose of sale only, and are employed in no way whatever.

What is the length of time that elapses between their being bought and their being sold again?

Of the three-fourths provided by the interior parts of the country it is impossible for me to say any thing, because I cannot know their history—the other one-fourth are in general sold immediately after they have lost their liberty.

Of those three-fourths, what length of time elapses between their being brought into the country and being sold to the Europeans, meaning in that district to which you have been speaking?

In general, the Broker sells them as soon as he can get a market for them, because they are not only at the expence of feeding them, but there is also the risk of mortality—I have known instances of the Brokers keeping many of their Slaves on hand in order to raise the price of them on the European purchaser.

Does

Does the Broker, or person to whom they belong, make no use of them during that time ?

I do not know that he does.

Of the other one-fourth of the Slaves, are there any condemned to be sold to the Europeans, as distinguished from those condemned to be sold generally ?

I know no distinction—when they have lost their liberty the proprietor sells them to Europeans, or as he pleases.

Of those so condemned to be sold in the country, what is done with them between the time of sentence and the time of their being sold to Europeans ?

Generally speaking, they are kept in confinement.

When a person who is condemned to be sold for slavery, or to find another Slave instead of himself, furnishes another Slave, what is done with that Slave so furnished ?

The person who receives him is at liberty to use him as he thinks proper.

But what is the use he makes of him ?

He sells him to Europeans.

Does he ever make any other use of him than selling him to Europeans, or to some other person who sells him to the Europeans ?

Having consented to give up the Freeman, and to receive a Slave in exchange, as I said before, they are in general sold to European Traders ; but if he chuses to incorporate that Slave amongst his domestic ones, he is at liberty to do so.

Do you think the greater number of Slaves so condemned are sold to the Europeans, or incorporated amongst the domestic Slaves ? or is there any other use made of them besides those two ?

I really cannot speak pointedly to that question—I should suppose the greater part so received in exchange are sold to the shipping.

Do you not understand it as a common practice, that the family of a Freeman condemned are allowed to exchange another Slave for him ?

For Debt and Adultery it is allowable and common, and sometimes for Theft.

Is it ever refused when offered?

Yes, I believe in case of Adultery with the King's wife or a great man's wife, it is stipulated that the man shall not live in the country; but in other cases it is generally allowed.

death slavery
You said, that as a punishment for Witchcraft in many cases, and in some you knew it, that the principals are sacrificed—What do you mean by sacrificed—do you mean put to death as victims?

Clearly so—generally killed immediately after sentence pronounced.

Are they sacrificed to any idol or supposed deity, or is it merely an execution?

I have already stated that we have very little opportunity of knowing what steps they take on these occasions; but from the conversation I have had with the natives, understanding the language perfectly, I have generally understood that they put one, and in some cases more than one to death, to appease the anger of the injured family.

Do you imagine that the number sold for Witchcraft is more than those who suffer death for it?

I have already stated that I considered the number altogether very trifling; it is impossible to draw the line between those killed and those sold.

But you have said the principals are sacrificed, and the rest sold—Are those sold a greater number than those sacrificed?

That I cannot precisely answer, because we do not see these sacrifices, nor can we ascertain how many are sentenced as principals.

As their proceedings are secret, can you ascertain how many are sentenced at all for Witchcraft to death as principals, or to be sold as Slaves?

Being, as I observed before, done in secret, in the night, we have but two ways of coming at the knowledge of their situation—First, by people who sell them, and state their crime—Next, from the parties themselves, who, not considering it any disgrace, make no secret of what they were sold for.

Is it the usual practice to enquire from the Slaves themselves, or from the persons who bring them, for what crimes they have been made Slaves?

It

It is certainly not the practice—It is very unusual to ask such a question; nor should I have ever thought of asking it, if I had acquired a knowledge of their language.

Had you opportunities enough of asking it, to have been able yourself to form any judgment of the proportion of the numbers condemned for Witchcraft?

I have already said that I conceive the numbers sold for Witchcraft to be very trifling of the water-side Blacks that are sold—The Blacks from the interior countries speak in different languages, wholly unintelligible to Europeans, and it is impossible to question them.

Have you any other means of knowing the number of water-side Blacks sold for Witchcraft, than from the questions which you yourself had an opportunity of putting?

I had no opportunity of ascertaining the numbers; but I have missed myself a man or woman (for I have known both instances) out of a town for some time; when, on enquiry what became of them, I have been informed by their fellow town's-people that they had been condemned for Witchcraft.

Have you known many instances when you made that observation, and in which you had that information given you?

I may have known of several instances in the course of my long residence there; but not considering it as an interesting subject to myself, I have not given myself much pains to confine my thoughts to that subject.

Then the following Answer being read to the Witnesses,

“ Being, as I observed, done in secret in the night, we have
 “ but two ways of coming at the knowledge of their situation.—
 “ First, by people who sell them, and state their crime—Next,
 “ from the parties themselves, who, not considering it as any
 “ disgrace, make no secret of what they were sold for.”

He was asked,

Do you mean to apply that answer, in which you say there is no disgrace to persons only who are sold for Witchcraft, or to persons sold on other accounts?

I clearly meant to confine it to those who are sold for Witchcraft only.

In

In the case of persons condemned to be sold for Witchcraft, is there the same liberty for the family to find another Slave, as in the cases of persons condemned for other crimes?

I have already stated, that the crime of Witchcraft attaches to the whole family—consequently none of that family can remain to be at liberty to redeem them.—But I believe it is no unusual custom for some of the younger children to be spared on this occasion.

But if the persons so condemned could procure another Slave as an exchange for themselves, would that be permitted?

They certainly would not be permitted—they are sold under the express agreement they shall never be suffered to be put on shore again.

Then, in every case, when a person is sold for Witchcraft to the Europeans, is that condition expressly made more than in other cases?

I have generally understood it to be so.—I believe it is universally the practice.

With whom do you understand the condition to be made?

If the Slave is sold to a ship, they stipulate with the master of the ship that the person shall not be redeemed, whatever price may be offered.—If to an European trader on shore, the trader engages he shall be sent on board under the same kind of slavery.

In what manner and form, and before what witnesses, is this stipulation made?

Witnesses in these cases are altogether unnecessary.—It is the European's interest to take the Slave away; for should he imprudently be tempted to redeem this man, he would suffer very materially.

Are persons who are condemned to be sold for Witchcraft never sold but to the master of a ship, or to the European merchants on shore?

They are considered as dangerous members of the community, and the moment after conviction are generally hurried out of the country in the way I have described.

Then are they never condemned to be sold for Witchcraft but when there is an European ship or European merchant ready to receive them?

I do

I do not conceive that the absence of shipping or of European travellers altogether would save them from being convicted;—but I conceive that in such case the whole of them would suffer immediate death—I have not a shadow of doubt about it.

You said a very small proportion of the two thousand Slaves were prisoners of war?

Yes.

When you spoke before of wars and skirmishes, did you mean to say that there were no considerable wars, and nothing beyond those skirmishes which you described—do you mean in that part of the country and within the time of your observation?

The Fantee Country, or Water-side, was in a state of peace almost the whole time I was there.—There was a serious war between the Fantees and Ashantees, the two most powerful nations we know of, very shortly after I went there, and which, I believe, lasted twelve months or more—but that war was carried on in the interior parts of the country, and the cause of it was, I believe, that of the Ashantees wishing to have a part of the sea-coast as their dominions.

Do you imagine the war was caused or prolonged for the purpose of making Slaves?

I think I can confidently say it was not; I believe I have stated the true cause.

Do you imagine the prisoners taken in that war were sold as Slaves to the Europeans?

As we had no opportunity of penetrating into the interior parts of the country in which this war was carried on, I can only give an opinion—It seems natural enough that they should sell them rather than sacrifice them; but I do not remember that any extraordinary number of Slaves were sold on that occasion, on the contrary, there were no Slaves at all stirring to speak of; the war seemed to have put almost a total stop to the sale of Slaves.

Do you imagine any part of those Slaves were interchanged in the same manner as in the skirmishes you spoke of on the Coast?

It was in the early part of my residence in Africa, so that I can hardly recollect any observations I made on that occasion.

But in the skirmishes nearer where you resided, when you had

Q

an

Cause of Slavery

*War between Fantees
& Ashantees (1782)*

*cause - Ashantees
desire for sea coast*

an opportunity of making an observation, was that the practice of their being so redeemed?

I believe in nineteen cases out of twenty it is the practice.

Had you any particular opportunity of observing instances of persons sold on account of being the causes of the war?

I cannot immediately quote any particular instance.

On what ground do you state that circumstance of such persons being excepted out of the redemption?

From speaking their language I had an opportunity of knowing some of the particular laws and customs of the country.

Are you able to ascertain the proportion sold for Debt to those sold for Crimes, or the proportion that either bear to the whole number sold?

I do not think that I can state that on any clear ground; I conceive that Theft forms a very considerable part of them—of the three crimes, Theft, Debt, and Adultery, I should suppose Theft takes the lead in point of numbers—Adultery comes next; and the fewest of the three those sold for Debt.

If a Slave, destined for the European Merchant, in the possession of an African Broker, becomes unfit for sale by illness or otherwise, how does the Broker dispose of him—the Black Broker?

There is no doubt but all of that description, with very few exceptions, are sacrificed to their superstitious rites and ceremonies.

In what manner are the Slaves confined, so as to prevent their escape, between their arrival on the Coast and their sale to the Europeans?

While in the hands of the Black Broker three out of four of the whole number are not confined at all, because, being from the interior parts, the Broker is under no apprehension of their running away from him;—the other fourth part, the men have their wrists fastened to a log of twenty-five or thirty pounds weight, which prevents them from running away.

Whether the Natives are not anxious to possess the European manufactures?

They like them very well, but they do not like to pay too dear for them—they prefer their own Gold.

You

You stated in your evidence, that a certain quantity of Grain is sold to the shipping—would not the Natives endeavour to raise an additional quantity of the produce of the country, if they could by such produce procure the European manufactures which they desire?

I have generally found so little disposition to industry in them, that my own opinion is that they would not make such endeavours; but I do not assert this as a fact.

Do you mean to say that they would not cultivate an additional quantity of Grain, if for that Grain they could procure European commodities?

If I were to draw any conclusion from the experience I have had, however improbable it may appear, I am very much inclined to think it would be with very great difficulty you could bring them to that—I shall give my reason in proof of that opinion; we readily buy up all the Corn brought for sale, and yet there are many instances of ships being obliged to go to the neighbouring islands to procure the quantity of Corn they want sufficient for their voyage.

Does not that proceed more from the uncertainty of the demand, than from the indolence of the inhabitants?

Generally speaking, the demand is pretty certain—the Natives know the number of Europeans settled amongst them, and can pretty well ascertain the number of ships that resort there.

Do you not think that if the inhabitants could not procure the European commodities by Slaves, which is now the means of procuring them, that they would not have recourse to agriculture sooner than remain without the commodity?

This is matter of opinion—I have already stated that the Natives are not disposed to habits of industry, but admit they were so disposed, I know no market they can find for their Corn; and there are no other articles I have known them cultivate, except a few vegetables.

Suppose they had a market?

Taking it that they had a market, still there is an insurmountable obstacle to agriculture.

What are those obstacles?

The observation will be confined to that country I have seen—Near the water-side it is very rocky, except here and there a spot which

*obstacle to agriculture -
substituted for slave dealing*

unfavourable soil?

which is clear of rock. The whole face of the country abounds in rocks; and even as far as the distance of twenty miles inland, where I stated I once was, I found the country, generally speaking, very rocky, infomuch that, excepting the article of Indian Corn, the soil would not produce any thing else in any considerable quantities. There are other obstacles to a commerce of that kind with the Africans: there is no inland communication whatever by water—no beasts of burthen. But admitting those difficulties got rid of, and that the produce was at the water-side, the shipping of bulky articles, except at one particular season of the year, must be attended with very great risque and expence.

Supposing the soil fit for agriculture, is there any reason why the Natives should not employ their prisoners of war, the Slaves from the interior country, and the Native Slaves, in the purposes of agriculture, if they found it for their advantage?

I should suppose the natives would not be fond of trying the experiment; the same danger would attend it as employing the convicts in cultivating the lands of this country.

Then you think that the fear of danger would be the only reason for not employing Slaves in the cultivating of lands in that country?

No other reason occurs to me at the moment.

You said they had no manufactures in that country—do you mean no manufactures for their own use, or no manufactures for commerce?

I believe I said I did not immediately recollect any manufactures they had in that country, nor do I now.

What is their cloathing in that country?

They have all their cloathing from Europe—they have not one yard of cloth made on the Gold Coast, from one end to the other.

Have they any materials for dying in that country?

To the leeward of the river Volta I understand that they have some mode of using the Indigo Plant; but on the Gold Coast I do not remember ever once to have seen it in use.

Supposing the land was fit for agriculture, is there any means of carrying it on; have they any horses?

I believe I remember to have seen three, or the outside four horses,

horses, which were Arabians, during the whole time I was there—I have imported horses into that country, in hopes of their living, but I never succeeded.

In case they could raise corn, how would they get it to the water-side?

They have no other method than carrying it on the Slaves heads; there is no land carriage nor water carriage.

Do you think the Slaves that are brought down to the water-side for exportation would be employed in the uses of husbandry in case they were not exported?

I think the Free Natives would be afraid of making the experiment.

What time do the ships taking the Slaves from the Coast of Africa sail, whether in the day or the night?

For the last ten years I was in Africa scarce a ship failed but I saw her go—and when it has happened that a ship has perchance failed in the night, it has been owing to a very early land wind, which the ships generally take the benefit of; but the more usual hours of ships leaving that country is from five to eleven in the forenoon.

To which of the British West India Islands are the Slaves chiefly exported from the Gold Coast?

Some professional men should speak to that subject—Captains of ships, who carried them.—I should suppose, generally speaking, to the island of Jamaica.

Is there much Ivory exported from the Gold Coast?

I believe I have already said, that a ship of one hundred tons would carry the whole produce of a twelvemonth in that article.

*Irony suggested
100 tons = 1 year*

Are you at present engaged in the African trade?

I am considerably concerned in the African Slave trade—I should have mentioned that, when I first came to the bar, if I had not been convinced that the circumstance of my being interested in the trade would have had no weight in my mind with respect to the information I was to give to the Committee.

Have they any tools in that country, and are they of their own manufacture, or imported from Europe?

I before stated, that except a bungling sort of a blacksmith in

R

every

every village, I know of no other tradesman, and consequently of no tools but such as those men work out of an iron bar, such as an axe, in their rough way.

Are there many of those tools in that country?

They have enough for the necessary purposes of their agriculture.

Do all the inhabitants of that country wear cloathing?

If a square piece of cloth two yards each way is considered as cloathing, they all wear cloathing.

Do you recollect many of these considerable towns, containing as many as 3,000 inhabitants, all cloathed with European manufactures?

I cannot immediately recollect the number of villages that I have seen; but in every village I have seen the inhabitants are cloathed in that way.

How are these considerable villages supplied with food—by public markets, or otherwise?

I believe for the most part each family plant a small spot of land for corn, as much as they can consume for the season; in addition to the corn they plant some few vegetables. I have already said fish is a great article of commerce with them; this fish, corn, and vegetables, is the chief of their food.

By whom is the fire-wood supplied to the European ships cut down?

Most Freemen of the different towns on the Gold Coast have some, two or three, or more Slaves. The men generally cut that wood by order of their master, who does or does not let the Slave benefit by his labour, as he thinks fit.

Whether the Slaves ever refuse the command of their masters to cut the wood on those occasions?

I cannot speak so particularly to that point;—if a Slave of my own refused to obey my order I sold him, and I suppose a free Native would do the same.

Are there not Slaves belonging to the factories employed in various services there, and sometimes in the defence of those factories?

Slaves belonging to the factories, or more properly belonging

to the public, are a very different description of Slaves altogether—they and their forefathers have been handed down from time to time; so that at the present day there is hardly one among them that was not born a Slave.

In your former answer, when you say that most Freemen of the different towns have two or more Slaves, do you mean to speak generally of Freemen on the Gold Coast?

Clearly so.

Do you not think that those Slaves would obey their masters orders, if they were directed to cultivate Cotton, provided the soil were adapted to it?

I cannot take upon me to say how that would be—some might, and others might not.

Do you think that a trade for Cotton could be opened on the Gold Coast?

The country certainly produces Cotton, and might be cultivated with that article;—but it would be a very difficult thing to get the natives to cultivate any quantity.—The only piece of ground I ever saw cultivated with Cotton in Africa was my own planting, which might be the size of the floor of this house.—I would have given the Natives ten times the value of it, if they would have gathered it for me, but nothing could tempt them to gather it for me.

Whether the same articles, which you offered them for gathering the Cotton, they did not supply themselves with by the felling of Slaves?

Beyond a doubt.

Are human victims sacrificed, except at the death of persons of considerable distinction?

Sacrifices at death are confined chiefly to the funerals of great men.

Whether the greatest part of the ships which you saw sail in the day-time were not ships trading along the Coast, or were not ships having completed their cargo, and going off the Coast?

I believe I have before stated, during the last ten years I was in that country scarce a ship left the Coast that I did not see her sail down the Coast—that is, she had completely finished her business, and was going to the West Indies.

What

Cotton

Human sacrifices

What proportion did those ships you saw sail bear to the whole number resorting to that part of the Coast?

A very large proportion; probably four out of every five—The last seven years I resided at Cape Coast Castle—and near two years previous to that I lived at Anamaboe, which is the mart of trade on the Gold Coast—Those places are within sight of each other—Every person conversant in that country knows full four out of every five sail from one or the other of those places—as to the time of sailing, professional men will very soon ascertain that, when they know that ships leaving that country must take the advantage of a land wind, which seldom blows fresh enough to carry them from the land till five or six in the morning, sometimes ten or eleven.

Do you mean to say that the greatest part of the ships leave Anamaboe in the day?

If between the hours of five and ten in the forenoon means the day, I am confident they do, for the reason I have just now assigned.

Are you of opinion that your having redeemed some Slaves from sacrifice, lessened the general number of Slaves sacrificed?

I do not suppose it had any great effect on the practice—it certainly lessened the number to be sacrificed in that instance.

Whether the persons condemned for Witchcraft do or do not really perform certain ceremonies which are considered to constitute that crime; and whether the punishments affixed to them are known and certain?

I cannot take upon me to say what act they really do commit; I have generally understood suits of this kind are instituted immediately subsequent to the sudden death of any man or woman to whom they belong, and which death they have not been able to account for.

Are these suits merely malevolent, and fraudulently instituted, or whether any acts are really performed by the persons accused?

I have said, I generally understood sudden deaths give rise to the accusations.

Are married women in Africa generally faithful to their husbands?

We cannot suppose them quite so constant in that country, where the husband has such a variety of wives, as in other countries, where he is confined to one.

Are

can show, the
of Gold Coast
ships sail from
a Cape Coast.

Are married women

Are there such particular restraints laid on the married women in Africa, as to make it difficult for them to commit acts of infidelity?

I know no restraints they lay under: if themselves or their families have money to pay the forfeit, they generally follow their own inclinations.

What become of female Africans convicted of Adultery?

Generally speaking they are, I believe, in the same predicament as the men—redeem themselves, or forfeit their liberty.

Do you think Europeans, if so disposed, could procure as many female as male Slaves in Africa?

I am persuaded they could not; and I speak from a great deal of experience—I have bought some hundreds—some thousands.

Do you know whether the tetanus, or locked jaw, prevails in Africa among the children?

As to my own Slaves, young and old, altogether I do not believe I ever buried ten—As to the Free Natives of the country being subject to that distemper, I cannot say.

Is it a common thing for persons accused of Witchcraft to be acquitted?

Having already said every thing I can on that subject, I do not see how I can answer any further questions on it.

Is that the only answer you can give?

I can only answer to that purpose.

If the Slave Trade was to be abolished, do you apprehend persons would still be made Slaves for every inferior sort of crime?

I believe I before stated that the Natives would conceive there was great danger in letting loose among them criminals of every description, of which Theft forms a considerable part.

Would not other punishments be substituted in lieu of Slavery?

They have no other punishments that I know of among them but Death and Slavery.

Are there many ship's boats lost in the course of the trade which go from the ship to the landing-place?

The boats are of two descriptions—trading-boats and watering-boats.

Are many of the trading-boats lost?

They never land, and consequently are in no danger.

Of those boats which bring off the Slaves to the ships, are many lost?

I believe, as far as my observations have gone, that of the whole number of Slaves exported, not one in a hundred goes off in a boat at all.

How are they carried from the shore to the ship?

In the country canoes by the Natives.

Would not the same country canoes which carry off Slaves also carry any produce?

No doubt the large ones might.

Whether the land which you stated to be in such great plenty is not fit for the purpose of cultivation?

Having already said they raise a good deal of Corn, Yams, and other pulse, it follows that the land is capable of cultivation; but it does not remove the inconveniency of the rocks, which I before mentioned to be so general.

Do you mean to say that all the land which is capable of producing those articles is employed for that purpose?

No—nor I do not suppose one thousandth part of it.

You speak only to that country?

I speak only to that country.

Is that land incapable of being cultivated for Cotton, Rice, and the other productions which are congenial to the climate?

I have already said Cotton will grow there, and does grow wild—Rice has been often tried, but hitherto without success—Rice is peculiar to another part of Africa.

Is the general disposition of the Natives averse to labour?

I have generally found them so—even though well paid.

Do you speak of the Slaves as well as of the Freeman, as to their dispositions being averse to labour?

I believe

Native's habits.

I believe in general Slaves require masters at their heels, so I believe the Free People would.

Do you mean to say that the Slaves are averse to labour?
I believe they are equally disposed to indolence.

Do nine out of ten Slaves rejoice at their falling into our hands, though they are aware that they are bought for labour; and by their gestures wish to convince the purchasers they are fit for it?

That question comes out of my evidence before the Privy Council—It will probably save the Committee some trouble if I admit the whole of that evidence, as taken before the Privy Council, as fact.

Question repeated.

It frequently happens in a lot of eight or ten Slaves that one will be refused for some defect, such as a speck in his eye, though otherwise probably as strong, robust a Slave as any in the lot—in making a purchase of ten or twelve, such refuse Slave seeing himself rejected, will importune you to buy him, and by every possible means in his power endeavour to convince you he is equally as capable of labour as those you have purchased—this is not in one, two, or three instances only, but I have found it generally so when I spoke of a defect in the eye—I do not mean that every man refuses a Slave on that account, I spoke principally of my own case.

*From evidence
taken before the
Privy Council*

Do you mean to say that the nine Slaves out of ten, who are not refused, or likely so to be, do express this desire of becoming Slaves to the Europeans?

Without regard to the tenth, that is the refuse Slave, I wish to be understood that, generally speaking, nine out of ten of all the Slaves I have bought have been pleased, or appeared to be pleased, at changing a Black Master for a White Master.

Have you not asserted that if a Slave was ordered by his Master to cultivate Cotton, you would not answer for his compliance?

If I have answered that question, it was a matter of opinion.

You have stated that the Slaves know they are bought for the purpose of labour—is it your opinion that the Slaves imagine the labour to which they are to be put is lighter than that to which they have been employed in their own country?

Without having any idea of the magnitude of the labour, I believe

lieve their joy arises from seeing themselves removed from a situation where they think their life is in danger.

What is the cause of the Slaves apprehending their lives to be in danger?

Because they are subservient to the will of their Masters.

Is it usual in that country for a Master to put his Slave to death?

I have already stated in what instances they do.

What are those instances in which the Master puts his Slave to death?

In observing their rites and ceremonies, and very probably in some instances which do not come to the knowledge of us Europeans—I cannot speak to the cause, so well as I can to the fact that it is so.

Do you argue from the probability of their being put to death for causes of which you are totally ignorant?

I have not presumed to argue from any such point.

You have stated that the Free Natives would be afraid to employ the Slaves in the cultivation of their lands; for what reason do you think so?

I believe I have not stated it as a fact, but an opinion that I thought they would consider it a dangerous experiment.

Have you not stated, that the Free Natives are to the Slaves in the proportion of above one hundred to one?

After what I have said on that subject, I think it rather hard to press it further;—the reason why I think so is, that every gentleman of this Committee must know I can scarce be competent to answer it—there are no calculations made in that country with respect to population, as there are in this country.

What is the foundation of your opinion, that the Free Natives would consider as a dangerous experiment to employ their Slaves, whom they now sell to the Europeans, in the cultivation of land?

I have answered a question very similar to that already—For the same reason that we are afraid of employing our convicts in this country.

What

What is that reason ?

I should conceive it very dangerous to let loose all the felons out of the gaols of this kingdom, under the idea that they would confine themselves to any particular spot or species of labour.

Do you mean to say, that you conceive it to be dangerous to the well-being of the state to permit persons who have been convicted of small offences, who are Debtors (to say nothing of those convicted of Adultery) to go at large in their native country, after having suffered the punishment correspondent to the offence ?

I have already stated, that there are no modes of punishment but Death and Slavery in that country.

Question repeated.

Experience tells us in this country it is not dangerous ;—but I thought the question applied to Africa.

Are the European Traders present on the spot throughout the whole year, ready to purchase such Slaves as are offered to them for sale ?

Always, at all times.

Did not you say, that there is no manufacture of any kind of cloths in the countries of which you spoke ?

I certainly did so.

Do you mean to apply that to the country between Accra and the River Volta ?

Yes, I certainly do—but fearful lest the honourable Member who asks the question may be misinformed, I beg leave to state, that there is a country, a considerable way in land, immediately between Accra and the River Volta, that does manufacture a few cloths ;—the number is so inconsiderable in the first place, that I should hardly have thought it worth mentioning ; but being made in the interior part of the country, I did not think it applied to that part of the Coast I have been describing.—I only beg leave to say further, that the number of cloths is so trifling as not to be an object—they are chiefly brought down to Accra and places thereabouts, which may have given rise to the idea of their being manufactured there.

*cloth manufacture
is situated between
Accra and Volta
number trifling*

Does any Indigo grow in that country between Accra and the river Volta ?

T

I hardly

Indigo

I hardly know the plant itself if I see it; but I believe there is a plant grows wild here and there—I have been on the spot with gentlemen who were judges—I was none myself—they have told me it was a wild plant, very inferior in point of quality to the Indigo in other parts.

Is any use made of that Indigo by the Natives of that country?

I believe I have before said, that to the leeward of the river Volta they use it, and bring it to great perfection.

Is it or is not true, that about Accra Indigo grows wild; with which the Inhabitants die their own cloths?

I have admitted it grows wild about there—I really do not know the Inhabitants do use it there; but they probably may, as they do so near to the leeward of it—I do not wish to say they do not.

Then you cannot say positively whether or not Indigo grows wild about Accra, with which the Inhabitants dye their own cloths?

I have spoke positively to the Indigo growing wild about Accra; but I cannot speak positively to a fact I never saw, whether they use it green or manufactured, or whether they use it at all.

Did you not state, that one of the obstacles to the cultivation of the articles of produce for exportation was on account of the rocky and mountainous nature of the soil?

I did.

Do you apply that fact also to the country between Accra and the river Volta?

Not so generally as to every other part of the Gold Coast.

Is it or is it not true, that between Accra and the river Volta it is a fine, low, level, rich country?

If the honourable Member in asking that question refers to Mr. Bagg's evidence before the Privy Council, as I see the Report in his hand, it is the merest burlesque I ever read in my life of the appearance of the cultivation of Africa.—I am ready to admit, that from Accra downwards to the river Volta is level, and much more fertile than any other part of the Gold Coast; but the comparison between it and the corn-fields that are mentioned

in

country between
Accra & Volta
more fertile
Mr. Bagg's evidence
more burlesque

in Mr. Bagg's evidence, is painting the scene in much too high colours.

Do you recollect being examined before the Committee of Privy Council appointed to enquire into the state of the Slave Trade?

I have already said I admit every thing I see in that book to be my evidence.

Do you remember stating to that Committee, that between Accra and the river Volta it is a fine low, level, rich country?

In speaking of Africa I certainly must admit that that part of it, as there described, compared with the other parts of Africa which I had been describing, going from the windward part of the Gold Coast down to that particular spot, the difference is so striking that it cannot escape an observer.

Do you recollect stating to that Committee, that Indigo grows wild about Accra, with which the Inhabitants dye their own cloths?

I may have stated to the Committee, that Indigo grew wild about Accra; but I never remember to have said it was in use, nor have I seen in the book that part of my evidence;—if it is there stated as part of my evidence, I do not recollect having seen it.

Whether, at the time you gave your evidence to the Committee of Privy Council, you had not an opportunity of revising the minutes, in order to know that they were correct?

Yes, I certainly had; and hope the Committee will do me the justice to believe, that I do not mean to deceive them.

When the Slaves come down from the interior country fore and emaciated, do the European factors buy them in that condition, or do the factors keep them till their fores are healed, and they are fitter for sale?

I cannot answer to the general practice—the factors do not tell us.

Could not the king of Apollonia, if he chose it, with ease compel those of his subjects to labour whom he either puts to death or sells, as his caprice directs him?

It seems natural enough to suppose, that the man whose life is in your power would readily submit to any labour to save his

life;—but political motives, I suppose, would prevent the king employing him in that way.

Whether the Princes of the Slaving Country do not keep women for the purpose of breeding Slaves for exportation?
I know of no such thing.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.



Jovis, 28^o die Maii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness examined,
RICHARD MILES, Esquire.

N^o 3.

Martis, 9^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House, to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain J O H N K N O X.

Are you now a Commander of an African Ship?

I have been so of late—not at present—and likely to be again.

How long have you been so?

Between seven and eight years.

How long have you known the African Trade in any other situation, before that?

About an equal period of time, as Surgeon of an African ship.

What particular part of the Coast are you best acquainted with?

The Windward Coast more particularly—the Grain Coast, and the Coast of Angola.

Have you been often on the Windward Coast, and for a long space of time?

I have been five or six voyages on the Windward Coast; the last was for thirty-three months.

Have you had opportunities of observing the government and manners of the Country ?

As much as most people trading to that part of the Country.

Give some account of the government and manners of the Country ?

I presume it is the Grain Coast I am now desired to speak to—if so, the government can scarcely be defined by a likeness to any thing in Europe ;—it consists of small communities very loosely joined together ; where a few individuals, for mutual safety, sometimes find it convenient to assemble for the dispatch of business ; each however may be considered as the King and Priest of his own house, and is held scarcely in any other estimation than what their wealth commands ;—these decide every thing that can be called criminal, and as the highest authority, are entitled to considerable respect when assembled.—I know of no law however which obliges them to mutual defence ; hence the depredations on the property of another are generally carried on for private interest ; such is the loose and very unsettled state of government in that Country.

limits of Grain Coast

What are the limits of the Grain Coast ?

From Sherbro to Cape Palmas.

Is that Country populous, or otherwise ?

As far as my observation extends, which is a very small way inland, it is very populous indeed.

What is the face of the Country—is it swampy, or otherwise ?

Very low and flat, and in the rains very considerable part of it overflowed.

Is it a healthy country ?

I apprehend not.

Is Slavery known in that Country ?

Univerfally.

Do the Africans themselves use domestic Slaves there ?

Most assuredly.

Are those Slaves numerous ?

Very numerous sometimes.

How

How are Slaves provided which are exported by the Europeans?
 Purchased from the Natives, who act as brokers between those who bring them from the interior parts and the shipping.

Do many of the Slaves exported come from the interior part of the Country?

I apprehend nine-tenths in the district I am now speaking of.

Where does the other one-tenth come from?
 In the small district under our own inspection on the Beach.

How do those one-tenth become Slaves?

For various crimes, Adultery, Witchcraft, Theft, sometimes Debt, and Prisoners of War.

Have the masters a right to sell their domestic Slaves?

I do not know as to the right, but I believe it never is done, unless for a crime committed, and generally, perhaps universally acknowledged.

In what manner are persons tried for crimes?

In every crime but Witchcraft they have a fair open trial, at which every individual of the village may be present.

In what manner are the trials for Witchcraft carried on?

This being always secret, is to me perfectly unknown.

What is the punishment on conviction for these offences in general?

Every other offence but Witchcraft is generally commuted into Slavery; the Principals in that crime, Witchcraft, are generally strangled, and afterwards burnt.

Does the punishment of Witchcraft extend to any other part of the Family?

Generally to all—they are all but the Principal sold to Slavery.

Do you know how they become Slaves who are brought from the interior parts?

By no means—only from the very vague information of the Natives.

What are the natural productions of the Grain Coast?

The River Sherbro, on the North extremity of it, produces

Cam

Cam Wood ; the Southward extremity, Malaguetta Pepper ; the whole of it Rice, and some little Ivory.

What opportunity have you had of knowing the Coast of Angola ?

In being three voyages to that part, and during my residence there, always on shore.

What is the government, and what are the manners of that country ?

That part of Angola which we trade to is governed by a King, though under many severe restrictions.

Does Slavery exist there among the Africans themselves ?
I have been no where in Africa but where Slavery exists.

Whence come the Slaves that are exported by the Europeans from Angola ?

As in most other places—generally from the interior country.

Where does the remainder come from ?

From the small communities of the kingdom adjoining to the Beach.

How do they become Slaves ?

For the same Crimes as in most other parts of Africa.

Are they tried before any tribunal ?

They have a fair open trial before the Princes of the Blood—sometimes the King, and always the most respectable of the Community.

What is the punishment for these Crimes ?

Slavery.

Is Witchcraft tried there in the same manner as other Crimes are ?

I have already declared my ignorance of the manner in which Witchcraft is tried on the Grain Coast, and know nothing more of it here.

Who has the benefit of the convict after he is condemned ?

The party aggrieved always.

Is it the same on the Grain Coast, and at Angola?
As to the benefit arising from the convict, it is the same.

What are the limits of Angola?

That part of it whence Negroes are provided by the English is very confined—in a larger sense it takes in the Portuguese Settlement of Loango St. Paul's, and from thence extends nearly to the Line.

What are the limits, speaking from your own knowledge?
About five degrees.

What are the natural productions of that extent of Country?
The Red or Bar Wood, and some little Ivory—I know of nothing else as an article of exportation.

Do you know the quantity of that Red Wood exported?
By no means—I was never in that trade.

Do you know of any other natural produce of that Country, that could be made articles capable of exportation?
None, as far as my observation extends.

Could any trade be carried on there, if Slaves were not an article of commerce?

There has been a very few ships employed in the Red Bar Wood, I mentioned—I believe, nothing else.

When did you go the first voyage to Africa as master of a ship?

In 1782.

How many men did you take out, seamen and landmen?

Forty-five—more than half landmen—seamen at that time were not to be got.

How long were you out on that voyage, before you arrived in the West Indies?

Between six and seven months.

How many did you lose by death?

None.

How many Negroes had you on board?

Four hundred and fifty.

Y

How

How many did you lose of them by death?
Seventeen or eighteen.

What was the size of the ship?
One hundred and eight tons—perhaps she might have measured more.

What part of the Coast did you fail to in this voyage?
To the coast of Angola, and so to the island of Tortola.

Did you go a second time to the same place?
Yes.

Where did you go to in the West Indies on that voyage?
Dominica.

How long were you in that voyage?
Altogether about fourteen months.

How long on the coast of Africa?
In that voyage rather more than seven months.

How came you to be so long?
From the number of French vessels then lying at Angola.

How many did your crew consist of in that voyage, and what proportion of seamen?

Thirty-three or thirty-four.—I do not remember ever going to sea but that more than one-half were landmen.

How many died in that voyage, of the crew?
Four.

Of what disorder did they die?
Fever.

How many Negroes had you on board?
We purchased somewhere about three hundred and twenty, and lost near forty of that number.

What was the size of the ship?
The same vessel.

How do you account for the greater mortality in the second voyage?

From

From the length of the purchase, and from the want of their natural food, which that country never affords for the Negroes exported.

Did you go a third voyage to any other part of Africa in the same vessel?

Yes, to Cape Mount, on the Grain Coast.

How many men had you that voyage, and what proportion of seamen?

Thirty-four the whole—and I have already said that one-half were always landmen.

Is it the general practice of the trade to have half always landmen?

I have ever found it so.

Did you come off the Coast in your own vessel the third voyage.

No—I sent her off with twenty-five of the people that I carried out in her, after having been seventeen months on the coast of Africa.

What became of the other nine men?

Three were officers, and staid with me—three were unfortunately lost in craft—and the other three died of fevers.

How long did you remain in the country?

Thirty-three months.

When did you leave it?

The latter end of January 1788.

Did you come off as Captain of a ship?

Yes.

How many Negroes had you on board, and how many did you lose on the passage?

Two hundred and ninety, and lost only one.

What island did you sail to?

Dominica.

Do you know whether the sailors on board Slave Ships are more or less healthy than those on board Wood Ships?

I never had it in my power to draw a comparison.

Can

Can you easily land heavy articles on the Windward Coast?
I believe heavy articles cannot be landed at all.

Can heavy articles be brought from the Shore to the ships?
I think not—I never knew of any.

In what manner is Rice, or other articles, brought from the shore?

Rice is brought in very small baskets generally, in the canoes of the Natives.

Whence arises the difficulty of shipping or landing heavy goods on that Coast?

From the very heavy and constant surf which universally prevails.

Is it not very common for the small packages of Rice to come wet to the ships?

Very generally.

Does the Country produce Rice in greater quantities than is wanted for exportation at this time?

I have often found that my wants could not be supplied from the Country.

Are there any Dying Woods in the neighbourhood of Cape Mount?

I know of none—The river Sherbro produces a considerable quantity of Cam Wood, and no where else as far as I know within the district.

Is Wax, or any other articles of commerce, produced there?

Wax is here totally unknown—The whole produces a small quantity of Ivory; Malaguetta Pepper, formerly mentioned, in a particular part; and Rice over the whole—these are all the articles of exportation that I am acquainted with in that Country.

Is there a consumption for more Cam Wood than we now get from that Country?

I believe not—I think the market is overstocked both with that and Bar Wood.

Could the trade of Ivory be extended?

At present we give them every inducement to exert their industry which the article will bear.—I apprehend it is not possible to extend it in this place.

Are

Are there any navigable rivers on the Wood Coast to the Eastward of the Sherbro.

None whatever where a boat of four and an half or five feet water could penetrate twelve miles from the Beach.

In the voyages you have made, do you know of kidnapping Slaves, or of their being obtained by fraud or oppression?

I never knew the practice nor heard of the word in that Country.

When the Slaves are put on board the ships, are they treated with humanity and attention?

Most assuredly.

Are they treated so through the whole of the voyage?

Through the whole of the voyage.

What is their food?

Principally Rice.

What is their food on shore on the Windward Coast?

Rice is likewise a principal article of their food on shore, and the root Cassada—Palm Oil—many kinds of glutinous herbs—Pepper—and those on the sea-coast have often fish.

What other articles have they on board besides Rice.

When Rice is not to be provided in a sufficient quantity, we generally make the previous provision of carrying out Beans, Stock Fish; and from Africa, Palm Oil, Pepper, Sheep, Goats, Fowls.

What sort of Beans are those?

Commonly split Beans, though I have seen them otherwise.

Have the Negroes on the voyage you have seen had a sufficiency of food?

I never knew it otherwise.

Has the food been regularly served to them?

It is almost our sole employment to serve them regularly.

Is the serving of the Negroes left to the seamen only, or do the officers see it done?

By no means to the seamen,—generally done by the officers themselves throughout.

In what manner are the Negroes fed on shore, that come from the Coast of Angola.

The Natives there live principally on Cassada, which they prepare in various ways—some little Indian Corn—and to these you may add Fish.

What is the food of the Slaves on board ship.

The Country itself affords no provision; we always carry out Beans—and I have always called at the Wood Coast for Rice, when it was to be got.

Are the Negroes on the passage supplied with a sufficient quantity of water?

I never saw it otherwise.

Where do the ships usually call to take in their water.

Those from the Windward Coast sometimes call at Sierra Leone, —though every ship keeps a number of the Natives to bring water off from the Beach, either in a small boat, or in their canoes.

What quantity of water have the ships usually on board for the Middle Passage from the Windward Coast and Angola?

Constantly about one gallon per head per day.

For how long a time?

From the Windward Coast for seldom less than two months, though most generally for ten weeks—the passage from Angola being more certain, a smaller quantity of Water on the whole is supposed sufficient.

In what manner are the Slaves treated when first brought on board the ship?

If a number of Negroes are on board, the men are generally put in Irons—the females never.

When are the Irons taken off the men?

With many it is customary, I believe, only when they reach the West Indies—with others, of which I was one, the moment we left the Coast.

What time of day is it usual to leave the Coast?

Generally speaking, it is only practicable very early in the morning, when the land-wind blows.—Upon the whole of the Grain Coast you may sail up and down, but cannot well get at a distance from it at any other time.

Is it usual for ships to make signals when they are about to fail?

I never knew it otherwise, but where a signal was made from three to four weeks before failing, constantly flying till the time of failing—and to enforce that signal more, for a few mornings before failing a gun is fired every morning.

Do the Natives perfectly well understand the meaning of those signals?

Yes.

In what manner are the Negroes placed on board the ship on the Middle Passage?

If the weather is any thing moderate, they are constantly on the deck in the day-time, and the grown Slaves between decks at night—many of the younger ones are suffered to run where they please night and day.

During your voyages, can you say that any of the Negroes have died from their being placed in too crowded a situation?

I never supposed that one died from being over-crowded; on the contrary, I always found, when we got into any thing of a trade-wind, that that part of the ship immediately under the gratings was deserted, to screen themselves from the cold.

In the time of illness, in the course of the voyage, have the Negroes been taken care of?

Every possible attention was paid to a sick Negro; so much so that for the six voyages I was Surgeon of a ship I constantly used to visit them three or four times in the course of the night, if any were indisposed.

Were the ships provided with medicines and other necessaries for sickness?

Always—ample provision of sago, flour, wine, spices, and whatever else could be thought to contribute in the smallest degree to their accommodation.

Were any general precautions taken to preserve the health of the Negroes?

The utmost cleanliness, fumigations, and sprinkling with vinegar, and above all fresh air.

When

When the ship is arrived in the West Indies, are any medicines or means used to repel disorders, and make them up for sale?

I never knew an instance of the kind.

Has the health of the White People been attended to in the voyage?

Very particularly, so far as my observation extends.

Have you observed whether a greater proportion of seamen or landmen die on their voyage?

The greater proportion of the mortality fall on the landmen, from not being seasoned to the country.

What is the proportion?

I cannot say precisely.

In the parts of the Windward Coast, and Angola, are there any manufactures?

I observed none on the Windward Coast, except a few Mats to sleep on—there are a few Cloths sometimes worn by the Chiefs of a village, which come from a country which they cannot describe—on the coast of Angola they make a small Grafts Cloth, which is the common medium of traffic; that and a few Caps, and Pipes curiously formed, make the whole of their manufacture.

Could any of those articles be obtained in such quantities as to become articles of exportation?

The largest ship-load would not fetch five pounds in this country—I apprehend they could not be procured in any quantity.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Have you heard from the Natives, that many of the Slaves brought from the interior Country are prisoners taken in war?

I have frequently heard, that some of the Slaves from the interior Country have been taken in war.

Do you mean by some, that a small proportion are prisoners taken in war?

I mean a very small proportion.

Have you heard that those wars were ever made or prolonged for the purpose of making Slaves of the prisoners taken in war.

Adjoining

Adjoining to the Beach war is always destructive of the Slave Trade, it prevents the Slaves from coming down from the interior Parts; and, to reason from analogy, I should suppose the same to take place in the interior parts.

Question repeated.

I never heard that wars are made or prolonged for the purpose of making Slaves of the prisoners taken in war.

You have said that Criminals have a fair trial—does not the decision depend absolutely on the pleasure of the Head or Prince of the small Community of which the Criminal is a member?

In this small Community the Chiefs who compose it have the same degree of power, and when assembled together are the highest authority.

Are persons tried before the Heads of these small Communities assembled together?

I believe very generally.

Are they never tried before the Head of the single Community to which they belong?

I have already said that no single Community has a single Head.

Do you recollect how many of your crew came home in each of your two voyages that you went as Captain?

The first voyage one man left me in the West Indies—and in the second voyage also one, and four died.

You have said that the Negroes are treated with humanity on the passage—are they chained together.

No doubt they many times are.

In what manner?

A right and left leg, and a right and left arm.

Are they ever confined in a place where they cannot stand upright?

At night, when they go to sleep, we do not intend they should stand upright, but that they should lie down.

Can they stand upright in the place where they are to pass the night?

In most vessels there is plenty of room to stand immediately under the gratings—in others the height is sufficient for them to stand up all over the ship—and in very small vessels frequently not more than four feet.

Do you mean that in your own ship, in the place where they were confined at night, there was sufficient height for them to stand upright?

I do mean that there was a sufficient height in my own ship.

What was the height?

From deck to deck five feet ten inches—under the gratings six feet ten inches.

Had you any platforms between decks?

All round the ship.

What was the height between the deck and the platforms?

The space between the deck was nearly divided by the platforms, about two feet eleven inches from each deck.

Did any Slaves lie there?

Quite full.

Do you mean that they could stand upright between the platforms and the deck?

Certainly not.

Could the tallest of them fit upright in that space?

I do not recollect making the experiment—I have often laid them down there.

Does it not often happen that Slaves of different nations are chained together?

We prevent that as far as we can by chaining those together who speak the same language—nor do I recollect an instance to the contrary.

Are the Negroes ever forced to dance in the day-time?

I never saw it necessary to use force for that purpose.

You have said that every inducement which the article would bear is given to the bringing Ivory down to the Coast—do you
not

not imagine that if we would take nothing else but Ivory for our commodities, a greater quantity would be brought down?

I apprehend that if the Negroes did not come down to Market, no Ivory would come at all.

Are the Natives desirous of having our commodities?

No doubt, what are necessary.

Do you not believe that if we would take nothing but Ivory for the commodities which are necessary for them, a greater quantity of Ivory would be brought?

I think not—I think the quantity of Ivory which we at present receive, and for which we give every encouragement, would not defray the expence of bringing it down independent of the Negroes.

What are the articles of our trade with them which are necessary for them?

Adjoining to the Beach they manufacture no cloth whatever—of course they are always clothed with the manufacture of Europe—Guns—Powder they have not yet manufactured themselves, perhaps never will—Spirits and Tobacco, from a long habit, may be considered as necessaries.

If the Europeans would take nothing in exchange for those articles which you stated as necessary but Ivory, mats and cloths of the manufacture of the Country, and the production of the soil, would not a greater quantity of them be produced and brought down?

Ivory is the only article mentioned that could in the smallest degree be useful to us—the mats and cloths have sometimes been brought home, but never fetched a price—I believe more cloths and mats might be produced, but not Ivory.

Would not the production of the soil, in the case stated in the former question, be increased?

Does the question mean Cam Wood and Rice, which are the only produce of the soil?

Those or any other produce which the soil is capable of?

The plantation of Rice, I apprehend, could never be very greatly extended, owing to the nature of the soil, and to the extreme quick vegetation which every thing in that country is subject to—
—which renders the annual labour of cutting down, burning,
and

and carrying away the trunks and branches of trees almost incredible.

Whether a soil subject to so quick a vegetation might not be applied to many articles of produce?

Some parts of it no doubt might.

Whether many parts not now cultivated might not be so applied?

There are very many parts not now cultivated—which of those might be so applied I am a stranger to.

In the ship you have been Commander of, had all the Slaves room to lie down on their backs at night?

Most generally so—sometimes I have known it otherwise.

On which of your voyages was it otherwise?

During the greatest part of the last war the French gave the trade entirely up, and many of the English ships were likewise laid aside—those that went found great dispatch, plenty of Slaves at a very moderate price—such times as those afforded an opportunity of sometimes crowding the ship too much.—In my last voyage to Angola, as Surgeon, in 1781 and the beginning of 1782, we were much straitened for room, and perfectly in the situation I am describing; and of my 602 Negroes, few, except those who slept upon deck, had the breadth of their back, and we only lost nine to the Island of Jamaica.

What was the tonnage of that vessel?

I really do not recollect, but I believe from 130 to 150 tons—I think not exceeding that, but I am not positive.

Was that your only voyage in which the Slaves had not the breadth of their backs to lie upon?

I think my next voyage, as Master, they were pretty much in the same situation.

Do you remember the number of Slaves and tonnage in the next voyage?

The tonnage of the vessel, by the register, was 106 or 108 tons—the number of Slaves was 450, and the loss 17 or 18.

Was that the case in any other voyage?

The last voyage I left the coast of Africa, the tonnage of the vessel

vessel might be about 120 tons—some part of it was appropriated to a White Trader, who had long resided in that country, and was then sick—this incommoded the Slaves more than I could have wished, and perhaps they had not all the breadth of their backs—Yet, of 290 Slaves, I lost only one.

Is the Committee then to understand from you, that in no one of the voyages to which you speak the Slaves had the breadth of their backs to lie upon?

In none of the three voyages which I have been now describing—I could mention double the number where they had much more room.

To how many voyages can you speak from your own personal knowledge?

With respect to the room the Slaves had, I can speak to nine voyages.

Do you mean to say that, in the six other voyages, the Slaves had the breadth of their backs to lie on?

I mean to say that, as far as my memory serves me, they had plenty of room.

Question repeated.

They might have had the breadth of their backs to lie on if they pleased.

Do you assert this from your recollection of the fact, or from calculation?

I formed no calculation in my head, or upon paper, respecting the size of those ships, but only from general remembrance, which, I think, warrants me in saying that they had plenty of room.

Can you state the tonnage of vessels and the number of Slaves in each of those six voyages?

I cannot—my business was to look after the Slaves, and not after the tonnage of the ships—I was then a Surgeon.

What was the number of Whites on board the ship in which you carried 450 Slaves in the ship of 108 tons?

Forty-five Whites.

What was the length between decks in that ship, as near as you can guess?

I never measured her, nor can I form a positive judgment upon it.

Did it reach seventy feet?

Could I answer that question directly, I must have previously measured the ship.

Can you tell the breadth of the ship?

She was a very great breadth for her tonnage; she might be about twenty-two or twenty-three feet—but of that I am not positive.

What was the depth of the hold?

That I do not recollect.

Where did she stow her provisions—in what part?

In rooms expressly made for that purpose, in the after part of the hold.

Where did she stow her water?

In the hold—and ten days provision of water upon deck.

What quantity of water was carried to sea in that vessel?

I do not positively remember the number of gallons—but I remember that we had a number of puncheons of water when we got to the West Indies.

If there was so much water on deck, how could the Negroes stand upon deck as you have described?

The water I have mentioned occupied but a small part of the deck, the Negroes (not one of whom was in Irons) had no difficulty in amusing themselves.

What number of boats had that ship?

Two.

Were they not stowed upon deck?

They were suspended on each quarter, as is always the case on board a Guinea-man.

How many hatchways had she?

Two principal—besides a small one forwards, which went into
where

where the fuel was stowed—and two small ones abaft, which went into the provision-room.

What were the extent of the gratings on the two longest hatchways?

I do not rightly understand the question—they were sufficient to take a butt of one hundred and eighty gallons.

What is the length of a butt of one hundred and eighty gallons?

I suppose about five feet—I cannot speak precisely—It is not in my line.

What is the breadth of such a butt?

I cannot say—but in general the hatchways are square, sufficient to take it down fore or aft the hatchways.

What is the size of the smallest hatchways on the scuttles?

Barely sufficient to admit a boy down into the room.

What are the common disorders to which seamen are subject in a Guinea ship?

Fevers,—very seldom Dysenteries,—I recollect nothing else to which they are generally subject to.

You mentioned a ship of 120 tons, part of which was allotted to a White Trader—How much of the ship was allotted to the White Trader?

It was the proper cabin of the ship, the whole of which was allotted to the White Trader.

Is it not customary before the Negroes are landed to rub them with Palm Oil?

The Negroes of Africa, where Palm Oil is to be got, rub themselves every day with it—we continue the practice during all the Middle Passages, as nothing can be so conducive to health as cleanliness.

If the White Trader had not had the cabin, how many Negroes could you have stowed in it.

From twenty-five to thirty—and with platforms many more.

How many more?

I suppose fifteen at least.

You

You mentioned the boys being allowed to run about deck in the night—What might be the number that generally made use of that liberty?

I had seventy boys that slept on deck every night, and that never were below—and twenty full-grown men—the Committee will observe that none of the Negroes in the Ship were in Irons.

What ship was this in?

The ship of 120 tons.

Where were your seamen stowed on board the ship you mentioned of 108 tons?

Where they always are on board of Guinea-men—there are cross pieces at the fore-mast, others at the main-mast—upon those are laid spars, and under which the seamen's hammocks are hung.

You said you could have stowed forty-five Negroes in your cabin, and a platform—and that seventy run about the deck—Is the Committee to understand that 345 of the 450 slept between decks.

The Honourable Member who asks the question has, I believe, mistaken the vessel.

Could you have stowed more than forty-five in the cabin of the vessel of 108 tons?

I dare say there were from forty to forty-five slept in the cabin of the vessel during all the Middle Passage.

How many slept on her deck?

Perhaps from fifty to sixty—I do not precisely remember.

Did the remaining part of the cargo sleep below?

Most undoubtedly.

Do you mean to say that 360 slept below?

There were never so many slept below—for there never was so many all together as 360 below—from fifty to sixty on deck, and forty-five in the cabin.

In the ships you have been speaking of, was it the old register, or the new one?

The old register.

Does not that make a very considerable difference in the size of the ships?

Most undoubtedly.—It was then the interest of the owners to have them registered as low as possible, as the duties were paid at so much per ton, and the lights in the channel in the same manner.

Was the register made on oath?

That is more than I can tell.

What is the difference between the proportion of the old and new register, with regard to the tonnage of the ship?

Neither of those vessels has ever been measured agreeable to the late act.

Do you know the difference between the old and new register?

No.

To what causes do you attribute the difference of the numbers per cent. who died in the different voyages?

For a very obvious cause indeed—the greater mortality I mentioned was from the Coast of Angola, which Country finds no Slaves provisions—we are therefore obliged to carry provisions partly from Europe, and (when to be got) partly from the Windward Coast of Africa. The food of the Natives on the Coast of Angola is principally the Cassada Root, which they use principally after it has been thrown into water, and has had time to sour.—This, as a vegetable and an antiscorbutic, resists every disposition in the habit to that cruel complaint the Scurvy;—from the length of time I was engaged in making the purchase, and the Negroes being fed with a food so totally different from that of their own country, nine of ten who died, died of the Scurvy.

Is that generally the case with the cargoes who come from the Coast of Angola?

By no means—in the ship where we took 600 Negroes from the Coast, we only lost nine, owing to the great dispatch of the purchase.

In the voyage of 1782, from the French having deserted the trade, and many of the English ships being laid up, you said you found a ready cargo, and at a very moderate price;—from what cause was that?

From the number of Slaves then on hand.

In what manner were those Slaves kept on shore for the market?
 I do not recollect ever seeing six Slaves in the country till they came into my possession, so that I cannot answer that question.

How did you know there was a full market for Slaves,—by what symptoms?

By fifty, sixty, sometimes 200 being offered for sale in a day.

How were they offered,—were they brought to the ship?
 The trade is made on shore, and we seldom have the information of them till they come into the factory.

Was you ever employed by being sent on shore to make that trade?

I made the trade on shore for two voyages altogether.

Did you in the voyage of 1782?

In the voyage of 1782 I did—but not in the voyage with 600 Slaves, when I went as Surgeon.

Where is the factory?

On shore.

Then when there was so ready a market in 1782, you was on shore?

I was on shore only the first half of the purchase.

In what manner were the Slaves then brought differently from other voyages, when they were not so plenty?—What constituted the difference between the trade then, and when they were more scarce?—And what was the difference of the price?

As to the mode of bringing Slaves, I never observed any difference, in times of the greatest plenty or greatest scarcity.—When they were so plenty as I have been just mentioning, I think they were not much above one third of the price I afterwards paid for them.

Are not ships trading to Guinea obliged to take more seamen than are necessary to navigate the ship?

Undoubtedly.

Suppose the whole number of seamen were to remain on board
 after

after her arrival in the West Indies, would it not be very detrimental to the interest of the owners?

I cannot see that it would.

Is it customary for masters of ships in the Guinea Trade to persuade or oblige seamen to leave their ships in the West Indies?

I never knew an instance of it.

Did you ever bring home the same number of seamen you carried out, allowing for mortality?

In three voyages I only left three people in the West Indies.

What is the usual allowance of provisions and water to seamen in the Guinea Trade?

In my own passage to Africa I never laid them under any restriction with respect to provisions—on the Coast I found it necessary to put them to an allowance, to prevent their embezzling the provisions with the Natives, which allowance was very generally a pound of beef a day, and a pound of bread—as to water, I never knew seamen put to an allowance.

Had they any other species of provisions, besides beef and bread?

Flour, oatmeal, pease—butter occasionally.

In what proportion of these latter articles?

Flour, pease, and oatmeal, generally half a pint per day, sometimes more—butter, the quantity never ascertained.

Do you mean to say each day in the week?

By no means.

Explain that?

I mentioned the quantity of each article—and that article is ordered for the days.

Mention the days?

Those days are not invariable—sometimes one thing is given in a day, and sometimes another.

Then do you mean to say there is no regular allowance but a pound of meat and a pound of bread per day?

I believe different Commanders give different articles on different

ferent days ; but with me they had generally flour twice a week —peas as long as they kept good—and oatmeal, when it was found, for breakfast—and butter occasionally, on a precise day for it.

Is the Committee to understand that water is constantly abroach on deck, to which the seamen have at all times free access ?

With me it always was so.

Does this allowance continue throughout the Middle Passage ?

That will, in a great measure, depend on the length of the purchase.

Is it your opinion that a ship taking two Slaves to a ton, and the usual number of Seamen, can take the quantity of provisions necessary to continue the allowance you have mentioned during the whole of the voyage ?

Most certainly it is.

And in your opinion the seamen of the Guinea Trade are as well taken care of as in other voyages ?

I think no seamen were ever better taken care of than my own were—I wish not to go on hearsay.

Is it usual for masters of Guinea ships to sell spirits to the seamen ?

I never did.

How was it in those ships where you was Surgeon ?

I have seen in one or two vessels spirits sold to the seamen.

Had the seamen no spirits in the ship you commanded yourself ?

They were regularly served with a glass of spirits every morning.

And no persons sold spirits on board the ship you commanded ?

No person.

In the ships in which you served as Surgeon, wherein you say you have known spirits sold to the seamen, what was the price in general you remembered the seamen to have paid for it ?

That did not fall under my inspection, nor can I precisely say what that price was.

Is it not usual in the Guinea Trade to pay their seamen one-half of their wages in the West Indies?

It certainly is.

What are the deductions usually made in settling their accounts?

I know of none but of one shilling per month for the hospitals, and for the few slops they may have had during the voyage.

Who furnished them with those slops?

The ship always carries out a quantity, supposing they may be wanted.

Are the slops laid in by the merchant or the master?

Always by the merchant, as far as I know.

Does the merchant fix the charge of the different articles?

I never knew of such orders.

If the articles are laid in by the merchant, is it not usual for the merchant to affix a price on his own goods?

There is an invoice price of what they cost him affixed to every thing—but I never knew of any price as the sale price.

Then is the Committee to understand that the sale price is left to the discretion of the master of the ship?

No doubt.

And does he pay to the merchant the whole of the money that he charges to the seaman, in settling his account in the West Indies, or on his return home?

The amount of the slops is deducted from his account when it is settled.

Then the master has no private interest whatsoever in the sale of those slops to the seamen?

I never knew he had the least, either directly or indirectly.

Did you ever hear any reason given for paying the seamen one-half of their wages in the West Indies?

It is generally supposed to be to enable them to lay in a few articles to present their friends with on their return.

In the agreements made between the master and the seamen,
D d before

before they proceed on the voyage, is it not usual to insert a clause, declaring that any man bringing on board any article of merchandize whatever, shall not only forfeit such articles, but the whole of his wages, and every thing belonging to him on board of the ship?

If this respects the West Indies, I never knew of such an article.

The Guinea Trade is meant by the question, and not the West India trade;—and the question is repeated, Whether you have not seen such article stand in the agreement betwixt the master and the seamen?

I never did.

And do you not believe it is usual to insert such an article in that trade in the ports of Liverpool and Bristol?

I do not believe it is usual in Liverpool, for I never heard of such a thing—I desire to be understood, I have known officers in their agreement prohibited from making any trade on the coast of Africa—but never knew the smallest restriction laid on the disposal of the seamen's wages in the West Indies.

Then is the Committee to understand that you never heard of such an article, as applying to the whole of the voyage?

Never.

Is it usual for the seamen and the master of the ship to sign an agreement, stating the monthly wages that each man is to receive during the voyage?

Most undoubtedly.

Do you consider that agreement as equally binding on the master as the seaman?

I apprehend it is equally binding on both.

Did you ever know a clause inserted in another part of that agreement, by which the master and two of his officers are to judge of the abilities of the seaman after the ship is at sea, and to make such deductions from his wages as they thought proper; and is not the seaman bound to submit to it?

In all African articles which ever fell under my eye, there is a clause, that if any officer or seaman shall wage or enter himself in a situation which he is not capable to fill, that the master and two of his officers shall make such a deduction from his wages as appears to them reasonable.

Who

Who is to appoint those officers?

The master to be sure, at sea of course—it is also expressed, that one of their own number of the seamen should be present at the deliberation.

Can the captain remove the two officers at his pleasure, if he is not satisfied with their conduct?

I have ever considered that the captain has a discretionary power to remove any officer with whose conduct he is not satisfied.

Does a deduction from the men's wages go to the master or to the owner?

To the owner who pays them.

Is it not the practice before masters hire seamen to go a voyage with them, to make some enquiry of the persons they had failed with before, that he may be enabled to judge what sort of men they are?

When it is in his power he will certainly make every enquiry he can—very generally it is not in his power.

If the seamen disobey any lawful commands of the master, for the suppression of immorality and vice, are they not liable, by the articles of their agreement, to forfeit in some cases all their wages, and all their property on board ship, and in some ships only to forfeit one month's wages?

Most articles so express it, though I never knew an instance of either the one or the other in my life.

Are not seamen who behave in a riotous or disorderly manner liable to forfeit to the owners all the wages due to them?

I think that question is answered in my last answer—The sailor who disobeys the commands of the captain behaves in a riotous and disorderly manner.

Is it not usual to insert a clause in the articles between masters and seamen, that men entering on board a King's ship shall forfeit the whole of their pay—and in some cases be paid in dollars at 6s. 8d. each?

I do not believe that any such article ever existed as the forfeiture of their whole pay on their entering on board a King's ship—very generally however it is expressed, that they shall receive the whole of their wages in the currency of the country in which they are paid.

In

In cases of disputes between master and seaman, are they not bound, under a penalty of £.20, to submit to arbitration?

I do not recollect ever hearing of any such agreement.

As seamen are liable to various forfeitures in the Guinea trade, how is the money so forfeited disposed of?

I never knew of a farthing so got in my life, therefore the disposal of it would be very easy.

As you consider seamen liable to those forfeitures, do you suppose their never having been levied to have proceeded from the lenity and indulgence of the master, or from the good behaviour of the men?

Every agreement between master and seaman, in the African Trade, having been so often set aside by the practitioners of the law, and officers on board King's ships, a man would be a fool, indeed, to prosecute him who had nothing to lose—I mean that the articles would not warrant them in withholding any part of the pay that the seaman had earned, whatever his behaviour might have been.

If you consider such articles as neither binding on the master or the seamen, of what use do you consider them?

Very little indeed.

Did you ever go a voyage to Africa without making such articles with the seamen?

Never without such articles.

Is it not usual, in settling the wages with seamen discharged in the West Indies, to place against their accounts charges for spirits, fops, and forfeits incurred, according to the terms of their agreement?

I have already said I do not recollect more than two ships where spirits were sold to the men—If any received spirits, jackets, shirts, or trowsers, they undoubtedly ought to be charged with them, and always are so.

Are such charges made according to the discretion of the master?

I think I have said some time ago they were.

Is it not specified, in the agreement with the seamen, that their monthly wages shall be in sterling money?

Very

Very generally to the contrary; and that one-half of their wages, it is said, shall be paid in the currency of the country where the cargo is disposed of—on that account we generally give one-fourth more monthly money than any other trade.

Is it not usual to set against every man's name the monthly wages he is to receive in sterling money?

I never saw such usage.

Does not the preamble of such agreement declare that that agreement was made for the express purpose of such a particular voyage?

Most undoubtedly.

Do you consider that article in the agreement which compels the seamen to receive their pay abroad in the currency of the country, though sterling money is set against each of their names, as more binding on the seamen than the other articles?

I have already said sterling money is not set against their names.—I consider it as binding as to the mode of payment of the wages—I have known it very often broken through.

Do you believe that the seamen, when they agree at the ports of Liverpool or Bristol for forty shillings per month, that they do not consider it as forty shillings sterling?

In Liverpool I am very certain they do not—I do not speak of Bristol.

Is it usual for masters to explain to them the difference between sterling and currency, that difference being very considerable?

It is seldom necessary for the master to explain it, as any one of their own body can do it as well.—No ship whatever from Liverpool goes with all new men—if one old one remains, he will soon communicate the information to all the rest.

What is the difference between sterling money and currency at Antigua?

The currency at Antigua is at present, I believe, at 175.—I have not been at the West Indies these Eighteen months.

What is the difference at Jamaica?

One hundred and forty always—Barbadoes the same.

Then the difference of being paid their wages in the West Indies and in England is very great?

It depends on the place of sale.

Is the Committee then to understand that no seaman is certain what wages he will receive for the voyage?

That part of his wages which is paid in the West Indies, and which never amounts to one half, may fluctuate from forty to seventy-five.

You have said the proportion of wages paid in the West Indies never amounts to one-half; but in case he enters on board a King's ship, or is discharged, do you not pay him the whole of his wages in the currency of the port the ship happens to be in?

The article expresses that you may so pay him, but I never knew less than one-half of the wages paid in sterling, and frequently to those who enter on board the King's ships, such was the strength of the articles, we were obliged to pay the whole in sterling.

Then is it your opinion that, by the strength of the articles, they are obliged to pay the whole in sterling to those who enter the King's ships?

I mean in defiance of the articles.

Do you not think that the Admiralty Courts in the West India Islands would oblige you to pay the whole in sterling?

I have ever been fortunate enough to remain ignorant on that head.

Why did you pay them in sterling, if you thought you was not obliged to do it?

By the same rule I deliver up my watch or purse to an highwayman—by the rule of force.

What sort of force have you generally known used to compel you to pay the wages in sterling, contrary to justice, and which you compare to an highwayman robbing you of your money?

If the original agreement entered into between the master and the people was good for any thing, and mutually understood, the force I complain of was a violation of all justice—that force has been exerted in unbending the sails from the yards, and utterly disabling the vessel from proceeding on her voyage.

Name

Name an instance, if you recollect one?

I do not recollect the name of the King's ship—the name of the Captain of the African ship was Kendal.

Was you an eye-witness of this transaction?

I was not.

In case seamen die during the voyage, is their wages paid to their representatives in currency or sterling?

Exactly in the same manner as if they had lived, which is in currency and sterling, as expressed in the articles.

Is it not sometimes in the articles that the whole wages should be paid in currency?

I do not recollect such an article; and I am confident I never saw it done.

Did you ever read the Act of the second of George the Second, for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service?

I never did—to an honest man few acts are necessary.

You have said that you made three voyages as Master of an African Ship; in which year did you convey 602 Slaves from Angola to Jamaica?

Early in the year 1782.

What was the name of the ship?

The Tartar.

From what place was she cleared?

From Liverpool.

By whom built?

I believe built for Mr. James, of Liverpool, but she was then ten or twelve years old.

In what year did you convey 450 Slaves from Angola to the West Indies?

I arrived in the West Indies June 1783.

What was the name of the vessel?

The Fairy—from Liverpool.

By

By whom built ?
Spanish-built-prize—made free.

In what year did you convey 290 Slaves from Cape Mount to the West Indies ?

I arrived in the West Indies February 1788.

What was her name ?
The Lark—from Liverpool.

Who built by ?
I believe originally a prize—I do not know.

How many of the 450 Slaves, when they came to sale in the Islands, were reckoned as second day Slaves (those put in the second class or division) and how many were reckoned refuse Slaves ?

There was only six of the whole number put in the second class, and they were sold within an hour—no refuse at all.

During the last war, when the French gave up the Slave Trade, and the English carried it on in a reduced degree, what price did Slaves then bear on the Coast ?

To answer that question, it is necessary to specify the part of the Coast alluded to.

On that part of the Coast you alluded to in the commencement of your evidence.

Upon the Coast of Angola, which the French had totally left, I believe we purchased then at something under ten pounds per head.

Did the numbers then taken by you express an anxiety to be taken away ?

Apparently they were very indifferent as to their fate.

Did you ever hear of a disorder called the locked jaw, on the Coast ?

Never—I never knew an instance of it.

What proportion of women to men have you been accustomed to take from the Coast of Africa ?

Nearly as two men to one woman.

Do you believe that a number of women equal to the number of men generally taken off could be procured, in case an equal or higher price was paid for them?

Where I have already alluded to, the same price was paid; and from the vast number of wives which the principal people of that country possess, I believe it would be impossible.

Have you a shipping-paper commonly used for seamen in the African Trade?

I have not.

Do you know the tenor of such shipping-paper; if you do, explain it?

I think most of the articles have been already pretty well canvassed—the preamble to this paper is, that the master engages to pay certain wages, agreeable to the several qualifications of the crew, for services by them to be done; that to disobey any lawful commands of the said masters or principal officer, or to strike or behave otherwise in a riotous manner, the persons so offending forfeit all their wages then due;—if any insufficiency is discovered in any of the crew, the master, with two of his officers, and a seaman who may be present, may award such a deduction as they think reasonable.—That these articles are binding till the vessel arrives at her discharging port in Great Britain; and that one-half of the wages is to be paid in the currency of the country where the cargo is disposed of.

Whether you think such shipping-paper differs from the general shipping-paper used in the merchants service in general, except in the instance of paying them a moiety of their wages in the currency where the cargo is delivered?

I never saw a shipping-paper in any other part of the merchants service, therefore cannot answer that question.

Whether the seamen employed in the African Trade have not ten shillings per month more than the seamen employed in any other trade?

No doubt.

Are you acquainted with the present mode of estimating the tonnage of vessels, since the Register Act?

No.

You said you never knew but one instance where Natives of

F f

different

different countries were chained together—nine-tenths being said by you to be brought from the interior country, how could you know that there was but one instance of that circumstance?

I think I said I did not know one instance—when I see people talking together, I always suppose they understand each other.

Describe the mode of serving the Slaves with water, and mention the quantity they have in twenty-four hours?

We have generally small tin cups of half a pint, sometimes more, which we serve regularly after they rise in the morning, and the same in the afternoon.—The Negroes on board an African ship are classed into tens, each of which classes messes by themselves, by which means not one can be overlooked, as they sit in a circle. When the weather is uncommonly warm, we serve them with the same quantity of water in the middle of the day.—The sick, or those any way indisposed, have a constant supply of water-gruel or rice-water at their service.

What do the Natives feed on at Angola?

Principally Cassada.

Is the manner of chaining the Negroes the same by night as by day?

The very same in those vessels where they are chained at all.

Are they not chained in the generality of vessels?

I do think they are.

Do you not think the additional ten shillings per month is paid as a recompence for the greater danger of the voyage?

I should rather think it an equivalent for the wages received in currency in the West Indies.

In what manner are the Captain, Mate, and Surgeon paid; does not their profit depend on the preservation of the health of the Slave?

Most undoubtedly—from thence all their emoluments arise but a trifle.

Do you state the circumstance of the Slaves sleeping where they could not stand upright as a situation to which Slaves only are liable, or are not British seamen frequently obliged to do the same?

Every British seaman in the navy has less room above his head than an African Negro.

Have

Have you that circumstance you mentioned about Captain Kendal, and to which you said you was not an eye-witness, from respectable authority?

From Captain Kendal himself, repeatedly over.

Do you believe that occurrence is a singular circumstance, or have you known or heard of other cases of a similar nature?

I have seen myself a King's Officer come on board ship, and refuse to go overboard till he had the whole wages paid in sterling.

Is there any interpreter between the Surgeon and Negroes, by which they can communicate their complaints to him?

In every cargo whatever, so far as my observation extends, there are always a few got from that district adjoining to the Beach—these, from a long intercourse with Europeans in general, speak English pretty well—the most of those know the language of the adjoining country on their back, and those again the language of others still further back—by which means we come at the complaints of the Negroes, through the mouths of three, four, or five interpreters.

May not a case happen of a Negro being extremely ill in the middle of the night, when it may be necessary to have three or four interpreters to communicate the symptoms of his complaint?

Such a case is possible, but barely so.

What is the height of the room in which the Slaves generally sleep?

I think that has been very fully answered at the beginning of my examination:—My vessel was five feet ten—suppose the Negroe's head to be eleven inches, he will have two feet clear above that.

What is the height in a thirty-two gun frigate between decks?

I make no account of the distance of the hammock from the floor below, but only the quantity of space above their heads.

What is the size of the Fetters by which they are chained; what is the distance between the two rings?

The iron which goes round the leg is very near half of a circle, each end of which is a kind of eye through which a bolt runs, which bolt goes through the eyes of the rings upon the legs of different Negroes.

What

What is the length of that bolt ?

Generally about six or eight inches, precisely the same with respect to the wrist-iron, except on a more slender construction.

What number of Negroes are brought on deck at one time, in the course of the day ?

All the Negroes in the ship, without distinction, are upon deck the whole of the day ?

From what hours, in fair weather ?

From eight in the morning to five in the evening, speaking generally ; it must be very bad weather when they are not brought on deck.

Do you think that the Slaves lie during the night in any tolerable comfort ?

I have no doubt but they do.

Did you ever sail in a vessel called The Henry of Liverpool, Captain Hollingsworth ?

I never did, nor ever heard of the vessel.

Have you understood that the complaints of the Negroes whom you have attended when ill have arisen from bodily disorders, or uneasiness of mind ?

By every symptom which they discovered, I have always understood their complaints proceeded from the body.

Have you ever heard otherwise from any of the interpreters ?

I never did.

Do you not know that the captain and officers of African ships receive a moiety of their wages, as well as the seamen, in the currency of the ports at which they discharge in the West Indies ?

Most assuredly they do, and for the same length of time with the meanest landsman on board the ship.

Do you know what the tonnage of a 64 gun ship is ?

I do not.

Do you suppose it to be 1,500 tons ?

I cannot form a judgment.

Do you know the number of men ?

I suppose 500.

Are not the Slaves secured by an additional chain when they are brought upon deck ?

The Slaves on board my ship had neither additional chain nor irons, either by night or by day.

Do you mean in all your voyages ?
Ever since I have been master ?

In how many voyages ?
In three.

Whether, from the time of your sailing from the Coast, the Slaves were out of irons ?

I mean from the time of sailing from the Coast.

On what did you depend for the safety of your ship and crew ?
I depended on the good behaviour of myself and people towards them.

Do you know any thing respecting the registering of vessels ?
Not according to the present Act.

Do you according to the former practice ?
The former practice was to lower the number of tons as much as possible.

Was not an oath taken at the registration of such vessel ?
Not that I know of.

Do you say that in your vessel, in which there were 600 Slaves, that all those Slaves were brought on deck at one time, and continued there during the day without irons ?

In the vessel with 600 Slaves, all the Slaves were brought on deck at one time, and remained there the whole day—I was then only Surgeon of the ship ;—when I spoke of their being without irons, it was at the time that I was Master.

In the Ships wherein you sailed as Surgeon, did you never practise any expedients to suppress the appearance of diseases immediately previous to the sale of the Negroes ?

The question being objected to ;

The Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The question was repeated.
I never did.

Did you ever know such expedients practised ?

Wherever I was as a Surgeon, there were no other Surgeons but such as were under me, of course there was no practice of that sort—at present I do not remember having heard of any such expedients being practised by any body.

When you sailed as Captain, did the owners ever consult you as to the number of Slaves the vessel was destined to take on board on the Coast ?

Not as to the number, but frequently as to the accommodation of the Slaves.

Upon what grounds did you form the opinion you gave to the owners respecting the accommodation of the Slaves ?

From constant observation.

What do you mean by accommodation ?

I mean whether they had room to lie—whether the provisions were properly dressed—whether their little wants were amply supplied—and whether those provisions were served to them in due time, and in sufficient abundance.

Was you ever consulted by the owners, previously to your sailing from England, as to the number of Slaves which the vessel would properly accommodate ?

I do not recollect I was.

Did you conceive yourself competent to give information to this Committee respecting the manning, tonnage, or other particulars of His Majesty's Navy ?

By no means.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

The Committee being informed, That the Planters of the British Colonies, whose Petition is referred to this Committee, having, as they conceive, a different Interest from the other Petitioners who already appeared by their Counsel before the Committee, desired that they might be heard by their Counsel separately, in support of their Petition.

To which the Committee having agreed ;

Mr. Hotchkin, who attended on Behalf of the Petition of the Planters of the British Colonies, whose Names are thereunto subscribed, in Behalf of themselves and other Proprietors in the said Colonies, was called in, and acquainted that he might be heard in Support of the said Petition.

To report a Progress, &c.



Martis, 9^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness examined,
Captain JOHN KNOX.

N^o 4.

Jovis, 11^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain WILLIAM MACINTOSH, Commander of a ship in the East India Company's service.

Was you ever on the Coast of Africa?
Yes.

When was you first there?
In the beginning of the year 1760,—at Senegal—remained there till July 1762.

In what capacity?
I was the greater part of the time midshipman and captain's clerk of a King's vessel—I was stationed there for the defence of the entrance of the river Senegal.

Was you stationed in the same place during the whole time you stayed upon that coast?

H h

In

In the sickly season the vessel was always stationed at the mouth of the river—in the healthier season she remained generally about twenty miles higher up the river, and lay off the fort.

Of what number did the crew of the ship you was in consist?

I think it originally consisted of 57 men.

What was the state of the health of the crew during your stay on the Coast?

There was a very singular degree of mortality—we were frequently supplied with men by men of war—they sent down the Coast of Africa a few men at a time, sometimes by pressing, and sometimes by men entering, and we buried a great many more than our original complement.—To the best of my recollection there were only two other persons besides myself that ever came off the Coast—and the vessel was at last obliged to be left there, where she sunk in the river, for want of people to navigate her off, and it not being thought an object to send persons for that purpose.

When did you visit the Coast again?

Not for a great many years afterwards—in the year 1774.

In what capacity was you in 1774?

I was master of a ship in the West India trade.

What part of the Coast did you then go to?

To Senegal.

How long did you stay there?

A very short time—I went merely for information.

Did you at that time take any Slaves on board?

No—after getting the information I wanted I went immediately to the West Indies.

When did you again go to the Coast of Africa?

I went again in 1775, and again in 1776—I was then in the same situation, Captain of a West Indiaman.

Did you purchase Slaves on the Coast in those voyages?

Yes—above 200 in each voyage.

How

How long did you stay on the Coast in each of those voyages?
Not above a fortnight or three weeks at each time.

Did you proceed from thence with your cargo of Slaves to the West Indies, and to what Island?

To Grenada.

What was the state of the health of the crew and of the Slaves, during your stay on the Coast in each of those voyages?

During my stay on the Coast, and in my passage to the West Indies, my crew and the Slaves were in perfect health in both voyages.

How many of the crew died in either of those voyages?

I said before they were all in perfect health—of course none of them died.

Did they continue in health, particularly the Slaves, during your stay in the West Indies before they were landed?

Perfectly so—but they were not long before they were landed and sold.

Did you go to the Coast of Africa at any time after these voyages?

Yes, again in 1778, with Government Stores to the Gold Coast, and stopped at Senegal in my way.

In that voyage how long did you stay on the Coast?

From my first arrival at Senegal to my leaving the Island of St. Thomas, it was near five months—from the beginning of April to the end of August.

Did you then trade for Slaves in that voyage?

I purchased first seventy at Senegal—then I stopt at Gambia and Sierra Leone in my passage to the Gold Coast, and completed my purchase on the Gold Coast, after having landed my Government cargo.

To what number might your cargo amount when completed?

Under 400.

What was the number of your crew in that voyage?

Forty-eight.

Was

Was the crew healthy, or otherwise?
Very healthy.

How were the Slaves?
The Slaves were healthy also.

How were they during the Middle Passage from the Coast to the West Indies?

The crew and the Slaves were perfectly healthy during the whole voyage, till my arrival in the West Indies—I do not remember I had a seaman sick;—when I said the Slaves were perfectly healthy, I meant generally so—five or six died.

Do you mean that only that number died during the course of that voyage?

I certainly do—but whether five, six, or seven, I do not remember.

On what island were they landed?
At Grenada.

Did they continue in the same state of health during their stay till they were landed?

Yes.

Have you been in Africa since 1778?
No.

During the time you was on the coast of Africa in these several voyages, did you frequently go on shore?

Yes, very frequently.

How far in land have you ever been?

When I belonged to the man of war sloop, I made frequent excursions into the country, and have been absent several days at a time—and I travelled once from Senegal to Goree, and back again, on foot.

During those times had you any opportunity of observing or hearing in what manner they became Slaves in Africa?

I cannot give perfect information on that question—I have always understood that on the Sea Coast of Senegal particularly they were made Slaves of for different crimes—but the greater proportion of them come down the River from the interior parts of the Country.

Did

Did you ever know, or ever hear of villages being destroyed or pillaged for the purpose of procuring Slaves ?

In the country I am talking of certainly not.

Did you ever know or hear of Slaves being kidnapped ?

No.—Does the question mean kidnapped by Europeans, or Natives ?

Either by one or the other ?

I certainly never heard of their being kidnapped by the Natives—I heard of Slaves being kidnapped by Europeans, as I have heard many other tales, but I never saw a man who told me he was an eye-witness of it.

During the several voyages you have yourself made on the Coast, have you ever known kidnapping happen ?

No.

During the time you have been there, has there been always an equal demand for Slaves ?

I was on the Gold Coast a single ship, there was no purchaser but myself.

At that time did you find the Slaves in great plenty ?

The price was reduced in consequence of my being the only purchaser.

Had you, at any time, any reason to apprehend what would become of the Slaves, if there was no European purchaser for them ?

At the time when I was there a single ship, in 1778, when the French and American War prevented the merchants from fitting out their ships for Africa, I wanted to reduce the price of Slaves—under these circumstances I thought they kept them too high—this created a delay ;—in the interim I reasoned with the principal people about the folly of keeping up the price of their Slaves, when it was likely there would be no purchaser for them—and I asked the principal people, particularly a Chief Man of that Coast, what they would do with their Slaves if there was no purchaser—he hesitated without giving an answer a considerable time—I followed up the question, by observing to him (I alluded to prisoners taken in war generally) that they must let them all go again.—The answer he made was—“ What ! let them go again, to come to kill me again ? ”—And, in short, he gave me plainly to understand that they would put them to death.

Can you inform the Committee, whether the trading ships sail from the Coast of Africa in the night or in the day?

From that particular part of the Coast always in the day—generally in the morning.

Do they make signals when about to sail?

Several days before sailing.

Are the signals such that it is perfectly understood the ship is about to sail?

Certainly so.

Do you know of the state of health of any other King's ship stationed on that Coast, except that on board which you was in your first voyage?

In 1778 I went on the Coast, accompanied with the Weazle sloop of war—there were two large American privateers there—we understood they had been at Senegal a few days before our arrival.—We went from Senegal to Gambia, and from thence to Sierra Leone, to look for the Minerva, a frigate of thirty-two guns, dispatched before us—we found her gone from those places a day or two before we arrived.—When we came to Sierra Leone, we found that the Captain (Captain Stott) who commanded the frigate, instead of going down the Gold Coast, had gone off to the West Indies, having, as I understood, above eighty people sick in his ship.

From your experience in the trade of the coast of Africa, can you say to what causes the mortality which sometimes happens on board ship is to be attributed?

I do not understand there is any particular degree of mortality in ships on the open Coast, whether Slave ships or others—but vessels that go up rivers where the country is swampy, and where there is not a free circulation of air, these are places I understand to be unhealthy; but I never was up the rivers myself, except Senegal river.

Did you observe the produce of Africa, what articles of merchandize it produces besides Slaves?

No—I have no knowledge that justifies me in giving information on that subject.—In Senegal I observed that country produces Cotton and Corn chiefly.

Can you say whether Senegal produces any quantity of Cotton or Corn for exportation?

I do not believe any ever is exported.

Have you now any connexions with the African trade?

No, nor have had during the last ten years—nor am I likely ever to have any.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

What is the size of the vessel you commanded in the two voyages when you was a fortnight on the Coast?

The same vessel both voyages—he was about 250 tons.

How many Negroes did you carry off?

Above two hundred each time.

Did you not attribute their healthiness to the small number of Negroes on board, and the shortness of the time on the Coast?

To the shortness of the time, but not to the small number of Negroes I had on board.

What was the size of the ship in which you carried 400 Negroes?

About 300 tons.

What was her name?

The Symond.

When you say you lost so few in that voyage, did you mean to include Senegal and the Coast of Africa in the word 'Voyage'?

Yes.

Is not Goree an Island?

Yes.

What did you mean by travelling on foot from Senegal to Goree?

I ferried across from the land to Goree.

What in your opinion is a proper quantity of water to lay in per day, including what is necessary to dress their victuals, from the Coast to the West Indies?

I did

I did not myself carry them as a common Guinea-man—I had a great deal of spare room; I put but few of them in Irons, and had plenty of provisions and plenty of water for them.

What quantity of water do you think it necessary to put on board for a White man for that voyage?

Taking in all expences, I think a gallon of water per day a very large allowance.

Is it to be understood that you do not know what water is necessary to lay in for a Negro per day?

I have not exactly calculated it—but I should think three quarts a great allowance.

Do you include the dressing of their provisions in that quantity—the provisions consisting of roots and corn?

Yes I do—but I said I had always a superfluity, and did not stint them.

Did you agree with the seamen to pay them half their wages in the currency of the country where they were paid?

They were not paid any where till they came to London—I made no such agreement with them.

Did you sell spirits or tobacco to the seamen on the Coast?

Very little—spirits particularly.

What charge did you make upon the spirits?

That I cannot recollect—but I always treated the people very liberally.

What proportion did the prisoners of war in your opinion bear to the whole number of Slaves on that part of the Coast wherein you conversed with the principal person concerning the lowering the price of Slaves?

I did not enter into that distinction.

Have you been much acquainted with the West Indies?

I was master of a ship fifteen years in the West India trade, including these African trips.

Have you had frequent occasion to be on the plantations, and to see in what manner the Slaves were treated?

I had

I had frequent occasions to be on the plantations.—There are many others more competent to answer concerning the West Indies than I am, therefore I should wish to decline it.

Whether many of the sailors that go out in the African ships do not return home in the West India ships—by what is called “in the run home?”

Great numbers of them do.

Whether what they get by the run is not much more than the monthly wages they would receive in the African ships?

More than double.

Do you think that Circumstance one inducement for the sailors to desert the African ships in the West Indies?

Yes, certainly a very strong one.

Did you ever hear or know of wandering tribes of Moors crossing the Niger, and taking the women out of the villages when the men are at work?

During the time I resided there I do believe no such thing ever happened—I never knew it happen, and do not believe it ever did.

Do you think their affection for their families is as strong as it is in Europeans?

I do not think it is by any means; and in corroboration of my opinion—

The Witness was about to state a letter, said to be written by Governor Hippley about thirty years ago.

The Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Witness was directed to proceed.

I mean that the affection of those persons from my own observations are by no means so strong; and in corroboration of that fact, I mentioned this letter, which was written many years before the Slave Trade was thought of being abolished, and by a man who had every means of being well informed.—As the extract is very short, I desire to know whether the Committee will permit me to read it?

K k

Where

Where had you the letter from ?

I only believe it authentic from its being in the Annual Register.

Do you think that wars are stirred up in Africa for the sake of obtaining brandy of Europeans ?

No.

Have you reason to believe that the Slaves come to the Coast from great distances ?

Yes, very great distances.

What are your reasons for thinking so ?

I carried with me from Senegal, as I said, seventy Slaves to the Gold Coast, and I found that many of those Slaves perfectly understood the language of those Slaves I purchased on the Gold Coast.—These Slaves that I brought from Senegal came from the country of Galam ; from that circumstance I infer that there is an uninterrupted traffic through all the track of country from the Gold Coast to the head of the River Senegal.

Were the ships you commanded as conveniently fitted up for the accommodation of Slaves as the Liverpool ships are at present ?

I do not know any thing of Liverpool shipping at present.—She was not fitted up so conveniently as the Liverpool ships were at that time.

Are you acquainted with the manner in which Slaves are carried in the ships of foreign nations ; is it more favourable to the Slaves in point of cleanliness, or otherwise ?

I am not acquainted with it.

Can you state whether it is more or less favourable ?

I know nothing about it.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the mode of treating Slaves in the West Indies to inform the Committee whether they are comfortable, and appear contented ?

Yes, I think they do.—I said before, that I wish not to enter into the circumstances of the West Indies, but I would speak as far as my information goes.

Do any free Africans come on board Slave ships to visit Slaves, and shew them acts of kindness ?

No—very seldom.

What

What was the number of females in your cargo of 400?
I do not exactly recollect—not quite half.

What price did you pay for males?
I do not exactly recollect—£. 16 or £. 18.

What for females?
I think the difference about £. 4.

More or less?
Less.

Did you wish to procure an equal number of females?
No, I did not.

Why?
Because I thought the men would turn to better account.

Might an equal number of females have been procured?
Yes, when I was there, certainly.

What wages are commonly given able seamen in the West India trade in time of peace?

According to the season of the year in which the ships are fitted out, from twenty-three shillings to thirty shillings per month.

What proportion of the same seamen taken out by you did you generally bring home?

I cannot say, two-thirds at least—there are few voyages in which seamen do not run away in the course of the voyage.

What becomes of the seamen taken out in the West India ships, which want so many men to bring them back again?

Some die—some go to America—and some to the French islands.

Would the Slaves on that voyage, in which you took 200 Slaves in a ship of 250 tons, have been equally healthy if 500 Slaves had been on board?

I believe they might, if I had been no longer on the Coast—the longer I remained there the greater degree of sickness there would have been, in all probability.

You

You will explain why you apprehend that if you had twice the number of Slaves on board the vessel in the Middle Passage there would not probably, during that passage, have been a mortality greater in proportion?

During the Middle Passage they would have been longer on board; but my ship was able to carry more than double the number with a great deal of excellent conveniencies.

Is not in general the circumstance of remaining long on the Coast more fatal to the crew than the length of the voyage, and being crowded on the Middle Passage?

Certainly it is.

Do you include the seamen as well as the Negroes?

Yes.

Do you mean that, during the stay on the Coast, even before the ship is full, a greater proportion of the Negroes on board die in the same time, than in the course of the Middle Passage, even when it is completely full?

It is a question of opinion—I cannot answer from experience, for I lost a very few, as I stated before—when they died I cannot state.

Having said that the remaining longer on the Coast is more fatal to the crew than the length of the Middle Passage, and the being crowded in the Middle Passage; and that you included in that account Seamen as well as Negroes—on what is that answer grounded?

In my answer I meant comparatively as to the time, because they remain much longer on the Coast—double or treble the time they are on the passage.

Do you mean that men perish on the Coast because the stay on the Coast is longer than the Middle Passage; or that a larger proportion perish in the same space of time on the Coast than in the same space of time during the voyage?

I mean because they remain longer on the Coast—I think that the open Coast of Africa, three or four miles from shore, is as healthy as any part of the Middle Passage.

Do you think in general, out of the whole of a cargo taken on board on the Coast of Africa, a greater number perish on the whole,

whole, during the stay of the ship on the Coast, or afterwards during the Middle Passage?

A greater number perish after the ship is full-laded, and is gone off the Coast, without the ship remains a long time upon the Coast.

Taking the actual number on board at different times, whether a greater proportion of the number so actually on board perish during the stay on the Coast, or in an equal space of time during the voyage?

In a ship well fitted and not over-crowded there is very little difference.

Then is the Committee to understand, that whenever there is a greater proportion of mortality on the passage than the proportion of mortality during the stay on the Coast, it probably arises either from their being over-crowded, or from the ship not being well fitted.

Certainly so, without there is any disease gets amongst them, which all great numbers of people confined in a vessel are liable to.

If the ships of this country are prevented from carrying Negroes to the West Indies, in your opinion would the British planters supply themselves from the Neutral or French islands?

I believe it would be impossible to prevent it.

What in your opinion will be the effect of our abolition of the Slave Trade, with respect to the cultivation of the Islands?

My opinion is, that it will be immediately taken up by foreigners; and, as I said before, it will be impossible to prevent people in our West India Islands from furnishing themselves from the other Islands.

When you spoke of sailors running from their ships, did you mean to apply that circumstance to the African trade in particular, or to ships in general?

To ships in general.

What did you sell those male Slaves for in the West Indies for which you gave £. 16 or £. 18 on the Coast of Africa?

When I said £. 16 or £. 18, I spoke of prime Slaves; but the Slaves are sold in lots of eight or ten together, and the whole cargo allotted so as to make each lot pretty equal.

What is the average price of Slaves on the Coast?

L 1

At

At the time I was there they were particularly low, about £. 12 or £. 13, including boys, men, women, and children.

What was at that time the average price of sale in the West Indies?

From £. 28 to £. 40; but observe I bought them particularly low, they have never been so cheap since.

Do the ships in the African trade generally return from the West Indies fully laden with West India produce?

They seldom or never bring any produce home.

Can you state the principal causes for that?

The principal reason is, that there are always plenty of ships in that particular trade at the different Islands—when there are not they sometimes ship their produce in African ships, but never, except on that occasion.

Did you think it would answer as a mercantile transaction to send the West India ships to touch on the Coast of Africa to collect such Slaves as might be ready in the traders hands, without loitering on the Coast, so as to combine the Slave trade and the West India trade together?

Yes, I think it would, if they were always sure of having a cargo of Slaves ready for them; but it would require a very small proportion of the ships employed in the West India trade to carry the Slaves from Africa.

Can you state any substantial reason against so combining the two trades?

It would be impossible to collect Slaves on the Coast to dispatch ships without delay.

Supposing them to receive only such Slaves as were actually ready, would it be a material deviation in their voyage with regard to time and expence?

As far down the Coast as Sierra Leone the delay would not be very great—but if they went below that, so as to be obliged to make the Middle Passage, it would be a very losing concern to the owners of those ships.

Do you consider in these answers that several of the African Slave ships now return from the West Indies without freight;—taking the two trades together, would there be a greater expence attending

attending the freight of British, African, and West India produce, than in the present circumstance of the trade as divided ?

I think there would be a much greater expence, and that it would be hardly practicable to carry it on with profit.

What do you understand by the Middle Passage ?

I mean ships going from the Gold Coast and the Bite of Benin, and from any part of the Coast where they are obliged to cross the Line to make their passage with the South East wind to the West Indies.

When you used the trade, was it usual to have vessels stationary on the Coast of Africa, under the name of Floating Factories, or any other description, for the purpose of receiving Slaves, in order to dispatch the ships the quicker which came from England on their voyage to the West Indies ?

No, not at that time, on the Gold Coast particularly.

Do you understand it has since been the practice to have such stationary vessels ?

I think I have heard there is one house in this town that have a great trade to that Coast, and have such a vessel, and have agents on the Coast, in order to dispatch their vessels with more expedition—I do not believe it is a ship stationed there for the purpose, but they order a ship to stay there a certain time, and when there is no longer occasion for her she goes off with a cargo of Slaves.

Was not the reason that you were able to purchase as many female as male Slaves, at the time you mentioned, owing to the circumstance of your ship being at that time the only ship trading on the Coast ?

I believe so.

Is it the custom to send boats to seduce boys and other people, and is that the manner traders procure their Slaves in Africa ?

I never heard any thing like it.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

A Motion being made, and the Question put, That the Chairman do report a further progress, and ask leave to sit again ;
It passed in the negative.

A Motion being made, and the Question put, That the Counsel be again called in ;
It passed in the negative.

To report a Progress, &c.



Jovis, 11^o die Junii 1789.

• MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was re-
ferred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness Examined,
Capt. WILLIAM MACINTOSH.

N^o 5.

Veneris, 12^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

JEROME BARNARD WEUVES, Esquire, in the African Company's Service.

How long did you reside on the Coast of Africa?
Fourteen years.

In what capacity, and on what part of the Coast?
Chiefly as Governor of most of the British forts on the Gold Coast.

What forts?
Dixcove, Succondee, Tantum, Anamaboe, and Cape Coast Castle.

Are you acquainted with any other part of the Coast of Africa but the Gold Coast?

No.

N n

How

How long since you left the Coast of Africa?

Upwards of five years.

Did you understand the language of the Country whilst you was there?

I believe as well as most Europeans that ever were in that part of the world.

What were the forms of government in the countries there?

It is divided into petty states, the form is various—at Annamaboe there is a King—at other parts the government is by Pynims and Elders, and Cabbisheers—these last are above the Pynims and Elders.

Is this country within the Fantee Country?

Dixcove and Succondee are not reckoned within the Fantee Country.

Is the remainder of the Gold Coast reckoned within that Country?

No—from Succondee down to Accra is called the Fantee Country, or nearly so.

Are you acquainted with the government of the interior parts of the Country?

I know nothing of the government of the interior parts, having never been there.

Have you heard from the Natives, or persons residing in Africa, what the government is in the interior parts?

I never have.

Does Slavery exist in the parts of the Country you know?

Certainly it does.

Does it appear a condition of life of modern introduction?

I believe not—on the contrary, I believe it is very ancient.

Do the Natives possess Slaves there?

They do—it is reckoned the greatest part of their wealth, for a man is reckoned of no consequence without he has Slaves.

Is there any distinction amongst the Slaves that are the property of the Natives?

Yes

*part of Fantee
 & Cabbisheers
 annaboe - a King
 in places - Cabbisheers
 and Pynims Elders
 Dixcove Succondee
 not Fantee
 Accra -*

*history an ancient
 condition of life*

Yes—there are Slaves born Slaves, and others that are purchased Slaves, that is the only difference.

Are there any privileges allowed to those born Slaves over those that are purchased?

Yes there is—and this is what makes the difference, a born Slave being obtained by inheritance cannot be sold by the Master, without a formal trial for some crime—in which case there are Judges chosen out of their own clan, who adjudge that punishment which the crime appears to them to deserve.

What is the punishment usually adjudged for crimes in that country?

Slavery is the punishment generally inflicted.

What are the crimes for which Slavery is generally inflicted?

Theft and Adultery are the two principal—they often lose their liberty by gaming themselves away—those are the only crimes I know of on the Gold Coast for which they lose their liberty there—Theft, Adultery, and gaming themselves away.

Is Witchcraft punished as a crime there?

Yes, it is.

Are the Freemen involved in these crimes as well as the Slaves, and is the punishment the same—in what manner is the Freeman punished?

By Slavery.

In what manner are the Slaves born Slaves punished for the same crimes?

They are tried by their own clan, and the Master of that Slave is obliged to submit to the judgment of the Judges.

For whose benefit is he sold?

For the benefit of the person injured—he becomes his Slave.

Is the trial of Freemen before the same persons who try Slaves born Slaves?

No, it is not.

Before whom is the trial of the Freemen?

Every town on the Gold Coast has a number of people appointed,

pointed, some of the oldest and most respectable of the inhabitants, who are called Pynims in that country, and are distinguished by a peculiar hat made of straw in a particular form—when any person is accused of any crime, the aggrieved party brings him before these Pynims, who meet for that purpose in the open Market Place, if there is no Palaver House in the town—and then, in the face of all the inhabitants, they try them—that is the mode of proceeding.

What is a Palaver House?

An open Court of Justice.

In what manner does a man become a Slave by gaming?

By throwing the dice—there is no trial—they surrender themselves up, knowing that they have forfeited their liberty—I beg to be understood that the practice of gaming is not frequent on the Gold Coast.

In the case of Freemen adjudged to Slavery, or of domestic Slaves adjudged to other Slavery, do the Judges receive any reward?

To the best of my knowledge I believe not.

Is the trial for Witchcraft carried on in the same manner as those you have mentioned?

I know nothing of the trial for Witchcraft—I never saw one.

Do you know that Witchcraft is ever imputed as a crime?

I know it is?

Do you know before whom the trial is?

I do not—I never saw any thing like it.

Is the belief in Witchcraft common in the Country?

I do not know whether it is common—but they are very superstitious.

Have you heard from the inhabitants of the Country that persons accused of Witchcraft are tried, and what are the consequences of a conviction?

I have every reason to believe that they are tried—I once bought a whole family, consisting of nine persons—one of the family had been accused of Witchcraft, and all the rest were sold to me—and when they were going off the Beach after I had purchased

*Trial by the Pynims
(their peculiar form of
straw hats)*

Witchcraft.

purchased them, the whole Town came to see that they were fairly off from the Beach—from which I suppose they would not have suffered them to depart if they had not had a fair trial—that is only my inference.

Do you know, from the information of others, that the imputed crime of Witchcraft involves the whole of a family in the punishment?

It certainly does—no doubt.

Do you know what number of Slaves are exported annually from the Gold Coast by the Europeans?

I cannot say positively—but if I may be allowed to guess, I fancy from about 6,000 to 8,000—it may be more.

What proportion of that number are exported by the English?
I dare say more than two-thirds.

Have the Dutch any considerable part of it?

If we have two-thirds, the Dutch and Danes have the remaining one-third—there was no other nation settled there when I was there.

Do you know what proportion of the whole number of Slaves exported are Natives of that Country?

I cannot pretend to say.

Are the prisoners of war sold as Slaves in that Country?

During the whole time I lived on the Gold Coast, there was no war, and therefore I am certain the Natives of the Gold Coast fold while I was there were not prisoners of war—they are merely criminals.

Do you know of the practice of kidnapping Slaves, either by the Natives or the Europeans?

No, of no such practice—and I am sure it would be impracticable.

Why?

Having never known an instance, I can only form an opinion why it is impracticable.—We are obliged to transport the Slaves to the ships on board canoes—the canoe-men that paddle the canoes being Natives of the same Country, it would be impossible to get them off the shore without its being known—and

O o

therefore

therefore no captain of a ship would run the risk of losing his trade by taking off any person unlawfully, and not in the course of his trade.

Are there not officers stationed on board ship by the Government of the Country, to prevent abuses of any sort ?

I do not know there are ; but a ship, before she is permitted to begin her trade, is obliged to pay customs to the King, in consequence of which the King deposes the Elders of the town, the Pynims, to go on board to receive the King's customs, and their customs ; which being done, they fire three, five, or seven guns, and hoist the ensign, which is to give notice to the country that the ship is permitted to trade in the common way—after which there is scarce a day passes but there are Black Brokers come on board, and sleep on board—come and go at pleasure, to see that the trade is properly carried on.

If a person therefore had been wrongfully taken from the Coast, would not he have an opportunity of conveying his complaints to his Country ?

Most certainly.

Do the Europeans then obtain their Slaves by fraud or oppression, or is it fairly carried on by barter and purchase ?

I hardly know a trade that is carried on in a fairer manner.

How is it carried on ?

The Black Broker or the owner of the Slave takes what commodities he pleases for his Negro which he has to sell—he has the choice of his goods—if you have such as suit him, he sells you the Negro—and if you have not, he takes him away—that is the method of purchasing Slaves.

Have you ever heard of breaking up or pillaging villages on the Gold Coast ?

I never heard of any such thing ; and nothing of the kind existed for the fourteen years I was there.

In your opinion would war on the Gold Coast or neighbourhood be favourable or otherwise to the Slave trade ?

I can only answer that as a matter of opinion, as whilst I was there there was no war—I had no opportunity of knowing whether war would be a detriment or not—I have heard the Natives say that there have been wars in the interior Country, and that in those

those places there was a want of Slaves for that time—what the case might be, I do not know—I speak from hearsay.

Are many of the Slaves exported by the Europeans brought from the interior parts of the Country?

Yes, a great number, it is impossible for me to say the proportion—a great many.

Can you form any idea of the number brought from the interior parts of the Country; and those sold from the Gold Coast?
I cannot say.

Are they more or less?

It may be half or two-thirds brought from the interior Country—but I cannot speak with any accuracy.

Have you reason to suppose that the Slaves which come from the interior Country come from a great distance?

Yes, I have reason to believe so.

What are those reasons?

From what I have learnt from the Black Brokers myself.

What have they said on that subject?

They have informed me that they go three, four, or five days journey to the Market Place inland, where they know there are Slaves ready for sale, who have been brought there by some other Brokers, who came very likely from a Country still farther inland; and so from others, through many Brokers from the interior parts of the Country.

Do the Slaves brought down from the interior parts all come from the same Country?

No, they do not.—If I may judge from their external appearance, they seem to be of different tribes.

Do they all speak the same language?

No, for when I have had twenty, thirty, or forty of those Slaves together, they have not been able to understand one another.

Can you give an account of the manner by which those persons become Slaves, either from your own knowledge or from information?

I cannot possibly say—I rather think they are bred in that
Country

Country for the purpose of Slavery—the reason why I think so is, that some of the inland tribes do not appear robust enough to be warriors, nor spirited enough.—I cannot know it from information, for the Black Brokers themselves do not know it.

Have you any other reason for supposing that Slaves are bred in the interior parts of Africa for the purpose of sale?

I have no other reason.—Slaves are not bred on the Gold Coast for the purpose of sale, they are sold for crimes.

What were the external marks of difference amongst the Slaves that came from the interior Country, by which you supposed they were of different tribes?

The external marks were the different modes of cutting marks on the different parts of the body—some filing their teeth; and above all the different languages they spoke, not being able to understand one another.

Does the practice of human sacrifices prevail on the Gold Coast?

It does, and I believe has been practised from time immemorial.

What persons are sacrificed?

Slaves in general.—I believe persons that are born so, or purchased Slaves.

Are the domestic Slaves sacrificed?

If the domestic Slave has been originally a purchased Slave, I have not a doubt that he might be sacrificed; but I do not speak to it as a fact, having never seen it.

Upon what occasions are such sacrifices usually made?

On the death of some of the great men of that Country—the people have an idea that the Manes of the deceased will not be at peace, and that he will be in an uncomfortable situation in the other world, unless persons are sent to wait upon him.

What become of the Slaves refused to be purchased by Europeans?

I cannot answer that question positively, but I have every reason to believe that those refused Slaves are generally set aside for such sacrifices—I think so.

Do you know any instance of a Slave being refused, and therefore destroyed.

I do not recollect.

In what manner are the inhabitants of the Gold Coast clothed?

Not at all, comparatively speaking, unless a yard or two of cloth round the waist may be called cloathing.

In case the Slave Trade was abolished, what, from your knowledge of the Country, do you think would become of the Slaves brought to the Coast for sale?

I do not think our abolition of it here would abolish the Trade there—the Trade, instead of coming to the Water-side, would take a different course, they would be dispersed from the west to the east, and bought by the Moors, Arabs, and different tribes.—This is only my opinion that it would be so.

Supposing the Trade was still carried on by the other European nations, the English excepted, what would be the probable consequence of the abolition of it by this country?

Those other European nations who carried on the Trade would share among them the number we did not take off.

Would the consequences of the abolition here be the abolition of Slavery in that Country, or tend towards it?

There would not be one Slave the less on the Gold Coast of Africa.

Would there be in your opinion one person more or less convicted of crimes there in consequence of the abolition of the Slave Trade here?

Not one less.

Would the operation of such abolition be the transfer of the shipping and capital of this country, employed in that Trade, to foreign countries?

I have no doubt of it.

Have they any manufactures on the Gold Coast?

Not any of any kind.

In what manner do they get the clothes they wear?

By the Slave Trade most generally.

probable effects of abolition of Slave Trade



Are there any manufactures on any part of the Gold Coast?
None at all.

Do you mean that they get the clothes from the Europeans concerned in the Slave Trade?

Yes; from the Slave shipping that resort there.

Does the Gold Coast produce any articles of commerce besides Slaves?

I know of none.

What are the limits of the Gold Coast?

I believe the extent of the Gold Coast may be about 400 miles.

Describe the limits.

I believe it is understood from Cape La Hou, or thereabouts, down to the River Volta.

Is any Gold or Ivory to be procured on the Gold Coast?

They are both to be procured there in small quantities.

What quantity of Gold might be procured there in the course of a year?

Very little I believe—very little of the production of that country alone—but what Gold is there I presume is brought from the interior parts of the Country, and Ivory the same.

In what manner is the Ivory brought down to the Coast?

Generally on Slaves shoulders—the Slave probably carries a tooth upon his shoulder as he walks down to the water-side.

Do you mean that they are brought down on the shoulders of the Slaves bringing down for sale?

Yes, I do, as it pays part of the expence of their journey.

Does the Gold Coast produce Cotton or Grain for exportation?

It produces both, but not for exportation—they supply the shipping for food of the Slaves when they want it—As for Cotton, it is not cultivated at all in that Country.

Do you recollect any instance of any European trying an experiment to cultivate Cotton?

Yes,

to produce except
Slaves.

limits of Gold Coast
between Volta.

Ivory, Gold

Cotton

Yes, I have heard that the Dutch attempted it; and although they took a great deal of pains to bring it to some kind of perfection, it dwindled to nothing—the Natives would not take to the cultivation.

Do the Dutch cultivate any now there?

Very trifling indeed—I suppose hardly enough to make wicks for their lamps in their African Settlements.

Does the Gold Coast produce Dying Woods?

I never saw any there.

Do you know of any other valuable Woods produced there?

I do not know of any valuable Woods, except common Woods, fit for gun-carriages and other carpenters use.

From your knowledge of that Country, do you think the Natives could be induced to cultivate Cotton, or any other articles for exportation, if the Slave Trade was abolished?

From the little inclination they seem to have towards the cultivation of land, even for their own maintenance, I apprehend they would not cultivate the land from any motive of cultivating it to produce any articles for exportation.

Would they peaceably permit Europeans to establish colonies in that Country?

I believe not, so far from it, that although land is extremely plenty in that Country, the European Settlements there are obliged to pay them ground-rent for those Settlements—I apprehend they would not sell the land.

Do you think they would be jealous of the Europeans settling there?

Yes, I think they would.

Had the Americans any share in this trade when you was in Africa?

Yes, a great many Americans resorted there, and do now, I believe, at this time.

Supposing the Natives could be prevailed on to cultivate Cotton, and other articles, could those articles be brought down to the Coast?

They must be brought down by land on people's heads, there is no other way of bringing it.

If

If the bulky articles were brought down to the Sea-side, would it be easy to put them on board ship?

The landing-places on the Coast are at the best but very indifferent—but in some months particularly, very bad, such as June, July, and August—from May to August the surf runs high, and makes it dangerous even for the Natives to go from the shore to the shipping and back again.

In what manner could a hoghead of sugar be carried on board ship in those four months?

I look on it as an impossibility altogether.

At what distance do the ships lie from the Coast?

In those four bad months they lie four miles or more, sometimes less—in fine weather from two to three miles, that is generally the distance.

Did the Americans carry on the trade more in the latter part of your time than before?

They carried it on very briskly till the American war—since then I do not know how they have carried in on.

During the time you was there did the ships sail in the day or night?

I do not recollect ever seeing one sail in the night—they generally sail in the morning with the land-wind.

Is it usual to make signals before they leave the Coast?

Yes always.

For how long before they sail?

Sometimes a month.

What is the object of those signals?

I always understood it was done for the purpose of acquainting the Natives of their intentions to depart, to give them notice to come and receive what might be due to them from the ship—and for them to pay to the Captain what they might owe him—This is the motive I understood it is done for—but not having been a Captain of a ship I only suppose it is so.

Is the signal such as must be observed by the people both on board and on shore?

Yes, it is—the Captain fires a gun, and looses his foretop-
fail,

fail, and hoists an ensign—The topsail continues loose, and the ensign is hoisted every morning till he goes away.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Are not convicted Criminals often sold for the benefit of those by whom they are tried?

I do not recollect an instance.

Did not you, in your examination before the Privy Council, say, that in the case of Witchcraft the Convicts were sold for the benefit of the town at large, but principally for that of the principal people of the place?

*[vide exhibits
Law Reports
vol. 1]*

I might say so, but I do not recollect it; but if I did, I alluded to the nine persons I had before spoken of, who were part of the family of the man who had been condemned for Witchcraft, and who were sold at the request of the whole town, who received the money and goods that had been asked for them, and who I suppose divided it.

Whether the Pynims or principal people, and the whole town, are not the persons before whom accusations of Witchcraft are commonly determined?

I should imagine they were; but I never saw a trial of the kind.

What is the meaning of the word you used, of their being tried by their own clan?

I mean by clan a number of Slaves belonging to one man, and which he has inherited.

In general, is justice well administered in that country?

It has every appearance of fairness.

Are not the smallest crimes punished with Slavery?

I have already mentioned the crimes which are punished with Slavery.

Is not the smallest theft punished by the sale of the delinquent for the benefit of the person from whom the article has been stolen?

Certainly.

In saying that not one person less would be convicted, though the Slave Trade should be abolished, did you mean abolished only by this country, or by all the other powers who are now engaged in carrying on that trade?

I do not think it would lessen the crimes in the least, and therefore I do not think it would lessen the punishment—But this is only my opinion.

Question repeated.

I meant to say, in general, though it was abolished by all the European powers.

What reason have you had to believe, that Slaves who have been refused have been set aside for the sacrifices?

I have heard that some of those Slaves have been sold for that purpose, to those people who had those Customs.

What is the motive for those sacrifices?

It is done from a motive of religion I believe.

Whether a man's own Slaves are not sometimes sacrificed at his death?

It happens sometimes that when a great man dies, a favourite Slave Girl, and a confidential Slave Boy, who takes care of his keys, &c. are sacrificed with him, in order to attend him in the next world.

Do you conceive it is not imagined in that Country that such sacrifices are necessary to the comfort of the deceased?

They think that it is a duty incumbent upon them so to do.

If therefore the refused Slaves were not purchased for this purpose, would not their place be supplied by these Slaves, the property of the deceased?

I have not a doubt but that they would.

Are not the Slaves refused by our Traders often purchased by the Dutch or Danes?

Yes, I believe they generally do buy inferior Slaves in point of quality.

Do you conceive that Slaves become so in the interior Country in the same manner as they do on the Coast?

I cannot speak to that part.

May

May not Slaves in the interior Country become so for acts of delinquency?

I dare say they may—I dare say their laws may tend something to a simularity, but I am entirely unacquainted with it.

Have you any reason to believe that the proportion of Slaves sold from the families where they have been bred is greater, in the interior country, than it is on the coast?

I believe I have already said that Slaves were not bred on the Gold Coast for sale, and therefore I should imagine the number of Slaves brought from the interior parts must far exceed any thing of the kind on the Gold Coast.

Do you know whether Slaves are bred in the interior parts of the country for sale?

I do not know that it is so—but I conjecture so.

What is the reason for your conjecturing so?

I said before that during the fourteen years I was in Africa there was no war, therefore as these Slaves came down to be sold, and not understanding that they were prisoners of war, I presumed they must have been sold either by their having been bred Slaves, or from crimes they had committed.

During the fourteen years you was in Africa was there any war on the Gold Coast?

Not that I recollect.

Why did you conceive that a proportion of the supply from the interior countries must consist of persons bred for sale, because probably not prisoners of war—when, in speaking of the Gold Coast, you say, that you know there were no wars, and yet that no part of the supply consisted of Slaves bred for sale?

Because most of the Slaves that were purchased on the Gold Coast were criminals beyond a doubt.

What reason had you to believe that a larger proportion of the Coast Slaves were criminals than of those brought from the interior Country?

I cannot speak as to that particular—I speak of the fact I know on the Gold Coast—but I believe that as a matter of opinion only—but what I assert about the Gold Coast I speak from knowledge of the fact.

What

What reason then have you for believing that with respect to the interior Country, which reason does not equally apply to the Gold Coast?

I can only say I know nothing of the interior parts of the Country, and that I knew perfectly well the Gold Coast, and therefore to that I can speak.

The question is not why you believe none of the Slaves sold on the Gold Coast were Slaves bred for sale—but it is, why you stated that a proportion of those brought from the interior Country were of this description—having said that you knew of no wars existing on the Gold Coast, and could only guess or speak doubtfully of there being none in the interior Country?

From the very reason, their not being prisoners of war, they must either be born or bred for Slaves, or be sold for crimes—as there is no other source of Slavery that I know of.

What ground have you then to believe that any Slaves are bred for sale in the interior Country?

I have no ground, but it is matter of opinion with respect to the interior parts—with respect to the Gold Coast I speak from knowledge.

What is the temper and disposition of the Inhabitants on the Gold Coast?

As to their temper, they are a vindictive kind of people amongst one another—revengeful—much addicted to theft—that is their general character.

May not Slaves convicted of crimes, and liable to be sold for the benefit of the party aggrieved, be sometimes redeemed by offering a compensation?

If they have friends to advance the value of the Slave who has forfeited his liberty, I believe they are generally allowed to redeem themselves.

Whether the victims have been observed to be extremely dejected, when about to be offered up to the Manes of the deceased?

Having never seen a sacrifice of the kind, I cannot speak to that.

Have you not seen persons, who were to be the victims on these occasions, parading about previous to the sacrifice?

I have

I have seen them at a distance, dressed, and dancing about—and so far from appearing sorrowful by their gestures, they appeared quite otherwise; but being at a distance I cannot say whether they were pleased or sorrowful.

If they were pleased, did not you suppose that to result from the superstitious notion that they were about to attend their deceased Master?

Certainly I think that might have been the cause—and I have no doubt that must have been the reason.

Is the Gold Coast a fertile country?

It is by no means fertile, as the soil is very rocky.

What are its chief productions?

I believe Corn is the chief produce (Indian Corn) that is of any consequence.

Does not the soil seem adapted to other articles, if there was sufficient encouragement to cultivate them—and what would those articles be?

I have seen the Natives now and then cultivate a little Sugar Canes, if it may be called cultivation—they just throw it into the earth without any kind of cultivation—but it may be reared in that Country—Cotton grows in that Country—I believe those are the only articles I can speak to.

Do you mean that the soil there is adapted to the Cane and to Cotton?

I have seen them grow there.

Does it seem disposed to no other species of produce?

I have never seen any thing else.

Does not Indigo and Dying Woods grow spontaneously in that Country?

I have seen something called by the name of Indigo—but whether it was so or not I am no judge, for I never saw the plant—as for Dying Wood I never saw any on the Gold Coast.

Whether you recollect, in your Evidence before the Privy, Council, to have stated in substance that Sugar, Indigo, Cotton and Dying Wood grow there already spontaneously?

As to Dying Woods I cannot charge my memory with that,

R r

I never

I never saw any but what came from some other parts of Africa, and not the growth of the Gold Coast.

Is the Gold Coast a populous Country?

Yes—very populous.

Are there not considerable towns there?

Yes—a good many.

Whence are those towns supplied with provisions?

From the back parts of the Country.

Do you mean the parts of the Country immediately contiguous to the towns, or from great distances?

I have already said that the Gold Coast in general is a rocky soil, and therefore would not admit of such cultivation, and the Natives are obliged to go a good way inland to fetch the Corn, which they bring down on their heads in baskets; others make use of canoes, and bring these things by water from some other parts of the Coast.—That is the mode of their being supplied.

Stating the extent of the Gold Coast to be 400 miles, where do the Natives who live at a distance from either extremity of it fetch their provisions or are supplied with them?

They fetch their provisions from the inland parts behind them, in baskets as I have stated on their heads, or in canoes by water.—They are sometimes obliged to go thirty or forty miles by water on the Coast to fetch Corn and Yams.

Stating the extent of the coast to be 400 miles, how can the inhabitants of the central parts be supplied with provisions by going in canoes only thirty or forty miles?

When I said they were obliged to go thirty or forty miles to fetch Corn and Yams, I meant thereby to shew, that although the Country was cultivated behind those towns, to some distance as I suppose, yet that the soil was not already productive for the maintenance of the inhabitants.

Then is the Committee to understand that the thirty or forty miles is not on the Coast but up the Country?

How can it be, when I mention canoes, which must go on the water?

Do they go along the Coast, or up the Country?

Along the Coast, no doubt.

From

From what distance do you suppose they fetch their food from behind them ?

I do not know—but very often, when I have been under the necessity to purchase provisions from them, they have brought Corn to me from the distance of five, six, or seven miles—which they bring, as I said before, on their heads in baskets.

Is the Committee then to understand that the Natives on the Coast fetch their Corn from no greater distance than five, six, or seven miles, for the supplying those populous districts ?

I cannot speak positively to the distance—it may be greater—it may be thirty miles inland for what I know.

Do you suppose that the Corn is cultivated by the Slaves of the person for whose benefit it is sold ?

They have no idea of cultivation at all—The method of making a plantation in that Country is, after having picked out the spot which they intend for this plantation, to cut down all the small and green trees that are upon it, without grubbing or giving themselves the trouble to root them up—they suffer those bushes and small trees to dry in the sun—when they are sufficiently dry they set fire to them—the ashes remaining on the ground, they throw the Corn promiscuously on the ashes, without digging the ground, or any thing of that sort, and they trust to futurity for its coming up.

method of tillage

Do you mean that this is the mode of cultivation in the interior parts of the Country, or on the Coast only ?

I speak from ocular demonstration on the Gold Coast.

By whom are the trees cut down and burnt, in the manner you have described ?

By the person who has a mind to rear the Corn—if he has Slaves they help him ; if not, he and his family do it.

Are famines frequent in that Country ?

Yes—I have known Indian Corn exceedingly scarce indeed.

Are the Canoe-men on the Gold Coast Negroes ?

All Negroes.

Do not the Natives sometimes work in the ships of the Europeans ?

I believe it never happened, but when from sickness or other causes

causes they are obliged to employ them—they do on those occasions ; but they are often employed in boats on the Coast, in order to save the seamen in the ships.

Have not some of the Natives a considerable number of Slaves in that country ?

Some of them have, as I said before—it is the number of the Slaves that enhances the consequence of the man.

In what services are they employed ?

I cannot positively say in what they are employed—it depends, I suppose, on the will of the master.

If it were not for the barrenness of the soil, might they not be advantageously employed in the cultivation of Cotton and other articles ?

I have already said that the Dutch attempted the cultivation of Cotton ; and in order to induce the Natives to follow their example, they had a number of their own Slaves on this Cotton Plantation, and they invited a number of Free Natives to come and assist those Slaves, hoping in time, I suppose, that the Natives would take a liking to the cultivation of Cotton ; but instead of that, the Natives, so far from assisting, they never gave themselves any trouble about it, and the plantations dwindled away to nothing.

Did not the Dutch continue to carry on the Slave Trade at the same time that they tried this experiment of inducing the Natives to cultivate Cotton ?

At this part of the Coast where this Plantation was attempted there is very little Slave Trade—the trade there chiefly consists of Gold and Ivory.

How is the Ivory brought down to that part of the Coast ?
By Black Traders.

In what manner ?

On their shoulders—either with people that come with them to fetch their goods back again, or, if they have Slaves to sell, on the shoulders of the Slaves.—I would beg leave to remark, at the same time that I said the trade for Gold there was the chief trade, they are obliged to bring down a number of people to carry back the goods so purchased with that Gold ; and therefore, when they have no Slaves to sell, those people that are to carry the goods back again bring down the Ivory to the market.

If

If any articles of produce could be found, which notwithstanding the natural barrenness of the Coast might be produced in considerable quantities, might it not be hoped that a desire of being supplied with European manufactures would induce the cultivation of those articles?

I have already said the natural indolence of the Natives is a total bar to any industry whatever.

Is the Gold and Ivory brought down to the Coast from any considerable distance?

I do not know the distance—I have heard them talk of the Gold Mines being a great way inland, how far I cannot say—and I have every reason to believe the Teeth that are brought to the Gold Coast are brought a good way from the interior country.

Have they plenty of iron tools in that country?

They have none, or few, but what are imported from Europe.

Are those few made from Native Iron, or from Bar Iron imported from Europe?

What tools I have seen were made of Bar Iron imported from Europe; but, when I speak of tools, I mean to be understood a kind of Hoe—I do not know whether they can make a Hatchet in that Country.

Are those Hoes, be they made how they may, in plenty?

No, not at all—they cannot be plentiful, because the cultivation is not great.—They are obliged to have Hoes when they cultivate Yams.

Of what class of the people are the persons usually accused of Witchcraft?

Witchcraft

I do not know they are of any particular class.

Do you know whether any persons of the higher classes of society are ever accused of Witchcraft?

I dare say they may be accused of it, as well as those of an inferior order.

Do you know whether in point of fact any such persons ever are so accused?

I never saw an instance that came within my own knowledge of a person being convicted of Witchcraft, but that family which I have already mentioned, and they were neither of the superior class nor inferior class of people.

If one of a family is accused of Witchcraft, are any others of the same family considered as principals ?

They are so much so that the whole family are always extirpated, without regard to persons.—I mean to say, that no favour is shewn to any one of the family.

Are then such other persons considered as actually guilty, or are they punished merely as belonging to the guilty person ?

I apprehend the fear of the family being all concerned in Witchcraft is the reason they are all extirpated ?

Were the sale of Slaves prevented, would persons convicted of Witchcraft be sacrificed ?

Certainly.

Would the innocent relations of a person convicted of Witchcraft be sacrificed ?

Yes—I am certain they would.

Why do you believe so ?

Because it is a case which has happened within my knowledge whilst I commanded at the fort of Anamaboe.—A woman who was accused of Witchcraft, or the wife of a man accused of Witchcraft was brought to me (she was very old) to purchase.—I did not know then if I refused to purchase her that she would be put to death, I therefore refused her.—She went away with the persons who brought her; and upon being informed by one of my servants that it was the intent of the people in town to cut her head off, I sent a messenger immediately after those people, to say I would take the woman, and give them something for her, rather than she should lose her life; but unfortunately my messenger arrived five minutes too late, and her head was off her shoulders.

Are the Slaves made in war ever incorporated into the nation which has taken them ?

I do not know I ever bought a Slave that had been a prisoner of war, and therefore cannot speak to that subject.

Are you at present engaged in the Slave Trade ?

I am.

Can you form any idea of the total population of the Gold Coast ?

I cannot.

Did

Did you hear of women being sent out by men, who either were or pretended to be their husbands, to seduce men, whom they afterwards accused of adultery?

In order to answer this question I must, in the first place, inform the Committee, that upon the Gold Coast the men of consequence generally have a number of wives, some more, some less—sometimes twenty, two dozen, three dozen—I have not a doubt but many of these women may go out and entrap the unwary—I dare say it is as common on the Coast as it may be here in London—there is only this difference, that in Africa it is attended with the loss of liberty.

Have you not reason to believe that they are sometimes sent out by their chiefs (their husbands) for the purpose of entrapping men?

I do not believe it is done—there may be some abandoned characters, but I do not believe it is usual.

Then do you mean to say it is not sometimes the case?

I can neither assert nor deny it—it is not a fact that has come within my knowledge.

When there has been a deficiency of Slaves on the Coast brought from the interior Country, did you hear it at the time imputed to the existence of wars?

I have been told so—but I did not hear of a war while I was in Africa—I have been told that wars put a stop to the trade.

Do you recollect that such occasional scarcities have ever been succeeded by a more than ordinary plenty?

I cannot say that while I was on the Coast there was a scarcity—the quantity was nearly equal during the whole time I was on the Coast.

While the ships are slaving on the Coast, are there many Black Brokers in the ship at once?

Yes, there are three, four, five, or six, according to the size of the ship.

Do they all usually remain on board till the ship sails?

They attend on the ship from the day of her arrival to the day of her departure—they are paid so much per day, or in some other manner.

Does

Does the European Trader ever enquire of the Black Broker in what manner his Slaves are procured?

I believe he very seldom makes the enquiry—the Slaves being brought on board in canoes, they know that the Slave is fairly brought, and therefore they give themselves no further trouble about it.

At which of the Dutch factories was the cultivation of Cotton attempted?

At the fort called Axim.

To what extent was that attempt made?

I cannot speak as to the extent of the cultivation; but it was pretty considerable.

Does the difficulty of landing on the Gold Coast exist throughout the year?

There is more or less difficulty throughout the year—the landings generally are very bad.

Whereabouts is the burthen or size of the largest canoe employed on that coast?

The largest canoe I have seen employed was one paddled by twenty-one Blacks—and I believe I have seen only two of that description during the fourteen years I was in Africa—I cannot speak as to the burthen.

Might not sugar be as easily packed in small casks as in hog-heads?

I know nothing of the process of packing or unpacking of sugar—therefore am no judge.

Do you know the size of a hoghead of sugar?

I have seen them on the quays, but cannot say exactly what was the size.

Do you not think that it would be very possible to convey a barrel of sugar, of a size much inferior to a hoghead, from the Coast to a vessel lying off for the purpose of trade?

No doubt, the cask of the size of a common water-cask, filled with sugar, might be carried on board in the same manner as the water itself is.

In what manner are the five forts, of which you were governor, fortified?

The

*the experiments
of cotton at Axim*

The Fort of Anamaboe, the principal fort of trade, is a square fort.

Satisfactions of Forts

Then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Witness was asked,

Are there not cannon mounted on all those forts?

Certainly, else they would be of no use.

Do you know in what manner these cannon were conveyed on shore?

I have seen some conveyed on shore on I believe it is called a Cattamaran.—I believe there were four or six 42-pounders sent from England—they were about a month in landing them on this Cattamaran, with all assistance they could get from on shore and the ship too.

What is the weight of a 42-pounder?

I cannot say.

Is there not a blacksmith's shop in the Castle Yard at Cape Coast Castle?

Yes, there is.

Blacksmiths at Cape Coast

Who work there?

The Slaves belonging to the Company.

What kind of work do they perform?

That which belongs to the profession of a blacksmith—making hinges, &c.

Do they not do heavy work?

I do not know what is meant by heavy work.

Do they not work up large bar-iron into a variety of tools and implements?

Common bar-iron they do.

You have stated that sacrifices take place on the death of considerable persons, and that they regard it as a religious duty to the Manes of the deceased—do they make human sacrifices on any other occasion?

Human sacrifices

I believe not, on the Gold Coast.

T t

Are

Are the sacrifices on those occasions which you mentioned numerous?

It depends entirely on the rank and condition of the person who is the object of the sacrifice.

Do they sacrifice any other besides his confidential Slaves?

Certainly they do—it depends entirely on the number they mean to sacrifice to add to the confidential Slaves any number they think proper.

Is it in your power to give any idea of the number to which these sacrifices may extend annually in that district of which you speak?

I cannot say any thing about the numbers.

Are you at all acquainted with the average number of Slaves annually exported from the whole Coast of Africa to the different European Settlements?

It is impossible for me to say, never having been in any other part but the Gold Coast.

If the demand for Slaves on the Gold Coast were greater do you apprehend a larger number could be furnished?

I have found that upon the Gold Coast, when there was a great number of ships there, they have not gone off so quick with their cargo as they would have done if there had been a less number—from which I apprehend if the demand was increased, unless they came from some other part, there would be still nearly the same number.

Do you apprehend that if there was no market for Slaves on the Gold Coast, Thefts of the smallest description would be punished with death?

No—I do not apprehend Thefts would be punished with death—they would be sold for Slaves to some of the inland tribes.

Do any of the inland tribes now come down to the Gold Coast for the purpose of buying Slaves?

No, because they cannot afford to give the price; nor can they give the goods the Natives want for them.

Mention the comparative number of the Slaves sold off the Gold Coast, of those which belong to that Country, and of those which are brought from the interior Country?

I believe

I believe I have already answered that—I believe it is about one-third belonging to the Gold Coast, but I cannot be accurate.

If the Europeans were to attempt to extend the cultivation of Cotton, Indigo, or Sugar, or any produce congenial to the soil of the Country, could they carry it on by any other means than by the purchase of Slaves?

They certainly could never carry it on by themselves, and therefore I am of opinion they must employ Slaves.

Was it the general prevailing opinion on the Coast that Slaves brought from the interior Country were bred Slaves, and not Convicts?

I do not know what the opinion on the Coast may be, but it is my opinion they are both.

Was it the head of the family you bought who was tried and convicted of Witchcraft?

The person convicted of course was executed, he had his head cut off—his father, mother, two wives, and his sister and three children, which were all that remained of the family, were sold to me, on condition that they should never return to that country again.

Did you ever hear of the disease called the Locked Jaw on the Coast of Africa?

No—I never heard of such a disorder.

Do you believe that female Slaves could be procured on the Gold Coast in numbers equal to male Slaves?

I think not.

Why do you think so?

Because every man of the least independency keeps two or three wives, or as many as he likes, and these women do all the drudgery of fetching water and provisions—they very seldom work in the field, but they bring in the corn, and fetch water.

Did you ever know of an insurrection on board of a Slave ship on the Coast of Africa, where the Slaves overcame the crew, and got back to shore?

I have heard of such a thing, but never saw it.

Did

Did you hear what became of those Slaves who so got back ?

I fancy they were all taken up again by the Natives on shore, and re-fold.

Do you believe that the communication which the Africans on the Sea Coast have had with Europeans, has tended to give them a more equitable government than they would otherwise have had ?

It has had some little effect on their outward appearance and manner ; but as to government or morals, or any thing of that sort, I believe they are exactly in the same state now as they were some centuries ago.

Do you understand that the mode of trial which you have described has obtained on the Sea Coast of Africa for a great length of time ?

I believe, from the tradition of the Natives, it has existed from time immemorial.

What cattle have they on the Gold Coast ?

No cattle of burthen—very few Bulls and Cows—I might say none, for it is a luxury to possess any.

Have the Europeans any gardens or plantations on the Gold Coast ?

They have gardens to raise such vegetables as they may want for their own use, which they are at a great deal of trouble to cultivate.

What creates that great trouble ?

The amazing heat and dryness of the soil, which makes it necessary to pay a great deal of attention to the plants.

Did you see any Africans settled on the Gold Coast, who had before been settled in Europe, or the West Indies ?

Yes—I have seen a good many free Blacks return that had taken their passage from Africa to the West Indies, and from the West Indies to London.

What course of life did they follow after their return ?

For the first month they were very proud to shew themselves to all their friends and relations in their European dress, and got drunk with them as often as they possibly could—then they got tired of their clothing, which they found too warm for them
—they

—they then took to the two yards of cloth round their middle, and walked about naked like the rest of them.

Have you ever enquired or asked of the persons of the family that you purchased what is the nature of the proofs that had been required to convict the principal of the family of Witchcraft?

That question has been asked and answered before, that I never saw a trial of the kind—I never asked the persons any thing about it—but from the circumstance of the whole town attending their going off the Beach when they were so condemned, I presume they would not have suffered them to depart so publickly if they had not conceived they had had a fair trial.

Was you ever present at the trial of any persons convicted of any offences, for which they were afterwards sold for Slaves?

No, never—it was not my business to attend such trial.

Have you not said that the whole town participated in the profit arising from the sale of those persons condemned for Witchcraft?

In this instance it might be so, because I fancy that this was a particular case, but in general I believe it is not so.

Wherein consisted the peculiarity of this instance?

Because a number of people in that town had died from causes unknown, and it was laid to this man's charge.

Was not this the only instance of a condemnation for Witchcraft you ever knew?

That is the only one I had ocular demonstration of.

Does it frequently happen that the largest canoes, which you have described, are overset going off through the surf, and coming in?

I have generally observed that the large canoes are more easily overset than the small ones.—As to the twenty-one-hand canoes, I before observed I never saw but two, and those I never saw overset.

Does not the surf frequently break in upon those large canoes, so as to destroy or damage any goods they may have on board?

Certainly.

Do you believe it practicable that either sugar or salt, or any
U u commodity

commodity that is liable to melt, can be brought off or carried on shore in the craft that is used on that Coast?

No, not as long as the coast of Africa exists, I am sure.

If sugar were embarked in casks, do you conceive they would be injured by the surf?

If they were tight casks, so as to be impenetrable to the water, I have no doubt but sugar might be carried through any surf.

Do you know the kind of casks in which sugar is embarked from the West Indies?

I never had any thing to do directly or indirectly with sugar—I have already said so.

Do you think that in such casks as you have seen on the quays the sugar could go safe through the surf.

There never was, I think, a canoe on the Gold Coast capable of taking in a hoghead of sugar, such as I have seen on the quays.

In what manner is the Corn, and other Provisions, carried from the shore to the ships?

Corn, the chief article, is generally carried on board in tight puncheons, well trimmed—Iron-bound casks—that in case of being overfet, which is often the case with canoes, that they might not be damaged.

Are not the same canoes equally well adapted to the carriage of sugar, indigo, or any other commodity?

Certainly I think the sugar will be as dry in such casks as the corn.

Whether sugar or indigo are commodities as valuable and as well able to bear the expence of such a package, as Indian Corn?

As to the expence it is none—the casks belong to the ship; they are water-casks.

Do you confine your information to Cape Coast, or do you speak to the whole Coast?

The whole Gold Coast.

Are there no landing-places on the Gold Coast where the canoes do not come through a great surf?

I know of none where there is not a surf more or less dangerous.

Was you ever at Dixcove ?

I commanded upwards of two years as Chief of that fort.

Did you ever see a King's ship's boat on shore there ?

Yes, I saw one there once.

Could one of those boats land at Cape Coast ?

No.

Do they not use sugar on the coast of Guinea.

Yes.

How is it landed ?

Generally landed in tight punchcons.

You mean all sorts of sugar ?

They generally use loaf sugar—fine sugar.

Which is the greater risk, the going on shore, or the coming off bringing a cargo ?

The coming off shore is certainly the greatest danger ; and where a canoe is overfet once going ashore, it is overfet ten times at least in going off from the shore.

Did you ever know ten canoes overfet all the time you was at Dixcove ?

I believe, besides my own, there was not above one or two canoes belonging to the people of the town—When I speak of ten to one, I speak of the average of the Coast all along, good, bad, and indifferent.

Do not the King's ships wood and water off Cape Coast ?

Yes.

In what is it brought on board ?

In canoes from the shore.

Is it customary for those canoes to be overfet ?

Very often at some seasons.

Do you mean carrying off the wood and water to the King's ships.

I cannot say they are more particularly overfet then than at any other time.

Will

Will you specify any instance where any such boat was overfet?

I cannot specify any particular occasion, and a good cause why, because the King's ships, while I was in Africa, had generally contrived to come there in the fine season, when the sea was very smooth, and there was very little surf—which is not the case at other times from May to the latter-end of August.

Is there any wood to be got on the Coast of Guinea fit to split into staves to make tight calks of?

I do not believe there is.

Was not the Fort of Anamaboe built by an Engineer sent out under the direction of the Board of Ordnance?

I have been told so; and it is the best built Fort in Africa, without any exception.

Do you suppose the abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain would make any material alteration in the criminal law of that Country?

I said before I thought the punishment could be the same.

Do you know what use the Arabs and Moors make of the Slaves they purchase?

I do not know—but I believe it is a traffic they carry on for their own benefit.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire, called in, and examined.

He has been in various capacities for some time past on the Gold Coast of Africa.

How long did you reside on the Gold Coast?

Ever since the year 1778 to the 30th of January last, 1789.

Did you reside in different parts of that Coast?

Only three parts—Cape Coast Castle, Tantum, and Accra.

In what capacity?

When I arrived first on the Coast, I took the command of the Company's troops there—after that I became a factor for the Company—then second of Accra—and after that second of Tantum—and lastly Governor of Tantum.

Did you confine yourself to the forts, or go into the country to any distance?

Entirely to the forts, except in passing from one to the other.

What are the distances between the forts from one to the other?

Cape Coast is forty miles from Tantum, and from Cape Coast to Accra between eighty and ninety miles; it may be more from Cape Coast to Accra—ninety, or thereabouts.

Did you understand the language of the country?

I did not speak it; but I comprehended most of what I heard from the Natives of the Fantee language.

Did you become acquainted with the manner in which persons became Slaves in that country?

In part I have—they come under various descriptions, and are principally Convicts.—There are others made Slaves from an impropriety of conduct in their family, I allude to Gaming—and others for Witchcraft.

Do you consider persons made Slaves for Debt as coming under the description of Convicts, or a different class?

By no means as coming under the description of Convicts; but I conceive when the debt is incurred under the head of Gaming, it then produces many Slaves.

Do persons enter into a state of Slavery in consequence of Debt?

No doubt; having not wherewith to pay, they are seized and made Slaves of by their creditors.

Do you know whether any are made Slaves in consequence of being taken prisoners in war?

I cannot say I do—I have not heard of many wars on the Coast during my residence there.

Were there any wars on the Gold Coast during the eleven years you resided there?

I have seen a kind of war among the Natives of different towns, but not of any duration—who have fought among themselves, but it has been soon determined.

In what number did they meet.

Between three and four thousand of them all together.

Did such meeting produce many Slaves?

None at all.

Can you say in what manner persons made Slaves for crimes were tried?

They are in general tried by the Pynims or Elders of each town or district where the crime is committed.

Is the trial open?

It is generally, I believe always, carried on in the open street, or in a large place open to every one who chose to go there.

Do the Judges receive any benefit from their conviction?

I apprehend not—as far as comes within my own knowledge I believe not.

For whose benefit are they sold as Slaves?

I believe it is for the benefit of those persons against whom the offence is committed.

Do you include the offence of Witchcraft in this account of the trial for offences?

Not generally—but in one particular instance I remember to have seen a similar sort of trial for Witchcraft, which happened at Tatum, about eight months ago.—A man was brought into
the

the street, and offered for sale—he was a man of some consideration in the town.—After the Pynims had set on his trial, under the Palaver-tree, and they had condemned him, they brought him into the fort for sale—but being an old man, and from a former acquaintance with him, being sensible that he was a great villain, I refused to have any thing to do with him—he was accordingly taken to Lagoo, a place dependent on Tantum, and sold there.

Does a conviction for this crime involve in it other persons besides the person actually accused of the crime?

It generally involves the whole family.

Are they a superstitious people?

Very much so.

Does the belief of the existence of Witchcraft prevail much in the Country?

It no doubt does: but I am led to believe that it oftentimes means poison.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.



Veneris, 12^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witnesses examined,

JEROME BARN. WEUVES, Esq;
JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire.

N^o 6.

Luna, 15^o die Junii 1789.

«COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire, was again called in.

Are you at present concerned with the African Trade, or at all connected with it?

Not at all.

Did you, during your residence in that country, acquire any knowledge of the governments there?

In some degree I have.

Will you describe the forms of government you was any ways acquainted with?

All persons who are deemed offenders, are generally brought before the Pynims of any town or district in which they reside. Persons appear to make good the charge against the delinquent, and, upon full conviction, they are adjudged to punishment.

Y y

Does

Does this practice extend far inland, or is it confined to the Gold Coast ?

I have heard that offenders inland are tried in a similar manner, but I cannot speak to any thing but what I have seen or know on the Coast.

Have you any knowledge, or have you received good information, of the government of the interior parts of the country ?

I cannot speak to that question, having no knowledge of the interior parts of the country.

Were wars frequent on the Coast during your residence there ?

I never heard of any, excepting what I have described the last time I was at this Bar, between the inhabitants of Cape Coast Town—one district against the other ;—but I should apprehend, that if wars were frequent, from my long residence in that country I should have been made acquainted with the circumstance, which I never have been.

Can you say, whether the number of persons made Slaves, in consequence of capture in war, bear any, and what, proportion to the number of persons made Slaves on other accounts ?

I have already said, that I have not heard of wars being frequent in Africa, I cannot therefore conceive that any very great number of the Slaves sold off that Coast were prisoners of war, though I am led to believe some are.

Have you any reason to believe that wars are made for the purpose of making Slaves ?

As far as the question extends to the Whites, I am sure they are not : with respect to the Blacks, I believe there are wars among them at times (though I am not justified in saying it from my own knowledge) and this may produce some Slaves.—The Blacks are naturally a turbulent unquiet people, and thence it is I take my opinion.

Did you ever know any Europeans assist in fomenting war amongst the Africans ?

I never did—on the contrary, I know that Europeans have frequently been assisting in settling their palavers of quarrels and dispute, which otherwise might have had bad consequences.

Did you ever know villages pillaged for the purpose of making Slaves ?

I never

I never heard of such a thing, I should think it impracticable—particularly by the Whites.

Did you ever know Europeans privately steal persons for making Slaves—what we call kidnapping?

I never heard of such a thing, nor do I conceive that such a thing ever existed on the Coast.

Is the method of carrying on the trade in Slaves, between the Europeans and the Natives, such as would discover and bring to light such a practice if it prevailed there?

No doubt it would; and one European, experiencing a loss of trade in consequence of such an act, would, as well from duty as interested motives, make his complaint to the Governor and Council on the Coast, as well as to persons in England.

Will you describe the method in which the trade is carried on, on the Coast?

When a Slave is brought down, he is generally consigned to the care of a Black Broker; who, either on the day he arrives in the town, or the following, brings him, with the person to whom he belongs, to be purchased—the Goods are then shewn to the Broker, and the person who wants to sell the Slave—and if there is any piece of Goods objectionable, or that he wishes to change, he is at liberty to do so, in order to satisfy the Trader.—I have been two hours, frequently, in the purchase of one Slave.—Should he however decline the whole barter or assortment offered to him, he is at liberty to take the Slave away, and carry him to any other person.

Is it usual for some of the free Natives of the country to continue on board the ship during the whole or greatest part of the time this Trade is carrying on?

I believe, on an average, there are seldom less than six free People—usually called Gold Takers—Natives and resident of Anamaboe, who are constantly on board the ships.

If any Slave had been kidnapped, or unfairly taken, would he have an opportunity of making his complaint?

He no doubt would; and I am certain, having been a Member of the Council myself, it would have come within the compass of my knowledge if there ever had been such a practice.

Do you then think that the practice of kidnapping prevails even amongst the Natives themselves?

I should

I should wish to speak with caution—I never heard of such a thing existing on the Coast, although it is possible such a thing may have been among the Natives—but I know of no such thing—and I never heard of it.

If it should happen, would it be punished in that country?

I should apprehend it would—I am sure it would on the Gold Coast.

Are the Natives themselves in possession of any great quantity of Slaves?

They are—some more and some less—according to the extent and magnitude of their kingdoms or possessions.

Are Slaves in that country considered as a common medium of traffick and merchandize?

They are.

Are there any distinctions among the Slaves which the inhabitants possess, as to domestic and other Slaves?

I know but of two distinctions—one, those Slaves that they have possessed by hereditary right; these I know cannot be sold unless for some crime, and then only by the general consent of the other domestic Slaves—the others, are those they have purchased themselves, and whom, without any interference of their domestic Slaves, they are at liberty to dispose of whenever they please.

Do you then mean to say, that the distinction between domestic and other Slaves does not relate to the service in which they are employed, but to their having been inherited or purchased?

I mean to say, that one being hereditary property, incorporated with others of a similar description, are not disposed of but by the concurrence of the rest—that others, of the latter description, may be sold without this Form; subject however to trial before the Pynims and others.

If a free native of Africa has been convicted of any offence, in what manner is he punished?

It depends in a great measure on the offence committed—I have known a man, who was made a prisoner in Cape Coast Castle, at the request of his Master, and who I believe had committed little or no fault, taken from thence by his Master, and put to death in a very cruel manner;—the Black's name, very well known to residents, is John Quamina.

If

If a fine is imposed on a man for an offence, is that fine to be paid in Slaves, or is it imposed in a certain number of Slaves?

I really cannot speak with any certainty, with respect to that—the Blacks are fined among themselves, and the person against whom the suit is instituted (provided he is in the wrong) is obliged to make good all expences attendant on it—should they not be able to fettle this with gold, or any other article that might be received I believe some of his family or Slaves would be seized, and made prisoners until he did it.

In such case, can you say whether the domestic or hereditary Slaves might be so seized?

I apprehend both the hereditary and purchased Slaves.

When you say that both the hereditary and purchased Slaves might be so seized on—do you mean that such Slave might be taken and sold for the debt or punishment of his master?

I do not apprehend that the hereditary Slave is often sold—there is a long process before that can be the case, and a man will prefer oftentimes the seizing any of the person's own family, rather than his domestic Slaves—but I should conceive all are liable to the debts he owes.

Is there a process by which every man's domestic Slaves may be sold for the debt or punishment of his master?

No doubt a man who has Slaves, committing an offence, or being involved in debt, makes his Slaves, or any other property he has, liable thereto.

May a man, condemned to slavery, redeem himself by finding another Slave in his place?

In most cases he may—in one or two particular cases he cannot.

Mention those cases?

In particular, if a man should conceive himself to be bewitched, or, in other words, made sick by poison, and he can fix it upon a particular person, so as to be assured that he had committed the offence—he will then sell him, under a restriction, to the person to whom he sells him, that he shall not be redeemed.

Witchcraft

Do you mean to confine the supposed crime of Witchcraft to the case in which a man may conceive himself to be made sick? or does it apply to other cases, in which a man may conceive that either his person or his property has been injured by the exercise of some supernatural arts, by the person whom he accuses?

Z z

I have

*of Awishee
Tantum.
of Pynims.*

I have known an instance very lately, in which a man by the name of Awishee, a man of considerable note, and one of the best traders residing at Tantum, was said to be bewitched—a day or two after I heard this, I heard of his death; and the person accused, with his family, who himself was a Pynim, or Head of the town, had a formal trial—I saw the Pynims sit under the Palaver-tree for that purpose, and passed them repeatedly—the result of the determination was, to sell the old Pynim, and drive all the rest of the family out of the town; which they did—I conversed with many of the Blacks who were at this trial, and who all seemed thoroughly sensible, that what was called Witchcraft, in this particular instance was really poison—and they affirmed that Awishee was poisoned.—There was another instance, of a similar nature, with respect to the Cabbosheer of Tantum, whilst I commanded there—he was taken sick in the morning, reported to be bewitched; but died, as I was informed by many of the Natives, by poison, before six o'clock in the evening.

What was the mode of trial, in that case, of the offender, and what the punishment?

*the Cabbosheer
Tantum*

The Cabbosheer was a Mulatto man—he had been formerly a Company's soldier, but by hereditary right became Cabbosheer of Tantum. He himself being a Mulatto, and not having a very large family, or people in power to make the enquiry (which would have been done if he had been a Black man of any considerable note) the matter fell to the ground.

What is a Cabbosheer?

It is the name of office—the King—Head Man.

Are the trials for Witchcraft, in general, carried on in the manner in which you described the former trial, or in a more private manner?

I never saw any but the one I instanced; but I apprehend, and believe, and think I have been informed, that any person of any particular family, charged with this crime, is tried by his own family, in conjunction with the hereditary Slaves, provided he is a Slave—if a Free man, by the Pynims or Heads of the town.—But this is mere information.

Then you was never present but at one trial yourself?

I never was—nor was I present at that I have described—I passed through the town, and saw them sitting, and was informed by the Natives, as well as my own servants, that it was on that account.

Is

Is there any other crime, of which a person being convicted, and condemned to Slavery, is not permitted to redeem himself by finding another Slave in his room?

I believe in cases of very ill behaviour, and of which a Slave has been frequently convicted, so as to become notorious, the person who sells him will restrain the purchaser from redeeming him.

In such case, is it expressly stipulated, that such Slaves shall be carried away from the country?

I have frequently experienced this to be the case.

In the crime of Adultery, is it ever stipulated that the offender shall not be permitted to remain in the country?

I have known it to be the case, and I have known it otherwise.

For such crime, is a man ever punished by a fine of several Slaves, in the case of his being wealthy? or is the punishment confined to his own personal loss of liberty?

If a man is of any real consequence or consideration, they are not contented to seize him, but will take many Slaves; but if the Slave of a great man, or Prince, should commit this crime with his (the Prince's) wives, I apprehend they would put him to death.

Do you know whether the practice of Human Sacrifices prevails in that country?

I know it does.—At Appolonia, I have been informed by the Governor himself, who was a very respectable man, that he has seen persons, altogether unacquainted with any intention of their being to be put to death, seized in the market-place, by a rope being thrown over their heads, and, after being dragged near half a mile, put to death in various manners.—I have heard him say, that some have had swords run cross ways thro' them—others their heads sawed off—this is a common practice, it has been done even near Cape Coast Castle.—I asked him how many he had seen so sacrificed—his answer was, That at the death of old Baw and Ammoner, the two Cabbotheers, he believed that near 300 had been put to death, in various manners.

I remember also at Cape Coast, upon the death of the man I mentioned, John Quamina, as he was a great man, a great Cabbotheer, and lived near the Fort, the Governor, and the Whites resident in the Fort, were fearful that some would be sacrificed.

His

*Human Sacrifices
at Appolonia*

*300 sacrificed on death
of two cabbotheers
old Baw
& Ammoner*

*at Cape Coast
on death of John
Quamina "great
cabbotheer"*

His family were therefore sent to, and told, that in case they had any such intention, the Fort, if it was done within reach of their Guns, would fire at the house; where he was sitting in state, powdered all over with Gold. I saw him, and heard the message delivered to his family, and a promise on their parts that none should be sacrificed; notwithstanding which, a very fine boy and girl were knocked on the head with an elephant's tooth—one was buried under his coffin, and the other on the top of it.

Was the Governor of Appolonia, with whom you had this conversation, the present or late Governor?

Neither—the Governor I allude to was Governor Dickson, who is since dead; but I believe many in Africa, and in Europe, know the circumstance to be as I have related it.

Does the practice of sacrificing Slaves prevail, in a greater or less degree, on the death of all persons of condition, in that country?

I believe it existed formerly much more than it has latterly—I have known two men lately—a month or two before I left the Coast, in January last—men of note—one the King of Ackin—the other was a Cabbotheer, not of so great note, who died;—but I did not hear of any human sacrifices on those occasions.—I believe they are indebted to the Whites, in a great measure, for the practice being less; who take every opportunity of representing to them the inhumanity and absurdity of such a proceeding.—What I speak to, however, is with respect to the places adjoining to the Coast—for in the interior parts of the country it certainly (as far as I can judge from report) exists in a very great degree.

Have you seen what has become of Slaves which the Europeans have refused to purchase?

I can speak as to one particular fact—from which I should draw a natural conclusion—that if they are not saleable they are put to death:—A woman was brought into Cape Coast Castle, to be purchased; who being very old, and very infirm, was rejected, as well by the residents, as by the shipping, Dutch, and others—after which, because the Black trader would not be at the expense of her maintenance, he carried her into the Bush—a field or kind of meadow which is overrun with weeds and bushes, and therefore called a Bush—where she was murdered, and afterwards found.

Can you then, from your experience and observations during your residence on the Coast, form any judgment, whether the purchase of Slaves by the Europeans does, or does not, contribute to preserving them from being sacrificed, or otherwise put to death?

I certainly do believe that it contributes much, not only to the safety of the Slaves, as far as it regards life, but also to their ease and comfort; for in many cases, and particularly at Tantom, where I have had a number of Slaves in the Fort at one time, between 60 and 70, I have seen them infinitely happier, infinitely more healthy, than when they were first sold to me.—In proof of this, notwithstanding I have bought numbers of Slaves, and have had 60 or 70 in the Fort, and that for two or three months, I never lost a Slave by mortality in my life.

What nation traded on the Coast, during your residence there, besides the English?

Many—French, Dutch, Americans, Danes, and Portuguese.

Has the trade of any of those nations, on that Coast, particularly increased of late years?

It most assuredly has, particularly among the French and Americans.

Do you know from what particular part of America they trade to that Coast?

I believe principally from Boston and Salem—Boston in particular.

Have the French pushed that trade more of late years, and by what means?

They have; and, contrary to the law of nations, put themselves into the possession of a particular spot, adjacent to Anamaboe; and although, by the unhealthiness of the climate, they have lost great numbers of people, they still persevere in their determination to keep possession of the spot, to replace the dead with others, sent out frequently in their men of war.—I have seen two in a year there.—They also send a great many more ships than they formerly did—I mean on the Gold Coast.

How many ships had the French on that Coast, during the last year of your residence there?

I cannot speak with any certainty to that—I was chiefly confined to my Fort—had been exceedingly unwell during my two last years residence, so had no connection with them.

Can you say, whether any trade for Slaves is carried on to the Eastward of the Gold Coast—the Eastern part of Africa?

No doubt of it—from Whydah—all along the Coast—to Old Calabar, and New Calabar.

Did the English ships, particularly, sail from the Coast secretly in the night?

I do not know that they made a practice of doing so: it might happen that one or two might get under way during a tornado, at the end of it, because it would give them a good offing, as well as forward them in their passage: but the general custom of ships departing from the Coast is, to loose the fore-top sail, hoist the ensign, and fire a gun—which they often repeat for three, four, or five weeks—I have known it two months before they sail. This is done for the purpose of informing the natives that the ship is going to sail, and that they must come on board and settle any accounts they may have with the Captain. So that the usual time of getting under way is generally with the land wind, from two in the morning, as long as it shall last.

Whether are the ships most healthy which lie off the Coast, or those which go up the rivers, and lie nearer land?

No doubt those which lie off the Coast—they avoid the consequences of the fogs.

Is it necessary to go up the rivers for Woods, the produce of the country?

I cannot speak to that, I know nothing of that part of the Coast where they go for Woods—There are none on the Gold Coast.

Are there many rivers on the Gold Coast navigable for ships?

I know of none—I am sure there are none—There are two rivers, Elmina and Shemar, but they would not admit a vessel of fifty tons, or any thing like it, to go into them.

Are those rivers in the hands of the English, or the Dutch?

Both in the hands of the Dutch.

Are there any rivers in which boats of any considerable burthen could navigate?

Not any, unless a boat under twenty tons—There is no navigation—she might go in, but would be very soon aground, if she was to pursue her course.

Is there any way by which goods of bulk could be brought to the Coast by water from the inland country?

I am sure there is no such navigation.

Is there much land-carriage for bulky goods?

Not any—I have seen a tooth of one hundred and seventy pounds weight only, that was obliged to be cut into three pieces, for the purpose of bringing it down.

From what distance?

I cannot say.

In what manner was it brought?

I recollect one piece—the smallest—was smoother than the other two, which led me to conceive, and from the appearance of a notch or two having been made in order to fix a rope, that it had been dragged down in part, and carried occasionally.

Are there any landing-places on the Coast?

There are many, though very indifferent ones—some exceeding bad indeed.

How many are there from whence heavy goods could safely be embarked on board ship?

I really know of none, that I could justifiably say, as they are all exceeding bad at one time of the year or other.

What is the best season of the year for landing or embarking goods?

About Christmas—January or February—but I do not mean to say, that those are certain months—I have known the season exceeding bad in all these months, but it is the best season of the year.

How many miles of Coast do you speak of, in which you say that there are no navigable rivers, and such bad landing-places?

I speak from Cape la Hou to the River Volga, or thereabouts.

How many miles of Coast is that?

I should suppose about four hundred and twenty, or four hundred and thirty miles.

Is there a heavy surf on that Coast?

A very heavy one.

Does that surf render it more dangerous to carry goods off the Coast to the ships, or to land goods from the ships to the Coast?

I conceive it much safer to land goods than to take them off; although I have seen, even in landing small canoes, fishing canoes (which are much the safest) ten in a day overfet.

During your residence on the Coast, did you know of any ships trading there for other articles of commerce, and not for Slaves?

No—I believe I might instance certain ships, which are sent for Gold and Ivory, called “Ivory and Gold Ships;” but these also trade for Slaves.

Is any great quantity of Gold exported from that Coast?

I know of none, unless in the case of a resident’s realizing—he, like myself, might bring some away.—It is not an article of export—and the reason is evident, because Gold in that country is worth four pounds sterling per ounce, and in this country is not worth more than from three pounds eleven shillings, to three pounds fourteen shillings per ounce.

What quantity of Ivory is exported from that Coast?

I cannot say as to any specific quantity—I have known a great deal of Ivory sold to me, in one month, at Tantom, while I was second—when I have not bought five teeth, the last time I was there, during two years.

Is Ivory then an uncertain produce?

From what I have said, and seen, I should conceive it was, and that there is not that quantity that there has formerly been, because Tantom used to be a very good port for that particular article.

Could Ivory be procured in sufficient quantities to be an object of commerce, independant of the trade in Slaves?

No—I should think the abolition of the Slave trade would effectually destroy the Ivory trade.

Why so?

Because the native merchants, who bring it down, generally put on the heads or shoulders of the Slaves they bring down to sell, such Teeth and Ivory as they may have; whereas, so small is their profit on the article of Ivory, that it would not pay them for their

their trouble—they would not think it worth their while to bring it, unless they at the same time brought with them Slaves.

Does the country produce any other articles of commerce besides Gold and Ivory, which you have mentioned?

Not the Gold Coast, at least of any value—There are some few Cloths, Mats, &c. but they are not purchased as articles of trade—I have seen a Cloth or two—The Cloths particularly are the produce of Whydah, which is not properly the Gold Coast.

What sort of Cloths are they?

They are Cloths manufactured by them, with the threads that they draw out of our Cloths, or such Cloths as are exported to that country—These are principally what they make their colours with. In addition to this, some do spin Cotton, which they mix along with it.

Do they make many Cotton Cloths, except for their own consumption?

I know of very few that are made at all—very few—and those bear so considerable a price, being deemed a curiosity more than of any real use, that sometimes a gentleman in the country will give a very extraordinary price for one.

What do you call an extraordinary price?

Two or three Slaves for a Cloth of four fathom by three fathom, or thereabouts.

What do you call a fathom?

Two yards.

Are these the kind of Cloths which the natives wear?

No—by no means.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.

Lunæ, 15^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness examined,

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire.

N^o 7.

Martis, 16^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House, to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence ; and

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire, was again called in.

Will that part of the Coast, which you are acquainted with, produce any articles of commerce, which might be carried on with advantage to this country, independent of the trade in Slaves ?

None that I know of.

Does it produce Corn in any considerable quantity ?

It produces Corn by no means equal to the annual consumption.

Does it produce Cotton in any considerable quantity ?

None, I believe, except what is used to spin to make wicks for lamps ; and some cloths they make at Whydah, but not on the Gold Coast.

Has any attempt been ever made to extend the cultivation of Cotton ?

I remember a sort of attempt being made near Cape Coast, but it failed of success, and the Blacks destroyed in the night what was done in the course of the day ;—the reason they assigned was, that they conceived it prejudicial to their provision ground.

Does the country produce Rice in any quantity ?

Not in any quantity—some is produced in Appolonia, and a little to Windward of it, but I know of none to Leeward.

Does it produce any Dying Wood ?

Not any—to a certainty.

Does it produce any other articles besides those which have been enumerated ?

None that I know of.

Did you reside in that country during the last war ?

Yes.

Was the trade in Slaves interrupted during the war ?

It certainly was, in a degree ; nor were so many Slaves brought down during that period, as in general when there was no war.

Was there a less demand for Slaves during the war, than there had been in time of peace ?

The demand was certainly not so great, and consequently Slaves not so dear.

During the war did you observe that more Corn, Rice, or Cotton, were produced in Africa, than had been produced in the time of peace ?

I cannot say I perceived any material difference ;—indeed I was rather out of the way, being confined, during the war, principally at Tantum.

Did you hear of any alteration being effected in the cultivation of the country, in consequence of the war ?

Not any.—The country was in the same state then as now, and had been before for many years.

From your experience and observation are you enabled to form an opinion, whether the putting an end to the trade for Slaves would materially alter the state of cultivation of the country ?

I do not believe that it would make any alteration.—The Blacks are an indolent set of people, and I believe if it were not for the Slave and Ivory trade, they would rather starve than cultivate any extensive part of the country ;—indeed, although they may command great extent of land, you seldom see them cultivate more than is absolutely necessary to support themselves, family, and dependants, from year to year.

Are

Are there any articles manufactured in that country?

I know of none, except the Cloths and Mats I have before described.

Do you apprehend that the abolition of the Slave Trade would increase these manufactures, or produce any new manufactures?

I am certain it would not.

Does the country produce Iron?

None that I know of.

Whence are they supplied with Iron?

From Europe.

Do they manufacture that into any articles of use?

None—unless it is a kind of coarse bill or hoe, which they cultivate their land with; but they are made in so coarse and untempered a manner that they seldom last any length of time.

Are they supplied with many articles of Iron from Europe?

With a great many.—Knives, guns, and iron bars ready to manufacture into bills and hoes, and for iron bars for their windows, and various other uses.

If the Slave Trade with the English was to be put an end to, can you say what would become of those Slaves now sold to the English?

They would, no doubt, be sold to other nations, who shew daily an eager desire, particularly the French lately, to participate of our trade.

During the time of peace, has there always been a demand for Slaves equal or superior to the supply by the country?

There certainly has, more than equal to the supply.

Do you think that the abolition of the trade would prevent a single man being made a Slave, who is now made such?

I do not think it would.

Do you think that the abolition of the trade would prevent any wars among the natives?

On the contrary, I should rather be disposed to think that it would occasion wars, because these people who come under the description of convicts, would be left in the country (supposing
a total

a total abolition) to do continual mischief, and occasion ferments among the natives, and consequently produce more wars.

Do you think the abolition would be the means of saving the lives of the natives in that country?

On the contrary, I am sure the total abolition of the trade by all nations, would produce a scene of carnage from one end of the coast to the other.—I mentioned a circumstance yesterday, of a man's being taken out of Cape Coast Castle, by a Cabbotheer of a more civilized disposition than they generally are, whose name was John Quamina; and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of some gentlemen who particularly knew his intention in taking this man up for some trifling offence he had committed, he carried him up to his Croome or country house, and put him to death in a very cruel manner.

Do you think that a colony could be established in that country, with any probability of advantage?

There are many obstacles to such an attempt, and I really do not believe it would be practicable, at least until the country was conquered; and to do this would produce the loss of lives to many thousands; because the country is overrun with underwood, very thick, and the natives, unless upon the sea-coast, disposed to be very hostile to us.

During your residence there, did you observe any instance of cruelty exercised by the English towards the Slaves they had purchased?

On the contrary, I have seen great marks of humanity observed towards them; and in sickness, I have known them attended on, particularly in the night, at several different hours, when they have been ill of the Flux particularly.

Do you know whether the crews of seamen on board the Slave Ships are treated with any particular cruelty or severity?

I have never seen any particular marks of cruelty towards them—but, as the country is not so healthy as other parts, they may possibly experience inconvenience from the severity of the climate, common to every European who goes to that country?

Would that inconvenience from the severity of the climate affect the crews of other ships, who should trade on that coast for other commodities, as well as the crews of the ships trading for Slaves?

Equally the same.

Would

Would the inconvenience, from the severity of the climate, affect any colonies of Englishmen who should be planted there?

No doubt it would, in the state in which the Coast is at present—I remember, a few years back, a season produced great mortality at the Danish Fort at Accra—the Governor, Vice-president, and seven or eight other officers, together with 100 soldiers, fell a sacrifice to a raging fever in the course of one month, and this on the sea-coast.

In what ship did you go from England to Africa, in your first voyage?

I went, in March 1778, in the *Symond*, Captain Mackintosh, who has been examined here—I returned home in 1783, at the requisition of Lord North, to England, being at that time Commissary to the King's troops—in the latter end of 1784, and the beginning of 1785, I went out again to the Coast of Africa—in September 1785 I returned home in a Slave ship, by the way of Barbadoes.

How many times then have you gone from England to Africa, and how often from Africa to the West Indies, in the course of your life?

I have been three voyages from England to Africa, and two from Africa to England, by the way of the West Indies.

In the course of your voyages from England to Africa, did you observe any cruelty or ill-treatment exercised by the Captains towards the crew under their command?

I did not—I never saw people happier than they were on board.

In the first voyage you made from Africa to the West Indies, what number of Slaves were on board?

I have said about 300—more or less.

What was the name of the ship?

The *Iris*.

How were those Slaves treated during the middle passage?

Exceedingly well indeed—we lost but one.—And as for amusement (I was frequently on the main deck with them) I had an opportunity to see that they were perfectly satisfied, and at all times very chearful.

During that voyage were the Slaves often upon deck, and how often?

We had a passage, to the best of my recollection, of six weeks and two days; and I believe that there were not above two days, in the whole of that passage, that the Slaves were not upon deck.

Were they sufficiently supplied, during the voyage, with provision and water?

With great plenty of both.—I should conceive it for the interest of the Owner and Captain to feed them well, because if they are not kept in heart and good spirits it is odds but they sicken and die: and although the vessel stayed near 24 hours at Barbadoes, before she proceeded to Jamaica, she had plenty of water and provisions to carry her down, nor did she take any of either on board at Barbadoes.

Does the profit of the Captain and Surgeon of the ship depend on the health of the cargo of Slaves?—how was it before the late regulations?

The Captain would be benefited by the numbers which he landed, and a total loss (as far as I have understood by Captains) of his 6 per cent. on such as died.

At what island was the cargo of Slaves, carried in the Iris, landed?

Jamaica, and consigned to Copple and Golding.

Were the Slaves well treated, after their arrival at Jamaica, on board that ship, and before they were landed?

I left the ship at Barbadoes; I have heard from the Captain repeatedly, that he did not lose a single Slave going from Barbadoes to Jamaica.

On board what ship did you make your second voyage from Africa to the West Indies?

The Friendship, last 30th of January.

Who was Captain?

Edward Lamb—Master.

How many Slaves had he on board?

We had but few; she was not a Slave ship, but a store ship;
and

and in her passage to the West Indies would have carried Slaves, as she did a few, upon freight.

Was that ship better, or worse, calculated for the conveyance of a number of Slaves than the common Slave ships?

In my opinion, much worse, though she was a large ship.—The coamings of her hatches were very low—had we met with any rough weather there she would have shipped water, which would have gone down into the men's room—besides which, she had not the conveniences, such as drying pans to dry the men's rooms after they were washed, so as to make them equally comfortable with a regular Slave ship.

Was she furnished with gratings and air ports, like a regular Slave ship?

She was not, being a stationed ship at Lucea in Jamaica—I mean that she was a regular West Indiaman.

How were the Slaves treated on board that ship during the voyage?

They were treated exceedingly well—we lost none;—but I should apprehend, that if any of them had been in a sickly state when received on board, they would not have been so skilfully treated as in a regular Guineaman.

How many Slaves died during that voyage?

Not one—nor indeed any person belonging to the ship.

Where was that cargo landed?

In Jamaica—to the best of my belief—I quitted the ship at Barbadoes.

Was there any mortality among the cargo after their arrival at Jamaica, and before they were landed?

I cannot say what happened after I left the vessel at Barbadoes—they were in perfect health when the ship left Barbadoes.

Did you ever hear of any mortality amongst them after you left them?

None—I never heard of any.

Had you any interest yourself in the Slaves on board this ship?

I had not a single Slave in her, nor have I any connection whatever with the concern.

Have

Have you resided at all in the West Indies ?
I have, for upwards of four years.

In what part ?
In the parish of Hanover, in Jamaica.

Do you know of any means used by the Captain or Surgeon, after a Slave ship's arrival, to repel any disorders with which the Slaves may be affected, whereby their health may be injured ?

I cannot say I have known any such practice to take place with respect to the Slaves.

During what years did you reside in Jamaica ?
I believe from the latter end of 1769, or commencement of 1770, to the year 1774.

During your residence there, did you know of any particular mortality taking place among the Slaves on board Slave ships, after their arrival off the island, and before the landing of the Slaves ?

No—I never saw any thing of the sort. I have been on board of two or three Slave ships in the island—their cargoes were healthy, and I believe few of the two in particular I allude to—the Warwick Castle was one—I forget the name of the other—were in a very diseased state when they were sold—I mean very few indeed, out of a very large cargo—the Warwick Castle had 500 nearly.

Are you then enabled, from your residence on the Coast of Africa, and from your residence in the West Indies, to form a judgment what would be the probable effect of an abolition of the Slave Trade by this country, both in the West Indies and the Coast of Africa ?

On the Coast of Africa, I am convinced that it would tend to the destruction of many lives—in the West Indies, the destruction of the British Colonies.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

What was the tonnage of the Iris, and the name of the Captain ?

I cannot speak correct to the tonnage, but I think about 220 or 230—the name of the Captain was Mason.—This was in 1785.

What was the size of the Symond ?

I cannot

I cannot speak to that—it was considerably larger, being a three-decker.

What was the number of Slaves on board the Symond ?

I came a passenger from England in her, but was never on board, when she had any Slaves.

Is there any thing peculiar in the constitution and government of Appolonia ?

Appolonia

There certainly is—The King is despotic, and by his own single authority has, and daily does take away the lives of many.

What is the extent of that district ?

I cannot speak to the breadth, but as to the length of Appolonia, from Axim, it is about 25 or 30 miles, more or less—Coastwise.

Had the Slave of Quamina, who was put to death by his master, been previously convicted by a legal process ?

I should apprehend, that as Quamina sent in his domestic Slaves in a public manner to demand him of the Governor of Cape Coast (without whose permission no Slave once brought into the Fort can pass the gates) the prisoner would, no doubt, before execution, have received the form of trial.

Was not Quamina a man of very great influence and authority in that country ?

He certainly had great authority—although I have known him frequently overawed and intimidated by the reigning King and Captain of the Town.

Was the number of Slaves, taken off the Coast during the war, greater, or less, than is usual in time of peace ?

I cannot answer that question, being confined at Tantum principally during the war.

Did you export as many, during the war ?

I bought more than I have ever done since—but the reason was obvious—Cape Coast had been engaged in war with the Fort of Elmina, with the Dutch—The Fort of Mouree, belonging to the Dutch, had been taken by the English—The Fort of Anamaboe, and Cormartin, one belonging to the English and the other to the Dutch, were involved also in a state of war—The Fort of Accra Crève Coeur, belonging to the Dutch, was engaged in a war with James Fort, our Fort at Accra.—

—Hence it was, that on these accounts the natives were afraid to bring down their Slaves to these places, which were in a state of warfare—and therefore chose to bring them to Tantum, where they could not be molested.

Do you believe there are fewer sacrifices of late years than formerly, through the extent of the Coast, according to the best of your information?

I spoke particularly the other evening, I believe it was yesterday, with respect to Appolonia —The present King of Appolonia (Quashee) who succeeded the two that I mentioned yesterday, is still alive.—I know not whether the number would be equally great at his death, as were at the deaths of either of the two predecessors I have named.

The question was, throughout the whole extent of the Coast, according to your information, and was not confined to Appolonia?

I believe it exists in the same degree a few miles from the Coast.—Nearer to our Forts, I should conceive that there were not so many as had been formerly—as I believe the Blacks were aware that the Chiefs of Forts would fire in the middle of a croud that were making such a sacrifice.

By what motives are the natives induced to make these sacrifices, and of what description are the victims commonly?

I believe they have many motives for it—the principal one is, that their friends and relations may rest quiet in their graves—the second is, that they deem it necessary he should be properly attended—hence it is, that they generally sacrifice his Key-bearer, or Accraw, as they call it; and commonly provide him also with his head wench, by putting her to death.

Have not persons of consequence a considerable number of Slaves, in that country?

I beg leave to remark, on the preceding question, that I do not mean to confine myself to these two or three particular persons, who are sacrificed to great men; for I have been in, and seen tombs and burial-places paved with skulls of people, that had been made sacrifices.

Question now repeated.

Have not persons of consequence often a considerable number of Slaves belonging to them?

No doubt they have—it depends on their quality and property.

e descent
of Appolonia

In what services are these Slaves employed?

Many are in a state of idleness from year's end to year's end; whilst their wenches or wives provide them with water, and every thing necessary for their subsistence.

Would not these Slaves be liable to punishment, if they should disobey their masters commands?

It would depend in great measure on the nature of the command—masters (even the king himself of Cape Coast) are in the habit of such familiarity with their Slaves, that unless it was really a capital fault, I do not apprehend a Slave would receive any punishment.

If a Slave were obstinately to refuse to obey his master, could not his master compel him to obedience, if the master wished it?

No doubt of it—he might punish him.

Whence are the Natives of that part of the Country supplied with provisions?

Along the Coast, it is the practice of the natives to plant annually as much as for the year may serve themselves, their families, and dependants—but I have seen many instances which clearly prove to me, that they have little or no surplus—I have myself offered thirty-five or forty shillings for a chest of Corn, which is fifteen shillings more than the usual price given for Corn, and I could not obtain it—but this I attribute to the indolence of the Natives.

Is your answer, respecting the Coast, applicable to the whole extent of the Coast?

As far as I have seen, which is as far as Accra, at which place in particular (although it is a prodigious large district of country) they plant little or no Corn, and are obliged to be supplied by their neighbours—this, during my residence at Accra—I have seen prodigious great want amongst them.

Is it a considerable quantity that they are obliged to bring from their neighbours?

As much as is necessary, with some other provisions which they plant, for their subsistence.

From what distance is this supply of Corn brought?

I believe from as far as from Cape Coast to Accra, and all the way down.

Do you mean that this Corn is the produce of Cape Coast?

I mean that it is the produce of Cape Coast, Tantom, Anamaboe, &c. some more, some less.

What was given in exchange for this Corn?

Sometimes they will take cloth—part liquor and brandy—but this is only when Corn is plenty;—when it is scarce, they will scarcely take any thing else than gold-dust for it.

How do the persons in question become possessed of this cloth, or liquor, or gold-dust?

I apprehend this question refers to the Blacks—the answer I gave referred to the purchases of the Whites.—I believe the answer may also in some degree extend to the Blacks, the natives of Accra—who give some cloth and some gold, together with a fish, which they call Aporge, and which is a great article of trade, as well as subsistence, among the Accras.

With what is the bulk of the supply of their provisions purchased by the natives?

In most cases, I believe, with the articles I have mentioned—I know of no other articles that they have to give in exchange.—Indeed Accra is not a country of Gold—what they therefore pass, is acquired by them in trade from other nations.

With what then do the natives purchase these commodities, which they exchange for provisions, as you have stated before?

With Slaves and Ivory;—principally Ivory—for there is more fold in that country, than in any other part of the Coast.

Whether any part of the provisions is brought from the interior part of the country—and if it is, from what distance?

I should suppose there is a great deal brought from the interior part of the country—because I have already said, that the natives adjacent to the forts are too indolent to plant more than is necessary for their own consumption.

Have you known any more trials for Witchcraft, than the two you mentioned before?

I have not—though I know there are such existing every day amongst the Blacks; but, as I have already observed, I am convinced that the word “Witchcraft,” amongst the Blacks, means literally, “Poison.”

By "every day," you mean very frequently?
Yes.

Are the trials public?

I cannot say—if I should judge from what I have seen and described, I should be led to think that they were public, although the Whites may not have frequent opportunities of seeing them.

What circumstances would deprive the Whites of the opportunity of seeing them, if they were frequent?

I never heard it was customary for the Whites ever to introduce themselves at such trials, or indeed at any others, among the Blacks; although, in returning from our walks, we frequently see the Pynims, and Heads of the town, seated in the public Palaver Place, and on enquiry, a White may be informed of the nature of the offence which is brought before them.

Do not you think, that there is a peculiar mode of trial in the case of what is called "Witchcraft?"

I should really think not, from what I have seen.

Have you not known many instances of trials for various other offences, during your residence in that country?

No doubt I have—I have had people, convicted of faults before the Blacks tribunal, brought into Tantum Fort, and, at the requisition of the persons who brought them in, they were detained until the Palaver was settled in some way or other.

What do you apprehend is the total number of delinquents exported from that Coast?

It is impossible for me to say.

Have you not heard it stated, however erroneously, that trials for Witchcraft are often conducted in a different manner from other trials?

I have, no doubt, and that very recently; but I believe it was from people who have not seen the circumstances I have related, with respect to the death of Awishee, at Tantum.

Is the circumstance of Awishee's case the only ground of your opinion respecting the mode of trial for Witchcraft?

That, and the universal voice of the people charging a whole family of note and distinction with Witchcraft, and selling a Pynim

who had been the principal, are the reasons which induced me to believe as I have described.

Whether the rank and consequence of the convict, in this instance, might not have been the occasion of his having had a public trial, though not always had in the case of persons of inferior condition?

I should apprehend not, Awishee being inferior—he was a trader, but a man of no great note—not equal in rank to Coquanza the Pynim, who was sold for the offence.

Is not the whole family of a person, convicted for Witchcraft, sold?

In general, I believe, they are—but in this instance they were not;—the Tantum people contented themselves with selling the old Pynim, and driving the rest of his family from amongst them, out of the town.

What is done with the price for which the family is sold, on occasion of these common convictions for Witchcraft?

In general, the price is applied to the injured family, subject however to some expences on account of the trial.—I know this to be the case in this instance, and I believe it to be so in general.

Is it the case in convictions for other offences?

I believe it is—I know it is in regard to theft.

Are slight thefts punished with the loss of liberty?

Among the Blacks I believe it is in some degree customary for them to require more in point of value than what is taken; but in regard to the theft of gold, and some other articles, the person committing the theft is sold.—In other cases they may be satisfied with a compensation—as for stealing of brandy, and such things.

What is the general temper and disposition of the natives of that country?

From what I have seen of them, I should judge them to be a very quarrelsome, turbulent, and ungrateful people—forgetful of obligation, be it of ever so great benefit to themselves or families.

If a ship were on the point of departure from the Coast, and the Black Broker were to bring off one or more Slaves, offering them for sale, would the Captain, if he had sufficient goods left to buy them, refuse to make the purchase?

He

He certainly would not—but I speak prior to the present restrictions.

Would the Captain have asked any questions of such Broker, respecting the mode in which he acquired such Slaves?

That is a question which is never asked; because the native himself is well aware, if he comes by a Slave illegally, he is liable to be severely punished—he himself and his whole family would be sold for Slaves for such an offence.

Why are the Free natives called Gold-takers?

It is another name for trading men—however they do take gold, and are employed in the purchase of every Slave that is brought on board—they, therefore, speaking the language, in general, which is spoken even by Slaves themselves, after they have been a little time among the Fantees, would certainly learn from those Slaves if they had been captured or kidnapped by the persons who brought them for sale.

Are Slaves ever redeemed out of the ships?

They are frequently—provided their offences are not so great as to render it inadmissible or improper.

By what means are they redeemed?

By being replaced with another Slave.

At whose request are they redeemed—at their own, or at that of their families?

At the request of their family, who are interested in their behalf—this most commonly takes place, however, in the case of Adultery, provided it is not a great man's wife with whom the offender has been connected.

Is any crime, excepting Witchcraft, in the principal, punished with death?

In general, I should suppose none—in some particular cases, where a domestic Slave has rendered himself obnoxious to the rest of his fraternity, he may be put to death, as in the particular case which I have adverted to, of the Slave taken out of Cape Coast Castle.

Are domestic Slaves sold from one family to another, among the natives, unless for crimes?

It is not a customary practice—they must be guilty of some offence, and that rather capital than otherwise.

In

In what manner are the domestic Slaves, usually treated, in the families to which they belong ?

Not conceiving themselves altogether in the state of slavery, but rather as the attendants on the great men whom they serve, they lead an indolent life, and are generally employed in making Custom, that is, performing funeral ceremonies for the dead ; or in diversions, or in gaming.

Do you apprehend that the practice of offering human sacrifices has at all diminished, out of the reach of the guns of the Fort ?

No, I apprehend that they practise the same custom, in that respect, as they did a century past.

You are desired to say, whether you apprehend that the practice of making human sacrifices has at all diminished in extent, among those natives who have frequent intercourse with Europeans, but who live out of the actual reach of the guns of the Fort ?

Not any difference at all—there are full as many human sacrifices, at some distance from a Fort, as there ever were.

Do not the natives of the Gold Coast, whether Freemen or domestic Slaves, consider it as a heavy punishment to be sold to the Europeans ?

Domestic Slaves, no doubt, conceive it such—particularly such as have been resident near the Forts, and in the habit of coming backward and forward to them ; but for Slaves that are brought down from the interior parts of the country, I am confident, from their own assertions, as well as by their general appearance, that they rejoice, and do not lament, in the change of masters.—I have seen them in a state in which none, but he who knew a Slave perfectly, would have ventured to have bought them—they are in general very poor in flesh, with great eruptions all over their skin, very scrophulous, and have frequently, when sold to us, very bad ulcers—In this state we purchase them.—When we sell them again to the Captain, they are sleek and fat frequently, and in much better health than when we receive them—this I speak of in general : in other cases they are sold to us in better health.—I have bought many of them in the description I have given of them—I have seen them also very low and dejected, when brought into the Fort to be sold to us, and I have seen the same Slaves very chearful half an hour after they have been bought, and I have been entreated by several of them to buy them.—I should suppose Freemen, coming under the description of being sold as Slaves for crimes, being sensible that they have deserved it, may lament and be
sorry

sorry for their situation—The Freemen do certainly consider this as a heavy punishment, but, conscious that they have deserved it, they seldom or never complained, because they well know, that if their crimes are atrocious, that instead of being sold they might have been put to death.

Have you not stated, that persons guilty of very small thefts are generally sold for Slaves ?

I have said, that in some cases, if the crime is not of great magnitude, the offence may be compromised, but in the case of Theft, Adultery, and Witchcraft, they are very seldom compromised—they never are.

If Theft, Adultery, and Witchcraft, are not compromised, what are the description of crimes which are ?

The petty offences I speak of, are what I have mentioned before, stealing of brandy, or a single cloth, or any trivial offence of that sort—going into his house, making a riot, taking an ear of corn, stealing his brass pan, or any thing of that sort.

Have you never heard, that, on the Gold Coast, the smallest thefts are punished with slavery ?

I know to the contrary.

Have you never heard that a man who should steal an ear of corn would be sold for a Slave ?

Such things I believe do exist, and have been—but I know other instances, particularly one, of a man who stole that precise article—he was taken, and a Slave demanded of his master for him ; but the affair was compromised for an ounce of gold and some liquor.

Do you apprehend that the man who should have been condemned to slavery for having stolen an ear of corn, would be satisfied with the justice of his sentence ?

No doubt he would—because he knows the laws of the Blacks are to that effect, if the person from whom he has stolen chuses to be severe ; for it lies intirely in his breast.

Are not the Slaves in some manner confined, when taken from the shore, on board the ships ?

It depends upon what nations they are of.—Duncoes are never put in irons—they supply a great number of the Slaves.—The Fantees are always put in irons—the Ashantees and other nations as it may be necessary, and according to the offence they have committed.

Do you know whether the Slaves, when taken on board the vessels, are not kept in irons during their stay on the Coast?

I believe in general they are; although, on board the ships I have occasionally been in, I have seen many of them out of irons.—The women and boys are never in irons.

Is it a common thing for the men to be out of irons?

It is by no means a common thing.

Is it not usual to have a netting round the gunnel of the slave ships?

In the two ships that I went off in, and in many others I have been on board previous to their sailing, after the cargo is complete, I never saw any netting above the railing.

Is it not usual to have such netting?

It depends on the manner the ships are built.—If the rails are high, there is no occasion for it;—and I believe, where, in any particular case, they are made use of, it is to prevent the Slaves, from any accident, falling overboard, and perhaps to cut off all communication between the Slaves and the Annamaboe trader, who, for the purpose of re-selling them, might excite them to cut off the vessel.

Can you speak to the proportion which the Slaves of the Fan-tee nations, which are sold off the Coast, bear to all the others?

I really cannot—it would be a very difficult thing, even to guess at.

If the Slaves from the interior country, which are the largest proportion, appear glad to exchange their black masters for white ones, for what purpose are they confined in irons?

Certainly, for the purpose of keeping them from any connection with people living under or dependent on the Forts, who are very great rogues, and might excite them to run away—in other respects they are never locked up, but are allowed to amuse themselves in any way they please about the Fort, except at night.

On board the ships, why are they kept in irons?

For the better security of them, lest they should be induced, from a communication with the canoe men, and stragglers of various descriptions, to cut off the ship or jump overboard, which they would never have thought of themselves.

When

When the war prevented the demand for Slaves on the Coast, was there any increased demand for the production of the country?

There was always a demand for more Slaves than could be furnished, in my remembrance of the Coast—if that was not the case, the shipping would not be under the necessity of bringing out with them a considerable quantity of provision for the middle passage.

Was there any increased demand at that time, for the production of the country, during the war, when there were fewer Slave ships?

I cannot say there was any increased demand, unless it might be by some of His Majesty's ships that came there, which might increase the demand in some degree.

During the whole time of the war, when there were very few Slave ships on the Coast, was there, during that period, a greater demand for the production of the country than during other years, when the Slave trade was carried on to its greatest extent?

I really am not competent to answer that question—At some particular times there was, when 220 and odd troops were fed wholly on corn and fish, and also when 1,000 or 1,500 Blacks, engaged on our side against the Dutch, were maintained by us with this article of Corn.

Do you recollect for how long a period this extraordinary demand continued?

For two or three months, I suppose, and afterwards; for the consumption of that corn might last longer.—I never knew corn very plenty—more plenty than could be made use of; nor have I ever bought any for less than twenty-five shillings (sometimes thirty-five shillings) for 55 gallons, which is thought a great price.

Do you recollect how long the Slave trade suffered interruption by the war?

I can't say it suffered at all by the war, at Tatum. I purchased more slaves during the war than I have ever done since.

Have you been ever far up any of the rivers on the Gold Coast?

I know of no rivers on the Gold Coast that go into the interior parts of the country. There is a large river called Elmina River, and another called Shamar River; but I believe when you go any distance, a couple of miles, it will be found to be a narrow gut
of

of water—not a navigable river by any means ;—and even these rivers are not without danger—the river Elmina has a bar sometimes impassable.

When you say not navigable, do you mean not navigable for canoes ?

I mean not even navigable for a three-hand canoe at any distance.

Was you ever any distance up those rivers, or on the banks, or from what information do you make that assertion ?

I have seen the river Elmina dry twenty yards from the draw-bridge.

How are the natives from the interior country paid for the Slaves and Ivory they bring down from thence ?

In various articles.—In cloth—in liquor—guns—powder—gold—brass pans—and pewter.—Of pewter and brass they are exceedingly fond, and will take a very large proportion.

Do they not also receive bar iron, or manufactured, in payment ?

I have seldom known a trader take more than one iron bar, and lately I have known them to reject it altogether. For these last two years, it has not been in very great demand from Cape Coast to Tantum, and, as a proof of this, it has been customary to pay iron for provisions, wherever we could prevail on the Blacks to take it.

In what manner are the commodities you have specified, which the natives take in exchange for Slaves, conveyed up the country ?

Upon people's heads, made up in small bundles.

Why do the Governors of the Forts endeavour to prevent human sacrifices ?

Because, possessing the feeling of men, they cannot but condemn such practices.

Do the Europeans frequently refuse to buy Slaves on account of small defects ?

The loss of a tooth would make a Slave objectionable, as a prime Slave, but he would not be refused for that defect ;—and also a blemish in his eye, tho' he might not be blind ; the loss of a toe or finger, tho' he might not be lame, and have the use of his hand, would prevent his being a prime Slave ; but he would not be refused for any of those defects, altho' the price would not be the same given for him as if he was a prime Slave.

Then

Then it does not frequently happen that Europeans will refuse to buy one Slave in a lot of several, on account of small defects, such as the loss of a tooth, or a speck in his eye, if he be otherwise strong and fit for labour?

No—I think not.

Can you say, that the number of Negroes in the West India islands would certainly decrease annually, if they had not fresh supplies?

I should conceive they would decrease as well from age as mortality.

Did you not say, that Negroes, when taken on board ship on the Coast, are frequently fettered and handcuffed, on their transit from the shore to the ship?

They have sometimes an iron on their legs, or, if they have not that, they have a log on their hands, to prevent them running away; from which however they are released, as soon as they are purchased, provided they are not Fantees, of infamous characters; because there are sometimes some waterside people sold of this description, whom it is necessary to secure in this manner, I conceive, for the preservation of the rest.

Are other fetters put on when they come on board?

In general they are.

What is the nature of the amusements of the Negroes on board the ship?

I believe I have mentioned before particularly what those amusements are.

What did you mean by the words, “that situation,” when you said, that Negroes not well fed on board ship, “in that situation,” pine away and die?

I meant their state of slavery—having none to feed them but the Captain.

Did you ever hear or know of Africa trading ships carrying off Free Negroes against their inclination?

I never heard of any such a thing in my life—I however do know, that some time ago a man by the name of Griffiths did, from St. Andrews or some part to Windward, take off two people, which were intrusted to his care, whom he never brought again to their place of residence when he returned—he reported to the Blacks, however, that either one or both had died of the small-pox; but

they not being satisfied with this answer, absolutely put Griffiths to death—I also know, that, on account of these two men not being produced, and Griffiths having a very bad character, the act was severely reprobated by the Governor and Council, and residents on the Coast, who wrote home about it.—This is the only instance I ever heard of.

In what year, since 1780, have you resided at Cape Coast?

In 1781, 1782, part of 1785, and from July 1787 to 30th January 1789.

In what manner are the Negroes compelled to shew that they have no defects in their legs and arms, when they are purchased?

I know of none, but stamping their foot boldly on the ground and stretching out their arms.

Are they not examined as a horse is in this country?

I certainly should look to a Negro's eyes, to see whether he was blind, as I should to a horse in this country, if I was about to purchase him, and also to his limbs.—The blacks are very cunning, and commit various frauds in their trade with the Europeans—for instance, I have known a man brought in for sale, on a very wet day, when he with propriety might be conceived to have travelled a great way, and part of his legs and feet covered with mud—this was done to hide the leprosy, which had made the bottoms of his legs and feet perfectly white—the Slave was accordingly purchased; but when he came to wash himself, the next morning, and appear before the Chief, this great defect, which rendered him unsaleable, made its appearance.—So that it is necessary to examine when we purchase.

Are you acquainted with the Gold Mines, which are said to be on the Gold Coast?

I am not—I know of no such mines:—that there are some I am certain, in the interior part of the country—as we receive gold—but I know of none.

Have not you heard that gold is procured in two different modes, in Africa?

Yes—by washing, and digging.

Is not the gold procured by digging, procured, according to the best information, by great labour—does it lie deep, or near the surface?

From the estimation in which gold is held by the natives, I should

should suppose that they did not make use of great labour of obtain it—otherwise, I should apprehend, there would be larger quantities of it.

Do not you think then that it would rise in its value in proportion as the labour to obtain it was greater rather than less?

From what I have gathered from the Blacks on this question, I have learnt that there are but very few, and these are people of a very particular description, and in particular places only, who are allowed to dig for gold—I have heard of a man near Cape Coast Castle, or within 100 yards of it, for only making an attempt of the sort, put to death—on a place called the Devil's Hill.

Are the Gold Mines wrought by other instruments, made by the natives, than by the iron instruments you mentioned some time ago?

I do not know with what instruments they dig for gold—but I know that the Bills and Hoes made by the natives, which, as I said before, are very coarse, are applied solely to the culture of the land.

In what state does the gold appear when it is offered to the Europeans in barter—is it in a pure and perfect state?

I have already observed, that the Blacks not being the most honest people in the world, they seek frequently to deceive us—hence it is, that they bring the gold frequently mixed with filings of brass pans and dirt or sand—our Gold-takers therefore are employed in sifting and cleansing this gold, some of which is larger—some dust—after which it is marketable, and looks pure and clean.

Do you not conceive that much skill and ingenuity is required to separate the gold from the foreign substances that may adhere to it in the mine—and do you not conceive that the Negro has knowledge sufficient to effect that, where he has no intent of fraud?

I do not conceive there is any ingenuity necessary to separate the gold from the foreign substances, as they wash for the smaller and dig for the larger.—I know of nothing that adheres or sticks to it but dirt, which is very easily taken away.—With regard to the intent of the Blacks to defraud, I am fully qualified to say they take every measure to do so; and, as a very strong instance that they do so, there is at this moment in Appolonia Fort, in three canisters, upwards of 300 ounces of gold—of brass taken for gold—
which

which was passed to a Captain of the name of Merigan, in the way of trade.—This was not actually paid him by one man, but by many different traders. When the man brought down the gold to Cape Coast, and was made acquainted that it was brass, and clearly proved it was so, he delivered it, I believe, to the Governor, that it might be returned to Appolonia, where it now is.—The Captain sickened and died at the disappointment.

Have you not heard, that though it be easy to separate the gold washed down by the torrents from foreign matter, yet it is very difficult to disengage gold from such matter when it is dug out of mines; and that the process necessary in the gold mines is such as to exceed the ingenuity and skill usually ascribed to the natives?

Indeed I should be at a loss to know of whom to demand such information—for I believe the Blacks themselves would not tell any European any thing at all about it.

How high are those nettings, you have mentioned, round the ship?

I cannot say how high they are—I never made any accurate observation upon it, going on board only occasionally to see the Slaves.

How many Slaves, on an average, are brought to the Coast, for sale to Europeans, in a plentiful market, in the course of the year, on the Gold Coast?

It would be impossible to answer to that question without a reference to the books, and taking the numbers from thence.—Those brought by the Forts bear a small proportion to the whole number—it is impossible for me to say what that number is.

If you cannot speak positively to this point, can you give a rough estimate or general idea of the number?

I would not venture a risk of misinforming the Committee.

What are the defects which induced British Merchants to refuse the Slaves offered to them by the Black Broker?

The Blacks are subject in particular to one disorder, which renders them unsaleable, because it is incurable—this is frequent to the Blacks—it is a rupture—the loss of an hand—of the total loss of an eye—old age—these might make them objectionable—but where there have been four or five of a family sold for any offence, and one of the foregoing description among them, I have known the trader, rather than separate him from his family, buy him.

Whether

Whether many persons, so diseased and defective, are brought for sale?

I cannot say that there are a great many—there are sometimes some—I have known two or three of that description in the course of the year.

When they are brought for sale, are they generally rejected by the trader?

By the European trader they no doubt are, unless something is taken off from their price, so as not to make them as high in price as prime Slaves; but in case of ruptures they are never purchased, at least if the defect be known.

Whence comes it, that, being convinced that Slaves so rejected will be murdered by the Black Brokers, the British traders suffer so many to return to certain death, rather than make an indifferent purchase?

It is not in the power of the White trader to prevent what a Black man privately does with his Slave.—I have been six months myself, without seeing the face of an European, amongst 17 or 18,000 Blacks—the town of Tantum containing that number;—had they been disposed to put any man to death within the reach of my guns, and I had known it, I should most assuredly, after sending them notice of my intention, have fired among them; but if they chose to go out at a greater distance, I could not, as an individual, use force amongst hundreds or thousands.—I would beg leave to add also, that I could not, even in the cause of humanity, purchase what would be by me unfaleable, and by such repeated purchases make myself a beggar.

You said that the people of Accra, when they wanted Corn, were supplied from Cape Coast—in what manner was the Corn conveyed from Cape Coast to Accra?

In small canoes.—I said not only from Cape Coast, but from all down the Coast, which is a Corn country, and all carried in canoes.

Is it fetched by those who want it, or carried by those who want to sell it?

It is oftener solicited by the persons who are in want of it—they in general send their canoes—but I have known the case contrarywise.

How is it carried, when conveyed by land from one country to another?

In small baskets, upon Negroes heads.

Is not war among the natives injurious to the trade?

No doubt of it—it stops all kind of trade whatever—it stops all the paths, and prevents every thing from coming down—Ivory as well as Slaves.

Does the English trader endeavour to promote peace, or war, among the natives?

We endeavour as much as lies in our power, and at a very great expence to us individually, and for which we receive no compensation from the Company, and pay large sums, to a considerable amount, in order to make up any breach among the natives; for war is always productive of this disagreeable circumstance—a total stagnation and stoppage of trade;—and the reason is obvious—the traders are afraid to pass through the villages where there is war.

Have you known any quantities of Cotton or Indigo exported from the Gold Coast?

I never knew a pound of either.

Have we any command or influence over the natives, to make them grow any particular articles, or to alter their customs?

Not any in the world—We have no kind of controul or command over them; and they are so sensible of this, that they oftentimes behave with a great deal of audacity—even to the Chiefs themselves—I mean the European Chiefs.

Are there more males, or females, exported from the Gold Coast?

I believe five to one, males to females.

It has been said, that the European traders could procure more females if they chose it—is that true?

It is certainly misrepresented—it is not true:—the reason is obvious—whenever a nation, like the Africans, are allowed a plurality of wives, and they use this privilege to a great extent, it is impossible that the women for exportation can be so numerous as the men.

Do you think that their affection for their families are so strong in the Africans as in the Europeans?

By

By no means—I do not apprehend they have any such fine feelings—if they had, they would not treat them in the manner they do—a Black woman would think very little of pouring a spoonful of brandy into a child's mouth of two or three months old, at the breast—in short, they seem to have very little affection for their children—I take this to be owing to polygamy.

It has been said, that wars are frequently stirred up for the sake of brandy from the Europeans—do you know, or have you heard, of any such practice?

I have already said it is the interest of the Europeans to keep the natives in profound peace; and I do know that Governor Miles, in particular, has expended some considerable sums of money for that very purpose.

Do the natives on the Coast appear to increase, or decrease, in population?

They rather seem to increase.

Does not that prove as great a degree of natural affection there as in other parts of the world?

I should conceive not, by any means—because the Black man, having a plurality of wives, may have children by them all; he cannot therefore be supposed to have so real an affection for them, having them by several women, as if they were all children of one woman.

Do you not know that it is a doubtful point, whether polygamy tends to increase, or decrease, population?

As far as I have seen, there is no doubt of it—it certainly tends to increase—I know a man of Tantom, who has five wives, and twenty-five or twenty-six children, and yet he is a young man.

Do you not know that the Dutch have a settlement on the Gold Coast, where they have a considerable trade for Gold and Ivory, but very little trade in Slaves?

I do not know the settlement alluded to, unless it is Accra; but even there, though not equal in point of numbers to Annamaboe and Tantom, there are many Slaves bought and sold.

Do you think, that if, by any circumstance, the demand for Slaves on the Coast were lessened, the same number as at present would be brought down from the interior country?

No doubt, if there was no market for them; they would not bring them down.

Whether you do not consider, that the redemption of one of a family from Slavery, when on board a vessel, is a proof of their being possessed of attachment to each other?

Not at all—it is oftentimes political for the person to redeem him, because perhaps the offence he has committed may have some reference to the person who wishes to redeem him; and in case of his being sent away, the person required to redeem him might be involved in a great deal of trouble.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.



Martis, 16^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was re-
ferred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness Examined,
JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esquire.

N^o 8.

Jovis, 18^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counfel called in.

The Counfel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain WILLIAM LITTLETON.

Have you been at Gambia?

Yes.

In what capacity did you go?

As Mate.

In what Year?

In 1762.

How long did you continue there?

Eleven Years—trading there as a Merchant.

In the course of your trade did you go up the river Gambia?

Yes.

Frequently?

Yes.—I went about 300 leagues, by estimation, by water.

Was you acquainted with the Language of the country?
Sufficiently so to do my business with the natives.

Are you acquainted with their manners and customs?
Tolerably so—as much as a man could be who resided chiefly on board his vessel.

Have you made observations on the form of the Governments there?

A few observations, such as I could make from the situation I was in.

What is the form of Government there, on the banks of the Gambia, where you were best acquainted?

There are various forms in the different parts of the river—none of them are hereditary.

Are they monarchical—have they Kings there?
They have Kings.

How are the Kings elected, or how do they succeed?
Generally in rotation from one tribe to another—sometimes from one town or district to another.—They are for life.

Is there any regular system of succession?
In some of the Governments there is.

Is the line of Succession, the general plan for the Government of the country, ever broken?
Sometimes.

By what means?
From the capriciousness of the natives, that the next in succession is not a proper man to govern.

Is Slavery known in that Country as a general condition?
Yes.

Do the freemen keep many Slaves?
Some do.

How are the Slaves obtained, which are sold to the Europeans?

By various modes—a great proportion of them from the Black traders, who are Mahometans, and traverse the interior part of the Country to get Slaves.

How

How do those persons sold by the Black traders become Slaves originally?

Some of them are captives, taken in war—a large proportion of them are convicted of crimes, and a still greater proportion become so from famine, which in that part of the world is frequent from the want of a sufficient quantity of rain, and the immense quantities of locusts which spread devastation in that part of the world—from various crimes—the crimes are numerous for which they are sold—I believe this particularly from my own knowledge, and particularly from the information of people of veracity, whose information I could depend on.

Have you had an opportunity of knowing, from your own knowledge, that a famine has occasioned persons to become Slaves?

An instance happened in my knowledge, in 1786—a famine happened in the south-west part of the entrance of the river Gambia, in consequence of the failure of the rain, and the devastation of the locusts—the natives subsisted for some months on esculent roots, and whatever the country produced that had nourishment in it, till no more provisions were to be obtained in the Country; they were then driven to the dreadful necessity of selling each other to procure subsistence—the Mandingoes purchased them from the Phroops, who inhabit that part of Africa between Cape Saint Mary's and Cape Roxo, about the latitude of 12° 20'.—The Mandingoes bought them for Corn and European goods, and sold them to the White traders on the river, through which means a large proportion came into my possession—that is one instance in my own knowledge, but I have been told by the Mahometans that traverse the interior parts of Africa, that the circumstance of famine frequently occurs in various parts of Africa, which drives them sometimes to the necessity of subsisting on each other, sometimes by killing and eating them, and often by selling them.

Do the locusts often make dreadful havock of the crops?

They do—but it is generally partial—often confined within the spot of forty or fifty miles.

What is the effect of the Locusts settling in any District?

They generally destroy all the Corn and Herbage.

Is there a blade or leaf left after them?

Sometimes very little—on the Corn particularly.

You

You said that some of the Slaves become so by common Crimes; what are the Crimes?

Adultery, theft, imputation of Witchcraft, and various other Crimes, for which they are amenable to the laws of their country.

Are they regularly tried for these Crimes?

Yes.

By whom?

By the leading men of the country, and have generally an impartial trial—they are seldom without their friends and advocates in those cases.

In what manner are they punished when convicted?

Adultery is punished with the loss of life, or the liberty of the offender—if he escapes, some of the family are seized and detained till the offender is taken—if he has no property or Slaves to redeem himself, and his friends do not assist him with any, he is sold—and sometimes the White people are enjoined by the persons who sell them, who are generally the parties injured, not to suffer them to be redeemed on any terms—people for Witchcraft are also sold—they undergo a trial, and on conviction are sold—after being severely tortured sometimes—even to the loss of their lives—The punishment for theft, (if it is a considerable theft) is the loss of liberty—sometimes they are fined, and if not able to pay the fine, they are sold.

You mentioned, that for adultery they might sometimes ransom themselves; how could they ransom themselves?

They ransom themselves with Slaves.

Who has the benefit of the conviction of those crimes?

The injured party.

In what manner is the trial for Witchcraft conducted.

I have never been present—but from what I have learnt from the natives, the principal people are assembled, where they usually transact their business, under a large tree, called the Palaver Tree—I should have mentioned, that sometimes previously to their trial, they are dragged into the Woods, and whipped to that degree, that in order to get quit of the punishment for the time, they have acknowledged themselves guilty of the Witchcraft of which they have been accused, and they are often condemned by their confession made under torture, though they were innocent

innocent—sometimes they endeavour to prove their innocence, by undergoing a kind of ordeal by fire, or by water, which is an infusion of a root which they drink on those occasions.

In what manner is the ordeal by fire conducted?

The accused person is generally placed on a wooden mortar, or something to raise him above the rest of the people, a hot iron is applied to any part of the body that the person who applies it thinks proper—if he bears it with fortitude, so as not to appear to suffer greatly, he is generally deemed innocent, if otherwise, he is put in irons, and sold, and not unfrequently put to death.

What is the ordeal by water?

The offender is elevated in a similar manner, and the water is administered to him—Red Water—a root or bark of a tree of a malignant nature is infused in it—sometimes he dies under the operation—if he survives he is acquitted, but he seldom survives it long.

You said that some part of the Slaves are prisoners taken in war—are they numerous?

Very few of the prisoners taken in war, in the parts contiguous to the river, are sold to the White people, I believe they seldom take many prisoners—if they do, they generally fall victims to the ferocity of the captors, and a few are sacrificed to the deceased manes of the friends of the victorious party.

Are females ever taken prisoners in war?

But few I believe—a very small proportion.

Are many females convicted of crimes?

I have known them sometimes convicted of Witchcraft and Adultery.

Are those females, prisoners of war, or convicted of crimes, exchanged for other Slaves, Male Slaves?

Frequently.—Those convicted of Witchcraft are very seldom exchanged.

Are the females convicted of Witchcraft ever redeemed?

I don't recollect an instance of it that came within my knowledge.

Can the owners of domestic Slaves dispose of those Slaves?

They can do it, but very seldom do it, when they have been guilty of some enormous crime; in which case they have generally the approbation of the other Slaves to sell them.

How are the domestic Slaves tried, when accused?

I have been told they are generally tried by the other Slaves.

Do you know of any wars being carried on for the purpose of obtaining Slaves to sell to the Europeans?

I never heard of any carried on for that purpose.—The wars have always originated from their own dissentions.

Are wars beneficial, or otherwise, to the Slave trade carried on by the Europeans?

Wars in the vicinity of the trading ports are always injurious to the trade in articles of every kind; and I have been told by the Black Merchants, that they have gone 3 or 400 miles to avoid those countries where wars existed.

Were there any wars in that country during your residence there?

Yes—between the nations bordering on the Gambia.

Do you know of the practice of kidnapping Slaves, or that they are taken by fraud or violence, by Blacks or Whites?

I never heard that a White man ever kidnapped a Slave; if he did, it would put a total end to that man's trading.—I never heard of such a thing.—I speak of the river Gambia only, I don't know what is done on the other parts of the Coast.—I never heard that of any of the natives in that part where I resided and did business.—If they made any attempt of that kind, they would be sold themselves.

Have you ever heard of any parties going out armed at night to take Slaves?

Never, but against their enemies, with whom they were at open war.

Do you know any thing of the King of Barbeffin's territories?

I don't know any country of that name.

Have you ever heard of the breaking up, or surprizing villages, to make Slaves?

Never, but in cases of open war.

Are

Are such wars frequent?

Not so frequent in those countries bordering on the Gambia as might be expected from the nature of their governments; but in the interior parts, wars are perpetually carrying on in one country or another.

What are the natural productions of the country about the river Gambia?

Country Corn, which is a species of millet, Indian Corn, and Rice.

Are these articles produced in such quantities as to be a subject of export?

Not that I ever heard of.

Is the sugar cane produced there?

I never heard of it.

Is the climate fit for the culture of the Sugar Cane?

I believe not—on account of the long continuance of dry weather, from October to the beginning of June.

Are there any other articles which might be exported from that country?

None of export but Bees Wax and a little Ivory, and a small quantity of Gold Dust, which is not worth mentioning.

How is the Ivory brought down to the Coast?

Generally on the heads of the Slaves who are brought down for sale.

What is the quantity of Ivory which may be so brought in the course of a year?

The quantity varies annually—but I believe seldom above two ton.—I cannot say positively.

Where does the Wax come from?

Most from the south side of the River Gambia, and chiefly about thirty or forty leagues from the entrance—but in smaller quantities two or three hundred leagues up the river—the principal part from the Phroops.

Are the bees that produced that Wax taken care of by the natives, or is the Wax casually found in the honeycomb in the woods?

The

The greatest part is taken out of hollow trees in the woods—I believe there is a small quantity taken in hives.

Where are those hives?

Contiguous to their houses—I never saw above two or three—the quantity is very small.

Are the hives confined to places near the Sea Coast?

What I saw were near the Sea Coast—never heard of any in the interior parts of the country.

Could the quantity of Ivory exported be increased, if the Slave Trade was abolished?

I apprehend the contrary—because what we receive from the interior parts of the country is brought some hundred miles, I suppose, and is brought from thence because they have Slaves to carry it.

Would it be worth the while of any traders to bring down Ivory only?

Not from any considerable distance, I apprehend—there are very few elephants in the neighbourhood of the trading ports.

Could the quantity of Bees Wax exported be much increased?

I do not apprehend that it can; because, within these few years, the Whites have given a great price for the Wax, and I have not learnt that the quantity has increased in consequence of it.

Are there any other articles of any sort that might be exported as articles of commerce?

None, sufficient to be worth the attention of any White person—they raise a little Cotton, and a small quantity of Indigo—not sufficient for their own purposes—they purchase our manufactures to supply the deficiency.

Why do not they raise more Cotton and Indigo?

They are naturally of that indolent disposition, that every attempt of the White persons to encourage the cultivation of Cotton and Indigo has proved abortive.

Do they cultivate the Indigo plant, or does it grow wild?

What little they raise they cultivate—they do not reduce it to the state of Indigo which comes from other parts.

What

What do they do with it, before they make use of it?

They cut it, and pound it in a wooden mortar, and hang it up in the form of sugar-loaves in their houses, and then make use of it.

Do they press out the juice of it, or make use of the leaves?

They make up the leaves and branches in those forms.

What use do they apply it to afterwards?

They infuse it in water, or a lye made of ashes, and dye their cloth with it.

What sort of cloths are those?

They are woven in narrow breadths, about five or six inches in breadth, and then sewn together for the purpose of covering themselves.

Is there a considerable market of those cloths in that country?

Very few manufacturers.

Could those cloths be made an article of commerce?

By no means—not among the White people.

Have you been several voyages from Africa to the West Indies, and North America?

I have been two voyages to Carolina, and three or four voyages to different islands in the West Indies.

Can you state the number of Slaves you had on board in each voyage?

I cannot precisely—the two last voyages I can nearly.—In the first voyage to Charles Town, from the commencement of the purchase in Africa, till the conclusion of the sale in Charles Town, I lost about thirteen out of about one hundred and forty—I look upon that as a very great and uncommon mortality.—The last voyage I was detained in the country from the beginning of May to the beginning of November following—and lost, from the beginning of May to the close of the sale of the cargo at Jamaica, thirty-eight out of two hundred and forty-two—my ship has since made a voyage to Jamaica, and lost only three out of two hundred and sixteen.—It was the same ship which went all the voyages—she was registered at one hundred and thirty-six tons.

To what cause do you attribute the extraordinary mortality in the voyage, when you lost 38?

The Slaves consisted of people of various Nations, and some of them were very meagre when I received them on board, owing to the great scarcity of provisions in the country from which they came, particularly a number of the Phroops, who had a famine in the country.

What was the occasion of the extraordinary mortality, on the Voyage, when you lost 13?

My Ship, was then single decked; and I met with very bad weather on coming off the Coast—in consequence of which many of them got sick.

What in general is the Food provided for the negroes, exported from Gambia?

We carry from hence split and kiln-dried horse-beans, and a large quantity of Biscuit and Flour, and in the Country we purchase all the Grain we can, of the Country Corn, and Rice.

What is the Food of the Slaves intended for sale, whilst in the hands of the Black traders?

When they can get it, the Country Corn—they never taste any Rice, unless they get it by stealth.

Do you then mean that they feed on the Indian corn?

Not the Indian corn—but Guinea corn, as it is called—chiefly on Guinea corn, or any thing else their masters can procure for them.

Could the Ships procure on the Coast, a sufficient quantity of Guinea corn, for the supply of the Negroes during the voyage?

Seldom a sufficient quantity of that alone.

In what manner are the beans you have mentioned dressed for the Negroes, during the passage?

The hulks are all taken off in England—they are boiled, and we usually put a few pieces of ship's beef, or salt fish amongst them—after eating them once or twice, they become fond of them—so as to request sometimes to have them instead of their own country Food.—

In what manner are the Slaves accommodated on board the ship?

In

In the best manner we possibly can, to render their situation as comfortable as possible.

Give a general account of the arrangement and management of them on board the ship?

When they are first brought on board by the Black Merchants, they have a chain round their necks, which they have generally worn from the place they have been brought from—when we have completed our purchase of them, we take the chain off their necks, and put a pair of shackles on their legs—which shackles have generally a ring upon them between their legs—through which we reeve a chain, by which chain we keep them, to secure them whilst they are on deck—the men are put below, between decks—they lay close to each other, just allowing room for a person to step between them—The men are generally in that part of the ship before the main hatchway—the boys, in the main hatchway—the women, girls, and children are all at liberty abaft, except when we put them below at night, and lock them down.

When are they permitted to come on deck, and for how long in the Day?

As early as we can conveniently get them on deck—every morning, when the weather admits of it, and they remain there till the Evening, except the weather renders it necessary to put them off the deck.

Are there air ports and gratings to give air between decks?

There are in all Guinea ships I believe, and sometimes so much air, that they beg to have part of the tarpaulins laid over them.—

Is not the weather, in crossing the Atlantic generally fair and pleasant?

Generally so, after we get to the windward of the Cape de Verd Islands—I am speaking of the Voyage from Gambia.—

Then, after leaving the Cape de Verd Islands?

We have generally good weather—we fall in with the Trade Winds.

Then, after leaving the Cape de Verd Islands does it often happen that the Slaves are prevented by the weather from being on deck every day?

Very seldom—scarce ever—we have sometimes heavy squalls of rain,

rain, but of small duration, when we spread the awnings over them.—If the rain continues and the Slaves express a dislike of continuing on deck, we put them below—but it is a general rule to keep them on deck as much as we can consistently with prudence.

Is a particular attention paid to the cleanliness of the ship between decks?

That is one of the first objects we attend to—as soon as the Slaves are on deck, the White people, the seamen belonging to the ship, and generally some of the boys, are sent down below to scrape and swab the rooms, and if we find there is occasion to use a wet swab, we generally air the rooms afterwards with fire pans made for that purpose, and fumigate them sometimes with vinegar—two or three times a week we wash the rooms with vinegar, and fumigate them, by putting a red hot loggerhead into vinegar, and confining the smoke.

In what manner are the Slaves usually fed, and at what time of the day?

Early in the morning, soon after day-light, they have some biscuit distributed to every man and woman and person on board, and a glass of inferior brandy or rum, diluted with water half and half; when their first general meal is ready, that is generally served to them, and they have generally more than they can eat—some is left—In the evening again, about Four or Five o'clock, they have a second meal of another kind of food—we seldom serve them with the same sort of food twice in the same day—we vary it as often as we can, and give them all regularly their allowance of water as often as we find it necessary—this depends on the heat of the weather.

Is there then care taken that they shall be supplied daily with a sufficiency of food and water?

It is a principal part of the ship's company's employment—particularly after they get out to sea—of the sailors as well as officers.

Do the officers see that the sailors do their duty in that respect?

Always—they are enjoined to it, as their duty so to do—the officers have an interest in the health of the cargo.

What is that interest?

A privilege

A privileged Slave or two—it depends on the agreement between the master and officers—the chief mate and surgeon particularly are paid on the gross average of the Slaves at the place of sale.

Is it not almost the entire business of both officers and crew, after the ship has left the Coast, to keep up the health and spirits of the Slaves?

It is their principal employment in the Middle passage—the sails requiring but little attendance—therefore the sailors are wholly employed in their attention to the Slaves.

Do not the Slaves oftener complain of cold than of heat in the Middle passage?

They do—and we sometimes, when we think it too cold for them, put them down below, and even there they beg to have part of the tarpaulin laid over them.

When they are on the deck, do they themselves ever request to go down below?

Frequently—when it blows a fresh breeze, and they happen to be on the shady side of the deck.

In case of sickness, are the Slaves supplied with medicines, and taken care of?

They are.—We take out medicines for that purpose, and the Surgeon every morning visits them below, to know if any of them have any complaints; and frequently administers medicines to them below, as well as upon deck.

When the ships arrive in the West Indies, how soon after their arrival, in the ships you have been in, has the Sale taken place?

We usually immediately advertise a day of Sale, to take place four or five days or a week after our arrival, as is most convenient.—Some of the purchasers live at a remote distance from the place of Sale.

In some of the voyages, you said, you went as passenger, in others as Master.—In either of those voyages do you know of any means being used to repel any disorders amongst the Slaves before the Sale?

I never heard of any.

In all those voyages, were the Slaves treated with humanity and tenderness?

Always.

Do you recollect what mortality there was amongst the Seamen in those respective voyages?

I can only speak to the two last.—In the voyage to Carolina, I think I lost two out of sixteen or eighteen—in the last voyage, which was to Jamaica, in consequence of my being detained in the country, I lost seven in the river Gambia, and two or three in the Middle passage.—The crew altogether, including myself, consisted originally of twenty-one—My Surgeon was the first person who died—to his death I attribute the increase of the loss of both my Seamen and Slaves.

In the voyage to Carolina, can you recollect whether it was sixteen or eighteen?

I think it was eighteen, including myself?

In the several voyages which you have mentioned, was the health of the Seamen attended to?

As much as possible—It is our interest to take care of the Seamen, the success of the voyage depending upon it.

What time of the day do ships usually leave the river Gambia?

It depends on the time of the tide—when we enter Gambia, we have two or three Black Linguists, a Black messenger or two, to send to different parts of the country, and six or eight other people, for the purpose of rowing the boats, with a view of preserving the health of the Seamen—We do not suffer a Seaman to go into a boat if we can avoid it—the Black people attend us out of the river, and return in the ship's long boat, which is generally left behind, or in one of their own canoes.—We usually stop a tide at the last port in the river, to fill up our water.

Is the time of the ship's departure known to the people on board, or to the people on shore?

Always to the natives, sometime before the ship comes down.

How is the Climate, on the parts of the coast where you have been?

In general noxious to European constitutions—I found no difference in the Climate two or three hundred leagues up the river, and down at the entrance of it.

Are there periodical Rains and dry weather in that country?

There are.

Does the rainy season continue many months?

From

From the latter end of May, or beginning of June, till the latter end of October—The exact time of the coming in of the rain depends upon the change of the Moon in the latter end of May.

Does the dry weather last the remainder of the Year?

It does—there is seldom or ever any Rain from the latter end of October, till the latter end of May.

Is the rainy season prejudicial to health?

I believe it is—but I have generally enjoyed my health in time of rain, as well as during the dry season.—I avoided exposing myself to the rains and dews, which we cannot prevail on our seamen to do.

Whether the rainy season or dry weather is most prejudicial in general to the health of the Europeans?

The rains are most prejudicial.

Is the climate more prejudicial up the Country than upon the Coast?

I never lay upon the Coast.

Do you mean to say, that the climate is as noxious to the seamen in general at the mouth of the Gambia, as three or four hundred leagues up the river?

I have found it exactly the same.

Did the seamen find it the same?

We never carried the seamen up above 140 leagues, and there we found that they were as healthy as at the mouth of the river—The French and some of our English ships proceed no further up than James Fort and Albadar—we found they met with as much or more mortality than the ships which have lain 150 leagues up the river.

Did you return to the port of London in any of the voyages you have mentioned?

Some—once to Liverpool—once to Bristol—and the other times to London.

Upon the arrival of the ships in the port of London, have you reason to know that there are persons always ready to invite the seamen to make complaints against their captain?

I believe there are people who make it their business to go on board every ship for the purpose of obtaining litigious cases, by enquiring how the people have been treated by the masters and
mates

mates—if the people have the least complaint imaginable, they take them to their houses, and the people by whom they are employed, commence an action against the master or mate, as the case may be—I never had an action commenced against me.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

In that ship where you described the stowage of the Slaves, was it with or without a platform?

In the single deck ship, we had what we call a platform deck, but in the other ship we had no platform.

In that ship where you said there was room to step between the Slaves, was that a platform ship?

No.

What quantity of water, per day, to each man, White and Negro, do you compute sufficient for a voyage in the Middle passage?

At sea, including also what we boil our provision in, a gallon per Man—we have a short passage from Gambia and have plenty of water, and allow them as much as we think proper—generally three or four times a day.

What quantity of wood do you stow in your hold for dressing the provisions?

We never confine ourselves to any quantity in Gambia—we have an opportunity of taking in as much as we chuse.

You will specify in cords what that quantity should be in a ship of 200 tons, in any ship from the Coast of Guinea, as near as you can?

I cannot say, we never buy it in cords—we send our Black people, whom we hire at our entrance into the river to supply the ship with wood—and we generally bring some of that wood home with us to England.

Have the Negroes ever any water in the night?

They have it if they call for it—they have generally something to hold water in amongst them below, and we pour it through the gratings through a funnel.

Do you not imagine it is owing to the extreme heat of the Negroes situation, and their being naked, that makes them so susceptible of cold when they come on deck?

Possibly

Possibly it may—we do not allow them cloaths—we could not keep them clean or preserve their health if they had cloaths.

When they are desirous of going below, is there not a clear space below—are not the rest on deck?

The apartment at that time is clear—it is cleared for the purpose of cleaning it.

In the loss of seamen did you include the loss from England to the West Indies, or during the Middle passage only?

From England to the West Indies.

Is it customary at Liverpool and Bristol, as well as London, for people to come on board the ships, for the purpose of encouraging the seamen to make complaints against the master and officers?

I cannot speak to Bristol or Liverpool, but to London I have been an eye witness—I have seen it.

Do the woods on the part of the Coast with which you are conversant consist chiefly of small underwood or of large timber trees?

More of timber than of underwood—and some of the mahogany that grows there, has been brought home for trial, and has not answered.

Would the soil, if cleared, be capable of being cultivated with Corn, Rice, or other Provisions?

In that part of the country where the soil is adapted for the cultivation of Corn it would.

Is the soil generally fit for the cultivation of Corn?

Some leagues, about 30 or 40 up the River Gambia, the Soil is not adapted to the cultivation of Corn, and produces very little.

Do you think that if the land, now overgrown with wood, was properly cultivated, it would produce Corn, Rice, and other Provisions?

The natives have endeavoured to cultivate the parts contiguous to the lower parts of the river—they cultivate as much as they can of it—it produces some little corn, but not sufficient to last them from season to season—on which account they send the canoes up the river to procure corn.

Do you think that if this land were cultivated by Europeans, as land in Europe is cultivated, it would be productive?

If the cultivation was assisted by manure—not else.

Of what nature is the land of which you speak?

Of a loose sandy soil generally at the entrance of the river—up the river it is a more loamy soil.

Do you think that if this land were cleared, it would be capable of receiving the plough?

I believe it might—if it was cleared from the roots—the natives do not take up the roots.

Can you form any judgment, from what you have seen of the soil, and know of the climate, whether European Corn could be raised in the places you have mentioned?

I do not apprehend it could.

Why?

From the nature of the Soil and the Climate.

Cannot European Corn be raised on a loose sandy Soil?

In that part of the world they have rain only six months in the year, and that only at intervals—the heat of the sun is so intense, that I apprehend our European Corn could not grow there.

During what season of the year does the native Corn grow, the Millet, and Turkey Corn?

They usually sow their Corn at the beginning of June, after the first setting in of the rain—their early Corn they cut in September—which is their Indian Corn—their greatest Crop is about the latter end of October.

Do the Millet and Turkey Corn come to perfection in that Country?

Their Indian Corn they generally cut before it is ripe—the other Corn comes to perfection.

Why do they cut their Indian Corn before it is ripe?

They usually eat it before it is ripe—it is to supply them in the early season—the Crop they depend on is the October Corn.

Do these sorts of Corn grow on the loose sandy soil you have spoken of.

I believe

I believe it does—they plant a little of it near the entrance of the river.

Do the natives employ manure in cultivating this Corn?

They have little or no manure—they have scarce any horses—they make fast their cows on their Corn ground during the dry season.

Have they a good many cows?

They have—they belong to a particular class of people—a nation of people called Phoolas.

How are these cows and horses supported?

By driving them about the Country—through the woods.

What do they eat?

Grass—sometimes leaves of trees—sometimes they give their horses Corn.

Are many female Slaves purchased by our traders on that Coast?

But a small proportion, seldom above one-third—we purchase all that are fit for market who offer.

Can you form any estimate of the gross number of female Slaves so purchased on that part of the Coast in a year?

I cannot—it varies every year—the trade of Gambia is very much reduced.

Can you make a gross estimate of the general number of Slaves purchased by European traders on that Coast in any given year?

I have heard estimates made some years ago, at about 3,000, and I believe it does not now average 1,000.

According to the proportion mentioned by you, must not the number of female Slaves so purchased, when the total number of Slaves was 3,000, have amounted to 1,000?

I do not apprehend it could—we always find female Slaves scarce, when the Slaves in general are plenty.

Then among 3,000 Slaves so purchased, how many females do you suppose there might have been?

Perhaps about one-fourth, as near as I can guess.

Have

Have you not said, that very few females are taken in war?
I believe I have.

Have you not said, that few women are convicted of Adultery or Witchcraft?

I have said, that the few women who were convicted, were convicted of Adultery or Witchcraft.

Is the number of such female convicts small?

Not a great many, I believe.

Did you not say, that women so convicted were often exchanged for men?

I believe I said, except those that are accused of Witchcraft—then they are never redeemed.

Can you give any probable estimate of the number of women convicted of Witchcraft?

I cannot—a great proportion of the women we receive are sold under that idea.

Having said that the number of convicted women is small, and that many of them, when convicted, are redeemed or exchanged for men, by what means can so large a number as 750, the fourth part of the gross number you have mentioned, be procured for the market?

I cannot say—some of them are brought from the interior parts of the country, and we are not always acquainted with the crime for which they are sold.

Are the gratings over the hatchways in the Slave ships always kept open?

Always, when the Slaves are on board.

Are they kept open when it rains?

Except when the Negroes desire that they may be covered, and then a tarpaulin is laid upon some booms over the gratings, at some distance from them—but sometimes I have known them desire it to be laid on the gratings, to keep them warm.

Do you mean to say, that the gratings are left open when it rains?

Always—but covered so as to prevent the rain from coming down, by the tarpaulin I have before mentioned.

How

How is it possible to keep the gratings open, and at the same time to cover them so as to keep out the rain?

I mean by the tarpaulin being spread over the gratings, in the nature of an awning.

At what height from the level of the deck are the booms upon which the tarpaulin is spread?

Some of them seven or eight feet—we bring the tarpaulin down on the weather side to keep the rain out, and admit the air.

Do the Slaves, when confined, ever complain of foul air?

I never heard them.—If they think themselves at any time too warm, we get a number of them on deck.

Do the Surgeons, Officers, or Sailors, who go below among the Slaves, when their apartments are first opened in a morning, ever complain of the noisomeness and foulness of the air?

Not particularly.—I never heard them complain—they might say sometimes that it was very warm, and at some particular times that there was a particular smell there.—We never suffer any thing to remain below long to occasion any offensive smell.

Do you not know that the air of the Slaves apartments, when they are first opened in a morning, is foul and offensive?

At sea it is generally ventilated by the wind that blows down through the gratings.

Is there a thorough draught of air between decks, when the Slaves are confined at night?

There is, by means of the air ports—in light winds, when we can open the air ports.

Can the air ports be open in a fresh gale, or in a high sea?

The weather air ports we can open—they seldom want the air ports open in a fresh gale, when they complain of the cold.

Can there be a thorough air through those apartments when the air ports are shut?

It is very seldom that they are all shut.—The weather ones are generally open—there is seldom so high a sea or so much wind as to render the shutting them necessary.

Question repeated?

Not a thorough air when all the air ports are shut—but there is a current of air going always through the gratings, so much that they

they beg to have the tarpaulins laid over the gratings to prevent too much wind coming down.

In the Slave Ships of which you lately spoke, what was the height between decks?

I cannot say exactly—I suppose the lowest about four feet.

Had you a platform in your ship?

None.

Have you been on board a ship where platforms were used?

I have been on board other ships, and seen platforms.

Can you say what was the distance between the platform and the ceiling, and between the platform and the floor?

I cannot say—the platform was the midway, as near as I could judge.—These Slave Ships are usually built high between decks, for the purpose of having these platforms.

In ships built for platforms, what is the general height between decks?

I really cannot say—never having frequented other vessels but my own.

In those ships you have seen, where there were platforms, was the height more than six feet?

I think it was seven feet.—I never was on board above two ships, as I recollect—they were seven feet between deck and deck.

Could the men Slaves on the Middle passage, in such ships as you have been acquainted with, lay on their backs at night?

In the ships that I have been in they could—though perhaps they would have found it difficult, all of them, to have lain on their backs at the same time.

Are not Africans taken on ship-board very subject to sea sickness?

Some of them are for two or three days.

Are they not often excoriated by their chains?

Very seldom.—We take care to prevent the irons of the chains galling them—whenever we see them likely to gall, we put something round their legs, in order to prevent the irons galling them.

Are they not in fact sometimes considerably galled?

Not

Not considerably.—I never saw any so.—We take the earliest opportunity to prevent any thing of the kind.

Can it in fact be prevented ?

Yes.

Have you not said, that it is the endeavour of commanders in the Slave trade, and it was your endeavour, to render the situation of the Slaves on board, as comfortable as possible ?

I have.

What are your ideas of comfort, as applied to Slaves, in a Slave ship ?

By giving them plenty of Food, Victuals and Drink, and the best lodgings we can.

Are the circumstances of being chained two and two, of not having room to lay on their backs, of sea sickness, excoriation, shackles, rings reeved through the chains, kiln-dried Horse-beans for food, confinement between decks, lying crowded together in a close hold in a tropical climate, confining them all night in a fetid atmosphere, and keeping them there all day when the weather is bad, articles of comfort ?

The question being objected to, the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, that the Counsel and Witnesses be again called in, and the Witnesses asked the said question ;

It passed in the negative.

Then the Counsel and Witnesses were again called in ; and the Witnesses was asked,

Whether the persons supposed to be engaged in Witchcraft, do not distribute drugs or medicine ?

They are suspected to do so.

Whether medicines occasioning abortion are not reckoned part of their mystery ?

I have heard them say, it is a part of their mystery.

What do you think would be the probable effect in Africa of the abolition of the Slave trade by this country ?

I believe

I believe it would encourage many of the evils which the abolition is meant to relieve.

State those evils?

The evils that originate in Famine—from the Captures in War—and persons convicted of Crimes—who would be put to Death—it is the maxim among the Blacks never to give a man an opportunity of revenging an injury.

What do you mean by the evils that originate in Famine?

The human Sacrifices, that exist among the Anthropophagi, in the interior part of Africa.

Would human sacrifices be encreased by the abolition of the Slave trade?

I believe they would.

Do you think the natives could be induced to cultivate the land for produce to exchange for European commodities?

I do not think any consideration whatever would tempt them to raise any produce that would be worth the attention of this Country.

Could Europeans stand the climate in the clearing the woods and cultivating the land?

I do not think they could.

Have the Europeans influence and power over the natives to make them cut down the woods and grow Corn, without they chose to do it themselves?

The Europeans have not the power—the natives are not to be influenced by any thing but self-interest.

Do the natives regard the European commodities they now obtain as necessaries of life, or as luxuries only?

Some of them as necessaries, others as luxuries.

Do you apprehend, that if the natives could not procure those commodities which they esteem as necessary, any otherwise than in exchange for produce, they would not then cultivate the land to raise that necessary produce?

Not to a sufficient degree to encourage any European to go there in quest of that produce.

Whether

Whether the Climate and Soil are not capable of producing, and do they not in a certain degree produce Cotton of a very excellent quality?

They do.

Is any very great degree of labour necessary to the cultivation of Cotton?

They bestow very little on it.

To what sickness did you allude, as produced by the bad weather at the beginning of your voyage, mentioned in a former part of your evidence; was it sea sickness or any disorder?

I mentioned, that some of my Slaves were captives in war, and the others sold in consequence of a famine, and when I received them on board I hoped they would have improved from being taken better care of and better fed—I had some reason to suppose, that being too well fed was the occasion of their illness—the quick transition from hunger to plenty—and I believe that the sea sickness prevented their recovery.

Did you mean to state the bad weather as the cause of the illness?

It did not originate from the weather—but the bad weather increased it.

How did the bad weather act so as to increase the sickness of the cargo?

The bad weather increased the sea sickness, and made it necessary to keep part of them below, and to get them upon deck alternately.

Do you not apprehend that the Slave trade in general is unhealthy to the seamen who are employed in it?

I generally found that the seamen on board the Slave ships had their health as well as on board of other ships which had not Slaves on board—not more unhealthy than in other trades carried on on the same Coast—my ship did not lose a seaman the last voyage—she returned in November last.

Have you ever used any other trade, or have you ever sailed to the coast of Africa in a wood ship?

Neither.

May not European seamen preserve their health tolerably on the Coast of Africa, if a proper attention be paid to their diet, and sheltered from the inclemency of the weather?

3 R

I believe

I believe their bad state of health does not originate from their manner of living, or the nature of the food—our seamen in Gambia, have generally fresh meat during the whole time they are in the river—with respect to their shelter, it is impossible to prevail on a seaman not to expose himself to the dews which are prevalent in that part of the world—they bring their beds upon deck, and will not sleep under cover if they can sleep cool, and the dews are often attended with more pernicious effects than the rain.

Do the ships employed in the wood trade, usually take on board Slaves.

I know nothing of the wood trade.

Did you suffer very much in point of loss of seamen in more than one voyage in the river Gambia?

I have mentioned twice that I suffered.

In that voyage, where seven died out of twenty-one, and two or three more on the Middle passage, in what state of health were the remainder of the crew who did not die?

One or two of them, who took more care of their health, did tolerably well—the rest were in a relaxed state.

Were those, of whom you speak as having been in a relaxed state, capable of doing their duty?

Only taking their trick at the helm.

Did you take on board any fresh men, to replace the seven who died, and to do the duty of the others who were incapable of performing theirs?

No.

How many Negroes had you on board when you left the Coast that voyage?

Two hundred and thirty-six, or two hundred and thirty-eight.—I cannot recollect which.

Then do you apprehend that the remaining fourteen of your crew, in the weak situation in which you described them, were sufficient to navigate the vessel, and to guard two hundred and thirty-six, or two hundred and thirty-eight Negroes?

I was obliged to make the best shift I could with them—I had no other alternative.

Were

Were the Negroes permitted to come on deck as frequently, and in as great numbers, as if the crew were as strong as it had been?

Just the same.—I thought it prudent to get them upon deck as often as possible, for the purpose of examining them, to see they were in health and secure, and for cleaning the room.

Had they no additional Irons on that account?

None at all.—I took some of the Irons off, after they got to sea.

Were the rooms kept as clean as they otherwise would have been?

I believe they were—we made the Negro boys assist in cleaning the rooms.

Then was not your crew, of which you have stated, that only two or three were in good health, extremely harrassed by the performance of such duty?

The duty was increased, but not beyond their strength.

Whether you have not been acquainted with instances of notorious cruelty in the captain of a Slave ship—has not such circumstance fallen under your immediate knowledge?

I cannot say they have—some Captains are more severe than others—but it is the interest of every man to treat his Slaves well.

Do you mean to say, that the general treatment of the Slaves, on board the Slave ships, is, in point of fact, humane and proper?

I can only speak as to the ships that have frequented the Gambia Trade, and I have always observed that they seem to be well treated.

Did you never hear of a Captain of a vessel in the river Gambia having treated one Slave with enormous cruelty?

If I have I do not recollect it?

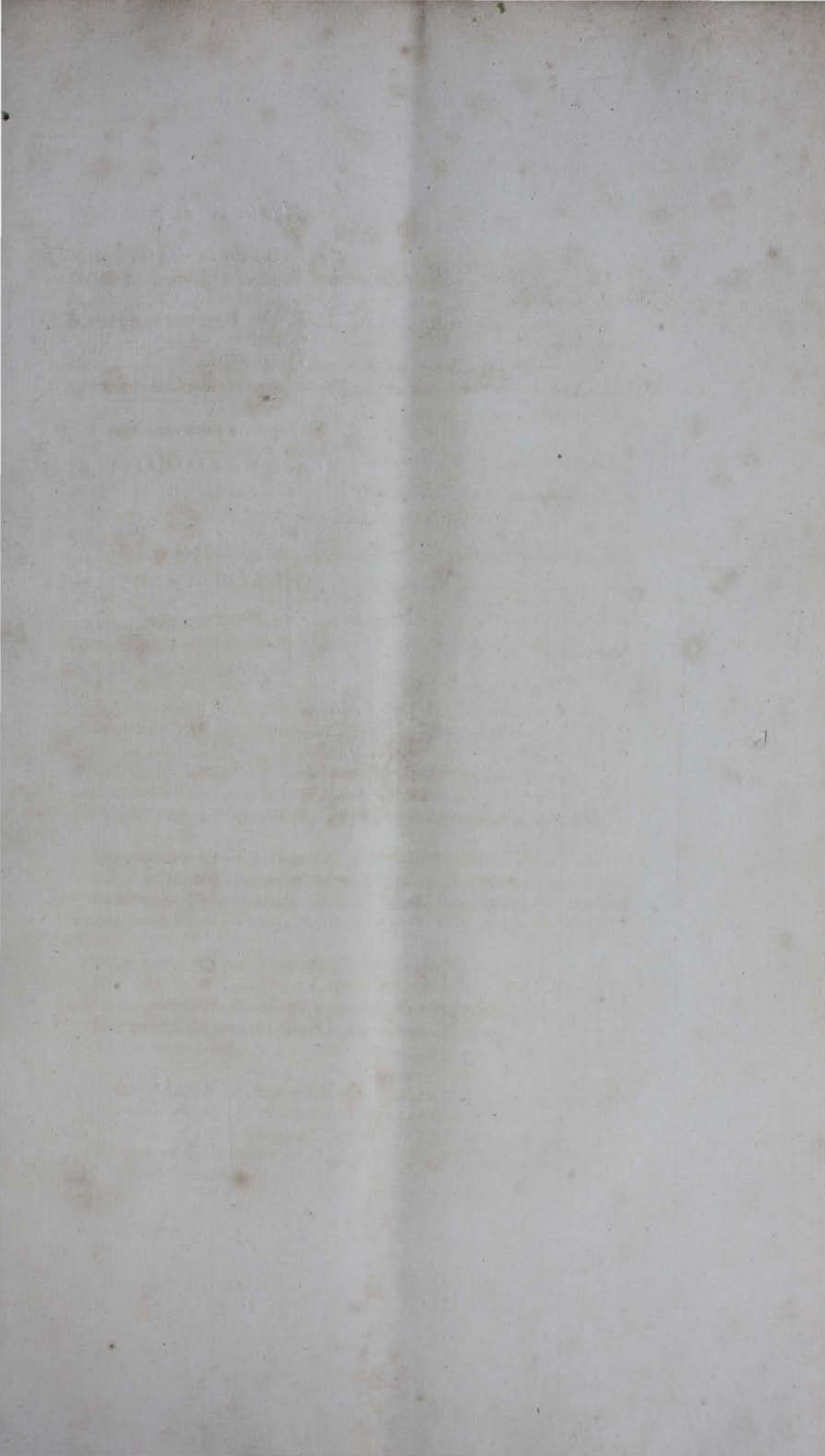
Do you know a gentleman of the name of Dillwyn, of Walthamstow?

I have seen him two or three times, but I am not acquainted with him.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.





Jovis, 18^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was
referred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness examined,

Captain WILLIAM LITTLETON.

N^o 9.

Veneris, 19^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

THOMAS KING, Esquire, a Merchant of London.

Have you been in Africa?

I have—I went there first in 1766, as Second Mate of the Royal Charlotte;—she was about 300 tons—we carried out the African Company's stores to Cape Coast.

Was that a regular Slave ship?

No.

Did you stay any time on the Coast that voyage?

About two months.

Did you take in a cargo of Slaves?

We took about 120—landed them in Jamaica.

What was the number of the crew of sailors?

I believe seventeen in all.

What was the state of the health of the failors during that voyage?

The failors were healthy the whole voyage—lost none from the time we left London until our return to London again.

What was the state of the health of the Slaves?

In general very healthy;—we lost only two or three from the time they were taken on board till landed in Jamaica.

On what part of the Coast of Africa did you take the cargo of Slaves?

The Gold Coast.

How long did you stay at Jamaica before you landed the Slaves?

I believe about fourteen days from the arrival to the landing of the last man.

Were any means used after their arrival in Jamaica, and previous to their being landed, to repel disorders the Slaves might have on them?

None whatever.

When did you make another voyage to the Coast of Africa?

In 1768.—We sailed from London the latter part of 1767, in the same ship;—I was in the same station as Second Mate, it was to carry stores as before;—we had eighteen failors to the best of my recollection.

Did you take Slaves on board on the Coast of Africa?

Yes, 455 I think—They were carried from the same part, the Gold Coast, to Grenada.

What was the state of the health of the failors during that voyage?

Also very healthy—no sickness on board the ship amongst the failors, and we lost none on our arrival, nor while we staid at Grenada—there I left the ship.

What was the state of the health of the Slaves during that voyage?

In general very healthy—I think to the best of my memory we lost ten out of the 455.

Did

Did you lose any during the ship's stay at Grenada—after her arrival there ?

No, I believe not—the Slaves were on board only about a week before they were landed.

When did you sail again for the coast of Africa ?

I sailed from Grenada to the Coast of Africa I think about the beginning of October, 1768, as Commander of a ship called the Molly, about 110 tons.

To what part of Africa did you sail ?

To the Gold Coast, touching at America, where we took in the cargo which was intended to purchase the Slaves in Africa.

How many Slaves did you take on board ?

One hundred and five I think.

How many sailors had you on board ?

I think twelve or thirteen.

Did you stay long on the Coast of Africa that voyage ?

I did—I was very near twelve months on the Gold Coast, and near it.

Was that a fortunate voyage or not with respect to the health of the sailors and Slaves ?

Very contrary, to both.

How many did you lose of the crew ?

Either six or seven.

How many Slaves did you lose ?

I believe I lost about half the Slaves.

To what do you attribute the mortality of the crew and of the Slaves during that voyage ?

Notwithstanding I was near twelve months on the Coast, I lost but few, either of Slaves or the crew, during the time I remained on the Coast—but on the passage my ship failed exceedingly badly, and I had the misfortune to lose some of the masts, by which I was driven into the Bite of Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, and was seven months on my passage from the Gold Coast to Grenada—In the time I was on the passage I was under the necessity of putting into different places for provisions—I could get but very scantily

scantily supplied; and we were two or three times in that passage reduced to a very scanty allowance both for Whites and Negroes, to which I principally attributed the great mortality both of the one and the other.

Is the Bite of Bonny a particularly unhealthy part of the Coast?

No doubt it is—it is generally esteemed so.

Do you then attribute the misfortune of that voyage in part to the extreme delay and accidents of the vessel you have mentioned?

Most undoubtedly—particularly so.

When did you go your next voyage to Africa?

In 1771.—We sailed from London the latter end of 1770, in the brig called the Ferret, about 70 tons, with twelve or thirteen men, I believe—went to the river Cameroon, in the Bite of Bonny—purchased 105 Slaves there, and carried them to Grenada.

What was the state of the health of the sailors during that voyage?

In general pretty healthy—I believe I lost two or three.

What, of the Slaves?

Also pretty healthy—I believe four or five were lost.

How long did you stay on the Coast?

I believe about eight months on the Coast.

What was the length of your voyage from the Coast to the West Indies?

About two months.

When did you make the next voyage to the Coast of Africa?

In 1772.—We sailed from London in December 1771, on board the Surrey, of 180 tons, twenty-five Sailors, to the river Cameroon—took on board 255 Slaves—staid on the Coast six months in that river—went to Grenada.

How long was your passage?

I think eight weeks.

What was the state of the health of the sailors during that voyage?

During

During the time we lay in the river Cameroon most of the ship's crew, myself also, and officers, were unwell, at one period or other, and we lost in the river three sailors and the surgeon.—During the Middle Passage the seamen were very healthy.

Is the river Cameroon more unhealthy to Europeans than lying at sea on the open Coast?

Yes.

What was the health of the Slaves during that voyage?

The Slaves were in general very healthy—We had no particular disorder on board—we lost ten out of the 255.

When did you next go to Africa?

In the beginning of 1773, in the Three Friends—a small vessel of about 70 tons—there were twelve sailors, I think, myself and the whole crew included;—went to the Gold Coast—took on board 144 Slaves—staid on the Coast about three months—went to the Island of St. Vincent's.

Did you lose any of the crew?

I believe I lost two in the whole voyage.

Where did they die?

On the Coast.

How many Slaves died?

Eight.

Does that include the whole time, from the Slaves being taken on board till they landed at St. Vincent's?

It does.

When was your next voyage?

In 1775—from London, in the Venus, about 150 tons, between 150 and 160 tons—21 or 22 sailors, the whole crew, including all—went to the Gold Coast—took 321 Slaves—staid on the Coast four months—went to Jamaica.

How many of the crew died during the whole voyage from London?

I think I lost one or two.

Where did you lose them, and how?

I had no accident—I think we lost them upon the Coast, from fevers.

How many Slaves did you lose?

Ten out of 321—including the whole time till the Slaves landed.

When was your next voyage?

In 1776—from London, in the Harriet, of about 135 tons—Eighteen men I believe—to the Gold Coast—277 Slaves were taken on board—they were sold in the Island of Jamaica—we lost none of the crew—staid on the Coast between three and four months, lost seven Slaves out of the 277—I take the whole number from the time they were purchased to the time they were actually sold.

In all the numbers of the Slaves you lost, have you included the Slaves which died from the time of their being first carried on board the ship till the time of their being actually landed and sold in the West Indies?

I do—I include the whole mortality of all the Negroes, from the time the first was taken on board on the Coast to the time the last was landed in the West Indies.

When was your next voyage?

I did not sail on the next voyage till November 1780—then I went from London to the Gold Coast in the Camden, of 335 tons, 65 sailors, the whole crew—We staid on the Coast of Africa about six months—purchased 580 Slaves—went to Jamaica, all except the two first in which I went were regular Slave ships—four sailors died, of those only two of natural deaths, the other two by accident—we lost fifty or fifty-one Slaves, including the time from the first taken on board to the landing of the last.

Was the loss of the number of Slaves during the voyage owing to any particular disorder or accident?

To a particular disorder, a diarrhœa.

Did they contract that disorder on board ship, or did they bring it on board with them?

We apprehend some of them brought it on board with them.

Did

Did the disorder attack them on the Coast soon after they came on board?

It did.

Was this your last voyage to Africa?

Yes.

In what line of life have you been since?

I have been settled in the City of London ever since as a Merchant.

During the voyages you have given an account of, did you ever know of any particular mortality among the Slaves during their continuance on board the ship, after their arrival in the West Indies, and before they were landed?

No, I never did.—As to the ships I commanded whilst I was in the trade myself, and to all other ships I have had concern in, I am sure they never buried one per cent. after their arrival in the West Indies and before their landing—I mean before they were sold.

Did you ever know of any means used by the Surgeon or others, to repel the disorders of Slaves, previous to their landing?

I never knew of any such a thing.

During the several years in which you was concerned in the trade to Africa, as Commander or Officer on board ship, had you an opportunity of being on shore in Africa, and of observing the course of the trade in Slaves?

I had frequent opportunities of being on shore in Africa during the time I traded there; and so far as could be learnt from the Natives residing on the Coast, I have had opportunities of hearing from them how they became Slaves.

Will you communicate that account to the Committee?

The principal part for crimes—Witchcraft included—and some few as prisoners of war.

Did you ever know or hear of wars being made on the Coast for the purpose of making Slaves?

No—I never did.

Did you ever know or hear of any such wars being stirred up by the Europeans for that purpose?

By no means.

Did

Did you ever know or hear of towns or villages being pillaged or destroyed for that purpose?

No, I never did.

Did you ever know or hear of the Natives being stolen or seduced away, for the purpose of being made Slaves?

No, I never did, except from Slaves themselves, who had come from the interior parts of the Country.

What was the account which you received from such Slaves?

I have heard from them, in some very few instances, that they were stolen or taken away; but I believe, when asked how they became Slaves, that they rather chose to tell that story, than to tell what the real fact was.

Was the trade on the Coast carried on with the shipping in such a manner that if the Natives had been kidnapped, or improperly obtained, they would have had opportunities of making complaints, and being redressed?

No doubt of it, so far as relates to the Water-side People.

Were many of the Free Natives continually on board the ships during their stay and trading on the Coast?

No doubt of it, daily.

Had the Slaves on board opportunities of communicating any thing to such Free Negroes on board?

Certainly.

Did the Slave ships sail from the Coast privately, or in the night, or in the morning, and after notice given of their intention to sail?

It is customary for ships in all parts of Africa where I have been to give notice at least for a week, more commonly for a month, before they mean to sail; and it is customary for ships to sail from the Coast in the morning; and the reason of it is, because during the principal part of the day the breeze blows from the sea, and it is inconvenient for the ships to stretch off while such breeze blows.—From early in the morning until 9 or 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the breeze rather blows from the land, sometimes directly off of it—that is the reason the ships take the advantage of the morning to leave the Coast.

Of the ships in which you have sailed, was the crew composed entirely

entirely of seamen, or were there many landsmen amongst them?

In the ships in which I have sailed, and in which I have been generally concerned, as nearly as I can calculate, one-half of the number of the crew consists of the captain, officers, and seamen, and the other half of landsmen—men who may have been one or two voyages at sea, and boys.

Is that the usual proportion on board all the African ships?
I think it is, as far as I have seen or known, nearly so.

Did you carry from England provisions for the Slaves during their voyage?

A certain proportion is always taken.

Is that because the Coast of Africa does not furnish it in sufficient Quantities, or for what other reason?

It is particularly because Africa does not furnish sufficient quantities; and at certain Times (though not frequently) you can get none at all—I am now speaking to the Gold Coast—and for the further reason that they prefer a change in their food.

What are the articles of food for the Slaves which are carried from England?

Principally split-beans, some little matter of rice, and I have known wheat taken, but it is now altogether laid aside.

Are such beans a wholesome food, and such as the Slaves are fond of?

They certainly are a very wholesome food, and such as the Slaves are very fond of.

Do they often prefer that food to the food produced in their own country?

They do—the Gold Coast Negroes prefer it to the Indian Corn, which is their native food.—With respect to beans, I wish to relate a circumstance which happened to us—When I first went to Africa, instead of beans, it was usual to carry the greatest proportion (at least two-thirds) of the white pea. It was found, on the report of the Surgeons that they did not very well agree with the Negroes; and we were advised by the Surgeons to send an equal quantity of pease and beans, and to have them mixed together for their food—and that was also found not to agree with them so well as when the beans were given to them alone—so

from time to time we have diminished the pease, till at last we send none.

What sort of beans are they, and in what manner prepared?

They are (I am informed) a species of the Windsor beans—they are called usually, in the Corn Market, Tick Beans—These beans are split and kiln-dried, and passed through a mill, and the husks separated from them. I have heard a great deal said of sending horse-beans to Africa—I never carried them—I never have sent them—nor did I ever hear or see what is in this country usually termed horse-beans sent to Africa for the Negroes.

Do the White people ever eat these beans, which are sent to Africa for the Negroes?

They do very commonly.

During the Middle Passage from Africa to the West Indies, is all the care and attention paid to the Negroes on board which their situation will permit?

In a well-regulated African ship every possible care is taken of the Negroes, and their situation made as comfortable to them as possible.

How are they treated as to diet?

Very great attention is paid as to their having a proper quantity, and that well-drest.

Is the diet on board ship as good as they have in their own country?

As far as I have seen of their diet in their own country, I mean the common people, their diet is much more comfortable on board ship—I mean that there is more care taken in dressing of it, having it well seasoned, and served in clean vessels.

Is their health attended to on board ship?

It certainly is—very particular care is taken, every morning early, to enquire amongst them for any complaints—and again, after they are upon deck, and their morning meal has been served, that is, after their breakfasts, it is the duty of the surgeon to examine through the whole of the Slaves on board particularly.

Is it the interest of the captain and surgeon, as well as their duty, to take care of the Negroes health?

Yes, certainly.

Had

Had you an opportunity, during your frequent visits to the Coast of Africa, to observe the produce of that Country?

I have not observed, in the parts of Africa where I have generally been, any produce, except provisions.

Are those provisions produced in any very considerable quantity?

No, they are not—In general not so much, over and above what they want, as the ships wish to obtain from them.

Is there a constant demand, by the ships trading on the Coast, for a greater supply of provisions than the Country can afford to supply them with?

I think there is—and could the ships depend on being supplied with a greater quantity, they would not take so much from Europe.

Are there any other articles, besides provisions, produced in sufficient quantities to become an object of commerce?

There are no other articles, the natural produce of the Country, to speak of; but there is some Gold Dust—Elephants Teeth—Bees Wax—Gum Copal—Barwood, and Camwood—Of these there are no considerable quantities, not sufficient to become a considerable object of trade.

Are the manners, genius, or industry of the inhabitants such as to improve these natural productions, or to encourage the introduction of others?

The genius of the people on the Gold Coast, I think, is equal to extending commerce in any thing that might be practicable—I speak of the Gold Coast—but they are so indolent, that where industry would be necessary, I think no commerce could be extended or promoted amongst them.

Is it a country where a Colony of Europeans might be settled with any prospect of advantage?

On the Gold Coast I do not think that the disposition of the Natives is such as to render it possible to settle a colony of Europeans, unless by force of arms.

Is the Coast itself such, in respect of rivers, harbours, or landing-places, as to be favourable for an extensive commerce in various articles, if the Country could be made capable of producing them?

No, the Coast is very unfavourable to such a commerce—there
are

are no harbours, no bays or creeks, where even a boat can land with safety, I mean the boats that go from hence.—On the Gold Coast, from one end to the other, excepting two places, there are no harbours, no creeks, nor any bays, that I know of, where even one of the boats from this country could land with safety, and those two are very unsafe, except in very fine weather; —I wish to be understood, that when I speak of these being the only two places on the Gold Coast, I speak of that part where at present the English ships have a right to go.—Besides that under the Dutch settlements I believe there are one or two places where a boat may land, in the same manner as I have described in the two places belonging to the English.

Are there bars across the mouths of all such rivers as are upon that Coast?

Entirely.

What nations were there trading to the Coast of Africa besides the English at the time you was acquainted with that Coast?

Whilst I was in that trade there were some Dutch, French, Portuguese, and by chance a Danish ship.

Is the trade of other nations increased or diminished of late years?

The French trade to Africa is exceedingly increased within the last four years.

Have you any particular means of knowing that?

I have had occasion frequently to be in France—I have had frequent occasions to correspond with French houses—and have had frequent opportunities of seeing French people in this town, who are engaged in that Trade—by which I know it is exceedingly increased.

Have the Americans extended their trade for Slaves to the Coast of Africa of late years?

Before the last war the Americans carried on a considerable trade to the Coast of Africa—during the war it was given up by them altogether—but since the peace they have revived it again; and I believe at this time carry it on to the full or rather to a greater extent, than they ever did before.

What part of America do you speak of?

I allude particularly to Boston—Rhode Island—some trifle from New York, and some little from Philadelphia—but the principal
part

part is I believe at present carried on [from Boston—before the war the principal part was carried on from Rhode Island and New Providence.

Is the state of the Slave Trade such, that if the English were to abolish that Trade, the number of the Slaves now purchased by them would remain in the Country of Africa, or would they be bought up by other nations?

They would undoubtedly be bought up by other nations.

Are the Slaves purchased by other nations, either on board the ships, or during any other period which has come within your knowledge, better treated than they are by the English?

I have had frequent opportunities of visiting the ships of other nations on the Coast of Africa, while I was in the trade, and I certainly am of opinion the treatment on board the English ships in general is preferable to that of any other nation.

Are you at all acquainted with the Windward Coast of Africa?

I have in my way to the Gold Coast several times touched on different parts of the Windward Coast, and staid a few days.

Can you say whether the Slaves are procured in the same manner on that Coast as on the Gold Coast?

So far as my observation enables me to judge I think they are.

Is there any difference in the manner of their becoming Slaves in the river Cameroon?

No, I believe not.

What is the state of the Country adjoining to the river Cameroon, with respect to its soil and produce?

I believe the soil is capable of producing in general what the climate will admit of.

Does it produce any articles in any great quantity?

No, it does not—they cultivate nothing but ground provisions, and some little fruits and vegetables—they do not even produce any grain there.

Is it the practice of the Captains in the African trade to compel their Sailors to take their discharge in the West Indies?

It never was the practice with me, nor in the ships in which I am and have been since I left the sea concerned, nor do I know

it is the practice with any other ships—it is not our interest to do so.

Why?

Because, although we have when we arrive in the West Indies some few men in our ships more than are absolutely necessary to navigate them to England, yet the additional charge of getting three men in the West Indies, in lieu of nine men discharged, would be nearly equal, if not quite, to the expence of bringing the whole nine men home, I mean the charge to the ship—I will explain the meaning of this answer—The men are shipped for the voyage from England to the Coast of Africa—from thence to the West Indies—and from the West Indies to the port in England that they have sailed from generally, at so much wages per month—I have before observed that about one-half of the crew of an African ship consist of landsmen, men who have been one or two voyages at sea, and boys—these go for lower wages than seamen, and I believe upon an average may be estimated at 21 s. or 22 s. per month;—admit that the nine men who might be discharged at the West Indies should consist of a small proportion of seamen, and a larger of landsmen, I should estimate that the men so to be discharged, might have upon an average 24 s. or 25 s. per month—the passage, commonly speaking, from the West-Indies to England, particularly to African ships, that generally sail fast and come home light, may not reasonably be estimated at more than eight weeks, from the West Indies to England, which is rather a long passage than otherwise—the three men to be obtained in lieu of the nine so discharged, taken upon a fair and moderate average, would have from ten to twelve guineas and ten to twelve gallons of rum for the run home, which I calculate would amount to the same as the nine men would have had if they had gone on with the voyage—I state this proportion off hand, as it struck me whilst I am giving my Evidence; but there are few ships from the Coast of Africa, that upon being obliged to discharge nine men in the West Indies, would not be obliged to take more than three men in the room of them.

In the calculation you have given to the Committee, do you take it for granted that you must discharge all your sailors in the West Indies, and hire other sailors to bring home the ship; or might not the captain of an African ship, if so disposed, get rid of six of his sailors in the West Indies, and detain the other three to bring home the ship?

The captain of an African ship having engaged his seamen for the voyage to return to England again, the discharging one man
in

in the West Indies would, I conceive, and have always understood, entitle the rest to have their discharge also.

Is it a common thing for the sailors belonging to African ships to desert their ships in the West Indies?

It is very customary.

To what is that attributed?

The principal reason I know of is their receiving half their pay at the port where the Negroes are sold—their getting on shore, and getting intoxicated—and having frequent opportunities of getting higher wages in their run home in the West India ships and other African ships.

Have you ever known instances of the captains of African ships having used their men ill for the purpose of inducing them to run away in the West Indies?

No, I have not—it was ever my wish to preserve them as much as I could, knowing the additional expence, and sometimes difficulty, of getting others at any rate in their room.

Is it a common thing for sailors in the African trade to go several different voyages with the same captain in the same ship?

I believe it is not very common; at the same time we have had the same seamen that have gone many voyages, and in our employ.

Can you from your experience, both in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, say what would be the probable consequence of putting an end to the Slave Trade from this country only?

I believe the same number of Negroes would be exported annually from Africa there now is—the trade would not be diminished in the least—with respect to our West India Islands, I have not resided long enough to be a judge how far they would be internally affected by the abolition, but they would undoubtedly be very materially affected, by losing that most valuable branch of the trade, the exportation of a large proportion of the Negroes imported in British ships to foreigners, which are paid for generally either in specie or in the produce of the West Indies.

Could a greater number of female Slaves be procured on the Coast of Africa?

Formerly on the Gold Coast better than one-third females was procurable—for the last two years I believe every encouragement has been given that possibly could be devised to procure females,

but

but at present they cannot obtain more generally than one-fourth—and by the last accounts that I have seen from thence, the price given for prime females, to induce them to bring greater numbers, exceeded by £. 5 per head what is given generally for the men.

Can you assign any reason for the scarcity of female Slaves?

I cannot give a sufficient reason—but polygamy is tolerated throughout Africa, and I believe many of the prime young females are kept as wives in the countries they pass through.—With respect to the price generally given on the Gold Coast for the male Slaves, more has been given by forty shillings per head for male Slaves than for females; but the want of females, there being so few fold, has induced them to increase the price offered, with intent to get a greater proportion, if possible, there being a greater demand for them in the Island.

Have you ever made a calculation of the amount of the value of European commodities exported yearly to the Coast of Africa, in exchange for Slaves?

No.

Do you know to what amount any one house sends goods to the Coast of Africa?

I know one house in London that has sent, including the value of their ships, to the amount of £. 100,000 in a year.—I have been told there are houses in Liverpool that send more.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have said that you had reason to believe, that if a captain discharged one seaman of his crew in the West Indies, the remaining sailors were entitled to their discharge also—why do you think so?

Because a certain number of seamen are engaged to go for the voyage, and sign a joint agreement to perform that voyage.—I have understood that one man being discharged by the commander, before the voyage was completed according to the covenant, the whole were entitled to their discharge—and I think I have seen it tried in the West Indies, as far as my memory furnishes me.

You have stated that in the years 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776, and 1780, you commanded Slave ships, in which you went to the Coast of Africa to purchase Slaves, and conveyed them to the West India Islands—were those voyages profitable?

I believe they were all voyages that a certain profit attended.

Can

Can you state the average proportion between the number of the Slaves contained in those six vessels and the tonnage of the vessels?

I have never calculated it.

Did you ever hear of a disorder called the Locked Jaw, on the Coast of Africa?

It is not common in the parts of Africa where I have been—I have heard instances of it, but it is not common.

Or on board Slave ships, on their passage to the West Indies?

I do not recollect ever having had a Slave ill of that disorder on board ship.

Do the Africans grow Yams on the Gold Coast?

Some few, at one or two particular places.

Potatoes?

Very few sweet potatoes.

Rice?

Nor rice.

Any wheat?

None.

What is the difference in price between a bushel of pease, and such beans as you carry to feed the Slaves with?

Very little—I have sometimes bought beans at an higher price than the pease were; but I think, commonly speaking, they may be cheaper than the pease by about two shillings in the quarter of eight bushels.

Is there any, and what difference, in the weight of a bushel of pease and a bushel of beans?

I cannot say I ever weighed them—but I should think there was very little difference—I should think the pease as heavy as the beans.

Is the customary allowance of pease and beans to the Slaves equal in point of quantity?

Exactly.

Is the land on the sea shore of the Gold Coast high or low?

On the Coast it is generally low and rocky, but rises as you go inland—some parts of it in the back of the country, within your view, is mountainous.

What is the depth of water, generally speaking, within 100 yards of the beach?

It is impossible to reply to that generally—in the places where the canoes land it shoals more gradually than where the rocks point out into the sea.

What is the depth of water at the landing-places within 100 yards?

At the distance of 100 yards from the shore, in some parts, I think you might have six or eight feet water—in other places there is not more than that depth of water at nearly the distance of a mile; and taking one time, commonly speaking, with another the sea breaks 300 yards from the shore.—I would beg it to be understood, that there are particular seasons in the year, and particular days in those seasons, when the sea is smoother, and may not break twenty yards from the shore—there are other seasons when the sea breaks in six fathom water, and in general the sea is worse near the full and change of the moon.

Do the tides run strong on the Gold Coast?

Where the ships lie at anchor you can perceive no tide;—upon the shore, I think, there is a rise and fall of about three feet—at most I think three feet.

Do you speak of three feet perpendicular rising?

I speak of perpendicular.

Do seamen in the African Trade leave any part of their monthly wages to be paid their wives during their absence?

They do.

What proportion of their wages do they generally leave their wives?

We do not in common allow seamen to leave monthly money, only those who have wives and families, or some relation dependent on them; and we allow them, under those circumstances, to leave from 10 to 15s. per month.

Are such monthly allowances continued so to be paid until the ships

ships return, or advice comes of the death of the men, or of their having left the ship?

Always.

If a ship master discharges a seaman in the West Indies, without his consent, and without just cause for so doing, is he not subject to be prosecuted by such seaman?

I believe he is; and I believe the seaman on his return to this country will have a right to demand from the master who has discharged him from the vessel full wages until the arrival of the ship in this country, notwithstanding he did not come in her.

Do you know, of your own knowledge, that such prosecutions have been, and that the seaman so prosecuting has not only received his wages for the whole voyage, but his own expences during his absence, and until his return home?

I do know that such prosecutions have been had in this town, and that the seaman did recover the whole of his wages; but I do not recollect having heard that he received any thing for his passage home, though it might have happened and I not have heard it.

Do you reckon the tonnage of the six last vessels in which you traded for Slaves according to the old or the new register?

According to the old register, nearly—I reckon the tonnage as nearly as I can recollect what it was—the last ship was her actual tonnage; she was afterwards measured, and I have stated at what she was measured—as far as I can recollect, I have given the tonnage what it was.

Have you got any of those tick beans you mentioned?

I have by me some of those beans.

Have you any about you now?

Yes.

[Then the Witness produced a parcel of the said beans, which were brought up to the table; and he delivered in the answer of the person to whom he sent for this sample of beans, and who has always supplied him during the time he has been concerned in the African trade.]

The said answer was read, and is as follows:

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Stray says these are the only sort of beans
 “ that are sent to Africa, they are called tick-beans;
 “ they are also sent to the West Indies for provision
 “ for the Negroes.—If eat when green, they are
 “ equal to the garden beans produced at this time
 “ of the year.
 “ Horse Beans are a different sort, and not used
 “ for Slaves provisions.
 “ Mr. Stray also says, he does not know that the
 “ tick beans are used for any other purpose than
 “ for exportation to Africa and the West Indies.”

Can you say, of your own knowledge, whether the trade of the French to the coast of Africa is or is not increased within these two or three years?

I can say I do know, to my own knowledge, that it is very considerably increased within these two years, and that it is now in an increasing state.

Have the French given a bounty on the importation of Negroes into their Colonies?

They grant very considerable bounties; first, upon the ships that are fitted from France for that trade; and, secondly, upon the number of Negroes, on each Negro imported into their West India Islands.—I believe there are only two or three places in the island of St. Domingo where there is no bounty granted on the head of the Negro imported—in all the rest of their Western Islands a bounty is always allowed.

Whether the idea of the abolition of the Slave Trade by this country has not given additional vigour to the trade of France to the Coast of Africa?

Undoubtedly; and there are many adventurers in the French trade who are anxiously watching the business now before this House.

The former part of the Evidence, relating to beans, being read to the Witnesses; he was asked,

Do you know the comparative prices of horse and tick beans?

No.

Do

Do you not know that when horse-beans fell from one guinea to 22*s.* and 6*d.* that tick-beans are from 19 to 21*s.*?

I do know that tick-beans, at least the beans now on the table, have never been bought in this town, for the last five years, for less than 34*s.* per quarter; but they have frequently been so high as 48*s.* and we have bought them at 52*s.* in that time.

Have you not stated, that the beans supplied for the use of the Negroes are what are usually denominated on the Corn Market of London tick-beans?

I have so, and I have taken it from the information of persons respectable in that market.

Do you not know that there are returns published of the prices of different grain on the Corn Market of London?

I believe there are—I would be understood to speak to the price of these beans in the state they are when we purchase them to put on board—what price they may be sold at, before they are kiln-dried and split, and their husks separated, I do not know.

Do you know what is the number of seamen usually employed in a ship of 200 tons in the West India trade?

I should imagine about fourteen.

Do you know what is the usual number of seamen employed in a ship to the Coast of Africa in the Slave Trade of the same tonnage?

That must depend in a great measure on the part of Africa the ship is bound to.

To any part of Africa, to the river Cameroon for instance?

About thirty, I should suppose.

May not that vessel, on her return from the West Indies to London, be conveniently navigated by a number of seamen not exceeding fourteen?

Not of such sort of men as a crew of an African ship consists of.

May not such a vessel, when light, be safely navigated by eight or ten able seamen and four or five landsmen?

With less.

Whether the concern you are engaged in have not a factory-ship on the Coast of Africa?

We had a ship that lay some time longer at Annamaboe than she would have otherwise done, for the dispatch of other ships.

Did she not lie there to receive Slaves on board, for the greater dispatch of your other vessels which came to trade on the Coast?

She went out from England for the purpose of laying some time at Annamaboe to purchase Slaves—some part of which were disposed of in other vessels, in two or three vessels.

How long did she lie there?

I believe she lay there about fifteen or sixteen months.

How many were her crew when she went out?

I believe thirty-five or thirty-six.

How many of those thirty-five or thirty-six died during her sixteen months stay.

I am informed by the person who commanded her that she lost four only in the sixteen months.

Have you not heard that wars furnish some part of the Slaves on the Coast?

I have.

Have you not heard that numbers are stolen by the Black People?

I have heard some of the Slaves who come from the interior parts of the Country say they had been stolen, but I never knew such a practice any where near the Coast.

Do you not know of instances of Slave ships being cut off by the Natives, both in the rivers and in the Middle Passage?

Certainly, there have been instances of ships being cut off in the rivers by the Natives, and on the passage by the Slaves.

Do you speak this of your own knowledge?

Certainly.—Not that it ever happened to myself.

Do you apprehend that the Slaves would attempt to cut off the vessel, either in the river or on the Middle Passage, if they were perfectly satisfied at being transported from their Country, and with their treatment on board the ship?

With respect to their treatment on board ship, I believe they are, in well-regulated ships, in general satisfied—but there are particular

particular Nations who have religious Priests among them, that induce them to make those attempts, with the expectation that they should get the ship to some shore, where they would form a little community of their own.—There are other Nations again in Africa, who have an idea that the White People purchase them with intent to take them to their own country, to kill and eat them.—These Negroes are sometimes on board the ship a considerable time before they are perfectly reconciled.—There are other Nations, Slaves sold for crimes in the Country near the Water-side, who leaving their friends and families are for a time discontented, particularly while they lie near the shore, and do sometimes attempt to cut the ship off, and by chance succeed, with a hope to get back to their family and country.—These are the three particular causes of insurrections in the ships.

As you have stated that the Negroes are sometimes stolen who are brought down to be sold, can you say that the persons who endeavour to cause insurrections, on account of their having been taken away from their friends and family, have been sold for crimes, and not stolen?

I have stated that I have heard Slaves from the most interior part of the Country say that they were stolen, but I have my doubts whether that was the fact or no; and, so far as relates to the country adjoining the water, I never heard of such a thing as Slaves being stolen.

Do you know any thing of the administration of justice in that Country from which you have just now stated Negroes to be sold from their friends and families for crimes?

I have seen some little matter of it, though I did not reside long enough on shore to be very competent to speak to it.

Do you apprehend that a person, having been sold on board the ship for a crime, would be permitted to remain with his friends and family, if he was to escape on shore and return to them?

Certainly I believe not.

Are not you at this present time engaged in the African trade?

Yes.

What became of the ships that were run away with in the Middle Passage, and how far from shore was it?

Those instances after the ships had left the Coast have been extremely

tremely rare, and only from one part of Africa in particular, the river Gambia and its vicinity.—They attempted to get the ships, and have generally destroyed all the Whites, except one or two, and those they kept to navigate the ship to the first land they could make.

What land did they make?

I think I recollect one instance of their having got back to their Coast—and another of the ship's being met with at sea, and taken possession of.

How far had the ship which got back got from the Coast?

I do not know, but not far—but this only from information.

Are not the men Slaves in the Middle Passage generally fettered together by the legs?

There are a certain proportion of the men Slaves so fettered, but not all—out of a cargo from the Gold Coast of 500, 120 or 125 may be estimated to be women and girls—of the males at least 100 to 125 are from the age of 15 downwards, those are never put in Irons—and of the remainder there is a certain proportion who come from the most interior part of Africa who are quiet, and are never put in Irons at all—So that at most out of 500 I should estimate there would not be more than 200 or 230, or at most 250, that at any one time on board the ship would be in fetters—and in the latter part of the passage near the West Indies there would not be so many.

Describe the manner in which they are fettered?

They are generally chained two and two together, the right leg of the one to the left leg of the other—some part of those who are the most resolute and dangerous their hands also.

What is the length of the ring-bolt between the fetters?

The bolt of the fetters is about fourteen or fifteen inches long—the space between the two shackles might be about six inches, but they are not all of one length—they are proportioned to the strength and size of the men.

What is the weight of the leg fetters?

Including the shackle and the bolt, from two to three pounds—I never weighed them, but I speak from the price we pay for them—our customary price is one shilling for the leg, and eight-pence for the hand.

Are

Are they fettered in the night as well as the day, and in the same manner?

No doubt they are.

What is the largest proportion of Negroes to the tonnage of the ship, that you had on board?

Rather better than two to a ton.

Had the Negroes room to lie on their backs in the night in those vessels?

Certainly.

What was the allowance of water per man per day which you took on board?

The calculation I always made on the Gold Coast, and that I believe is generally made, as far as my knowledge and experience goes, was from forty-five to fifty gallons per head for every person on board, Whites as well as Blacks, for the passage.

Was the allowance the same from the river Cameroon?

I believe it was rather more.

Are the voyages of equal length, or nearly so?

They are nearly so—That from Cameroon rather the longest and more uncertain, but very little difference.

For how many days is that allowance made?

The usual passage is from seven to nine weeks—and the calculation when made is intended in cases of necessity for ninety days, at half a gallon per day—Provisions are calculated in the same way for ninety days; and when the ships first leave the Coast, for some time, till the time of the passage is more exactly ascertained, attention is paid not far to exceed that allowance—but as the ships get into the South East trade winds, after which they can calculate pretty nearly on their passage there, if they have not been too long in reaching there, they have generally as much water as they chuse, and provisions the same.

Is not the water as well as provisions stowed in the hold?

Yes.

Do you conceive it possible, that on board a Guinea ship on the Middle Passage a distilling machine could be placed, so as to procure an additional quantity of water?

No doubt it might—at present, out of London, in some of the ships that go for the greatest number of Negroes, a still-head and worm is fixed to the top of the Slaves boiler.

* When you mentioned half a gallon of water a day, did you include what was used for boiling and other uses, as well as drinking?

No doubt of it.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.

Veneris, 19^o die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the
Whole House, to whom it was re-
ferred to consider of the Slave
Trade.

Witness Examined,
THOMAS KING, Esquire.

N^o 10.

Lunæ, 22^o die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House to consider further of the Circumstances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the several Petitions which were presented to the House in the last Session of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

Counsel called in.

The Counsel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

ALEXANDER ANDERSON, Esquire, a merchant; he and his brother John Anderson are in partnership together, and they are proprietors of Bance Island, in Sierra Leone, and have been so from four to five years.

Have you during that time shipped Slaves on your own account from thence to the West Indies?

Yes—several cargoes in that time, to Tobago, Grenada, St. Christopher's, and South Carolina.

What has been the mortality among the Slaves in those voyages?

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Do you mean that average from the time they sailed?

I mean from the time of sailing to the time of their arrival at the port of delivery.

What has been the average of mortality in the West Indies, between their arrival there and the time of the sale in the West Indies?

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more.

4 C

What

What time has generally elapsed between the time of their arrival and the time of sale?

About ten days on the average.

In the out-fit of these ships have you sent out things necessary to support the Negroes during the voyage?

Yes, what was considered sufficient, with the addition of rice which the Captain of the ship might acquire on the Coast—and we have always supplied the ship with wine for the sick Slaves, and also plenty of medicines.

Has your House attempted to purchase the commodities of Africa at Bance Island?

We have, such as Ivory and Camwood, the only produce in that part of the country fit for a European market.

Have you been able to purchase those commodities in any great quantity?

No, not a very large quantity—I suppose about 120 tons of Camwood in a year, and about three or four tons of Ivory.

In order to induce your agents to purchase those commodities, have you allowed them any advantages of commission?

We have allowed them a commission superior to the purchase of Slaves—I suppose about three to one.

Does Camwood grow on Bance Island?

No.

Have you the calculation of the average of the mortality of the Slaves which you have mentioned?

I have it in my hand, and beg leave to produce it; which contains an account of the number of Slaves shipped in each ship on the Coast of Africa—the tonnage of the ship—the number of Slaves that died on board the ship, from her leaving Africa to her arrival at the port of sale, amounting to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.—and also an account of the Slaves that have died from the ship's arrival at the port of sale until the cargo was disposed of, which, as I mentioned, was about ten days, and amounts to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. which makes the mortality from the ship's leaving Africa till her cargo is sold in the West Indies under 3 per cent.—This statement is taken from our books, bills of lading, and letters.

Then the said statement was delivered in at the table, and read; and is as follows; viz.

The

The Snow Mary, 110 tons, Captain Bowie, left Bance Island, in Sierra Leon River, Africa; and arrived at Charlestown, in South Carolina (the place of her destination) in 1785
 The same Snow, Captain M^cLean, left Ditto, and arrived at St. Kitt's, in 1786
 The same Snow, and same Captain, left Ditto, and arrived at Charlestown, in South Carolina, the place of her destination; but upon her arrival there she found their ports shut against the importation of Slaves, and she was therefore obliged to proceed for St. Kitt's, where she arrived in 1787, after performing a double voyage
 The Ship Concord, 130 tons, Captain Dove, left Bance Island, and arrived in Tobago, in 1787
 The same Ship, Captain Smith, left Ditto, and arrived in Grenada, in 1788
 The Ship Duke of Buccleugh, 240 tons, Captain M^cLean, left Ditto, and arrived in Grenada, in 1789

Number of Slaves shipped.	Died on the Passages.	Landed in America and the West Indies.	Died after landing, and before the Sales.	Sold.
157	None	157	3	154
154	3	151	2	149
143	3	140	1	139
260	5	255	2	253
231	2	229	1	228
373	8	365	7	358
1,318	21	1,297	16	1,281

Note.—That a Number of the above, per Duke of Buccleugh, were sickly, and had bad Sores when shipped.

It appears from the above Statement, that there was not $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lost by deaths on the passages;
 and not — $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lost by death after landing, and before the sales of the cargoes.
 in all not — — 3 per cent.

Does

[260]

Does your house keep factories and warehouses on the island?

We keep warehouses with goods to a considerable amount on the island—and factories with goods on other parts of the Coast.

Do you keep agents in the island to conduct your trade?

One agent, and several clerks.

In what way is that trade conducted?

Chiefly with the Natives—by purchasing Slaves, Camwood, and Ivory, from them, and loading our own ships with those goods; and when our own ships are not on the Coast, chartering with others.

Are there any inhabitants on the island but those which are dependent upon you?

None.

Have you ever had it in contemplation to raise produce on the island for exportation?

We once had an intent of settling a Cotton plantation in the neighbourhood, and would have tried the experiment, but were dissuaded from it by our friends who had a local knowledge of the country, on account of the impossibility of making the Natives of Africa labour; and I am certain that we could have made a good plantation from the land we had, and the number of Slaves we have constantly in our employment, could we make them work.

Was Mr. Richard Oswald ever proprietor of Bance Island?

He was for about twenty or thirty years prior to our purchase, which was in 1785.

Do you know whether he ever had it in contemplation to make any plantation there?

I have heard he frequently regretted that he could not make the people labour—and, in 1783, he gave directions to one of his captains going upon the Coast, to offer a premium to the Natives for Indigo and Cotton; and gave him directions, that the Slaves upon Bance Island who constantly resided there might be employed in the cultivation of Rice; but it was all without any effect.

Have you a copy of the order so given?

Yes.

Was Bance Island taken by the French ?

Yes, in 1778, or thereabouts.

By what name are the Slaves on Bance island distinguished ?

They are called Grumettas.

What became of them when the French took the Island ?

They all absconded and went into the woods; and after the French had left the river Sierra Leone they all returned, except one, who was supposed to have died in the woods.

How many of these Grumettas belonged to your house ?

From 220 to 230.

In what manner are they employed ?

A few of them are employed in navigating our craft along the Coast, and in supplying our out-factories with goods, and bringing back the returns to Bance Island.

Have you had any late accounts from Bance Island ?

We frequently hear from thence—I heard to-day.

Have you had any account from your agent of the settlement of the Free Negroes sent out from this country at the mouth of the river Sierra Leone ?

Our last letters do not mention any thing of them; but other letters have.

What do those letters mention about them ?

They mention a great mortality that has been among these people; and I should suppose, that of the number that left this country, which I believe was about 470, there are not now altogether alive above 100.

Have you any extracts of letters relative to them, and with respect to their conduct ?

The witness informed the Committee, That he had copies of those letters in his hand.

It was objected to in the Committee, that the original letters ought to be produced.

And the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

V. page 271.

And it being the sense of the Committee, that the original should be produced.

The Counsel were called in, and acquainted therewith; and the Counsel proceeded to call

Captain JACOB LORAN, Master of a ship, a merchantman—has been engaged in the West India Trade as Captain 20 years.

How many voyages have you made from Great Britain to the West Indies, and how many from the West Indies to Great Britain, in that time?

About fifty.

In that number do you reckon the voyage out and the voyage home as distinct voyages?

Yes—the voyage out as one, and the voyage home as another.

What is the practice in that trade, as to the captains of ships bringing home all the sailors they carry out?

Very often when we arrive in the country the sailors run away from us, and we are obliged to employ others to bring the ship home again.

Are you obliged by the laws of the islands in the West Indies to bring home all the sailors you carry out?

There is an act in the island of St. Christophers, that we are to leave no sailors on shore which we have carried out—We enter into a bond, with one security, in a penalty I think of £. 2,000 currency, that we will carry them off the island again.

Notwithstanding that law and that penalty, have you been able to prevent the sailors from deserting in the West Indies?

No.

Does the same law prevail in other islands, as well as at Saint Christophers?

I cannot say.

Does it extend to ships coming to that island from other places, as well as from Great Britain?

Yes.

Have

Have you been often obliged to hire failors in the West Indies, to assist in navigating your ship back to Great Britain?

Very often.

Did you know from what vessels those failors came to you?

Not particularly—some from merchantmen, some from Guinea-men.

Have you ever shipped many from Guinea-men?

I have had four, five, or six from Guinea-men at a Time.

Do you know in what manner the failors quitted the Guinea-men to come on board your ship?

The failors in general look upon the West Indies to be a second port of delivery, where they insist on their discharge, many of them—they come on board our ships, where we generally give them more money for the run home than they would get by their month's wages on board the ship they were in.

By that ship, do you mean an African ship?

I mean the merchant ships in general, African and others.

With respect to what ship, and in what trade, do you mean that the West Indies is considered as the second port of delivery?

The African trade in particular.

If the captain should refuse to discharge such failors at the West Indies, as the second port of delivery, would the laws of the island compel him to do so?

I cannot say.

Are the failors then of the African ships desirous of coming on board ships from the West Indies in the West India trade, for the sake of the increase of wages in the run home to England?

Most certainly that is their reason.

What wages are given them for their run home to England?

I have known them as high as from 25 to 30 guineas, and the same number of gallons of rum.

Do you speak this of war time?

Yes.

What

What in general may be the wages of the run home in time of peace?

From seven or eight to ten guineas, according to the scarcity or plenty of hands.

Have the sailors any rum besides the eight or ten guineas?

They generally make their agreement for a gallon of rum for every guinea.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have stated, that it is a common practice for seamen to get eight or ten guineas for the run home from the West Indies in the time of peace, can you state an instance of that within your own knowledge?

I can.

State that instance.

In the year 1775, at Dominica, the ship Amherst had four by the run—I was master, and gave eight guineas and eight gallons of rum.

Do you command a ship now?

Yes.

Has any such thing happened within your knowledge in the course of this peace?

None.

Do they not engage the seamen, in every trade you have been in, to perform the voyage out and home?

We do.

Explain to the Committee what you mean by the Sailors coming home by the run, when men are engaged to perform that service?

When we go to the West Indies it is a general practice for sailors to go on shore on our arrival—It is well known that what the sailor first flies to is to get grog—they drink so much, and get so far intoxicated, that the first captain who is going away and wants men, by advancing them a little money (they having run in debt) they go along with him for the run.

Does

Does this frequently happen before they are paid that part of their wages on their arrival in the West Indies, or afterwards?

We pay them no half wages in the West Indies, they are entitled to none until one month after their arrival in the river Thames on their return.

Do you mean that the number of men that run away in the West Indies are the crews of the ships employed in the West Indian or African trade?

Men I believe run from both of them.

Do you make no distinction?

I can make none.

Did you ever know an instance of the bond being carried into execution against the masters for leaving their men in the West Indies?

I have known the security being threatened; and I have seen a security pay for a master £. 40 for a Man who has been left.

Does this apply to the bond for £. 2,000, or is it by any other law?

It applies to the bond, which the Churchwardens threatened to sue.

Do not seamen running away from their masters in the West Indies forfeit all their wages?

By the articles they sign with us they do.

Are not seamen more scarce at Dominica than at the older established Islands?

They happened to be scarce when I was there, and we shipped those people.

Was it not owing to that circumstance that you paid so much for the run?

Not altogether, I believe.

To what other cause was it owing?

When I see a good hearty fellow, that I can put a trust in in a gale of wind, I always give him a guinea or two more than a man I cannot confide in.

Do you ever enquire where the seamen come from that you have?

I believe there was one or two came out of a Guinea ship, Captain Hannel—came to Mr. Vanster, merchant.

Do you never employ those belonging to the king's ships as well as the merchants ships?

I have employed them out of the king's ships, with the leave of the captains.

Do you ever serve the seamen with spirits, tobacco, and cloaths on their voyage to or from the West Indies?

From the port of London I lay them in necessaries—on our arrival in the West Indies I allow each man half a pint of rum a day.

The question was, Do you ever sell spirits, tobacco, and cloaths to the seamen?

Never in my life.

Have failors frequently quitted your ship in the West Indies?

Not more than they generally do others.

Do they quit West India ships in general in considerable numbers?

I know an instance, about four months ago, that the foremast men, all but one, left the ship.

Was you ever prosecuted yourself on this bond?

Not on account of failors, I have on account of a Negro—The bond states, 'You are to bring nobody off the Island, or leave any on.'—The Negro stowed himself away in my ship—he was never perceived till three days after we sailed—I brought him to London—cloathed him—took him home to my house—he staid there about four weeks, and then ran away.—On my return to St. Christopher's, I was sued for ninety-eight pounds, the value of the Negro, which I was obliged to pay.

Have failors ever left your ship in the West Indies?

Very often.

Is it customary for failors to leave their ships?

Very customary.

Do you know any reason why all those foremast men left the ship?

No.

If their wages, forfeited by desertion, were applied to the maintenance of Greenwich Hospital or the Merchant Seaman's Hospital, instead of putting it into the pockets of the masters and owners, would desertion, in your judgment, be as frequent as you have stated it to be at present?

In my opinion, neither owners or masters get any of the desertion money.

Do not the articles which you have made the seamen sign stipulate that their wages, in case of desertion, shall go to the master and owners?

They do.

Then how can you reconcile that to what you said before?

When a seaman runs away, he generally applies to a lawyer, and the act is over-ruled generally.

When the sailors run away, do you generally ship as many in their room, by the run?

We generally pick up our ship's company, if we can get them.

Is not the sum you give them by the run adequate to what the owner or captain gets by their desertion?

I never knew the owner or captain get a farthing by their desertion in my life.

Is not what you give to a sailor to come home by the run generally more than the amount of the wages due to him who deserts?

A good deal more, and a very heavy charge to the ship it is to have their men run away.

What becomes of the forfeited wages?

I do not know.

Do not West India ships, homeward-bound, desire to come stronger handed home than they go out?

In general they do.

Is not the whole crew of a West India ship paid their whole river pay, with a certain advance of wages, on their leaving Gravesend?

Always.

What is their advanced wages?

In general a month's pay in hand—and monthly notes left with several of the sailors wives, for so much a month until the ship's arrival back in London.

Whether their month's pay in advance, and the monthly allowance left to the wives, and which is to continue till the ship's return, or advice from the master that the seaman has left the ship, does not in general amount to the whole wages due to seamen, when they run from their ships in the West Indies?

Generally more.

Are not you of opinion that the interest of the owner is materially benefitted by having all the people who go out in his ship return home again?

Certainly.

Whether ships of really equal tonnage by register do not materially differ in the tonnage which they carry?

Very much.

Whether, supposing two ships of 300 tons each, carpenter's tonnage, consequently register tonnage, the one having nine feet depth of hold, the other twelve, would not the latter carry near eighty tons more than the former?

She would certainly carry more.

Does the difference in the depth of the hold make any difference in the measurement of the ship?

I cannot speak to that at present, for they at present measure by two or three different ways.

Whether the mode of measuring a ship is not by the length of her keel, and the breadth of her beam?

The length of the keel, the breadth, and half breadth of her beam.

If that then is the mode of measuring a ship, can the depth of her hold have any thing to do with her tonnage?

No.

Are

Are you acquainted with the general construction of the African ships?

No, not particularly, I never was in the trade.

Are you generally acquainted with them, or at all?

I have been sometimes on board an African ship.

Do you not know, that they are generally built much sharper, and of less capacity in the hold, than West India ships of the same tonnage by measurement?

The West India merchantment are built [for burthen, full; and in general, I believe, the African ships are built for sailing, sharp built.

Did you ever sail in a West Indiaman of about 200 tons burthen?

No, none so small.

What was your smallest?

About 320 tons.

State what was the height between decks, and the depth of the hold, in that vessel?

Thirteen feet hold—six feet eight inches between decks, from deck to deck.

Can you state in general terms what was the homeward-bound cargo of such a vessel?

When she was full I have had 625 hogshheads of sugar and puncheons of rum.

Can you distinguish how many hogshheads and how many puncheons?

525 hogshheads, and 100 puncheons of rum, besides some other small casks.

What proportion of that cargo was stowed between decks, and how much in the hold?

About 480 hogshheads of sugar in the hold, and the rest between decks, and some rum on the deck.

What is the name of the ship from whence the foremast men deserted, which you mentioned?

Captain Maynard, of Montferrat, but I do not remember the name of the ship.

Do you mean to say, that all the ship's company indiscriminately have all the monthly notes issued, or only to individuals that the captain is acquainted with, and can rely upon?

Not all the ship's company.

In what proportion then?

Sometimes one-third, sometimes more, or sometimes less, as they have wives and families.

Did you ever load the ship of 320 tons with measurement goods?

Never.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ANDERSON being again called in, he produced a letter, mentioned by him in the former part of his evidence, dated Bance Island, 18th July 1788; and so much thereof as relates to the subject in question was read; and is as followeth; viz.

“ The new settlers at Sierra Leone prove to be a very
 “ dangerous bad set of people: On their first arrival they
 “ acted in a very insolent manner, first in maltreating
 “ every person sent out at a very great expence by go-
 “ vernment for to assist and keep them in order, but
 “ they looked upon themselves better than any White
 “ people that came out or was settled in the Country;
 “ and after they sold the tools, and every supply that
 “ was so generously supplied by government, to enable
 “ them to raise produce, and subsist themselves in a de-
 “ cent manner; instead of which they go over the
 “ Country, some of the industrious, to pick up poultry,
 “ or any refreshments, to sell to the shipping that fre-
 “ quents this river, but the greatest part for no other
 “ purpose but to rob and plunder.—About six months
 “ ago one of their canoes happening to stop at the
 “ Island, insulted the doctor of a vessel belonging to
 “ Bristol, who was landing some goods for me at the
 “ wharf, and with a drawn cutlafs was going to cut
 “ him down, had I not gone down and interfered, and
 “ ordered them into their canoe, where one Smith, the
 “ principal,

“ principal, behaved in a very insolent manner, and told
 “ the doctor, that if ever they should catch him at the
 “ settlement, they would tie him up and flog him; for
 “ which behaviour I told Smith, that if he ever came
 “ ashore again, I would put him in irons, as no person
 “ doing business here should be insulted.—On the In-
 “ dian’s arrival, I found him upon the Island, and
 “ again making some fresh disturbance, upon which I
 “ sent for him, and told him, that if he did not leave the
 “ Island directly, I would put him in irons; he went
 “ down to the beach, where he took a loaded musket,
 “ and, in the hearing of five or six of the Grumettters,
 “ said, that he would shoot me, or the first person that
 “ attempted to stop him; which threat being told me,
 “ I went down to him—he sitting in a canoe with
 “ his musket—I desired him to deliver it up, instead
 “ of which he cocked it, and put himself in a firing
 “ position, but the Grumettters seeing his intentions,
 “ jumped into his canoe, and disarmed him, when
 “ I ordered him to be put in irons, where he
 “ was confined on the Island for some time. Some
 “ others of them having behaved very badly, and al-
 “ ways for the most the place was pestered with eight
 “ or ten of them, and they mostly coming on the
 “ Island in the night-time, and frequently going like-
 “ wise under cloud at night, made me very uneasy,
 “ though I had frequently told them they were neither
 “ to land nor leave the Island when landed but in the
 “ day-time; which desire they paying no regard to,
 “ forced me to stop any of them coming upon the
 “ Island either by day or night, as I was afraid they
 “ would be committing some mischief or other;
 “ which fears I soon found was well grounded, for,
 “ on the 17th June I found on the morning that the
 “ cloth-store was broke open.—Inclosed you have a
 “ paper stating what measures I took to find out
 “ the thieves, and the proceedings thereupon, to which
 “ I refer. We were exceeding lucky in the detecting
 “ this robbery:—I commonly walking whenever I get
 “ up to see what canoes are going up or down the
 “ river to the south-east part of the Island, happening
 “ to walk there within two or three weeks of the rob-
 “ bery, twice found a canoe of the new settlers, who
 “ were concealing themselves there, as I suspected for
 “ no

“ no good purpose, as they could not be seen till we
 “ were within two or three yards of them, or right over
 “ their heads. On the morning of the robbery, I
 “ happening to take my ordinary walk, was surpris’d
 “ at seeing a bunch of barleycorn-beads lying on the
 “ ground and on looking round, found five or six bunches
 “ more; upon which I got the keys of the store, and
 “ found some pieces of cloth at the foot of a ladder,
 “ and on going up to the upper part, found they had
 “ burst open a window, and on enquiring found a
 “ canoe that had come down with rice.—About two
 “ that morning saw a canoe lying under the point,
 “ the watch saw a canoe pass down the river afterwards;
 “ from all which circumstances I concluded it was the
 “ new settlers, and immediately sent a canoe well man-
 “ n’d with some of our most active people, offering
 “ 100 bars reward, and on their finding out the
 “ thieves, desired them to tell the heads if they did
 “ not deliver them up, I would stop and catch every one
 “ belonging to the settlement that pass’d the Island; on
 “ which they deliver’d them up: They were a very des-
 “ perate set of blood-thirsty villains; and on my stopping
 “ them from coming on the Island, they had threaten’d,
 “ if they could get me in a proper place, they would
 “ make minced collops of me. These threats, and
 “ their other bad behaviour, made me resolve to send
 “ them off; and I have put them on board of a French
 “ vessel for St. Domingo. I have some reason to think
 “ that there may be some reflections on me for sending
 “ them off, particularly as they were sent out under the
 “ sanction of government. I first intended keeping
 “ them for a king’s ship, but as there is but one called
 “ here these eight years, and the danger of keeping
 “ them upon the island, likewise their poisoning the
 “ principles of the people of the island, as well as to
 “ deter others from the like attempts, as it was the
 “ most daring one that ever was committed in this
 “ country, it was necessary to act with resolution in
 “ the suppressing of it; for where the people of this
 “ country see people afraid of them, they are con-
 “ stantly imposing upon them; but when they see a
 “ person not afraid of them, and will resent their in-
 “ sults, there is no danger of their being insulted.

“ (Signed) James Bowie.”

[Referred

[Referred to in the foregoing extract.]

“ The store of Bance Island being broke open on the 17th
 “ instant, upon which James Bowie, agent of Bance
 “ Island, offered a reward of one hundred bars for the
 “ discovery of the offenders, who proves to be five of
 “ the new settlers at Sierra Leone, and were apprehended
 “ and delivered up to the said James Bowie, by their
 “ own people, who collected the following gentlemen,
 “ and some of their own people, before whom the fol-
 “ lowing declarations were made, viz.

“ John Ormond, merchant, Riopongas.
 “ Alexander Nichelson, master, ship Martha, Liverpool.
 “ William Ballingall, master, ship Lively, London.
 “ Thomas Molineux, master, ship Eliza, Liverpool.
 “ Robert Sterling.
 “ George Rogers.
 “ Thomas Brown.
 “ And five of the new settlers.

“ Lewis Sterling, one of the prisoners, declares, That
 “ Robert Moore, with the assistance of John Londen,
 “ and himself, they fixed a ladder opposite the window
 “ of a store at Bance Island, and broke open the win-
 “ dow—then Robert Moore went into the store and stole
 “ a quantity of goods, and delivered them to him and
 “ Londen, who carried them to the canoe—Richard
 “ Bradley was at same time keeping watch, and Adam
 “ Sab was taking care of the canoe, employed in the
 “ plunder.”

“ Robert Moore declares, That Bradley proposed the
 “ people and canoe coming up the river to purchase
 “ necessaries, and stopped upon the back of the Island
 “ waiting for the tide—Sterling then came on shore,
 “ and said, ‘ Let us try to get something here out of the
 “ store,’ it being then about two o’clock in the morn-
 “ ing. Sterling bringing with him a hammer, endeavour-
 “ ed to break the lock of the store, but could not.—
 “ Afterwards Sterling went to the back part of the
 “ store, and discovered a window aloft on the upper
 “ story

“ story—afterwards ran to Robert Moore and John
 “ Londen, and acquainted them that he had found
 “ a window, and said something might be done there;
 “ upon which all three laid hold of the ladder, which
 “ laid by, and reared the same against the wall, con-
 “ venient for the window—Londen went up first, who
 “ could not force open the window—then Sterling
 “ went to assist, and made a great deal of noise with
 “ the window, and broke it, but could not get the
 “ bolt out so as to open the window—when he went
 “ and got it out. Sterling afterwards tried to get in the
 “ window, but could not—he then went in himself, and
 “ opened different chests, and stole a number of different
 “ articles to a considerable amount, until he was called
 “ out by the others, and came down to the canoe,
 “ where he found the goods deposited by his comrades—
 “ then they all proceeded to Captain Thompson’s Bay,
 “ and secreted their plunder in the Bush—afterwards
 “ were divided into five equal parts, and each person
 “ took his proportion.”

“ Adam Sab declares, That he assisted in bringing the
 “ canoe up the river, with intention to go to Tomba
 “ to purchase cloth and rice, for which purpose about
 “ two and half gallons rum was brought with them;
 “ but the tide being they came at the back of
 “ Bance Island; after which four of them came ashore,
 “ he remaining with the canoe till the people returned
 “ with some pipes about two o’clock in the morning;
 “ after which they went away again, he remaining still
 “ with the canoe, and heard a canoe passing with a
 “ number of people singing; soon the four people who
 “ were out returned with small and the third
 “ time they completed the plunder, and immediately
 “ proceeded down to Captain Thompson’s Bay, and car-
 “ ried them into the Bush; where, after dividing them
 “ in five shares, the people of the settlement seized
 “ upon them and the goods, as they were returning to
 “ their own habitations.”

“ John Londen declares, He was in the canoe with
 “ the other four, and assisted in bringing her up to
 “ Bance Island, in expectation of getting rice, when
 “ Moore and Sterling went on shore about two o’clock
 “ in

“ in the morning, leaving the canoe to the other three ;
 “ soon after they returned with some pipes, on which
 “ they all, except Sab, went up to the store, and dis-
 “ covered a ladder on the ground, when he assisted the
 “ other three in rearing the same convenient for the
 “ window, after they found they could not break open
 “ the store-door with a hammer; afterwards Moore or
 “ Sterling broke open the window, he is not certain
 “ which; when the window was open, Moore went in,
 “ and handed out the goods to him and Sterling, Brad-
 “ ley being upon the look-out, and Sab was in the ca-
 “ noe in waiting; and all except Sab assisted in carrying
 “ down the same, and Sab receiving them.”

“ Richard Bradley declares, That he came with the
 “ others with an intention to buy cloth at Tomba, but
 “ not to his knowledge with a view to commit plun-
 “ der, but stood by, and was an eye-witness to the
 “ same; but says, he several times begged of them to
 “ desist from taking the goods: he declares, that he
 “ had a cutlass, and Sterling and Moore had each a
 “ bayonet, and afterwards assisted in carrying the canoe
 “ back to Captain Thompson’s Bay, and received a
 “ share of the plunder.”

The two following witnesses depose as follows :

“ The Governor, John Lucas, declares, That the next
 “ day after the canoe came from Bance Island, and the
 “ plunder was committed, I went up toward Robert
 “ Moore’s house, who was within doors; I called to
 “ him, but I received no answer, so went away, not hav-
 “ ing any suspicion of the robbery. I did not get far
 “ from his house before he called me back, and told me
 “ he was busy within his room, which was the reason he
 “ did not give me an answer at first. I then enquired
 “ if he had nothing else to tell me; but at the same
 “ time a case bottle of rum was upon his table, and
 “ he offered me a drink of it. By the time I had made
 “ the grog, Adam Sab, one of the prisoners, come in
 “ likewise, to whom I said ‘ You went out yesterday and
 “ returned very early—where did you go?’ he answered,
 “ He went no farther than King Nanbana’s, who was
 “ indebted

“ indebted to him, and he went to recover his debt,
 “ but did not receive it. After that, Moore made me
 “ a present of a couple of pipes for my wife, and Moore’s
 “ wife further made me a present of two rings. I then
 “ went home to my house after receiving the present,
 “ and Moore’s wife followed me, and asked me to buy
 “ a pair of ear-rings for my wife. I told her if I saw
 “ them I would—she shewed me an odd one—I said, ‘ If
 “ you will bring the pair, I will buy them; and desired
 “ she would leave the one and fetch the other, and
 “ when I had them both would give her a bar; so she
 “ went away, but did not return, leaving the one upon
 “ the table, where it remained till Smart came into the
 “ house; I was then sleeping, but he awakened me;
 “ he saw the ring, and knew it, and enquired how I
 “ came by it, which I acquainted him. He then in-
 “ formed me Bance Island store was broke open; that
 “ he knew the ring, having before seen it. I went out
 “ and informed Mr. Studdard and Mr. Cambridge. Af-
 “ ter the affair was generally known, a number was
 “ willing, and offered to assist in discovering the offen-
 “ ders, so I went with some of them, and seized upon
 “ Sterling as a suspicious person;—he, after some con-
 “ versation, came down to the place where the goods
 “ and other people were concerned in the robbery, and
 “ then confessed as being an accomplice. Myself, with
 “ others, went into his house, and found them dividing
 “ the spoils in five shares, and seized upon the same,
 “ and delivered the same to Smart, and all the five was
 “ accordingly put in irons; they afterwards got out,
 “ but was again apprehended and delivered to James
 “ Bowie; and the fifth, Bradley, delivered up himself.

“ Charles Stadhart, chief justice of the settlement,
 “ declares as follows:

“ I was at King Tom’s Town; when I returned I
 “ was seized with a fever, which obliged me to take
 “ to my bed. The next morning, about 9 o’clock, Mr.
 “ Lucas, governor, and Mr. Richardson, private settler,
 “ came to me, and said, We wish you would call Mr.
 “ Cambridge, who with you come to me, as I wish
 “ to speak to you; for Smart is just come to me, and
 “ tells

“ tells me very bad news, of our people having broke
 “ open Bance Island store, and some rings are in Mrs.
 “ Moore’s possession, who brought them to Mr. Lucas
 “ to dispose of; and when Smart came he found
 “ a ring upon the table, and said, the place where
 “ that ring came from must be more things, as he
 “ knew the said ring to be Bance Island’s property;
 “ and directly after applied for a search warrant, and
 “ assembled all the people of the settlement, and they
 “ all gave it as their opinion, that it was very proper
 “ to endeavour to apprehend them who had committed
 “ the robbery. They all said they would endeavour
 “ to discover the offenders, for the sake of their own
 “ characters, that it should not be thought that it was
 “ a general plan of the people of the settlement. They
 “ then went in search of the offenders, and met Sterling,
 “ whom they seized upon suspicion, who immediately
 “ led them to the place where the goods were depo-
 “ sited, where was Moore, Londen, Sab, and Bradley,
 “ whom they seized upon, with the goods, and deli-
 “ vered them up, with Sterling, to Mr. Smart—the
 “ said five offenders confessing, before the whole set-
 “ tlement, to have been guilty of plundering the store
 “ of Captain James Bowie at Bance Island, where they
 “ procured the goods seized upon.

“ The persons whose names are hereto subscribed,
 “ having taken the afore-written evidences and decla-
 “ rations into consideration, it is their opinion, That
 “ it would be highly imprudent and dangerous to suf-
 “ fer such notorious characters to remain longer in the
 “ country, therefore sentenced them to banishment,
 “ being the mildest punishment that could be inflicted
 “ upon crimes, which would in any other part of the
 “ world be punished with Death.

“ John Ormond,
 “ W^m Ballingall,
 “ Robert Stirling,
 “ Thomas Brown,
 “ John Warriner,
 “ Tho’ Molineux,
 “ George Rogers,
 “ Alexander Nichelson.”

Signed at Bance
 Island, the 26th
 June 1788.

The Witness was then asked,

Was Mr. Bowie your agent or manager at that time?

He was.

Was Mr. Smith afterwards your agent there?

No—he commanded one of our ships.

Did you receive any letter from him on the subject of settlers?

I have a letter from him, which I beg leave to produce.

The said letter, dated Bance Island, the 8th February 1789, was delivered in at the table; and the following extract thereof read; viz.

“ I landed the two passengers at the new settle-
 “ ment in good health; they find now that they are
 “ deceived, in coming to a country where it is almost
 “ impossible for them to subsist without the assistance
 “ of others. These wretches at present can be deemed
 “ very little better than a den of thieves, or a gang
 “ of pirates; there has been several masters of ships
 “ stopped by them, and obliged to pay five or six
 “ hundred bars before they released them; but the
 “ most rascally action they have been guilty of, was
 “ suffering themselves to be hired, by a trader in the
 “ Country, for 200 bars, to go on board a craft, and
 “ cruize at sea to take a captain out of his own ship,
 “ which they succeeded in, and brought him a prisoner
 “ to Sierra Leone. I shall embrace every opportunity
 “ that offers in writing to you, and acquainting you
 “ how we go on.

(Signed) “ Jofiah Smith.”

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have delivered in a paper, in which you state your having traded in the snow Mary for three voyages, in 1785, 1786, and 1787, and in the ship Concord for two voyages, in 1787 and 1788—were those profitable voyages?

I should consider they were.

Were

Were those two Negroes before-mentioned, which were put on board and banished, sold, or made a present of, or was any thing paid for them?

There were five of them.—I am informed by Captain Ballingall (who was one of the jury) that we received value for them; but I should imagine we were put to a good deal of expence, from our stores being broke open, and the goods that were taken away, and the charge of bringing them to justice.

Did you ever hear of any other of those settlers being sold?

No.

Did you ever hear of King Tom selling some of them?

I have not; but I should imagine, if they behaved improperly, the Kings would lay hold of them, and sell them to the first ships.

You have said, that the sentence was banishment, was the meaning of that sentence that they should be sold for slaves?

I imagine they had no other way of sending them away, but by selling them, as no ship would take them on freight.

Do you mean to say that the same persons who bought them would not have received them without paying a price for them?

I dare say they would have received them without paying any consideration for them, but they would have been sold on their arrival in the French West Indies.

Who pronounced that sentence of banishment?

The jury that tried them—but I was not there.

Under what government were they tried, by what authority, and what law?

I cannot answer.

Does the island of Bance belong to you?

Yes—it belongs to our house.

Is Bance Island under any government?

The Slaves that live on it are subject to the government of our agent; and there was an instance of one of our own people that was tried for a mutiny, before one of the Kings of the country, who considers himself as the superior of that Island, and to whom we pay an annual tribute.

Are

Are there any other Europeans on the Island except your agent?

None but our agent and clerks—sometimes a doctor.

Who are the gentlemen mentioned in the paper delivered in by you?

One or two of them are captains of ships—one of them a clerk of our own—Mr. Ormond lives at Riopongas, about sixty leagues to the northward—the others I know not.

Under what law do those gentlemen live?

Under the British government; sometimes subject to the laws of the Kings and Princes of the Country.

Do you suppose that under the laws of this country, five freemen can be sold as Slaves?

I believe not—but I consider this was done under the law of necessity.

Do you suppose that under such a law of necessity a free Englishman, residing in Bance Island, can be sold as a Slave?

I do believe not; but I consider that a Black man can—a Native of Africa can.

State the distinction, either in law or common sense, between the liberty of one free man and another, under the British government?

The question being objected to;

The Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, That the Counsel and Witnesses be called in, and the Witnesses asked the said Question;

It passed in the negative.

And the Counsel and Witnesses being again called in;

The Witnesses was asked,

Have you any other account of voyages for Slaves, besides those you have delivered in?

I have not.

Have

Have you any accounts transmitted to you of the manner in which the Slaves who are purchased by your agent come into his hands?

They are brought to our different factories, for which our agent pays a valuable consideration.

Are the Grumettas faithful and diligent servants?

I believe in general they are—though sometimes we have complaints against them, and they are the better for having White people to superintend them.

Have they shewn marks of attachment, affection, and attention to their masters?

They have—and sometimes we have had several of them come home to this country as seamen in our ships—and from the consideration of their being our Slaves I have felt some attachment for them.

Who received the money for which the five persons were sold, and for how much money were they sold?

I mentioned before that I was told by one of the gentlemen who tried them, that we received a consideration for them, but how much it was, and whether it was for our benefit, does not appear by the accounts we have received, as we do not receive the particulars of every transaction, but only balance at certain periods; and I have not a doubt, if our agent got the money for them, but that he carried it to our account; at the same time I do not think we gained much by them, from the expences we were put to, and the goods we left.

What was the value of the goods taken from Bance Island, by these people?

We have not had a particular statement of that neither, other than what appears from the proceedings on the trial.

Can you form any opinion of the value?

I cannot, with certainty.

The Witness then delivered in to the Committee—the following memorandum, by Richard Oswald, Esquire, to Captain Griffiths, dated 4th July 1783.

“ Memorandum by Richard Oswald, Esquire, to
 “ Captain Griffiths, 4th July 1783.

“ When you are at Bance Island, or while you remain
 “ at Sierra Leone river, I should be glad you would en-
 “ deavour to satisfy yourself as much as possible with
 “ respect to what use or service most part of the Gru-
 “ mettas, male and female, can be put to, besides
 “ trade, which surely cannot find employment for one
 “ half of them. As these Grumettas will not consent
 “ to go off the Coast, it will certainly be proper to set
 “ some of them to work in raising rice, and other pro-
 “ visions for themselves, and the use of the settlement.
 “ I would incline that a certain gang of these Gru-
 “ mettas be absolutely devoted to such cultivation, on
 “ Bob's or Tumbo Island, and that the same should be
 “ kept under the direction of the agent of Bance Island;
 “ but no way to mix in the trading concerns of the
 “ settlement. I would have you enquire as to this,
 “ and propose it only as from yourself.

“ I desire you will buy all the Cotton Wool you can
 “ get, at a shilling sterling per pound, in this trade with
 “ the Natives, and endeavour to learn whether it may
 “ not be possible to persuade these people to increase
 “ the culture of that article, as a commodity of ex-
 “ change and commerce.

“ They have very fine Indigo upon that Coast, al-
 “ though I believe not extracted from the weed while
 “ green, but rather the green weed put up in balls,
 “ and dried and laid by until wanted for use; when
 “ the practice is to steep the dried plant in warm
 “ water, by which the dye is extracted for immediate
 “ use, and succeeds extremely well: you can easily pur-
 “ chase or procure from the Natives a few of these
 “ balls, which I would be glad to have.

“ I am, &c.
 “ (Signed) Richard Oswald.”

Do you know what was done in consequence of this Letter of Mr. Oswald's, for the encouragement of the cultivation of Indigo and Cotton?

Captain Griffiths, to whom the letter was written, could do nothing, and did nothing in consequence.

Do you mean that the Natives would not raise the articles in consequence of the encouragement?

I certainly do.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

Captain JOHN MAN called in; and examined:

Captain of the Grenville Bay, a West India Ship.

How long have you been engaged in trade, as Captain of a West Indiaman?

Nearly 20 Years.

To what particular island have you traded?

Nearly 16 years to the island of Grenada, and four years to Jamaica.

Was you ever concerned in the African trade?

Never.

Have you now any concern or connection with it?

None at all.

Is it the law or practice of the West India Islands to which you traded, to compel the captains of the West Indiamen to take back all the failors they carried out?

It is in the Island of Grenada, and Jamaica likewise.

Is it an object to the failors to get discharged from their ships in the West Indies, for the purpose of coming home by the run?

In general very much so.

Is the West India Island considered as the second port of delivery in the African trade?

I have always understood so, but not from my own knowledge.

Is it the practice of the sailors to demand their discharge at the second port of delivery?

In common it is, and they never miss it.

Is the pay they get by coming home by the run greater than their monthly wages in case they come in the ships to which they belong?

In war it is; but I believe in peace it seldom amounts to so much, or not much more.

How much can they get in war by the run?

It depends much on the number of people, and the necessity they are under to get hands.

How much have you ever known given to a sailor in time of war for the run?

I have given from ten to eighteen guineas in war time—and have known them as high as from twenty-five to thirty—and generally rum, a gallon for every guinea.

Have you known the sailors of African ships discharged in the West Indies?

I have.

At their own desire?

Yes—I have shipped them.

Had those you shipped been discharged from the African ships at their own request, and against the consent of the master?

Yes.

Has that been so much the practice, that of late years a law has been made to regulate such discharges?

Yes—in Grenada, about three or four years ago.

In what manner does that law prevent the discharge?

When you enter the ships at the Custom House in Grenada, you enter your muster-roll, and enter into bonds, one surety with the Captain, each in £. 1,000, that you shall not discharge a single man.

Notwithstanding this law, do the sailors find means to get away from their ships?

Very often, I am sorry to say it.

Is the temptation in the West Indies so great as to induce the sailors very frequently to desert their ships?

In war time it is, but I believe it has little or no effect in time of peace.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel for the Liverpool petitions then proposed, That Mr. Tarleton should be called: And the Committee having waited for some time, the Counsel informed the Committee, that Mr. Tarleton, who was now come, was not ready to be examined; and that they had been informed that there was no other Witness ready to be called now.

Mr. Wildman, the Solicitor for the same petitions, being called to the bar, was asked, whether there was any further Evidence to be produced in support of the Liverpool petitions? He informed the Committee, That many Witnesses had been summoned, to be examined in support of those petitions, and for other purposes; but that at this time none of them were present.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel was also directed to withdraw.

The Committee was also informed, That Mr. Tarleton had prepared certain calculations relative to the subject of the trade now under the consideration of the Committee, together with some observations thereon, which papers he was ready to deliver in to the Committee, if they thought proper to receive them; but that at present he was not prepared to undergo a cross examination on accounts and calculations, which were long and of a difficult and intricate nature.

To report a Progress, &c.